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# Elizabethan England.

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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FROM ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS, MANY HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED,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 Royal Academy of History of Spain,*
*and Member of the Society for Nautical Research*

*In XII volumes quarto*

*With many hundred portraits and other illustrations in collotype,*
*also title pages and portraits in line*

Issued for the Author
to Subscribers only

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Royal Leamington Spa, in the County of Warwick.

MDCCCCL

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## *QUEEN ELIZABETH IN THE 37th YEAR OF HER REIGN, 1594-5.*

*From the original in possession of the Duke of Buccleuch, K.G.*

*ascribed to Gheeraedts the Younger*

Canvas, 42½ × 30¾ inches Inscribed in gilt letters,

"VIVat VIvat, Regnet,
LLIsabetha,
AngLIae, Fran CIae aC HIbernIae
RegIna
HDeI DepensatrIX
HenICI 8VI RegIs F
Anno regnI, sVI, XXXVII"

In yellow letters below, apparently added later, "*Nata 1 FEB* sept A P 1533 *Grone Init Reg Eliza kal 17 dies Novem*" X

No 73 (p 31) of *Catalogue of the Pictures at Boughton House in the parish of Weekley, Northamptonshire Made in January 1911 by C H Scott Privately printed Edinburgh David Douglas 1911* This picture was reproduced in *Archaeologia* Vol LI, 1888, to accompany a paper read before the Society of Antiquaries by Mr (subsequently Sir George) Scharf, C B, F S A He pointed out that the Chronogram formed by the numerical letters in the gilt inscription makes the date 1597 which does not accord with the direct statement that the picture was painted "anno regni sui xxxvii," the 37th regnal year of Queen Elizabeth being 1594 5

A nearly similar picture is at the Deanery of Westminster, built into the panelled wall (Described in *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society, Vol II*, p 167, as dated 1595) This has undergone crude "restoration" and displays "a smooth opaque countenance," pink cheeks, and red lips "The Boughton picture is much more valuable, having altogether escaped restoration," and on close inspection showing faint lines on the forehead Being fixed into the wall, the one at the Deanery could not be sent to any of the loan exhibitions It is regarded as "in all probability a present from the Queen herself"

Wearing five rows of pearls, "a profusion of jewels, consisting of large scarlet corals, black stones cut in facets, and pearls alternating with puffs of lavender silk forming stripes down her ample sleeves," &c, &c, Queen Elizabeth in the Boughton picture retains the youthful appearance which in 1592 had so astonished Count Montbéliard, the future Duke of Werttemberg (E E Vol IX, p 56) In *A Descriptive and classified Catalogue of Portraits of Queen Elizabeth By Freeman M O'Donoughue, F S A of the Department of Paintings and Drawings, British Museum*, Quaritch, 1894, p 15, the above, listed as "School of M Gheeraedts," is stated to be on panel (According to the Boughton House Catalogue, *supra*, it is on canvas)

*(1) F M Tenison's "Elizabethan England" Frontispiece Vol IX*

# Elizabethan England.

BOOK V

## "Many watchful eyes to foresee."

**". . . . many watchful eyes to foresee, many valiant hands to fight, and many godly hearts to pray for the peace of your State."**

*Henry Savile to Queen Elizabeth, on "the only true means" to ensure a "prosperous reign." 1591.*

VOLUME IX

FROM THE RETURN OF THE EARL OF ESSEX FROM FRANCE;
THE VICTORIOUS CAMPAIGN AND LAST DAYS OF ALEXANDER, DUKE OF PARMA;
TO THE FINAL EXPEDITION AND DEATHS AT SEA OF HAWKINS AND DRAKE;
THE CAPTURE OF CALAIS BY THE CARDINAL-ARCHDUKE ALBERT;
AND A PREDICTION THAT ESSEX WOULD BE ANOTHER DRAKE TO THE ENEMIES OF THIS COUNTRY.

# Acknowledgments.

First to **His Majesty the King,** thanks are tendered for the Crown Copyright pictures of the Infanta Isabel and Infanta Catalina, which, so far as can be ascertained, have not appeared before in any English or foreign publication.

The **Duke of Buccleuch** permitted a new reproduction to be made from the famous "Queen Elizabeth" now at Boughton; and Sir David Montagu-Douglas-Scott, K.B.E. kindly superintended the re-photographing.

From the family collection of the **Duke of Northumberland** comes the beautiful portrait of Lady Dorothy Devereux, widow of Sir Thomas Perrott and wife of Henry Percy, 9th Earl of Northumberland, a picture formerly misnamed but here correctly identified. Also from the same source the Northumberland descent from Agnes de Percy and Jocelyn de Louvaine, which, though blazoned and illuminated in the 17th century, seems for various reasons more relevant to this Volume IX than to the Jacobean Epilogue.

The late **Marquess of Salisbury, K.G.** and the late **Marquess of Bath, K.G.** gave the author opportunities to discover many unpublished materials; the most remarkable being a number of unique maps at Hatfield House, and, among the Longleat MSS, the items described in E.E., Volume I, p. ix; also the Queen's Commission to the Earl of Essex to relieve Calais under conditions not hitherto investigated.

In 1926 the then **Earl of Mexborough** had a photograph specially taken at Methley of a picture of Sir Henry Savile, painted while Provost of Eton. Whether it or its double at Eton is the original is not yet decided.

**Lord Hatherton's** Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, selected and photographed in his grandfather's time, will be new to all readers, except to such as may have seen it at Teddesley in pre-war days.

A portrait of Mary, Countess of Pembroke, now in possession of **Sir Felix Cassel,** accompanies a quotation from her elegiac poem on her famous brother Sir Philip Sidney.

Tintoretto's stately rendering of the Doge Pasquale Cicogna, in possession of **Mrs Fowler,** is here published for the first time.

The equestrian print of Henry IV of France is from the collection of **Mrs Hope-Nicholson.** She believes it not to have been reproduced elsewhere.

The **Master and Fellows of Pembroke College, Cambridge,** long since gave permission to include in this work the portrait they possess of Spenser. The **Mayor and Corporation of Plymouth** readily allowed the well-known picture of Sir John Hawkins to be photographed anew. Dated 1591, it was held back to go with the final expedition of Drake and Hawkins, now further elucidated partly from Spanish sources.

To the **British Museum,** the **Bodleian Library,** the **National Portrait Gallery, Society of Antiquaries,** the **London Library,** the **National Maritime Museum,** acknowledgments are also due; and to the late **Professor Sir Geoffrey Callender** an ever-grateful memory of his unfailing aid during more than twenty years; and of the sympathy of **Sir George Hill** in correspondence, up to the eve of his lamented death.

The late **Captain B. M. Ward,** of the King's Dragoon Guards, was responsible for the Tables of the Exchequer which again reveal that the proportion of expenditure on the Fighting Services was much larger than we have been accustomed to suppose.

In genealogical matters especially, the writer has always been able to rely on assistance from **Mr L. Graham H. Horton-Smith, F.S.A. Scot.,** (author of *Ars Tragica Sophoclea cum Shaksperiana Comparata,* Latin Prize Essay, Cambridge 1894, and late Fellow of St. John's), Joint-Founder in January 1908 of the Imperial Maritime League, the services of which between that date and 1916 should never be forgotten.

**Messrs Maggs Bros.** have again very kindly lent several title-pages of rare books from their Catalogues.

As to **Spanish Material,** the **Duke of Berwick and Alba, Director of the Real Academia de la Historia de España,** procured photographs of the ancient tapestry called *Las Naves,* and of tapestries depicting the Cardinal-Archduke Albert's capture of Ardres and Calais in 1596. Moreover he suggested including the title-page of the famous *Discurso* of Sancho de Londoño, dedicated to the 3rd Duke of Alba. He is likewise to be thanked—as also his archivist **Don Julián Paz**—for finding very important unpublished correspondence at Simancas in relation to Richard Hawkins and Don Beltrán de Castro. The Duke as 24th Conde de Lemos is the present representative of Don Beltrán's family. In 1930 when Minister for Foreign Affairs he declared in London that one of the main objects of his life had been to help England and Spain to understand each other better. But—as deplored even in Elizabethan days—" Error flies round the world while Truth is pulling on her boots," so one error can be "the mother of a thousand." The more audacious a falsehood the faster it penetrates—as one of the most vehement of England's enemies repeatedly assured himself within recent times. Yet it would be disheartening to doubt that truth may ultimately conquer; especially when actualities are far more interesting and more dramatic than certain basic fallacies which we in England have nearly all

been educated to believe: as for example that after 1588 Spain was rapidly "crumbling to decay." Not so thought Sir William Cecil, Lord Burghley, who toiled ceaselessly throughout another decade to outwit "the great Lion" as in private he nicknamed King Philip, who survived him only a few weeks.

It is right to conclude these Acknowledgments with thanks to the present **Marquess of Salisbury, K.G.**, for renewal of permission to draw upon the Hatfield Collection for materials essential to a full intimacy with those crucial years when "the Imperial Crown of this Realm" acquired an increasing prestige the more remarkable considering how small the area of Queen Elizabeth's "Realms and Dominions" and how vast the widespread Empire of *todas las Españas*.

21st of April, 1950 E. M. T.

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# Preface.

The postponement of Volume VIII and Volumes IX and X, which should have appeared respectively in 1942, 1944, and 1946, arose from circumstances extraneous and unavoidable. But delays, though irksome, were turned to account by the discovery of further documentary material for some of the most significant episodes, particularly the encounter of Richard Hawkins with Don Beltrán de Castro.

Though after surrendering on terms of *buena guerra,* Hawkins languished during many years a prisoner in Spain, he never doubted that his sufferings were against the will of Don Beltrán, or possibly without his knowledge. When at last he was set free, and wrote his Observations, he described his Spanish captor as a model of courtesy and humanity, emphatically acquitting him of responsibility for the fact that his magnanimous terms had not been confirmed by King Philip. But not until more than three centuries after the event was it disclosed that De Castro had made repeated protests to the Council of State against branding *Don Ricardo Aquines* a corsair. A *corsario,* he pointed out, is one who plunders lawlessly by sea as a bandit would ashore; but *Aquines* was in no sense deserving of that stigma, for he had been commissioned by his Sovereign. This Commission Don Beltrán held in his possession and could produce.

No trace of it can be found in Spain to-day; and death overtook Don Beltrán before Hawkins was released. But it is surely memorable that the most wholehearted tributes to each of these naval heroes came from his opponent. As they could be fair to each other when fighting on opposite sides, what they found possible in the heat of war ought not to be beyond achievement with a pen in peace.

The publication of this History of Elizabethan England in relation to all Foreign Powers has, however, coincided with times more deliberately destructive than any within the previous experience of mankind. So while emphasising the chivalrous amenities of Hawkins and De Castro, it is not suggested that such mutual trust and regard could arise except between combatants accepting an identical code of martial honour. According to Don Beltrán, the reputation of every country and the value of agreements must always turn upon fidelity to the pledged word. But when in this volume we enter into the machinations of certain alien refugees,—as crafty, malevolent, and mendacious as the Iago of Shakespeare,—we may wonder anew at the infinite variety of mankind, ranging from characters sublime in "valour and virtue" down to natures more akin to venomous reptiles than to human beings.

. . . . . .

As already explained, the illustrations in these volumes—whether pictorial or

documentary—are not mere embellishments but are part of the structure, enabling us to enter into a time when "Arts and Arms" were not antagonistic but complementary to each other; when not only men of action but men of letters were ardent, eager, and intense of mind, believing as they did in "the dignity and divinity" of the soul; wherefore despite theological and political antagonisms, Englishmen and Spaniards could preserve certain mental and moral qualities in common.

Although in the "declining times" of James the First, Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke, rebuked "those in their soft chairs at home," for "playing fast and loose with them that venture their lives abroad," and constituting themselves "judges of danger which they fear and honour which they understand not," Elizabethan literature repeatedly shows the pride and delight of "penmen" in the exploits of the swordsmen: "*England, since it was England never bred more honourable minds, more adventurous hearts, more valorous hands, or more excellent wits, than of late,*" —wrote Gabriel Harvey in 1595:

> "Read the report of the worthy Western discoveries, by . . . Sir Humphrey Gilbert: the report of the brave West-Indian voyage by the conduction of Sir Francis Drake: the report of the honourable Septentrional discoveries by the travail of Sir Martin Frobisher: the report of the politique discovery of Virginia, by the Colony of Sir Walter Raleigh: the report of sundry other famous discoveries and adventures, published by M. Richard Hacluit in one volume, a work of importance: the report of the hot welcome of the terrible Spanish Armada, . . . the report of the redoubted voyage into Spain and Portugal, whence the brave Earl of Essex and the two valorous Generals, Sir John Norris and Sir Francis Drake, returned with honour:[1] the report of the resolute encounter about the Isles Azores, betwixt the Revenge of England and an Armada of Spain: in which encounter brave Sir Richard Grenville most vigorously and impetuously attempted the extremest possibilities of valour and fury . . ."[2]

With such notable deeds to contemplate, who, protests Harvey, need expend "vain time" upon ephemeral pamphlets?

In that "Golden Age" a popular writer not only was encouraged to express exalted emotions; he would have been despised had he failed to do so. Love of poetry and drama, music, and other graces of life was not confined to "experts;" nor was a squalid "realism" preferred above a noble reality. The most transcendental utterances of Spenser and the romantic legends popular with London prentice boys were akin in their combination of tradition with initiative, of zest for beauty on earth

[1] Words overlooked by Corbett when in *Drake and the Tudor Navy* (1898) he conceived Drake to have been "in disgrace" from 1589 until 1595

[2] Spelling modernised from Harvey's *Pierces Supererogation*, dated 27 April, 1595

with hope of eternal felicity in Heaven. But now, after enormous wreckage and infinite sorrows, following upon superlative promises of progress, our hearts are heavy.

In 1939 Hitler proclaimed his intention to wipe out our antiquities and reduce us to what he described as "England's native barbarity." And many of our treasures impossible to replace have perished by high explosives. Yet we cannot too often remind ourselves that it is not the times which make the men but the men who make the times. Had the Elizabethans lacked "many watchful eyes to foresee, many valiant hands to fight," and a pride in their country such as spurred them to resolute and sustained exertions, our race would have been most unlikely to have spread thereafter to the ends of the earth. For the rise and fall of nations depends less upon wealth and geographical position than upon the characters and minds of the leaders, and the response thereto.

Our predecessors attached much importance to the respect they hoped to receive from posterity, and felt sheer horror of oblivion: "To what end . . . will your Cares and Labours be found at last to tend, if together with your Deaths they become forgotten?"[1]

Not merely to have a sepulchre of marble but to win "a home in the minds of men" had been the reward promised by Pericles to such as sacrificed themselves in the Peloponnesian War. Their story, he said, was not graven only on stone but was woven into the fabric of other men's lives. This, his most famous oration, as rendered by Thucydides, had been translated into English by a goldsmith of London, and it would have been familiar to almost any Englishman who could read.

Even as Pericles admonished the Athenians that they had more at stake than men who possessed a less exalted heritage, so today and henceforth for us, the future of our people—spread over nearly a fourth of the world's surface—will depend upon how thoroughly the lessons of the past and present can be comprehended and applied.[2]

E. M. TENISON

[1] Thomas Milles: *The Catalogue of Honor, or Treasury of true Nobility, peculiar and proper to the Isle of Great Britaine . Whereto is properly prefixed A Speciall Treatise London Printed by William Iaggard 1610*

[2] It is often latterly alleged that since the mechanisation of war, campaigns of the 16th century have a merely antiquarian interest. To this the grandson of Charles Dickens answers that "new weapons do not alter principles" vide *Bombing and Strategy The Fallacy of Total War By Admiral Sir Gerald Dickens, K C V O , C B , C M G London. Sampson Low, Marston* (Preface 19th August 1946). "Now the orthodox conception of how to wage war, as broadly expressed in a set of principles, is derived from the experience of countless centuries, from trial and error in campaigns the world over and under every sort of circumstance. As the result of long research and reasoned deduction it has been found that whatever the weapon employed the principles underlying the art of fighting do not and cannot change" But though the principles remain the same the application varies,—as Admiral Dickens proceeds to show

## CHAPTERS AND SECTIONS.

*Throughout this History each Part, Chapter and Section is headed with a phrase derived from the matter ensuing, so that the personages may be known direct from their own words, which are often far more expressive and dramatic than any we could devise to-day to represent them*

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*(Continued from Vol VIII).*

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## CONCERNING THE APPENDICES AND INTERLUDES

As in the previous volumes, these Appendices are not afterthoughts but are part of the structure. They are offered, as Andrew Maunsell wrote in 1595 of his own labours, "for the delight of the learned and the information of the unlearned." In regard to Spain, even the "learned" will find matter which must be new to them this being the first History which has shown the wars from the direct evidence on both and all sides

In relation to literature, it is hoped that as publications in prose and verse are set in their chronological places they may be seen as they appeared when "learning and chivalry" went hand in hand, and when some of the writers we now regard primarily as men of letters were actually of other callings —diplomatists, soldiers, "divines," lawyers, or actors. Lord Buckhurst, Sir Philip Sidney, Sir Walter Raleigh, Thomas Digges, Richard Hakluyt, Matthew Sutcliffe, Charles FitzGeffrey, Francis Bacon, were none of them professional authors; and neither Shakespeare nor Drayton was educated at a University.

Even Spenser, "The Prince of Poets in his time," was officially employed in Ireland; and Thomas North won his spurs in the field of action after having rendered into vigorous English the heroes of Plutarch

Lord Burghley as a booklover we shall see more fully in Volume X The present writer and the Rev W Stanhope-Lovell have compiled an annotated list of all such books at Hatfield House, and elsewhere discoverable, as contain the autograph or notes of Burghley whether in his youth as William Cecil or during his later years when Chancellor of Cambridge

Of the younger generation from 1587 onwards the most conspicuous and open handed patron of letters was Robert Earl of Essex; described by himself as "bookish from very childhood," and revealed now in his unpublished accounts as giving a pension to Thomas Newton and largesse to other poor scholars His wide sympathies are illustrated by the remarkable variety of dedications he received· and we have noted that so early as 1588 and 1591 there had been many at Oxford who wished to elect him as Chancellor of the University.[1]

It is well to view life and letters in juxtaposition, for in that era of "discovery and exploration" literature and action were closely allied An occasional reminder is needed when retrospective interpretations are not in the spirit of the originals: for example, the statement in the *Dictionary of National Biography* that Queen Elizabeth was aloof from the culture of her time· an astonishing assertion, considering that to her many activities and duties she added as a recreation the translating of Boethius and other classical authors, and that she justifiably prided herself on her Latin orations. We are at liberty to admire or dislike Her Majesty according to our sundry humours; but as to her habitual patronage of scholarship there should be no controversy; though on one occasion it took the embarrassing form of bringing pressure to bear when normally there would have been a free election at Oxford

In the days when "the Court was the centre" the Queen's interest in literature, drama, history, and poetry, set a fashion which her intimates were not slow to follow. Her refusal to promote Francis Bacon in 1594 was not from indifference to literature,—he had not yet published anything in that field for her to appreciate It was for a reason of State which we will duly examine.

Cervantes had protested that the pen is not mightier than the sword; and he had ample experience of both. Yet in Spain, France, England, the Germanic [Holy Roman] Empire, and the Italian States, and even in Morocco and Turkey, literature had so widespread an influence that the difficulty for us who come after is to realise in our confused and crowded lives the vast mental wealth which can be ours for the asking. The age was "spacious" partly because "specialism" had not yet exercised its separating powers[2] And we have only to recall Gabriel Harvey's apostrophe to the men of action,[3] to understand how little any "penman" would then have been offended by Sir Philip Sidney's dictum that "the heroical" was not only a kind but the noblest kind of poesie.

[1] E E. Vol. VIII (1947), pp. 577-584 [2] E.E. Vol. I, Preface, p. v. [3] E.E Vol. IX, p. xiv.

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## In Memoriam Sir Geoffrey Callender, F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S.

In November, 1946—when Volume VIII of this History had been "on the machine" since 1942, waiting to be printed off—Sir Geoffrey Callender, a pioneer subscriber, Director of the National Maritime Museum and former Professor of History in the Royal Naval College, Greenwich, died suddenly at the Museum which owed its creation mainly to his initiative, enthusiasm, and perseverance. In days when his plan for the Museum seemed most unlikely to materialise, the present writer admired the gentle persistence with which Professor Callender battled to arouse interest in our national heritage. It was a sad surprise—and a sign of the times—that his book "*The Naval Side of British History*," 1924, was not adopted in the schools.

The Society for Nautical Research, of which he was the Hon. Secretary and leading spirit, was for him only one among many voluntary activities. It was he who persuaded Admiral of the Fleet Sir F. D. Sturdee and a section of the public to avert the breaking up of Nelson's flagship. And probably that preservation of H.M.S. "*Victory*" has done more to revive the memory and example of Nelson than otherwise would have been possible.

Though not physically robust, Geoffrey Callender wielded his pen with the vigour of one who in other circumstances might have preferred a sword. The late Admiral Sir George Egerton, who had been an Arctic explorer, said of him, "He is not only an outstandingly excellent teacher of history He is one of *us*,"—meaning that he had the heart of a man of action. And the late Admiral J. W. L. McClintock, D.S.O., when President of the Royal Naval College, Greenwich, declared that Professor Callender's lectures were "most practical, most helpful, most stimulating".

During the war of 1939-45, both his private house and the Museum were several times hit by the enemy; and throughout those grim years he was heavily handicapped by circumstances over which he had no control. But however weary he might be, his hand-writing never deviated from its graceful clarity. In this era of typewriters, a holograph letter from him, sometimes illustrated with sketch maps in water colour or with strings of pendants (flags), gave an impression of ample leisure, though he was one of the busiest of men and may literally be said to have worked himself to death.

The National Maritime Museum should stand to posterity as his greatest achievement. But perhaps only his intimate friends can fully appreciate the blend of technical precision with imaginative sympathy—of a martial spirit with a quiet and almost deprecating manner—which carried him victoriously through his incessant labours. Entirely devoid of vanity, uncomprehending of jealousy, much of his extra work was done, like that of Edmund Spenser's angels, "all for love and nothing for reward."

It is a constant satisfaction to the present writer that Professor Callender baptized this History as "the Inquisition of Truth", and believed it destined permanently to restore certain Elizabethan statesmen and warriors to the prestige they won at home and abroad while actively employed. He commended also the rendering of tardy justice to the Spanish Fighting Forces—"The greater the vanquished, the more honour to the victor." On hearing of his death, the Director of the *Real Academia de la Historia de España* pronounced his brief but comprehensive epitaph: "a great patriot; a great scholar; and a steadfast friend."

## ADDENDA. BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE.[1]

Since E E. Vols. II, III and IV were issued together in November, 1934, there have appeared in Madrid in 1945 and 1946 the following relevant works, translated from Latin originals:—

(1) *Juan Cristobal Calvete de Estrella Encomio de Don Fernando Alvarez de Toledo Duque de Alba. Traducción por José López de Toro.* With facsimile of title of original edition, *Antverpiae.* M.D. LXXIII.

*Edición y prólogo del Duque de Alba Director de la Real Academia de Historia. 1945*

Illustrations, including portrait of the 3rd Duke and his Duchess, for which see E.E., Vol. I, plate 22

(2) *Antonio Ossorio Vida y Hazañas de Don Fernando Alvarez de Toledo Duque de Alba* [1656].

Translated by the same as the above. [552 pp.]. Edited and prefaced by the Duke of Alba, 1945.

Frontispiece, portrait by Titian; reproduced in E E., Vol. I, plate 20.

(3) *Modelo del inclito heroe del Principe, del General, y del excelente soldado, o sea Vida de Don Juan de Austria por El P. Antonio Ossorio. S.I.*

Translated by the same. [335 p.p.] Edited and prefaced by the Duke of Alba. 1946.

With 12 illustrations, including "Fanal de la Capitana de Hacan Chirivi," captured at the battle of Lepanto by the 1st Marquis of Santa Cruz. See also E.E., Vol. V, plate 15.

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[1] As these pages are passing through the press there appears from the pen of Dr James A Williamson, *Hawkins of Plymouth A new history of Sir John Hawkins and of other members of his family prominent in Tudor England With Seventeen illustrations and three maps.* Adam and Charles Black, 1949. The last voyage of Sir John is briefly disposed of, and the case of Richard Hawkins yet more briefly. We are told (p. 330) that "Beltran de Castro was a man of honour who did his utmost to secure that his word should be fulfilled," but there is no direct quotation either of Don Beltrán's own words or those of Richard Hawkins. In his Preface Dr Williamson refers to "new evidence from Spanish sources," but apparently is only drawing upon what is already in the hands of the Hakluyt Society. In regard to Mr Conway's findings in the Inquisition Records in Mexico as to John Hawkins's seamen in 1568, the particulars were given long since in E.E. (Vol. II, pp 120-123) to which work Mr Conway was one of the earliest subscribers The publishers of *Hawkins of Plymouth* state that "Dr Williamson is acknowledged as the leading authority in our generation on Tudor sea-history," and that "he embodies the fruits of much research and gives a brilliant picture of the subject and his era." But the present writer must add that as Dr Williamson too seldom quotes the words of the persons concerned, we get not so much the Elizabethans as a 20th century view of their doings; and for direct evidence as to "Tudor sea-history" the student (as emphasised by the late Professor Sir Geoffrey Callender) will require to consult *Elizabethan England.* The wealth of material available at Hatfield and in *Documentos* inéditos has not been studied by Dr Williamson. It is co-ordinated in the present History, and will continue so to be.

# Book V.

## "Many watchful eyes to foresee."

## Introduction to Volume IX.

We now approach the years during which some of the most conspicuous personages in Court and Camp vanish from the earthly stage. Of men of action, Sir John Perrott, the Duke of Parma, Sir Martin Frobisher, Sir Roger Williams, Dom Antonio of Portugal, Sir John Hawkins, and Sir Francis Drake make their final exits. The circumstances of Perrott's ruin are astounding; and it is significant that after he incurred the Queen's anger the only Councillors who dared to plead with her on his behalf were Burghley and Essex.

Following the tragedy of Perrott, ex-Lord Deputy of Ireland, we come to the time when England's arch-adversary Alexander of Parma departed this life.[1]

We have seen how anxious Essex had been not to quit France as the Duke of Parma was entering in. Neither Essex nor Biron nor even King Henry seem to have had any suspicion how weary and worn-down King Philip's General had become, or how near his life was to its end. The wound he had received at Caudebec had been slow to heal; and a visit to Spa to drink the waters had not worked the expected cure. Parma was suffering not only from the accumulated effects of a life of heavy responsibilities and exertions, but he had cause for great anxiety as to the Netherlands getting out of hand during his absence. Moreover, since 1588, when he was to have conquered England if the Armada could have succeeded in covering his landing, King Philip's cordiality had cooled towards him; and Parma had powerful detractors at the Court.[2]

Feeling his health breaking in the autumn of 1592, he indicated privately that he needed rest and relief before he could be equal to the task of vanquishing Henry of Béarn. Philip, potent ruler and organiser though he was, lacked one of the most essential of human qualities,—namely sympathy. He gave his nephew to understand that it was his duty to overcome his fatigue sufficiently to resume work at an early

[1] The ensuing particulars as to the last scene of his career have been abbreviated, since in 1937 there appeared in Brussels the final volume of Professor Van der Essen's monumental "*Alexandre Farnèse, Prince de Parme*" &c (See E E. Vol. VII, p. 134) His chapter xi, "*Ingratitude de Philip II et la Mort d'Alexandre Farnèse*," pp 356-387, is written almost as feelingly as if he had himself been a witness of the happenings he describes.

[2] Vide "*Une critique de l'administration d'Alexandre Farnèse aux Pays Bas par Don Juan Idiaquez, secretaire d'Etat de Philippe II*," ed: Van der Essen, "*Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire*," 1936, pp. 167-180.

date. Accordingly on St. Martin's Day (11th of November) 1592, the Duke left Brussels to rejoin the Army in France. Travelling via Hal and Valenciennes, he got as far as Arras, making valiant efforts to conceal from those around him the desperate exhaustion under which he laboured. The weather was bitterly cold; but Parma for a while seemed to defy both winter and weariness. Too proud to make any second appeal to his harsh Master, he tried to demonstrate in his own person the triumph of spirit over matter. Taking up his quarters in the Abbey of Saint Vaast, he rose at dawn and attended each day to all the elaborate routine of his high office. But on the 1st of December he felt his powers failing, and sent for his doctor and his confessor. The former could do little or nothing for him; the latter gave him Absolution and Extreme Unction. He lived through the day and night of the 2nd of December; and on the early morning of the 3rd, he passed away; his manner up to the last embodying the dignity and courtesy for which he was conspicuous. One of his martial admirers wrote that "he died like a saint. Everlasting will be his life and renown; so great that neither envy nor time nor black oblivion will have power over him."[1]

We may recall the glacial aloofness with which King Philip, ten years before, had received the news of the death of the Duke of Alba.[2] He showed the same frigidity as to his nephew Parma; and apparently felt no remorse for having urged him back to work when an interval of repose might have enabled him to recover the health he had lost in the service of Spain. His foe King Henry, with characteristic magnanimity, acclaimed him as "a great man, a great Captain;" and added "We gain more by his death than if we had another ten thousand Infantry." But though Philip II was the ablest regal administrator in his time, there can be no denying his lack of compassion and gratitude. When his chosen instruments were worn out in executing his commands he did not give himself the pain of mourning for them. He seems usually to have supposed he would be able to replace them. His father had admonished him that the higher the quality of a Monarch the better he should be able to value the capacities of outstanding personages who contributed to the defence of the realm in war and kept up its prestige and prosperity in peace.[3] But in this, as in various other matters, Philip did not always follow his father's counsels.

Parma was only forty-seven when his services were terminated by death. And though the war between Spain and the Northern Netherlands was to drag on during

[1] (Literally "will be able to destroy") Alonzo Vasquez, "*Los sucesos de Flandes y Francia*," p. 359; and Van der Essen, Vol. V, p. 383.

[2] *Discurso* of the present (17th) Duke of Alba, Madrid, 1919; and E.E., Vol. IV, p 234, note 1.

[3] E E, Vol. VII, p 12

another half a century, the removal of this eminent General from the earthly stage in 1592 appeared to indicate that Destiny did not intend unqualified triumph for the might and majesty of Spain.[1]

In 1578 had died prematurely the victor of Lepanto; and four years later the veteran Alba,—"exceeding all Spaniards of his time." Next, the renowned Captain-General of the Ocean Sea, Santa Cruz, whose favour at Court had waned because he pointed out that the conquest of England would be more difficult than the King anticipated. But whoever rose or fell, "the Great Leviathan" showed no discomposure. If one instrument failed him, he found another. We shall see how the Cardinal Archduke Albert, who in 1589 had repulsed the English from Lisbon, passed from the defensive to the offensive, and in 1596 captured Calais,—to the dismay of Burghley, and the poignant anguish of Essex who after being commissioned for the relief of the beleaguered City, was prevented by the Queen from embarking; which made him wish himself "in another planet" where he would not hear the reproaches of the French.

Two years previously, in 1594, Essex's discovery of the "dangerous and desperate treason" of some Portuguese refugees had quenched the Queen's sympathy for King Antonio; unreasonably so, for he was to have been sacrificed at the same time as herself. In this connection there is much to disclose which will be new both to English and Continental readers.

On the 26th of August (fifteen years after his defeat by Alba at Alcántara,) Dom Antonio "from a hired lodging in Paris ascended unto the stars," as a devoted follower expressed it. And he who had been so baffled in life was long remembered after death through a little book of *Psalmi Confessionales,* published in Paris by his sons. After running through several editions in Latin, it was translated into French; and ultimately appeared in English as *Royall Psalmes, or Soliliquies of D. Anthony, King of Portingall.*

. . . . . .

We will duly consider the Spanish raid on Cornwall; the expedition of Sir John

[1] Lord Burghley, as we have seen (E E. Vol. V, p. 11, note 1) had at one time speculated as to whether Parma's personal ambitions might prove stronger than his loyalty to King Philip, or whether Philip might apprehend this development and alienate him by distrust. But neither the present writer nor Professor Van der Essen have found signs of wavering in Parma's fidelity to Spain. Nor, though much in his early education might have fostered arrogance, does any alloy of mere personal vanity appear in his actions. His scorn for heretics prompted political feelings and deeds open to criticism; as to which, however, he does not appear to have felt any embarassment. From his own standpoint, his career had been one long and arduous devotion to duty; the tribute of Alonzo Vasquez to his memory reminds us of the Sonnet of Cervantes to Santa Cruz (E E, Vol. VII, p. 228). Alba, Don John of Austria, Santa-Cruz, Parma, had each helped Philip to maintain and increase the power his father bequeathed him. Philip's reign is as unimaginable without them as Queen Elizabeth's would be if we obliterated Burghley, Drake, Walsingham, Leicester and Essex In each case the Crown was "the centre"; but if either or both the Monarchs had been less well served, the history of their respective nations must have been entirely different.

Hawkins and Sir Francis Drake to Puerto Rico; their deaths at sea; and an appeal to Essex "to be another Drake" to the enemies of England. Hawkins and Drake left Plymouth with the Queen's Commission late in August, 1595. In October King Philip's godson, Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, ended his *via dolorosa* in the Tower of London after ten years of captivity. The next to die was the Lord President of the North, Henry Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon, K.G. Nearly a quarter of a century earlier, the Spanish Ambassador had predicted that this "great heretic" would rebel against the Queen, and put the Crown on his own head. But though the Spaniards were correct in asserting that he and not she was the nearest representative of the Plantagenets,[1] Huntingdon served her faithfully to his last breath.

The fiery-souled Sir Roger Williams, hero of many a stubborn fight, passed away peacefully in his bed in December 1595, bequeathing everything he possessed to his "singular best Lord and General"—Essex—to whom five years earlier he had dedicated his *Brief Discourse of Warre*.[2]

While Williams was still alive there was smuggled into England a foreign-printed *Conference* about the Succession, audaciously dedicated to Essex, one of the most active opposers of the Spanish claims which the *Conference* was written to promote. This publication was confiscated wherever discovered; and the "Arbor" setting forth the descent and relationships of the alleged claimants "is very rarely to be found in the few copies still remaining of this book."[3] Because James VI of Scots became James I of Great Britain in 1603 without dispute, we are apt to shelve the Succession Controversy as merely rhetorical. But not so did it appear while Philip II was adhering tenaciously to his intention that England, Ireland, and France should all be brought under the sway of his daughter Isabel Clara Eugenia.

Though this Volume IX treats more of diplomacy than of war, we should never forget that from first to last, whether in England, France, or the Low Countries,—whether Sutcliffe was expounding the *Practice, Proceedings, and Lawes of armes,* or Robert Southwell putting *Saint Peter's Complaint* into pathetic verse, or Raleigh describing *the large, rich, and beautiful Empyre of Guiana,*—England was at war with Spain, and the main issues turned upon whether or no Spain was to dominate the Old World and the New. What impeded complete fulfilment of King Philip's ambitions was that his chief adversaries never underrated his intellect, nor imagined that advancing age and failing health had changed his nature.

Many and pungent had been English official comments on Spanish thirst for unlimited power. Nevertheless Drake's last communication to the Governor of

[1] See Genealogical Table, E E Vol. V, facing p. 62.
[2] Title page, E.E. Vol. VIII, p. 179.
[3] MS note in the B M. copy (G. 15425). The "Arbor" is now reproduced, E.E. Vol. IX, plate 27, facing p 490.

Puerto Rico is worded with a lofty affability: "Understanding that your Excellency is the most important gentleman in this place, and a soldier," are his opening words. And, in regard to the mariners captured in the bark "Francis," he ends urbanely, "As in that city there are soldiers and gentlemen, I do not doubt that good treatment will befal our men . . . as is the custom in honourable warfare . . . In all things at your Lordship's service, save only in the cause pending between us." [The "cause pending" being the war.] He concludes "From the Flagship of the Serene Majesty of the Queen of England . . ."[1]

The adversary clearly understood that Hawkins and Drake had been sent forth by the Queen: *"muchos capitanes y Caballeros, . . . todos subordinados a Francisco Draque y a Juan Achines que ambos traian igual podor y comisión de la Reyna."* But though this has often been stated by Spanish historians, it escaped the notice of Corbett who in 1898 summed up Drake as a "Prince of Corsairs of whom we are half ashamed to be proud." It would be more to the purpose to be not half but wholly ashamed that the world-renowned Admiral could be thus retrospectively misunderstood by a talented, patriotic, and respected English scholar in the 19th century.[2]

Corsairs do not hoist their flags in royal ships, nor carry their Sovereign's Commission. "Called into action by Her Majesty" is how Drake described himself in 1595; and his Commission, with that of Hawkins, now for the first time published, should dispel for ever the impression that their final enterprise was a leap in the dark without sympathy or approval from Ministers of State. Nothing could be more emphatic than the letter of Drake and Hawkins thanking Burghley for his powerful support. To him and to Essex they had appealed when not satisfied with the terms proposed by the Queen.

That no commissioned officer could be classed as a "pirate" was the point urged by Don Beltrán de Castro to King Philip's Council of State, while demanding that Richard Hawkins should be set free. (When we observe not only the courtesy of Drake to Don Pedro de Valdés in 1588,[3] and to the Governor of Puerto Rico in

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[1] ". . . *como ai en esa ciudad soldados y caballeros no dudo del buen uso de nuestra gente dándoles libertad por birtud de buena guerra, lo qual espero y ass lo hare lo propio en todo mui a servico de V.S, saluo la causa que hay por medio.*

*De la Capitana de la Serenissma Magestad de la Reyna de Ynglaterra Mi Señora a 23 d Nouiembre 1595 años"*

*"Relación de vlaje"* &c &c Palacio de Liria MSS, and other contemporary copies E E Vol. IX, p. 549.

(Not quoted by any of Drake's biographers)

[2] See E.E. Vol. VIII, p 160, n 1, for the present writer's conviction that Sir Julian Corbett would have corrected this error had he survived to know it as such.

[3] E.E. Vol. VII, pp. 335-338

1595, but also the way in which De Castro and Richard Hawkins fought each other in the Southern Sea,—with intense vigour but without acrimony,—we cannot fail to notice the contrast between martial etiquette then and the cold-blooded mechanised massacres in what we now euphemistically term "our enlightened age." Erstwhile women, children, churches, hospitals, and institutions for the poor were held to be immune from injury: for "Wars," declared *The Book of Honour and Arms* in 1590 "are not made for the destruction of towns and cities but for the defence of laws and people").[1]

When an eminent Catholic antiquary in our time asserted that Drake to his own contemporaries appeared "little better than a pirate," he forgot that Drake's Catholic contemporary Brantôme, treating of "the Illustrious Men and great Foreign Captains" in his time, after alluding to the renown of the Marquis of Santa Cruz, gave yet higher praise to Drake as the most famous man by sea who had appeared since more than two hundred years.[2]

. . . . . .

In regard to State finances, Captain Ward's Exchequer Tables reveal the proportions of taxation and national expenditure. With only two exceptions, the sums supplied to the Low Countries in 1592-96 loom larger than the costs of the Royal Navy which drop from £22,000 and £17,000 to £15,912; but rise again in 1593 to £21,748, and £30,000—i.e. £51,748 in twelve months,—and to £86,468 between

[1] This applied to the code of *buena guerra* between Christians To realise the value of Christian chivalry we need only compare the courteous amenities between Drake and De Valdés, or between Hawkins and De Castro, with the hideous tortures inflicted by Mustapha Pasha on the gallant Marc Antonio Bragadin after the surrender of Famagusta in 1571.

For a terrible account of the Turkish atrocities see *A History of Cyprus by Sir George Hill, K C B, F B A Volume III. The Frankish Period 1432-1571 Cambridge At the University Press. 1948.*

[2] This seems to have escaped the notice of all biographers of Drake, perhaps because the tribute occurs on a page headed *Le Marquis de Sainte Croix* "Pour finir les bons Capitanes de l'Empereur & du Roy d'Espagne, j'y mettray encor le Marquis de Sainte Croix: car il esté tres-bon Je l'ay vu General des Galères de Naples, d'ou le Roy d'Espagne le retira, & pour sa suffisance s'en servit en la grande mer Oceane contre *le Milord Dracth Anglois, le plus fameux homme de dessus cette mer, qui ait esté il y a plus de deux cent ans* & qui a bien donné l'affaire en Espagne J'espère d'en parler ailleurs."

Brantôme goes on to say also that Santa Cruz was very famous, and deserving of praise *plus haute que la mienne*, but that he had not the heart to eulogise him, because of his harsh conduct at the Azores, when he *fait mourir & trancher la teste a tant d'honnestes gentilhommes François* . . . (This was when Santa Cruz executed French prisoners after the defeat of Strozzi, on the pretext that they were pirates, in that their respective Sovereigns were not at war. E E. Vol IV, pp. 197-198)

Brantôme finished his book eight years after the death of Drake, (whom he promoted from a knight to a peer, in the days when peers were few and proportionately honoured)

Dedication dated "le dernière de Mars 1604." The edition above quoted is that of 1665 (Leyden) *Memoires de Messire Pierre de Bourdeille, Seigneur de Brantome. Contenans Les Vies des Hommes Illustres & grands Capitaines estrangers de son temps.* p 583.

Michaelmas 1595 and Easter 1596. If these figures do not now seem impressive, we should again remind ourselves not only of the vastly greater purchasing power of money but also that there was no income tax; and that one hundred a year had been considered a sufficient salary for the hard-worked Principal Secretary of State, Sir Francis Walsingham. After Walsingham's death, the Queen saved even her one hundred pounds per annum by refusing to appoint a successor to his office until the summer of 1596 when Sir Robert Cecil's Patent was signed after many delays. It is seldom now realised that during six years there was no Principal Secretary. The business of Crown and State was carried on by Burghley, aided by Sir Robert Cecil, and still more by Essex, when after having served in three campaigns abroad he became a Privy Councillor at the age of twenty-six:

*Fama ingens, annis juvenis, fidissimus armis;*
*Nobilitate potens, religione pius.*

[Great his fame, young in years, but faithful in arms, in nobility mighty, in religion devoted.]

. . . . . .

Contrasting then and now, we must remind ourselves that the total number of Queen Elizabeth's subjects in England and Wales were fewer than those of King George VI in London and suburbs today. Scotland was an uncertain friend and hereditary foe; Ireland a perpetual expense and anxiety, its native Chiefs repeatedly urging King Philip to send them men and munitions and to give them his nephew the Cardinal Archduke Albert as Viceroy.

That England and Wales confronted successfully the sustained enmity of the vast and highly disciplined Empire of *todas las Españas,* and that Burghley sometimes outwitted "the great Lion," are facts perplexing to such as assume money and numbers to be the determining factors in the destinies of mankind. We cannot too often repeat, that the rise or fall of nations depends primarily upon character. Barbaric aggression is invited whenever any civilised race declines into apathy, or hugs a false sense of security. None so likely to be attacked as he who fancies himself immune from danger.

Elizabethan statesmen, especially Burghley and Essex, were assiduous in comparing "time past with time present." Again and again we shall find Essex encouraging his countrymen to understand and value their heritage. But the foresight, patriotic fervour, and active services of Essex, "England's Scipio," have long been buried in oblivion. In 1601 when the Queen ordered the tributes to his prowess and victorious arms to be deleted from the record of *Principal Navigations* she failed at

the time to obliterate him from the hearts of scholars, soldiers, and the poor, but in later days succeeded only too thoroughly in depriving her champion of his honour which he protested was infinitely dearer to him than his life. But now all who care for justice, precision, and reality, should be glad to exchange the 19th century "hare-brained" Essex, "Polonius" Burghley, "pirate" Drake, "feeble" Philip, and "decaying" Spain for the actual persons and circumstances,—far more interesting than any current misrendering.[1] The late Professor Sir Geoffrey Callender used to deplore that in relation to the 16th century, modern opinions often exercise more influence than actual documents. If this volume seems even more different than its predecessors from the "standard" interpretations upon which all ranks have been educated in England, the explanation is that our State Papers Foreign for Elizabeth's reign have not been calendared beyond the end of 1588; and as searching among uncalendared MSS is a formidable task, the current histories have been written without complete material for perfect comprehension of England's dealings with "all foreign Princes." Hence the need for the present work.

Readers of these volumes will have realised that Queen Elizabeth was neither the superlatively "gracious Empress" her poets apostrophised, nor such a "daughter of the Devil" as she was represented by some of her enemies. Also we have seen, and will continue to see, certain Privy Councillors enduring in private many vagaries of her temper which would have chilled the loyalty and worn down the patience of men less steadfast and devoted. But of charges brought against her in our time, one of the most damaging can be decisively dismissed. The late Sir John Fortescue, in his *History of the British Army*, and again in *Shakespeare's England*, stated that when Elizabeth saw some of her disabled soldiers begging in the streets she felt no pity for their griefs, but ordered the "miserable creatures" out of her sight so that she need not be affronted by the squalid spectacle. The Calendar of State Papers renders it "the Queen is troubled, whenever she takes the air, with these miserable creatures."[2] When in 1924 the present writer turned to the actual Proclamation, it was to the effect that whereas the Justices of the Peace and others had been ordered to arrange that all discharged soldiers be drafted back to their former civil occupations and enabled to return to their homes, Her Majesty had been shocked to see some of those miserable creatures reduced to beggary: whereon, moved with indignation, she orders the Justices of the Peace to remember

[1] American readers should be attentive to this the first English history fair to the Spanish fighting forces of the 16th Century: for according to Harold W. Bentley, *A Dictionary of Spanish Terms in English* (New York, 1932, p. 17) two thousand American cities and towns have Spanish names; and of rivers, mountains, &c., many thousand also are Spanish. In California alone over four hundred cities and towns bear Spanish names (See also H. L. Mencken, *The American Language*, 4th ed: 1914, pp. 647-651).

[2] S P. Dom: Eliz: Vol III (1867), p. 342.

their duty, and make speedy amends for their culpable carelessness, or answer to her at their peril.[1]

Educated to regard Elizabeth's Army as composed of "scum and gaolbirds," Sir John Fortescue took "miserable creatures" in the epitome for a term not of compassion but of contempt; and he cannot have been aware that aid to disabled and discharged soldiers was provided in the Parliament of 1592-3, and Essex and Willoughby d'Eresby appointed to distribute money voted for their relief.[2] It was not to the lesser ranks in the outer world that the Queen was ungracious, but to her intimates; sometimes harshest to those who served her best.[3] And whereas across a period of thirty years Burghley and Leicester were able in their private letters to confide to each other their difficulties arising from Her Majesty's uncertain "humours," a rumour from Ireland that Sir John Perrott had complained of her methods was enough to outweigh in her eyes all his exploits during four reigns.

Not until we make acquaintance with the Queen after Burghley's hand had been removed from the helm, shall we be in a position finally to estimate her character. Meanwhile the ensuing chapters will further reveal how unwavering were her ablest Councillors and men of action,—believing that to keep "the balance of Europe" an impressive reputation was essential for the "Imperial Crown of this Realm." As far as possible, the Sovereign's credit was also advanced among Oriental potentates: a letter to the Grand Turk being superlative in its air of lofty condescension.

. . . . . .

In the spring of 1588, Pope Sixtus, giving audience to the Venetian Ambassador, had remarked that if on the one hand the Spaniards were ready to fight, so were the English. As to Elizabeth, the Ambassador reported His Holiness having exclaimed, "She certainly is a great Queen; and were she only a Catholic she would

[1] Since this Introduction was written—and some seven volumes of *Elizabethan England* were issued, with extensive revelations as to the "Martialists,"—there has appeared a short monograph called *Elizabeth's Army* by C. G. Cruikshank, Oxford University Press, 1946. The author, p 128, quotes Fortescue's *History of the British Army*, Vol I, p. 157, as to Elizabeth not being "friendly to soldiers" &c. &c., "she would not be pestered with the sight of the miserable creatures", and he very properly protests that "The facts hardly justify this criticism," in that the Privy Council Registers afford evidence to the contrary. But the most decisive answer is as above, namely that our historians, trusting to a misleading epitome of the Queen's Proclamation, had jumped to a false conclusion,—whereas if they had investigated the matter to the foundation no such misapprehension need have arisen. (Mr Cruikshank prints as an Appendix Leicester's "Lawes and Ordinances of War" without mentioning that they had already been revived in E E Vol VI, after being completely ignored by all previous historians)

[2] E E. Vol. IX, pp. 102; 118 Numerous grants to maimed or disabled soldiers can be seen in the printed *Acts of the Privy Council*, as also a considerable amount of business bearing on the Navy, and fortifications. From the beginning of the reign, Defence of the Realm had been a primary consideration (E.E Vol. I, pp. 151; 166-169; 175-180) Evidence in print in Acts of the P.C. and Calendars of State Papers Domestic should have sufficed to prevent misunderstandings.

[3] E.E. Vol. VII, pp. 28-29.

be Our dearly-beloved! Just look how well she governs; she is only a woman; only mistress of half an island, and yet she makes herself feared by Spain, by France, by the Empire, by all. She enriches her kingdom by Spanish booty, besides depriving Spain of Holland and Zeeland."[1]

The Venetian Ambassadors were sometimes acrimonious,—"this woman" is the unceremonious manner in which one of them alluded to her.[2] But the spectacular manner in which the English Sovereign was kept before the eyes of Europe was a strong factor in the success of this country's diplomatic dealings with "foreign Princes."[3]

As to the Catholics, neither did their difficulties decrease nor did the later Popes revoke the Bull and Declaration by which Pius V in 1569-70 had dispensed his flock from their allegiance to "Elizabeth the Pretended Queen."[4] Pope Sixtus had repeated the Anathema, and gave his benediction to the Armada, even while rebuking King Philip in another connection.[5] It is therefore the less surprising that Philip's godson the Catholic Earl of Arundel was regarded as adherent to Spain. But it seems astonishing that the Crown lawyers could credit—or affect to credit—the fantastic tale that the Protestant Lord Deputy Perrott had conspired from Dublin with the Pope and the Duke of Parma to overthrow the Queen in 1588. The charge

[1] Orig· despatch, Ambassador Giovanni Gritti to the Doge and Senate, 19 March 1588 (N S.) Cal: S P. Venetian (1894) Vol. VIII, pp. 345-346. *"Certo che questa e una Gran Regina, vorresstmo solamente che essa fusse cattolica perche saria la nostra dtletusstma Vedete come se governa bene, e donna e non e patrona se non di meza Isola e st far temer de Spagna, da Franza e dall'Imperator e da tutti, e ha arrichito il suo Regno delle prede tolte a Spagnolt, oltra il ternerlt l'Olanda e Zelanda,"* &c. But the Pope had previously on the 12th March expressed his hope that the English Catholics would be rescued by King Philip, and not left "a prey to that lady (questa Donna)." Ibid p. 345.

[2] E.E. Vol. VII, p 52

[3] In E E Vol V, p. 272, note 2, some notorious retrospective tales of a mutual admiration between Elizabeth Regina and Pope Sixtus V were dismissed as improbable; see also Ibid: p 271, note 5. But the above words to the Venetian Ambassador may have been the germ from which the legend grew as to the personal regard of the Pope for the Sovereign he denounced There can be no denying that Sixtus V heartily approved of the Spanish effort to conquer and annex Elizabeth's Kingdom; and we have seen how in 1587 he gave a Cardinal's hat to Dr Allen who hoped to be Archbishop of Canterbury under Spanish domination. As it is not now the custom for the Vatican to issue pronouncements who should or should not rule the respective countries of Europe, the pugnacious policy of Pope Sixtus and of his predecessors needs to be recalled if we are to understand the issues. But even in the 16th century Spain there existed devout Catholics who held that the Pope's authority should not extend to temporal matters. See the pronouncement of Fray Francisco de Vitoria at Salamanca; E E. Vol VIII, p. 366. On this especial point the eminent Dominican monk and Queen Elizabeth's Lord High Treasurer appear to have thought alike. The resemblance has escaped notice; and the writings and lectures of Vitoria do not seem to have been known in England until long after his death

[4] In extenso E E. Vol II, pp 44-49.

[5] E E. Vol. VII, p 142. Von Pastor's *History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages, from the Secret Archives of the Vatican,* has been published in English (edited by Antrobus and Kerr), from 1891 onwards; yet it is seldom used by our historians (See E E. Vol IV, pp 142-143). It is, however, (in a Spanish version, *Historia de las Papas desde fines de la Edad Media,* Barcelona, 1910-31, 17 vols) drawn upon by Don Angel González Palencia for his *La España del siglo de oro,* Madrid, 1940.

appeared to Perrott himself so ridiculous that at first he was not alarmed; though the fate of Davison had shown how suddenly Elizabeth could turn against a faithful servant. Even as Davison's undeserved disgrace had not chilled the loyalty of Perrott, nor did the tragedy of Perrott quench the zeal of Essex. Though Essex's expenditure in the Dutch campaign, the "Portingale Journey," and the French war, had been far beyond his means, we shall find him deliberately making further sacrifices and shouldering a yet weightier burden of debt and responsibility *pro Regina et pro patria* in 1596.

. . . . . .

The sections of this work which treated in detail of the career of Antonio Pérez have now been limited to his machinations after he forsook his native country. Essex's patronage of this fugitive is usually represented as an effort to outwit Burghley. But Essex refers to himself and Burghley as the only two who were likely to deal with Peréz. They, the oldest and the youngest Privy Councillors, hoped to extract from King Philip's renegade Secretary of State such information as would be of use in the struggle against Spain. As to the entertainment of Pérez in England, we can draw upon neglected contemporary matter, including the particulars of Essex's disbursements, here first published.

Readers may be reminded that whereas they do not know what is to be disclosed in the next volumes, the present historian is preparing the way for revelations which will increase in interest and dramatic intensity as we advance towards the culmination of what we call "the Shakespearian Era."

A respected philosophical correspondent writes that "modern mentality cares little for the external facts of history but much for the general trend and psychological interpretation." But, we may ask, when facts are misapprehended, forgotten, or not understood, how can the "interpretation" be other than misleading?[1]

If on the one hand many of our people still cling to 19th century fallacies in history, others speak of "new" wisdom, "new thought," and a "new world." But the noblest qualities of mind, heart, and soul are not "new;" they are exceedingly ancient; we might say eternal. And though this work is "new" in the sense of being on a scale and system unprecedented in English for any single era,—and built from material at home and abroad much of which is here presented for the first time,—yet these explorations were not prompted by craving for novelty, but with the aim of restoration; so that we can know, as if living with them, the predominant persons and momentous events, such as should remain of vivid human interest so long as any remnant of culture and civilisation survives in this perplexing planet.

27th of July, 1947. E. M. TENISON.

[1] See E.E. Vol I, Preface, and General Introduction; and Vol. V, pp. xxv-xxvi

## "FOR ALL SEA AND LAND CAMPAIGNING."

Though the historian of "Elizabethan England" had received considerable training in naval matters from practical seamen,—one of whom began his career under Admiral Sir Robert Stopford before the days of steam, the late Captain J H Howard, nephew of Byron's "gallant Howard" of Waterloo fame,—it was nevertheless judged desirable to submit all the maritime and some of the military portions of this work to the judgment of Professor Callender. From 1924, until within a few weeks of his death twenty-two years later, he, amid his many occupations, most graciously made time to read and discuss E E typescripts and proofs

Of hitherto unknown materials, exhumed through the present writer's prolonged and arduous enterprise, Sir Geoffrey took the keenest pleasure in the new light thrown upon the much-discussed last action of Sir Richard Grenville In 1919 he had himself contributed to the July issue of "History" a revised account of the conflict, based on all the evidence available at that date Nobody —not even Duro—had then thought of seeking a possible despatch by Don Alonso de Bazán or Don Martín de Bretendona [now spelt Bertodano]. How the Vice-Admiral's holograph letter was found at last, with King Philip's annotations, will be familiar to readers of the previous volume of this history [1]

With the permission of Sir Geoffrey's heirs, his own words can be quoted in this connection:

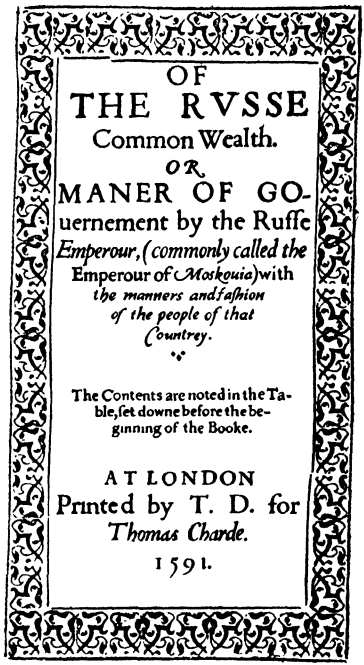
"The latest volume of *Elizabethan England* . . *'in relation to all Foreign Princes'* gives a collotype reproduction of the entire despatch, with a transcript made and corrected in Spain, and a translation by Ramón de Bertodano, eighth Marqués del Moral and direct descendant of the Second-in-Command at the battle of Flores, assisted by his son. It would be trespassing too far on E M Tenison's good nature to quote, analyse and appraise this vital document; . . To satisfy their curiosity, readers are referred to the volume concerned, which must henceforth take rank, second to none, for the battle of Flores and the events of 1591, and, in company with its seven predecessors, for all sea and land campaigning in the second half of the sixteenth century and for every other aspect of Elizabethan England"[2]

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[1] E.E Vol VIII, Grenville section, pp 452-484[f]. Sir Geoffrey previously noticed the anonymous newsletter which had been quoted in fragments in 1937 by a biographer of Grenville, (see E E. Vol VIII, pp. 481-483) but which was not published in extenso until the appearance of E E Vol. VIII (1947) in Spanish, pp. 484[n]-484[o]. with English translation pp 484[d]-484[f]. Though conjectured as written by someone in the Seville Squadron, an anonymous product, as Sir Geoffrey emphasised, (even when made available from the original in full) could not settle the controversies,—especially as in places the unknown writer contradicted himself. Hence the great value of the Vice-Admiral's holograph despatch to King Philip, which Sir Geoffrey regarded as one of the most vital discoveries embodied in the present work (Collotype reproduction, E.E. Vol. VIII, plate 32).

[2] Sir Geoffrey had seen all the collotypes for Volume VIII, and the final text proofs, he wrote expecting almost immediate publication But the printers were then required for national service, so the text of the volume could not be printed off until after his death. Subsequent to writing the above pronouncements, he read the typescripts of the later portions of this History; and contributed some valuable suggestions for amplification of the events of 1596 and 1597. He had hoped ultimately to gather up and comment on all the naval elucidations in E E, based on the new materials brought together by the present writer, whose system of treating the war with Spain afloat and ashore as an organic whole and from both sides—also in its political bearings—he was one of the first to approve

The only portion of the evidence which caused Sir Geoffrey acute distress was that which shows how England ultimately lost the peace after winning the war. Yet he was in favour of the adverse elements being fully exposed in Volume XII; for he believed that an adequate comprehension of the circumstances should be a warning to statesmen, and of interest to all serious students of cause and effect.




Dedicated to the Queen. B.M. No. C114. a.6.

Birch in his "Queen Elizabeth" stated that "This book, which is written with great spirit and elegance, was soon after suppressed, lest it might give offence to a Prince in amity with England, but it was reprinted in 1643." (It was first reprinted by Hakluyt in a modified form in 1599). No Act of Council can be found for calling it in, nor does it appear in Arber's "Stationer's Register." But in the Hakluyt Society's Volume "Russia at the close of the Sixteenth Century," 1856, pp. 352-355, there was published from Lansdowne MS cxii. 39, the letter of "the Companie of merchaunts tradinge to Muskovia," expressing fears lest the heavy displeasure of the Emperor might fall upon English "people and goodes" in Russia in consequence of such a book. They implore Lord Burghley's "honorable consideration" not only for the "callinge in" of all copies that had been printed, but that Her Majesty should express her disapproval of Dr. Fletcher's writings.

## "A PRINCE OF SUBJECTES, NOT OF SLAVES."

These words in Dr. Giles Fletcher's "Epistle Dedicatorie" to Queen Elizabeth—as applied to herself -gave such offence to Her Majesty's Russian Allies that the book was "called in," and the Dedication was suppressed.[1]

Whereas previous English envoys to the Russian Court had thought the Muscovite autocracy not altogether amiss[2], Dr. Fletcher, denouncing the "heavy and grievous" methods of a "tyrannical State," considered that his experience and observations should give "just cause" to himself and other Englishmen

"to give God thankes for your majesties most prince-like and gracious government; as also to your Highness more joy and contentment in your royall estate, in that you are a prince of subjectes, not of slaves, that are kept within dutie by love, not by feare. The Almightie stil blesse your Highnes with a most long and happy reigne in this life, and with Christ Jesus in the life to come.

Your majesties most humble subject and servant,

G. FLETCHER."

Giles Fletcher, of Kentish origin—educated at Eton and at King's College, Cambridge,—was brother of Dr. Richard Fletcher, Bishop successively of Bristol, Worcester, and London. who had attended and admonished Mary Queen of Scots on the scaffold[3], and who was father of John Fletcher the dramatist[4]

English Ambassadors to Russia—Randolph, Bowes, Horsey, and Fletcher—all in turn took as lordly a tone as if not Ivan the Terrible or his Imperial successor but Elizabeth Regina had been in the position of supreme Majesty. Sir Jerome Bowes claimed that his Sovereign was "as great a Prince as any in Christendom"; and Horsey had insisted on taking precedence of "a famous Merchant of Netherland" who "gave himself out to be the King of Spain's subject."

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[1] The Dedication seems not to have reappeared until 1856 Vide "Russia at the Close of the Sixteenth Century Comprising the Treatise 'Of the Russe Common Wealth' by Dr Giles Fletcher; and The Travels of Sir Jerome Horsey, Knt, now for the first time printed entire from his own Manuscript. Edited by Edward A Bond, Assistant Keeper of the Manuscripts in the British Museum. London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society. MDCCCLVI"

The copy now reproduced (8vo; B M No. C. 113. a. 6) belonged to Lord Lumley. When he was about three years old, in 1537, his father had been arraigned and executed for high treason against Henry VIII Title and honours then forfeited were restored in 1547 for John Lumley who took his seat in the House of Lords as 7th Baron. His first wife, Lady Jane FitzAlan, was daughter of Henry, 19th Earl of Arundel, who had acquired a great collection of books at the dissolution of the Monasteries This collection did not descend to his grandson and successor, Philip Howard Earl of Arundel and Surrey, but "became merged in that of his son-in-law Lord Lumley." (*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1833, pp 490-492). Lumley gave some 90 Greek and Latin Books to the Library of Durham (Surtees' *History of Durham*, Vol. II, p. 159); and in 1599 he gave 40 volumes to Thomas Bodley (Wood's *History of Oxford University*, Vol. II, p 921).

At Lord Lumley's death, in 1609, his Library was purchased by or for Henry, Prince of Wales. In 1757 it was presented to the Nation by King George Vide *Royal English Bookbindings By Cyril Davenport, F S A Of the Department of Printed Books, British Museum.* London, 1896. pp 5 and 59.

[2] E E Vol. I, pp 86-88; 183-185.

[3] E.E Vol. VI, pp. 419-421

[4] For the dramatist's portrait, see E E. Vol I, plate 5, facing p xliv.

"The old Emperor" had departed this life on the 18th of April 1584, and Queen Elizabeth's representative had been invited to the magnificent Coronation of his successor.

Under the "young Emperor,"—influenced by his mother the Empress Irenia,—the "corrupt officers, Judges, Justices, Captains and lieutenants through the whole Kingdom were removed, and more honest men substituted in their places," who were bidden to desist from "their old bribing and extortion which they had used in the old Emperor's time, and now to execute true justice without respect to persons." So that this should be "the better done, their lands and yearly stipends were augmented," the great taxes were "abated and some wholly remitted"; and no punishments were inflicted "without sufficient and due proof."

"Many Dukes and noblemen of great houses," who had been "imprisoned 20 years by the old Emperor were now set at liberty and restored to their lands." All prisoners were released, "and their trespasses forgiven" All this was "done quietly, civilly, peaceably, without trouble to the Prince or offence to the subject." So favourable was the impression made when the news was carried to "the Kings and Princes that were borderers upon Russia," that "the Monarch of all the Scythians, called the Cruimme Tarter . . . came out of his own country to offer service to the Emperor." Soon afterwards, "1200 Polish gentlemen, valiant soldiers and proper men," arrived in Moscow with similar offers, and were sumptuously entertained.

Messages were sent to Queen Elizabeth through Horsey to say that "the Emperor desired a continuance of the league, friendship, amity and intercourse of traffic which was between his father and the Queen's Majesty" and their subjects[1] Hence the embassy of Fletcher in 1588. The Emperor's affability took the form of a demand for an English wife. As he was married already, and as Lady Mary Hastings—who was suggested for the perilous eminence—implored Queen Elizabeth not to condemn her to so undesired an exaltation, the matrimonial project was discouraged. But it is significant that the correspondence of Lord Burghley (in Latin) with the famous (or infamous) Boris Goudonov was published in Hakluyt's "Principal Navigations," so that all the world could know of the amicable relations of Her Majesty and her subjects with the vast Empire of the Ruler of Muscovia, whose titles were so numerous that her Ambassadors objected to having to write or recite them all. These "true-hearted Englishmen" boldly asserted to the Emperor that though their Sovereign used fewer titles than he did, she was no less powerful and renowned. Such was the tone taken by our high-spirited countrymen when the wearer of "the Imperial Crown of this Realm" possessed not so many subjects in all her "dominions" as now crowd into London and the suburbs.[2]

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[1] For "the new Emperor's gracious letter of privilege to the English Merchants obtained by Mr Jerome Horsey" see MacLehose's Hakluyt, III, pp 347-353, "Given in our Princely palace within the City of Moscow, in the year from the foundation of the world seven thousand fourscore and fifteen, in the month of February."

[2] As to the future of Dr Giles Fletcher, when his brother the Bishop of London died in 1596, and left him executor of his Will, "the charge involved him in much difficulty. He was served for the Bishop's debts, and it was only owing to the intercession of the powerful Earl of Essex with the Chancellor that he was saved from arrest"

Bond, Introduction to "Russia at the Close of the Sixteenth Century," p cxxiv, and Birch's "Queen Elizabeth," Vol II, p 223.

We shall see, later, that though Dr Giles Fletcher in 1600 apologised to Sir Robert Cecil for admiring Essex, his son Phineas Fletcher subsequently dared to lament in print the downfall of a generous friend, and also to commemorate Essex's regard for Spenser. E.E. Vol. XI.

# "THE MOST MALICIOUS WRITTEN THING THAT EVER WAS PENNED."

In this Volume IX, pp 154-155 and p. 162, occur references to Dr Hotson

As these pages are passing through the press, "The Listener," 16 March, 1950, pp. 481-483, publishes an article, "Who wrote Leicester's Commonwealth? Leslie Hotson on a chance literary discovery"· viz. in Cotton MS. Titus VII a letter marginally noted as "1584 Libells Leicesters Commonwealth Walsingham." But the annotation presumably is retrospective, for in 1584 this libel was entitled "The Copie of a Leter" &c. and in 1585 "La Vie Abominable" &c. It was not until 1641 that it was reprinted as "Leicesters Commonwealth" in which version it is usually read;—the confiscated 1584 edition being excessively rare. Fourteen years ago, in E.E. Vol. V, pp. 141; 143; 146-147, one 1584 title page and two of 1585 were given in facsimile, also a reproduction of a portion of Sir Philip Sidney's Defence of the Earl of Leicester, plate 13, facing p. 164. This last was said to have survived only through a contemporary copy; until the present writer discovered, among the Russell of Aden papers, Sidney's original MS, entirely in his own hand.

In E E (p. 146) it was emphasised that Lord Paget, Charles Paget, Charles Arundel, and Thomas Morgan were drawing pensions from King Philip. Therefore we need be the less surprised that the communication quoted by Dr Hotson—dated "From Barnelmes this 29th of September 1584,"—begins,

> "My very good Lord. Yesterday I received from the Lord Mayor enclosed in a letter, a printed libel against your Lordship, the most malicious written thing that ever was penned since the beginning of the world. The author thereof is Morgan, the Queen of Scots agent in France; and as I gather by the worst thereof, he hath been assisted therein by Lord Paget, Charles Arundel and Tresham."

There ensues a question "what order" is to be taken "with the bringer over of the said book?"

Dr Hotson considers the "Mystery" of authorship is now solved. But Father L. Hicks, S J. ("The Listener," 30th March, p. 567) points out that this letter was already known, vide *The Letters and Memorials of Fr Robert Persons, S J.* C R S, Vol. 39 (1942), p. lxviii; and he considers Charles Arundel the probable author. But the present historian, noticing long ago that the anonymous libeller boasted himself as the mouthpiece of a "Nobleman" at the Court, inferred (p. 155) that Lord Henry Howard was the real culprit. *Inter alia* the French version, 1585, deviates into excessive praise both of him and of Charles Arundel

In 1583, while drawing a secret pension from Spain, Lord Henry Howard had dedicated to Walsingham "A Defensative against the poyson of supposed Prophecies" (E.E Vol. II, pp. 148-150). And whereas Charles Arundel, openly a Catholic, was early suspected, Lord Henry contrived not only to be trusted by Walsingham but to remain in high favour with the Queen. All the while, and up to the last, he was playing a double game. The Nemesis is that certain communications he bade the recipients "slice or burn" have survived to reveal his treachery. They will be quoted in their place.

When his elaborate dissimulation and cold-blooded duplicity have been fully revealed, we shall probably all agree that even if Arundel used the pen, the initiative, mendacity, and cost of circulation, may be charged to Lord Henry Howard: astounding as it seems for such a vile production to have emanated from the son of the frank and gallant Earl of Surrey Meanwhile it is plain that neither Leicester nor Sidney considered the libeller had been identified.

Many American institutions and Universities were among pioneer E E subscribers; but it appears that Dr Hotson is not aware that Volumes I to VII have given the first and only complete record of the services of Leicester, from the time when, as Lord Robert Dudley, under sentence of death, he was released from the Tower of London, to be Master of the Field Ordnance for Queen Mary at the siege and battle of St Quentin, up to his sudden end, on his homeward way, only a few weeks after the "Invincible Armada" had been repelled from England's shores.

## *"THE RIVER OF THAMES" AND THE MEDWAY.*

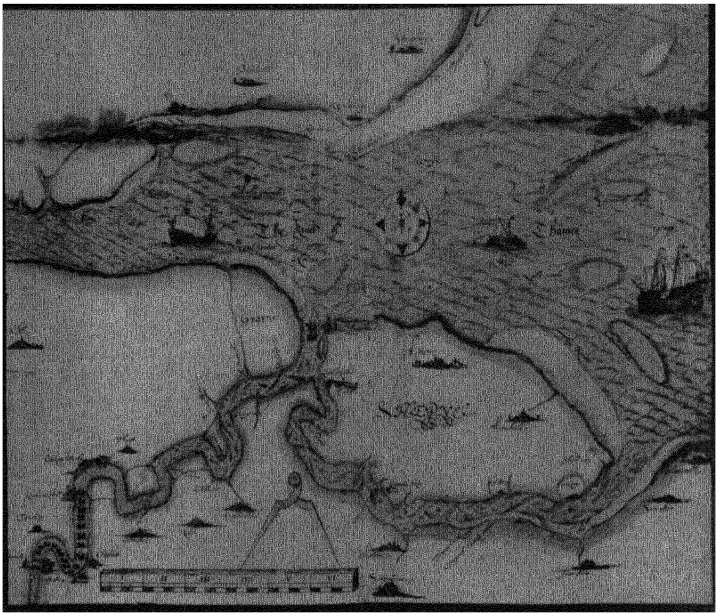
### *Showing Sheppey Island and the isle of "Grayne."*

*Here first published from the original now at Hatfield House*

Water colour $16^{10}/_{16} \times 22^{6}/_{16}$. Notice the Queen's ships in the Medway between Rochester and Chatham, and Chatham and Upnor Castle, these Royal ships flying the St George's Cross

Professor Sir Geoffrey Callendar, F.S.A. commented to the present historian

"Upnor Castle was completed in 1568 as an additional protection for the anchorage, and in 1574 the St Mary's Creek was filled up so as to prevent the enemy from taking the position in flank. The chart shows all these and is therefore later than 1574. To this deduction further support is supplied by the building of Sheerness. This was completed in or about 1574. Chatham was established by Edward VI as a dockyard additional to the three existing ones founded by his father, but at Sheerness he built only a bulwark; and the fortress shown in this chart was not begun until 1574. In 1585 Hawkins suggested the erection of a boom across the river. This took the shape of a chain with ships to guard it at either end. It does not appear in the survey, and for that reason we should be safe in placing the date of the chart between 1574 and 1585. The anchoring ground for the ships 'lying up in ordinary' was invariably from Rochester Bridge towards Upnor Castle."



PART VII *(continued).*

"The causes that govern the events."

CHAPTER 4

## "AS YOUR MAJESTY PLEASES."

SECTION 3

# "Good and worthy service."

*(Continued English aid to Henry IV of France, 1592).*

**"I pray God . . . to make our Country of all Nations the most happy; and . . . stirre up the harts of all Noble men, Gentlemen, and all other her Majesties subjects, . . . with their manly and valiant minds to the Defence of our most gracious soveraigne Lady . . . and their native Country."**

*Sir Thomas Garrard: dedicating to Robert Earl of Essex "The Arte of Warre . . . drawne out of our late and forraine Services, by William Garrard . . . 1591."* (B.M. No. 8824. C.C.C. 20).

**"We, having good experience both of your valour and of your desire to attempt some good and worthy service, as yourselves have offered, . . . We authorise you . . . to enterprise any such service as you shall probably find cause to take in hand,"** etc.

*Lord Burghley's draft for Queen Elizabeth's Commission to Sir Matthew Morgan and Sir Edmund Yorke. 5th March, 1591-2.* Unpublished S.P. France, XXVII, 183 E.E. p 6.

**"Unpleasing News . . . . The Duke of Parma hath entered Rouen." Full particulars not added because "fearing the miscarrying of my letters, having no safe means to convey them . . . ." and "being forced to hazard now this bearer in a peasant's attire, whom I humbly beg your Lordship to consider in regard to his peril and pains."**

*Ambassador Sir Henry Unton to Lord Burghley from the English Camp at Pont de l'Arche, 12th April, 1592.* E E, p. 6-7.

# UNPUBLISHED MUSTERS TAKEN IN DIEPPE, 20 MARCH 1591[2], OF "THE COMPANY NOWE SENT BY HER MA$^{TIE}$ FOR THE AYDE OF THE FRENCH KINGE."

S. P. France. XXVII. f 257.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sir Ma Morgan,[1] London, | harquebus$^{rs}$ | . . | 100 |
| Capt. St John, Kent | pikes and musk$^{ts}$ | . . | 129 |
| ,, Grimston,[2] Herts | ,, ,, ,, | . | 135 |
| ,, Dockray, Essex | ,, ,, ,, | | 112 |
| ,, Johnson, Kent | ,, ,, ,, | . | 126 |
| ,, Yaxley, Essex | ,, ,, ,, | . | 124 |
| ,, Ed Poore, Sussex[3] | ,, ,, ,, | . . | 125 |
| ,, Russhe, London | | . | 124 |
| ,, Musten, Middlesex | ,, ,, ,, | . . | 115 |
| ,, Christmas, Sussex | | . . | 111 |
| ,, H Poore, Kent[4] | ,, ,, ,, | . . | 124 |
| Capt Ed Yorke,[5] Surrey | | . . | 87 |

"Of armed men we have 941, of musquetiers 470, so, in all, besides checks dead pays and officers we have 1411.

Checks 122. Dead pays at 10/o 170."

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[1] Previously Captain of 200 before Rouen (f. 191)

[2] Ancestor of the Earl of Verulam.

[3] & [4] Spelt *Power* and *Powre* in Essex's Muster Roll, 1591, E E Vol VIII, pp. 393, 392.

[5] In *State Papers*, ed. Murdin, 1759, Captain Yorke's Christian name is wrongly expanded "Edward." Sir Henry Unton from Dieppe 19 March 1591-2, wrote to Burghley "S$^{r}$ Edmonde Yorke w$^{th}$ 12 Companyes arryved heare yesterday" Edward Yorke was a different officer. Unpublished S P France, XXVII, f 239.




THE SIEGE OF ROUEN, RAISED BY THE PRINCE OF PARMA: April, 1592.

*Now first reproduced from "Henriciados Durchleuchtigsten grostigsten Fursten und Herrn Heinrichs Konig von Frankreich des Namens den IIII und von Nauarr des Namens den III* ." &c, &c. (nearly 200 words on title page) 1595. B.M. No. 10660 1.6(1)

Drawn by one of the "Almayne" mercenaries who served in King Henry's army, the part played by the English not indicated Nor are Elizabethan officers always to be trusted in regard to the retreat from Rouen, unless they happen to have been then in France—Sir Robert Cary, for instance, declaring, long after, that the French King had been driven to retreat, "with shame." But Ambassador Sir Henry Unton, one of Leicester's Zutphen Knights and a witness of the circumstances, described at the time to Lord Burghley how the retreat was conducted with great skill by King Henry, and by the Duke of Bouillon; accompanied by Sir Roger Williams and other "English Captains." (See E E. pp. 17—18).

Published only three years after the events, the above print depicts in the foreground the orderly retreat of Henry's forces, *"Der konig"* himself keeping up their spirits.

See E.E., Vol. VIII, p 506, for Rouen at an earlier stage of the operations.

PART VII

"The causes that govern the events."

CHAPTER 4

## "AS YOUR MAJESTY PLEASES."

SECTION 3

# "Good and worthy service."

*(Continued English aid to Henry IV of France, 1592).*

ON 14th of April 1591—more than two months before the signing of Essex's Commission to command the English troops in France,—a Royal Proclamation had been issued forbidding Queen Elizabeth's subjects to resort to towns held by the rebels against King Henry. Any English subject trafficking with such places and persons was to be punished as a traitor.[1] And if the Queen's reinforcements had been in accord with the impressive wording of her Commission to Essex in July of 1591,[2] Henry might have had troops enough to "bar the way" of the Duke of Parma as she bade him. Had she even assented at the end of that year to the entreaties of Duplessis when Parma was rapidly advancing, it might still have been possible to prevent the invader from relieving Rouen. But her unwillingness to realise the danger, or listen to reason or entreaty, her self-assertion in deciding to answer King Henry's envoy differently from what her Privy Council advised, affected the situation far more than any English historian has hitherto been aware. When Burghley on the 4th of January had advised Duplessis to pray the Almighty to change the Queen's mind, and when Essex, a week or ten days later, had written to him, "I hope that although you do not carry news to the King of any succours, His Most Christian Majesty will see the fruits of your labours and the results of your arguments very soon," this indicated that they did not intend to sit down under the Queen's refusals. Both were accustomed to hazard their personal favour whenever the nation's honour made it advisable to oppose in private the humours of the Sovereign they so assiduously upheld in public. But far from the Queen despatching reinforcements as soon as she had Essex back (as Duplessis' wife retrospectively alleged), it was not until seven weeks after Essex's return that she relented sufficiently to allow troops to be sent to King Henry's assistance; and even then only one

[1] "*Tudor and Stuart Proclamations, 1485 1714.*" ed Robert Steele Oxford, 1910 Vol I, p 92 (B M. Circ: 100[b]).

[2] First published E.E., Vol VIII, pp 340-342, and plate 25

thousand seven hundred, though he had asked for five thousand, or at the least four thousand.[1]

Though Burghley's warning to Essex, in October, 1591, that his bestowal of knighthoods outside Rouen had been "evil censured" at the Court has been misread to mean that Burghley himself disapproved, we have seen how, on the contrary, his letter indicated his intention to defend the absent General. And what he thought of Essex's choice of officers to be honoured may now be inferred from the fact that when at last the Queen consented to send the small reinforcement to France, two of these "evil censured" Knights were selected for the joint command. The draft Commission "from her Ma^tie to S^r Mathew Morgan and S^r Edmond Yorke" is in Burghley's hand throughout. If Morgan and Yorke heard rumours as to any courtier at home encouraging their Sovereign to grudge them the accolade won for service abroad, the terms of this Commission should have reassured them.

"Trusty and wellbeloved [we] greet you well.[2] as We have caused the number of 1,700 of our subjects to be armed, arrayed and transported to Dieppe, to serve in Normandy for the French King, as others already of our subjects have done,[3] and that it is requisite that these numbers now directed to Dieppe should there be viewed and mustered and put in such order as they may safely be conducted to Rouen, *or to such place where the rest of our forces under the charge of Sir Roger Williams shall be,* and that we have committed the charge hereof to you Sir Matthew Morgan and Sir Edmund Yorke, which we doubt not but you will diligently perform, yet because in your march thither, the ways being long and dangerous, you may have good opportunity offered to you to do some good service against the K[ing]s enemies before your arrival at Rouen, We *having good experience both of your valour and of your desire to attempt some good and worthy service, as yourselves have offered to us to our good liking,* We authorise you both jointly and severally to lead all your said forces that now shall arrive at Dieppe, (after a view of them taken for their furniture) and with them actually to *enterprise any such service as you shall probably find cause to take in hand before you shall bring the said forces to Rouen* And to that end we do by these presents straitly command all the Captains and officers having charge of the said forces to be directed with their Companies to follow and take such enterprise in hand as you two shall will and command them to perform; *not doubting but your selves will also in your own persons adventure the same as far forth as you shall require of any of them* And for your so doing this shall be a warrant to you both, and to every of you for your discharge at all times hereafter."

Seeing this is so different from the Queen's habit of wishing to direct from London the movements of her soldiers in France, and as the MS. is only a draft, not the signed Commission, we may ask what proof is there that Elizabeth ever assented to these terms? The answer is that to this draft one of Burghley's secretaries added "Dated at Westm^r the V^th of march. In the xxxiij^th yere of her ma^tes Raigne", and has docketed it "from her Ma^tie to S^r Mathew Morgan and S^r Edmond Yorke knights 5° Martij 1591"(2): so there need be no doubt that she signed it on

[1] In *"State Papers,"* ed. Murdin, 1759, p 798, Burghley's chronology is printed as setting down, under February, no date, *"1,600 new men sent into Normandy conducted by Sir Edward York"* The date of the Commission drawn up by Burghley is 5 March; and is not to Sir Edward Yorke but to Sir Edmund Yorke, a different officer; and not for 1,600 but 1,700 men

[2] Unpublished S P. France, Vol. XXVII, f 183 Spelling of Commission now modernised

[3] "have doone" is added instead of "ar commanded to doo", crossed out

the date specified. Though to bring her to consent to the despatch of an adequate force was beyond what even Burghley could compass, he acted upon the protest of De Reaux and Duplessis that the movements of English soldiers in France must be decided by the King of France and not by the Queen of England, and that her permitting the employment of her men solely for the siege of Rouen, and not for whatsoever King Henry might require, had been a most unreasonable proviso; especially as it was not she but the King of France who was paying for the troops.

The siege of Rouen was still a topic of interest in England in the reign of King Henry's English grandson, Charles II. But remarkably enough, the History chosen for translation, and dedication to the English King, is from the standpoint of his grandfather's opponents.[1]

> "As that town was well attacked," says Maimbourg, "so it was better defended, during the space of six months, by Andrew Brancas de Villars, who was afterwards Admiral of France and at that time Lieutenant General in Normandy and Governor of Rouen and Havre de Grace for the League. He performed on that occasion all that could be expected from a great Captain; and by his long and vigorous resistance gave leisure to the Duke of Mayenne to bring him the relief which he had obtained from the Spaniards."

The chronicler of the League states that it was not without difficulty that Mayenne gained Spanish assistance, the device employed being "artfully" to insinuate to Spain that he would "procure the Election" to the Crown of France of the Infanta Isabel Clara Eugenia. The excuse made for the alleged promise is that he never intended any such thing: but "fed them with false hopes" only to hasten the arrival of the Duke of Parma. To describe an exalted personage as deceiving his Allies is an ironical method of defending his honour. The Army he is stated to have procured by this subterfuge is rated by the same historian as "thirteen or fourteen thousand old soldiers, Spaniards and Walloons." These, under Parma, were added to "seven or eight thousand French, Lorrainers and Italians, which last were the remainder of the Duke of Mayenne's and Montmorenci's Forces."

When the "Earle General" Essex the previous September (1591) had hoped that eight weeks might suffice to bring about the capitulation of Rouen, he had in mind not only the surrender of Noyon the previous month, but his own experience at Doesberg in 1586, when Leicester's heavy Artillery had worked swift results, with comparatively little loss of life to the besiegers.[2] If we look at the plan of Rouen and environs[3] we will understand the annoyance of the English troops at not being allowed by the King to use their best "peeces" against the town itself. "All the attempts we made were only against the fort," wrote Sir Robert Cary; "my Lord still urging the King to batter some part of the town," and the King refusing. "Thus we spent a long time to little purpose, from Michaelmas to almost Christ-

[1] "*The History of the League Written in French by Monsieur Maimbourg Translated into English According to His Majesty's Command By Mr Dryden London Printed by M. Hester, for Jacob Tonson, at the Judges Head in Chancery Lane near Fleet Street. 1684*"

[2] E E, Vol. VI, pp 172-176 [3] E E, Vol. VIII, p. 427.

mas, when the Duke of Parma came with an army to relieve the town, and did effect it. The King was forced to raise his siege with shame enough and to retire . . . ."[1]

Cary, writing in his old age, is four months out in his dates. It was not until April the 11/21 that the Duke of Parma entered Rouen;[2] and the circumstances were not such as to justify the epithet of "shame,"—as we can see by Sir Henry Unton's manner of relating the "unpleasing" news to Lord Burghley:[3] "The 10th of this month the King raised his siege, being suddenly advertised of the Duke of Parma's marching towards his Camp, with 12,000 Foot, and 4,000 Horse." Using "all possible diligence," in hope "to surprise the King and to defeat his Army of Regulars in their lodgings, and ours in our quarters," the invader penetrated within four leagues of Rouen before the nearness of his approach was discovered. But the intended surprise attack was frustrated by the vigour and valour of the Duke of Bouillon, "who made his retreat with the Regulars, in view of the Duke of Parma's army, *with great hazard and no loss.*" (Those who best understand warfare will most appreciate this laconic statement.)

The English forces were compelled "to march away in all haste," fighting all the while. In one of the "very hot skirmishes," Sir Roger Williams's horse was shot under him, "and his self shot in two places." Williams (who, like Unton, had been knighted by Lord Leicester after the cavalry charge outside Zutphen,) "served very honourably, with great Courage and Discretion, in the view of the King, greatly to his commendation, and with very great danger; and so did many of the English," who were in the rear (the place of honour in a retreat). Sir Matthew Morgan "deserved very well," as did other of the "English Captains." Stating plainly that it was for lack of adequate troops that Henry had been obliged to retire, Unton depicts the King as having so successfully dissembled his chagrin that it seemed likely he would soon be reinforced by many voluntaries; and Cardinal Bentivoglio subsequently related that even after Parma's entry into Rouen, "new forces flocked continually to the King of Navarre; and particularly the nobility on horseback."[4]

Meanwhile Sir Henry Unton announced to Burghley, "the Duke of Parma . . . hath entered Rouen. . . . He will put in fresh Companies, and victual the town as much as may, and discharge the town of many idle people that consume the victuals there. . . ." Some remarks ensuing in cipher are not now intelligible; Unton had recourse to it because fearing the miscarrying of letters,

> "having no safe means to convey them now the siege is levied, and therefore crave to be excused if your Lordship hear not from me so often as heretofore and being forced to hazard now this bearer in a peasant's attire, whom I humbly beseech your Lordship to con-

[1] *"Memoirs of Sir Robert Cary, Earl of Monmouth,"* ed 1903, p 24

[2] Burghley's Chronological Notes *Hatfield MSS* Cal XIII, p 404
"April 10 . . . the D of Mayn entered into Rone (Rouen)
April 11 D of Parma entr Roo (Rouen)
May 2 The D of Parma passed over the Seyn from Caudebec."

[3] Orig. *"State Papers,"* ed. *Murdin* (1759), pp. 651-653

[4] *"Wars of Flanders"* (1676), p. 247

sider extraordinarily in regard to his peril and pains . . . . We are now penned up in a corner, and do endure all manner of miseries . . . ." As to the Spanish talk of peace, it is "not likely to take effect." Such overtures are only made by the enemy in hope to deceive the King, "as by certain things lately discovered may appear, which I dare not send here enclosed, and reserve until a fit oportunity . . . .

"From the Camp within a League of Ponte de Iarche, and within two Leagues of Rouen this 12th of April, 1592.

"Your Lordship's ever to Command,

HENRY UNTON.[1]

The despatch written at the time by one who was himself experienced in war, is sufficient corrective to Sir Robert Cary's misstatements made long afterwards, from a defective memory, as to the circumstances being shameful to King Henry.[2] Considering that his retirement was directly caused by Queen Elizabeth's refusal to grant the measure of assistance required (even though Henry would have paid for it), we English are the last people who should adversely criticise him for a misfortune the blame of which lies at the door of England's Sovereign.[3]

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[1] Sir Henry was son of Sir Edward Unton of Farringdon, Berks, by Anne, Countess of Warwick, who was daughter of Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford and Duke of Somerset (the victor of Musselburgh). "Exceedingly proud of his ancestry, especially on his mother's side, as his grandfather had been uncle to King Edward VI, he had seen no impropriety in challenging even Henry Duke of Guise to a single combat. Reproving Guise for maligning Queen Elizabeth, Unton had offered to meet him "with such manner of Armes as you shall like to choose, be it either on horseback or on foot. Nor would I have you to think any inequality of person between us, I being issued of as great a race and noble house (every way) as yourselfe . . ." Milles, *"Catalogue of Honor,"* 1610, p. 820.

[2] Burghley's brief memo of events runs as follows. Hatfield MS 333 (Cal. Addenda, Vol XIII, 1915, p. 464-465).

"Jan 2 The Fr amb and de Plessis with the Q. Ma.
Jan 5 de Plessis departed towards Dover
Jan 14 The Er of Ess with Sir Th Laighton cam ho(m)e
March 16 Mr Wilks sent to the Fr. Kyng
March 20 The fight at Ivetot bet(ween) the Fr Kyng and the D of Par
April 10 Mr Th Wilks returned from France. . . .
The same day the D of Mayn entered into Roue(n).
April 11 The D of Parm entd Roo(en)."

[3] After this section was written in 1928, *The Times Literary Supplement*, 13 June, 1929, reviewed *"A History of the League, or Sainte Union, 1576-1595. By Maurice Wilkinson"* (Glasgow, 1929). The reviewer, describing the subject as "tough," discusses in lively fashion the characters of the various Commanders and the opinions of the author; but without explaining upon what materials these opinions are based, and whether the work is one of original research or drawn from general histories. The reviewer considers that Parma proved himself a better General than King Henry, because he compelled the King to retreat from before Rouen. But as this measure was forced upon King Henry by Queen Elizabeth's refusal to send him sufficient troops, it was not defective generalship on his part, but his ally failing him in the crisis, which caused his withdrawal. Neither author nor reviewer realised that the cool skill with which the retreat was carried out was of itself an example of generalship; even an adversary historian, Cardinal Bentivoglio, refers to the "great order" in which King Henry marched away. Comparing the respective Generals, the Cardinal says that while in face "much differing, each had an equally Martial aspect, each of them was naturally addicted to arms; . . they were both of them popular in winning the Souldiers love, but no less severe in maintain-in the power of Command . . in the diversity of action they were notwithstanding so conformable in Reputation, and in glory of Souldiery, as few will be found amongst either the modern or ancient Commanders, more famous at one and the same time, who in such a difference have continually so much resembled one another."

*"The History of the Wars of Flanders . . by that learned and famous Cardinal Bentivoglio; Englished by . . Henry Earl of Monmouth. .* " 2nd ed. London, 1678, p. 230.

Writing in old age, Gervase Markham claimed that Essex's artillery had "made breaches so large and passages so easie" that the city could have been taken, had not "the King said 'He desired to winne France, not to conquer France,' so that the work of sufferance grew longer."[1] But Markham, like Cary, seems not to have reflected that a Monarch shut out from one of his own towns is in a different position from an invader who means to destroy the stronghold of a foreign foe. In all King Henry's French sieges his declared object was to bring the garrison to a voluntary surrender, and grant them merciful terms so that the townsfolk should be saved from miseries such as their fathers had suffered in 1562, when for forty-eight hours Rouen had been at the mercy of the victorious troops of the Queen-Mother Catherine. The sad plight of the vanquished, and the death of his father the King of Navarre from wounds and fever, had made a lasting impression upon Henry's mind. He had then been nine years old. And though his own methods after he became King of France were open to the charge of prolonging the war, he exercised patience deliberately, hoping to save his subjects from such losses of property and life as a second sack of Rouen would have entailed. Had he been an incompetent King, or one less famous for "often fighting with his own hands," we might call this weakness; but from one who exposed himself on every possible occasion in battle, such forbearance was to be a factor in the ultimate pacification of France, and in the willingness of the people to trust a ruler who had not forgotten their interests even while some of them were aiding his foreign enemies.[2]

To heal the wounds of France, and become master by clement methods was his object: and, previously, when triumphant at Coutras he had been "as courteous and humane in his victory as he had shewed himself brave and redoubtable in fight."[3] After the battle, he "sent back almost all the prisoners without ransome, restored their baggage to many; took great care of the wounded" and treated honourably the corpses of the Generals he had defeated and slain.[4]

Though the Duke of Mayenne's brother Henry Duke of Guise had kicked the dead body of the betrayed and murdered Grand Admiral of France, during the orgy of blood with which Queen Catherine stained the nuptials of her daughter with

[1] *"Honour in his Perfection,"* 1624. Markham does not give dates, and his summaries require to be compared with the matter written at the time. He is wrong as to Rouen becoming "prostrate to the King" while Essex was still in France; for though Rouen surrendered "in the end," and some English Infantry remained in France, the recall of Essex by the Queen was long before the end of the war. See E.E., Vol. VIII, pp. 570-575.

[2] In *"France, its History and Revolutions" by W. Chambers, LL.D.*, London, 1880, pp. 71-72, nothing is said about Turenne's embassy to England, or of the siege of Rouen. We are merely told that "after the battle of Ivry, Henry marched to Paris, which being walled and resolute suffered a protracted investment rather than capitulate. Henry was forced to raise the siege. He fought battles in various places, but his cause for a time seemed almost hopeless."

The siege of Paris was undertaken in the first instance by Henry III. The failure of Henry IV to capture it was not entirely because it was "walled and resolute,"—though it was both,—but partly because he did not wish to batter the walls with heavy artillery and carry the city by assault to be plundered. See E.E., Vol. VIII, pp. 218-220; 225.

[3] Bishop of Roder, *"Henry surnamed the Great,"* translated by J.D. [John Davies?], London, 1663, p. 70.

[4] Ibid.

Henry of Navarre, precisely because of the horrors of the Paris Massacre Henry determined to show how much more merciful was his open war than the "peace" of Charles IX. Thoroughly he was to earn his reputation of "*Clemens Victor (Victorieux Debonnaire)*"; and his portrait in the Cardinal Duc de Richelieu's gallery of "*Hommes Illustres*" depicted him with the victor's palm and the olive branch of peace together.[1] Not without good reason was he remembered by "*les Titres glorieux de Grand, d'Invincible d'Incomparable, de Clément, de Magnanime.*"[2]

That in the reign of Queen Elizabeth Henry IV was a hero to the English, followed naturally from his character and achievements. But now the fashion is to hover round his amours, slur his victories, and underrate the odds against which he toiled until he triumphed.

In 1591 the Queen had not been able to see any reason for King Henry requiring to capture Caudebec, and had forbidden Essex to assist him. But when the Duke of Mayenne and the Duke of Parma entered Rouen, and there held a Council of War, "that which was most pursued . . . was that as Roan could not be safe till such time as it had the free passage of the River, *it was therefore necessary to take Caudebec,*" as Cardinal Bentivoglio relates.

The next act of Parma was to encamp before Caudebec "with his whole Army." When he was "observing the Walls" with an Italian engineer, he was hit in the left arm. "He said not a word nor seemed in any ways concerned," but the effects of the wound were to be "long and troublesome." However he had the satisfaction of receiving the surrender of the town, which, though well provisioned, was too weakly fortified to hold out against the Spanish heavy Artillery.[3]

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1 "*Les Portraits des Hommes Illustres François qui sont peints dans la galerie du Palais Cardinal de Richelieu Avec leurs principales Actions, Armes, Deuises, & Eloges Latins, Dessignez & gravez par les Sieurs Heince & Bignon, Peintres & Graueurs ordinaires du Roy,*" &c &c &c "*Ensembles les Abregez Historiques de leurs vies composez par M de VVlson Sieur de La Colombiere, Gentilhomme Ordinaire de la Chambre du Roy,* &c" *Paris, M.DC LV Avec Privilege de Roy.*

2 (Op. cit.). " ayant conquis le Royaume des Fleurs de Lys, autant par la vertu de son bras inuincible, que par les droicts d'vne legitime succession; sa générosité, sa clémence, & vn nombre infiny de belles actions de Iustice, de paix & de prudence, ayans seruy de ciment pour vnir les cœurs de ses subjets, & de sacrez instruments pour restablir cette Monarchie dans sa première splendeur"

3 Professor Van der Essen's "*Alexandre Farnèse, Prince de Parma,*" Vol. V (1585-1592), 1937, contains half-tone reproductions of picturesque engravings from Dondini's "*Historia . gestis ab Alexandro Farnesio,*" Rome 1671; also "*Farnese blessé a Caudebec, gravure de Romain de Hooghe, d'après le capitaine ingenieur Ledesma, Recueil no 6544 de la Bibliothèque de l'Universite de Louvain,* and from the same source "*La Grande retraite du Duc de Parme*" (The present writer selected the prints in "*Henriciados*" &c, 1595, as being published soon after the events and as having been apparently overlooked by both French and English historians in our time)

In 1913 Professor Van der Essen edited "*Les Archives Farnesien de Parme au point de vue de l'histoire des Ancien Pays Bas Catholiques (Commission royale de l'histoire, Bruxelles)*" All his observations upon Parma's character and services are the result of much study, care and consideration. But as to the English Army he has relied upon modern English standard works, in none of which the Army has received justice In his Bibliography there are not any annotations to indicate which works are useful; and Creighton's "*Queen Elizabeth*" published in 1896 is dated 1933, and so might be mistaken for a recent work; whereas of many 19th century impressionistic productions it is one of the most misleading.

Shortly after the loss of Caudebec, the Queen's troops in France were in Normandy, under Sir Roger Williams, 1,600; and in Brittany, under Sir John Norris, 3,000. In the Low Countries, including the garrisons of Flushing and the Brill (Briel) she had 7,650.[1] But small as these numbers were, the fact of England affording countenance at all to King Henry had a significance in excess of the material aid: as we infer when we see Queen Elizabeth described by an enemy as "stirring up disorders" in France and the Netherlands, Portugal, and Scotland; which shows how far her influence was thought to extend.

Composed about this time, was a treatise attributed to Father Parsons, S.J., called *"A Declaration of the true causes presupposed to be intended against the Realm of England, wherein the [in]different reader shall manifestly perceive by whom and by what means the realm is brought into these pretended perils."*[2] Burghley therein is fiercely rebuked; as (retrospectively) is Leicester. Both those Privy Councillors were formidable obstacles to Spanish ambitions. And the English alliance with Henry IV exasperated all such "Espaniolated" English as felt there could be "small hope . . . until the Arch-heretic of France is overthrown." This consummation did not appear impossible; for the Turk having "made a twelve years truce" with King Philip, certain Spanish forces, erstwhile kept for use against the Sultan, were free to smite the King of Navarre and France. Moreover Spain's Armada was ready anew for action, and a "holy friar" foretold a Spanish victory.[3]

From Liège on the 28th of May, 1592, the correspondent above quoted was sending word to England that Sir William Stanley "is well and wants nothing but money, and some countenance which he well deserves. . . ."[4] And that "The Spanish Armada is coming with 15,000 men" either to Brittany or Ireland, according to how far the war should succeed in France. "The King of Spain and the Pope are firmly jointed together and it is reported at Liège that the Queen of England is dead."[5] But she was in excellent health; and was soon to consent to improvement of the fortifications of Plymouth "for defence against outward enemies in these

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[1] Total { Horse 400 (in the Low Countries. None in France)
Foot 12,450
Monthly charge £11,264 15 8

*S P Dom Eliz* Vol CCVLII, No 9, May 7 (1592) See also Ib Nos 10, 11, 12, and 13. And No 60, June 23 (*Cal* p 238, 9 lines, abstract of 20 pp) Account of monies received in the Exchequer to be employed for the Army in Normandy from 29 June, 1591, to 10 June, 1592 Total £35,369 15 3. And payment for officers and men for coat and conduct money, etc and transportation of troops to France, etc. £29,973 2 And June 28, No. 65, *Cal* p 240

[2] Dated Cologne May $\frac{16}{26}$ (but printed in London?) 1592 Copy S P Dom CCXLI No 17 Calendared, 1591-94, p 220

[3] Rob Robinson (alias St Main) to Thos Phelippes May 26, 1592 S P Dom CCXLII, No 26 (Cal p 222)

[4] It was he who in 1587 had betrayed Deventer, of which he had been governor for Queen Elizabeth E E, Vol. VI, pp 355-372

[5] S P. Dom. CCXLII R Robinson—alias Saint Main, alias Sterrall to (John) Morice. 1¾ pp Cal. 1591-94, p. 225

dangerous times," for which purpose she invited contributions from her subjects.[1]

A new plot was woven abroad for putting an end to her life, the proposed assassin, a protégé of Sir William Stanley, being "a little short black fellow with a red face," who thought that if the League could overthrow the "usurping and heretic Prince of Béarn" (King Henry of France and Navarre), and simultaneously if the "viper Elizabeth" be removed from earth, the English exiles in Spain could return home in triumph. Rumour, however, which so shortly before had described Elizabeth as dead, now alleged her to have prepared three Armies of over forty thousand each, "so that if one fail the other may rescue; . . . the weapon of the English is musket and pike for the Foot, lance or pistol for the Horse; and petronel for the Argolettiers."[2] There is more to the same effect; and it was hoped that the "demosel of Spain" (King Philip's elder daughter) might soon gain Sovereignty over France. On June the 13th the same newsmonger, Robinson alias Sterrall, was criticising the Duke of Parma: "his proceedings in France were not well thought of." (Actually Parma was suffering from the effects of the wound received in May.) The English are "overthrown in Brittany, with crushing loss," alleges Robinson; the prisoners including Sir John Norris.[3]

This is quoted without correction in our Calendar of State Papers. But Norris was not a prisoner; and no man can lose troops two thousand seven hundred in excess of the total he commands. The figures of his casualties as given from Robinson in Liège come to "4000 Foot and 17 Cornets of Horse,"[4] which last means approximately 1,700 Cavalry. It has not hitherto been noticed that Norris at the time had no more than three thousand Foot, and not any Horse.[5]

While on the one hand the Spaniards were hoping for the overthrow of Queen Elizabeth and King Henry, an Englishman, Neville Davis, having escaped from Spain after twelve years in prison, was warning the Lord Treasurer of the Spaniards' continued and "extreme malice" against England. If Her Majesty endured such insolence, and did not attempt the deliverance of her subjects languishing captive in the galleys, such "sufference" must encourage her enemies, while the prisoners themselves would be "as men without hope."

Spain's spies being ever vigilant, before any action could be carried out from England, the intention became known in Madrid; as in the case of Lord Thomas Howard's Fleet, of which the enemy had a list of every ship's name, including even the merchant vessels; also the names of the Captains and the numbers of men in

[1] Declaration by the Queen. Westminster, 30 May, 1592 S P. Dom · CCXLII No 31 Cal: pp 225-226

[2] R. Robinson, "to Mr Morice at the Sign of the Swan without Bishopsgate" S P. Dom: CCXLII. 37 (Cal: pp 227-228)

[3] R. Robinson to Tho. Phelippes, Liège: June 13, 1592, *S P Dom Eliz* CCXLII No 53 Cal: 1591-94, p. 234.

[4] S P. Dom CCXLII. No 9.

[5] This is a warning against taking contemporary gossip as "positive evidence," without testing the figures.

each ship. Thirty merchant vessels of Ireland are reported as in Seville, and "great friends to the Spaniards." Davis implores that the Queen will "have an especial care for the estate of France;" for in Spain "it was openly spoken" that King Philip "made all possible means to pass his men into Brittany," hoping that having once secured France, it would be easier to achieve "his purpose against Her Majesty."[1]

Though the troops sent to France, in 1592, under Sir Edmond Yorke and Sir Matthew Morgan, were numerically far below what King Henry required and demanded, it was to his advantage that the English Navy patrolled the Narrow Seas. Subsequently in the Parliament of 1592-3 (the first since 1589) we find the expenses of the Navy Royal since the defeat of King Philip's Armada figuring among the reasons specified by the Lord Keeper, Sir John Puckering, for the Queen's requirement of further monetary aid from her "loving subjects." That in 1588 King Philip had not any troops in the French ports, but that since "Eighty Eight" his success in Brittany was an added menace to England, the Lord Keeper pointed out in the Upper House; and Sir Walter Raleigh said the same in the House of Commons.[2] It was by fighting abroad and on the seas that England's soil had been kept free from the intended invader. Especially was such a reminder needed in the House of Commons, where—as we shall soon see—Francis Bacon deplored that "the gentlemen would have to sell their plate and the farmers their brass pots" to pay the subsidy. To which the answer was that for each to give something towards keeping the foe at a distance was surely less ruinous than to allow the Spaniards to possess themselves of everything, the Crown and kingdom included. The speeches in the "Nether House" during the brief Parliament of 1592-3 fill more than fifty folio pages of print, seldom read today or we would have been spared the assumption that all danger from Spain ended in 1588. Any such notion is not only directly contrary to the statements of the Lord Keeper and of Sir Francis Drake, Sir William Unton, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Robert Cecil, and many others, but arises from ignoring that England was still at "open war" with the King of Spain, whose ambitions were not changed since the defeat of his "Invincible Navy," and whose initiative in France and in the Netherlands demonstrated his unwavering determination to be master wheresoever the sword could make him so.[3]

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1 "Copy of certain notes delivered to the Rt Hon The Lord Treasurer of England 22 June 1592." S P Dom Eliz· 1592 No 57 Cal pp 236-237

2 E E , Vol IX, pp 103-104

3 Many students' notions of England's dealings in this connection are derived from Bishop Creighton's "*Queen Elizabeth*," 1896,

"Elizabeth took up the same position towards Henry as she had so long held towards the rebellion in the Netherlands. she would send her money for warfare by land, and would annoy Spain by naval expeditions, but would give him no definite assurance. Essex vainly tried to induce her to send some troops to France; but Elizabeth refused, until the news that the Prince of Parma was going to the help of the League compelled her to avert a catastrophe"

No dates or authorities are given; and Creighton (p 162) was unaware that Lord Willoughby had already been sent to France in 1589, for he next refers to Sir John Norris "an old and experienced captain" as being chosen by her to "serve in Brittany" as if Norris had been the first Englishman sent across the Channel; whereas Norris, with the rank of Colonel-General, did not go until 1590 Creighton adds "Afterwards Essex was sent with an additional force of 4,000

men," (which should be 4,500), and he omits to mention that Essex was Lieutenant-General, commanding all the Queen's forces in France Creighton says,

"Little was done by the English forces Essex was summoned home to allay Elizabeth's anxiety when she heard of his foolhardy doings . So little energy was displayed by the French that Essex was recalled early in 1592 and the siege of Rouen was abandoned"

This assumption that "little was done by the English forces" or the French, and that Essex was "foolhardy" has been repeated ever since; but now, since the doings of the forces and the "great honour and discreet government" of Essex have been put before the public in E E, Vol VIII, it will be realised that it is not the Elizabethan forces but 19th century scholars by whom "little was done", it being easier to scorn than to study these martial proceedings

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*APPENDIX A.*

## "A VERY GREAT CAPTAIN."

### *The English Ambassador's tribute to Henry IV, 1592.*

In contrast to Sir Robert Cary's retrospective and adverse criticisms of the French King's retirement from the siege of Rouen, the observations of Sir Henry Unton—writing at the time and from the camp,—are all the more valuable, but do not seem to have been known to Cary's 20th century editor, though the Unton Correspondence for 1591-92 has been available since 1847,[1] and some of his other letters were printed yet earlier.[2]

Writing to Essex, 27th January, N S, Unton reported King Henry's wound as "deep but not dangerous, and rather outward than inwards. . he slept very well and is as yet in very good temper and well disposed. I did never see any bear his hurt with such courage and resolution, comforting his company and concealing his hurt; which if he had not done, the day had been worse . . He behaved himself most royally, being the first in every charge, . . . . directing all himself"

Unton adds that the King "expecteth, daily," letters from Burghley; and, as to himself, the Ambassador places "my whole confidence in your Lordship, and depend only upon your favour, according to your Honour's promise" He fears some persons near the Queen "continue bad offices" where he is concerned "Your Lordship only, next to her Majesty, must protect me"[3]

Nothing could be clearer in this Correspondence than Unton's high regard for Essex; but the editor states that though the Queen had despatched "the Earl of Essex as her Lieutenant-General into France, . . being aware that she could not place unhesitating reliance upon the judgment and prudence of that nobleman, she presently afterwards sent as her Ambassador to the French King, Sir Henry Unton," &c., &c.

This is the more misleading as Unton's testimonies to Essex's judgment and prudence were both numerous and emphatic, and far from desiring to control or direct Essex, this

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[1] '*Correspondence of Sir Henry Unton, Knt, Ambassador from Queen Elizabeth to Henry IV King of France, in the years MDCXCI and MDCXCII From the originals and authentic copies in the State Papers Office, the British Museum, and Bodleian Library Edited by the Reverend Joseph Stevenson, M A Printed for subscribers, 1847 Roxburghe Club London Shakespeare Press*" (Large quarto, 472 pages)

In the National Portrait Gallery is a remarkable painting representing the life and death of Sir Henry Unton, acquired in 1884 It is believed to be the picture bequeathed by his widow to her niece, Lady Unton-Dering

In the middle, Sir Henry is seated at a desk, pen in hand, to the left is a skeleton holding an hour-glass; at his right, an angel brings him a chaplet; presumably these figures represent Time and Eternity A multiplicity of scenes on a small scale depict his career from cradle to grave. He is shown as a baby on his mother's knee, with a large armorial achievement above. He appears in Court and Camp in France His funeral procession occupies most of the foreground; the church looms large in the background; and his effigy tomb is rendered in all its sculptural detail.

[2] By Murdin, 1759

[3] Op: cit: No. CLI, pp. 288-289.

Ambassador was his hearty admirer.[1] But though Essex was commanding the English forces from July, 1591, to the end of that year, the editor dismisses him in the above-quoted words, regardless that not only Unton and Sir Roger Williams but King Henry himself relied on and applauded him. As to the King, "without his presence none can or will command," and none will "obey any other . . . . accidents are to be feared in respect of the weakness of his body, and inclination to fever. He was the first at every charge, and the last at the retreat, which continued very hotly four or five hours; wherein many of both sides were hurt, but few slain. It pleased him always to take me with him, to see his directions and I was close by him when he was hurt."[2]

To Burghley, on the 1st of February, Unton reported that "the King's cure goeth well on" The wound "is very painful, but nothing dangerous He hath had no access of fever or ill accident. He is carried in a *brancard* like unto a litter, and is not able to ride on horseback, nor yet to walk, which doth hinder his service, for without him nothing is attempted."[3]

To Essex, the same day, Unton sent a message to hasten "the forces out of England and the Low Countries," Essex having been "the only procurer thereof; for the which the King protesteth all thankfulness to your Lordship."[4] Not giving up hope that the Queen might allow Essex to return to France, Unton's pride in the English troops, serving under Sir Roger Williams, is expressed strongly: "Our miners at Rouen do more work in two hours than the French in two days," and the French "did not understand their work before the English came Thus much the King confesseth to me . . . ."[5]

On the 8th February Unton wrote to Burghley as to the recent fighting:

> "The King was in person with the first, and retired with the last . . . . a very great Captain. . . It pleaseth him to call me with him, . . . . I assure your Lordship all my horses are dead and harried out, and in a manner famished . . . . we never rest, but are on horseback almost night and day. I think never an Ambassador lived in France with such charge, toil, and danger as I do" Nevertheless, "to do her Majesty service I think nothing too much, and will serve her as long as I am able My servants die daily, and many of them are very weak and sick . . . . I must be forced to have a new supply both of men and horses."

The Duke of Parma was still "about Neufchastell", but was intending to "hasten all his army towards Rouen."[6]

To Sir Robert Cecil, Unton wrote, "If it were not for her Majesty's service, I think no worldly wealth could keep me here; I otherwise do wish, nay more than wish, myself in England, and shall love liberty the better ever after; yet as long as I am able to go or stand, I will never be weary of her service."[7]

The next two letters are from Essex to the "Lord Ambassador for her Majesty in France," —reassuring him that he will soon be allowed to return to England. The Queen was waiting

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[1] E.E. Vol VIII, pp 509

[2] "*Correspondence.*" No CLII, p 291 "To Mr Vicechamberline by Mr Harte" "From Neufshastell, this 27th Januarye 1591"(2).

[3] Ib: p 297

[4] Ib: pp. 300-301, ending "So in all haste (being commanded by the King to thank your Lordship highly in his behalf, and to request you to love him,) I must briefly take my leave." &c.

[5] 3rd Feb. Ib: p. 304.

[6] Ib: p 308. [7] Ib: p 316

"to see what will become of Rouen." She "sayeth I am too partial . . . . I wish your Lordship more comfort of your service than I have of mine."[1] The hope that he would be able to persuade her to send adequate aid was doomed to disappointment. Burghley wrote to Unton.[2]

> "I am sorry . . . . that notwithstanding the King's often writing, and his Ambassador's soliciting of her Majesty with many important reasons to yield the King more succours, in no wise her Majesty will be induced thereto . . . . I myself, about 14 days past, did think her Majesty would have yielded, and for that purpose made ready letters and warrants for the Queen to send over one or two thirds pikemen; but when the same should come to signing, her Majesty changed her mind."

She recapitulated the same complaints as she had made to Duplessis;[3] and "secondly, she thinketh so hardly of the King's fortune and success as she is loath, as she saith, to adventure any more of her people with him" Burghley had urged her to send "2000 of her men out of the Low Country where now in the Duke of Parma's absence there is no cause of service." But she made excuses; and "finally, to conclude, I see no possibility to induce her Majesty to it."[4]

Unton was deeply disappointed; he had hoped she would "embrace more this great action; not for temporal respects only but for spiritual; and specially for her own safety, which doth collaterally depend upon the good success of this poor King; . . . a small aid will now much profit the King and his country, when ten times so much hereafter will not work the like effects."[5]

Direct to the Queen, Unton respectfully remonstrated.[6] warning her in conclusion that "this cloudy time threateneth a very great storm; and without your Majesty's gracious aid, this tragedy is almost at an end."

She answered with prolix repetition of her former grievances—that King Henry was "making so tedious a work" by his delays; that he paid no heed to her admonitions; that she had occasion to complain, &c., &c.[7] Though she commended Unton's "care and diligence," she manifestly felt no pity for Henry's predicament.

This volume of Correspondence ends in June of 1592; six months before the death of the Duke of Parma; and leaves Unton in much distress, admiring and commiserating King Henry, against whom the odds then appeared almost overwhelming. These letters have been in print for over a century, but random criticism against Henry's "generalship" still is habitual among modern English writers,[8]—whereas we should frankly admit that his being baffled outside Rouen was partly due to the obstinacy of Queen Elizabeth in rejecting the advice of her wisest statesmen at home, and also of her General on the spot in 1591.

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[1] Ib: p. 317 [2] Ib: p. 319
[3] E E, Vol VIII, pp. 362-375
[4] "*Unton Correspondence*," p. 319 [5] Ib: p 333. [6] Ib: pp. 334-336
[7] "given under our Privy Signet at Our Palace of Westminster, the 19th of Feb: 1591(2) Ib pp. 336-337.
[8] See E E, Vol IX, p 9, note 3

# "Great Ordnaunce sent to France."

## *(Unpublished particulars of English guns, 1591).*

**". . . no man can denie but that the Art of shooting in Great Ordnaunce is necessarie to be advaunced for the defence and maintenance of a Kingdome and countrey, and the common wealth thereof."**

*William Bourne· "The Arte of Shooting in Great Ordnaunce. Contayning very necessary matter for all sortes of Servitoures eyther by Sea or by Lande . . . 1587."* Dedication "To the Right honourable Lord, Ambrose Dudley, Earle of Warwick, Baron of Lisle, . . . Generall of the Queenes Maiesties Ordnaunce within her highness Realm and Dominions." (B.M. No. 1398. b.8.)

**". . . the cause that mouved me to write . . . is this, for that we English men have not beene counted but of late daies to become good Gunners; and the principall point that hath caused English men to be counted good Gunners hath been for that they are . . . without fear. . . ."**

*The same. Preface to the Reader.* (Sig. A, iii).

**"Aug. 8. The ordnance sent from ye Towr to Depe" (Dieppe).**

**"Aug. 27. 4 brass peeces w^t^ ther furniture landed at Depe."**

The Lord Treasurer's unpublished *"Jornall . . . concerning ye armyes . . . 1591"* in his own hand: Cotton MS. Titus B. VI. 13.

# NOTE: GUNNERY AFLOAT AND ASHORE.

Since the publication of E.E, Volume VII, 1587-1588, in 1940, Professor Michael Lewis of Greenwich Royal Naval College contributed serially to *"The Mariner's Mirror,"* Vol XXVIII, 1942, and Vol XXIX, 1943, *"Armada Guns A Comparative Study of English and Spanish Armaments,"* ending with Appendices in the October issue, pp 203-231 Some of the subscribers to *"Elizabethan England"* are also Members of the Society for Nautical Research, and so presumably will have seen those articles as they appeared, but for a larger public Professor Lewis's work might advantageously be reprinted in book form, embodying as it does an array of statistics very different from the vague generalities and rash assertions increasingly popular in pseudo history. *Inter alia,* Professor Lewis has even informed himself as to a "Neopolitan culverin dated 1595" now in Sydney, New South Wales. "captured from the Chinese at Pekin during the Boxer rebellion and presented to the Australian Naval Contingent serving there in 1900."[1]

The Duke of Medina-Sidonia in 1588 attributed his defeat to the greater "swiftness" of the English ships[2], and we subsequently hear of King Philip building new ships on the English model. In gunnery the Spaniards, Italians and Germans, had formerly been ahead of the English, as William Bourne in 1587 had candidly admitted[3], and Englishmen had not been too proud to learn from foreigners, especially from the famous manual of Tartaglia[4]

Cervantes on the one hand and Sir John Smythe on the other hand had deplored the increasing use of artillery. We have seen an earlier chronicler execrating the invention of gunpowder[5] Smythe in 1588 would have liked to cling to bows and arrows, which in their time had been effective weapons But the days of Crecy, Poitiers and Agincourt were very far behind; and whether afloat or ashore the development of Artillery is one of the most conspicuous features in 16th century war

An Anglo-American (but anti-English) life of Philip II, 1937, represented Calais as surrendered in 1558 "without a shot fired"; an assertion unrebuked by any reviewer but showing complete oblivion of the circumstances. It was the Duke of Guise's heavy guns which then prevailed both at Calais and at Guisnes; the chivalrous valour of Sir Anthony Aucher and Lord Grey of Wilton being unavailing against the superior arms and equipment—plus astute generalship—of the adversary. Students should be on their guard not to take literally any of the sweeping assertions so often made in this age of hasty journalism as to the wars of the 16th century, for (as the present writer has repeatedly shown) few of the current criticisms against the men of action are based on precise knowledge of the facts Professor Lewis's statistics are in striking contrast to the increasing fashion of dismissing the valour on both sides with some random depreciation, arising from lack of sufficient technical knowledge for proper understanding of the wars whether by land or by sea[6]

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1 *"The Mariner's Mirror"* and *"Elizabethan England"* are subscribed for by the Mitchell Library in Sydney, and readers of each should be interested in the other.

2 E.E. Vol. VII, pp 345-346.

3 E E. Vol. VII, p 250 4 Ibid pp. 250-251. 5 E.E. Vol I, p. 117

6 Since the foregoing observations were set up in type, Messrs. George Allen and Unwin have published "The Navy of Britain" by Professor Lewis. This includes the Merchant Navy; and brings the story down to the end of the war of 1939-45; making clear that no matter how drastic the changes caused by science and mechanisation, the character and spirit inspiring a great sea-service does not (or should not) change.

*APPENDIX B.*

## UNPUBLISHED PARTICULARS OF "GREAT ORDNAUNCE" SENT TO FRANCE. 1591.[1]

We have already touched upon the development of Artillery, and the dispute between expert gunners such as Sir Roger Williams, and the older school like Sir John Smythe who clung to bows and arrows. Sir John persisted in his antique notions, and the cold reception of his first book did not deter him from publishing a second.[2]

Bourne in *"The Arte of Shooting in great Ordnaunce"* had deplored in 1587 that though Englishmen were "handsome about their ordnance in ships and on the sea" they had less skill than "the Italians, French, and Spaniards": the reason being that Englishmen "have had but little instruction." This complaint was dedicated to the Master General of the Ordnance, a year before the dedication to his brother Lord Leicester of Cyprian Lucar's version of Tartaglia's famous *"Three bookes of Colloquies concerning the arte of shooting in great and small peeces of artillerie"*[3] Since these two had been issued, (perhaps in consequence thereof) English gunnery had been improving; and though in 1589 Norris's guns had been inadequate for battering the walls of Lisbon, this had been no fault of the gunners.

Though keeping up interest in archery as a national sport,[4] Essex concerned himself more and more as to developments in Artillery; and in 1591 as we have seen, he was confident both in his gunners and guns. When the Queen objected to the siege of Rouen not being started as soon as Essex landed on August 3rd, Essex replied that even had the King of France been ready then,—instead of still occupied at the siege of Noyon and awaiting his "Almain" reinforcements,—the English troops were not equipped for siege warfare until they received their guns.[5] Those despatched from the Tower on the 8th of August, were not landed in France until the 27th.

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[1] When Essex was bidden by the Queen to hand over his command and reduce the number of troops, there does not seem to have been any order to bring back the guns sent over to him a few months previously; so we may reasonably infer that this Artillery shipped to Normandy in August of 1591 remained there under Sir Roger Williams as long as there were English forces in those regions. As the pictures in the German *Henriciados* (1595) would give us the impression that the heavy guns were chiefly in the hands of the "Almains," a schedule of our English "pieces" is a necessary supplement.

[2] Sir John gave his second book a high-sounding title: *"Instructions, Observations, and Orders Mylitarie Requisite for all Chieftaines, Captaines and higher and lower men of Charge, and Officers to vnderstand, knowe and obserue Composed by Sir John Smythe Knight 1591. And now imprinted 1595. . . ."* There seems also to have been an edition of 1594. Cockle's *Bibliog.* 1900, p. 51, note. Captain Cockle justly remarks that Sir John's "manner of embattling a force of 28,000 men might have been that of Somerset at the battle of Musselburgh" nearly fifty years previously. His "reforms" were the attempt of a rigid mind to cling to methods which would have desperately handicapped Englishmen in their contest against the Spaniards. There is no need to doubt the excellence of his intentions, but he was so little open to reason that the usual procedure among distinguished "martialists" was to allow him to talk, and not waste time in answering. (See E E., Vol. VII, pp. 292-293). That he has been held up to modern readers as a guide, while Leicester and Essex have been treated as mere triflers, is one of many instances of the topsyturvydom which has so long prevailed in relation to the Elizabethan era

[3] E E., Vol. VII, pp. 250-251.

[4] Lord Burghley's Chronolog: notes. *"State Papers,"* Murdin (1759), p. 810.

[5] To the Privy Council. Draft, Hatfield MSS. Cal: Vol. IV, pp. 139-141.

*"Great Ordnance and other Munitions appointed to be sent to Dieppe out of the Office of the Ordnance."*[1]
August 1591

| | | lbs |
|---|---|---|
| *Out of H M Store* | Cannon of brass of 7 inches, two 'poizes' — | $xv^{M1}$ $vj^{c}$ qrtr v |
| | Demi Cannon of brass, one poize — | $vj^{M1}$ $iiij^{o}$ $ijqrtr_{xvi}$ |
| | Culverin of brass, one poize — | $v^{M1}$ cc weight |
| | Poize of all the said pieces | $vij^{M1}$ ccc $iiij^{qr}$ xxj |
| | At lxx$^{s}$ the C-weight | |
| | | £955 |
| | Field carriages for the said pieces 4 bound and fortified with iron at £13 6$^{s}$. 8$^{d}$. the piece | £53 6$^{s}$ 8$^{d}$. |
| | Block carriages for the said great ordnance 3 at £10 the piece | £30 |
| | Ladles for the said pieces, 8 at 10$^{s}$ the piece | £4 |
| | Round shot of iron for cannon of 7 inc — | 300 |
| | for demi-cannon | 200 |
| | . . culverins | 300 |
| | poize all $xx^{M1}$ $viij^{o}$. $xx^{lb}$. weight containing 10 Ton $viij^{c}$. $xx^{lb}$. viz at £8. the ton | £83. 5$^{s}$. 8$^{d}$. |
| | Powder — 6 lasts at 12$^{d}$ per lb. | £720. |
| | Long pikes — 300 at 2$^{s}$ 6$^{d}$ per piece | £37 10s. |
| | White rope — 3 cwt. 24$^{s}$ per cwt. | 72$^{s}$. |
| | Sum | £1886 14$^{s}$. 4$^{d}$ |
| Emption bought and provided. | Guns complete and furnished with pies, rope and shivers of brass, 2— | |
| | 24 'coynes,' 30 handspikes, powder casks, 8 long great crows of iron, 5 doz- hand baskets, 20 felling axes, 20 hedging bills, 12 pair 'talling hookes,' 16 leather straps for hanging ladles, sponges and handspikes on the said field carriages, tallow for wheels, freight from [Tower to Dieppe £30], charge of 'conduction' £10 | |
| | In all [detailed prices given] | £65 17$^{s}$. |
| | Sum total | £1,952. 11$^{s}$. 4$^{d}$. |

Signed Robt. Constable, and T. Bedwell.[2]

This does not represent all the Ordnance sent to France in 1591; for on the 9th of September Burghley noted in his "Jornall" "a new proportion of munitions sent from London to Dieppe"; and also on the 22nd, "ordnance landed at Dieppe that came from Guernsey"[3] Burghley's notes break

[1] Abbreviated from unpublished S.P. Dom: Eliz: CCXXXIX, No. 131.

[2] No. 155, 20 Aug: 1591, is the same as above but with some of the prices slightly revised, and some of the lesser "emptions" omitted, sum total coming to £8,849. 19$^{s}$. 8$^{d}$.

[3] Unpublished holograph *"Jornall . . . concerning ye armyes sent into Normandy."* (First quoted, E.E., Vol. VIII, pp. 413, n:5; 507, n:2; 509, n:1, 510, n:4).

off on the 1st of October; but subsequent to that date Sir Thomas Coningsby refers to further supplies received from England.

We have seen, however, that Henry, wishing to save Rouen from destruction, had forbidden the use of heavy Artillery except against the outlying forts This enabled the town to hold out against him until relieved by the Duke of Parma. Again we should remind ourselves that though Henry's conquests were certainly retarded by his humane methods,—and he was not crowned at Chartres until nearly four years after his accession,—he nevertheless became and has remained the most popular King whom France had ever known since the days of Charlemagne.

"20 MAY 1592 SHIPPES IN THE NARROWE SEAS."[1]

| | Tonnage | Men |
|---|---|---|
| The Rainbowe | 500 | 220 |
| The Answere | 200 | 100 |
| The Advantage | 200 | 100 |
| The Crane | 200 | 80 |
| The Tremontane | 160 | 60 |
| The Scowte | 120 | 60 |
| The Aduise | 60 | 35 |
| | 1440 | 655 |
| IN THE RIVER OF RO[CHESTER][2] | | |
| The Charles | 80 | 40 |
| The Moone | 60 | 40 |
| The Spie | 60 | 35 |
| The Sonne | 40 | 30 |
| | 240 | 145 |
| AT QUINBOROWE (Queenborough) | | |
| The Bull | 200 | 40 |
| The Fregate | 20 | 16 |
| | 220 | 56 |
| Tot(al) | 1900 | 856 |
| charge per men(sum) | 1198 8. 0[3] | |
| The Rainebowe and Awnswere to retorne and in steade thereof to goo forth | | |
| The Vantguard | 500 | 250 " |

[1] From Bibl· Reg. App: 67 Add: MS 6405· f. 10[a] (unpublished) a volume of notes mostly in Burghley's hand, under headings such as "*private*", "*publyck*", "*Irland*", "*Counsell*", etc. some dated. Of the 27 folios several are blank, and though f 26[b] is headed "*y[e] false News of 88,*" this has not been filled in A memo on f. 1. states that "This little Book of Memoranda in the handwriting of Lord Treasurer Burleigh was found among certain Papers and Fragments of the Old Royal Library which had been considered as refuse. H E. 1823 "

The list of "Shippes", headed 20 May 1592, does not appear to be written by Burghley himself; but "Shippe w[t] the Earl of Cumberland April 159·" (blank), f. 9[b] opposite is unmistakably in his hand.

[2] See E E plate 2 "*The River of Thames*", showing also the Medway to Rochester, with 18 ships.

[3] £1,198 8. monthly (per mensum), i e. £14,376 per annum (If the young student ask "How do we know this list is of ships of the Royal Navy when they are not expressly so headed?" the answer is that we know all their names from other lists of the Queen's ships, and will see these same ships again and again in that capacity before the end of our story).

## FORTIFICATIONS OF PLYMOUTH, 1590-93.

The Chief Librarian, Plymouth Central Library, reminded the present writer how in "*The Western Antiquary*," Vol. VII, pp. 313-315, so long ago as 1888, Mr Robert Burnard published in extenso, in the original spelling, a petition from Drake and others drawn up in 1590 in relation to the defenceless condition of Plymouth. (B.M. Lansdowne MS. lxv, 12) This apparently was addressed to Lord Burghley and the Privy Council (but Mr Burnard did not explain that "Lansdowne MSS" signifies Burghley Papers)

"Sir Francis Drake and the Mayor of Plymouth in the behalf of the rest of the masters and townsmen do most humbly become petitioners unto your good Lordship, that whereas the said town lieth open to the enemy, not defended by any fort or rampier, but that he may by the landing of a small force in the night become master of their Ordnance, and so possess himself of the town, it would please your Honours to move Her Majesty to contribute towards the erection of a fort what her princely mind would yield unto. This gracious liberality of Her Majesty should save a future and greater expense . ."

From what follows, it appears that the money was only to be a loan from the Queen, and to set a good example locally Sir Francis Drake offered to advance £10, the total cost being estimated as from £1,000 to £1,200 The fort was to be built on the "Howe" (Hoe), the form and "manner" having been set down in a "plot" (map) which the Privy Councillors could see immediately if they desired.

"There is now some 13 pieces of Ordnance placed on the Hoe, part of which they have borrowed of sundry persons They have besides in St Nicholas Island about 23 pieces of Ordnance, the greater part whereof are likewise borrowed. If the borrowed pieces were restored, the places would be left very bare So that they do likewise become humble suitors that Her Majesty would be pleased to bestow 8 or 10 brass pieces out of her store; the rest they themselves would furnish This fort being once erected, the town and whole country should be more resolute and safe"

During a recent alarm some of the citizens had conveyed their goods out of the town, "and others no doubt would have followed if they had not been stopped by the coming of Sir Francis Drake, who the more to assure them brought his wife and family thither . .

"They have of late at their own charge fortified St Nicholas Island with a wall, where the entrance was lowest and easiest to be made, of 20 foot in height and 150 in length, . . . within the Island, they have arms (as carbines, muskets and pikes) for the arming of 350 men Besides they have brought thither 50 barrels of pitch, 40 barrels of tar, 10000 weight of hearth pitch, as many of brimstone to be in a readiness to be prepared for fire works, upon any occasion.

"Upon May Day last (as their custom is every year) they made show upon the Hoe of at the least 1300 men well appointed. . . . From that day and hereafter Sir Francis Drake hath taken order that there shall be watch and ward every night kept in the town no less than if it were a town of garrison Of which watch every Master in his turn as Captain is to have the charge, and to watch with them himself until midnight, and then to be relieved by his deputy, who shall likewise be a man of good substance and trust This watch did Sir Francis himself begin on Friday last."

On the 20th of March, 1591, the Privy Council wrote to the Mayor of Plymouth [1] that her Majesty had been shown a map for strengthening of the place against sudden surprise; and having been requested to assent to the fortifying she wished first to know what would be the charge and how the means could be raised. Wherefore she sent "her servant Robert Adames" equipped with "good knowledge" and ample instructions The Mayor is bidden to confer with Adams, and with Mr Arthur

[1] *Acts of the Privy Council*, Vol. XXII (N.S.), pp. 344-345.

Champernowne "who already hath made a draft of the town with his opinions for fortifying the same."

Adams is to "receive at the hands of Sir Francis Drake a plott of the towne of Plymouth with a draft and device."[1] Many particulars ensue And he is to endeavour that the fortification may be "done with less charge, for that otherwise the charge may be such as may hinder the proceeding" He is next to "repair into Cornwall to Sir Francis Godolphin, who having charge of the Isles of Scilly is asking Her Majesty's leave to strengthen them "against the attempts he apprehends from the foe: for which purpose Godolphin made a map which would be delivered to Adams.

"And for that it hath been heretofore thought meet to have one Island called St Mary Island to be specially fortified," Adams is to consider with Sir Francis "the former fortification" and "determine the best manner for the finishing and perfecting of it" But again he is admonished to endeavour "how the same may be done with most speed and less charge. [2]

(To the fortifying of St Mary's we will recur under the date of its completion).

Adams is admonished to "return there speedily without any unnecessary delay . . ," and is to be provided with post horses as he is on her Majesty's service.

As the actual Royal Proclamation in this connection is dated as late as 30th of May, 1592, we must infer that the Queen procrastinated She announces that the town of Plymouth, an ancient port, a place of resort for her Navy as well as for her merchants, is not as strong as it should be in these dangerous times Wherefore after consultation with her Council, Her Majesty wills for the port to be made defensible by encircling it with a ditch, a wall, and bulwarks, and other defences towards the sea according to a plan made upon view of the town by skilled persons. Then follow instructions as to raising money

A draft, corrected in Burghley's hand, not dated, is to the effect that the town of Plymouth being a fit place to be walled and fortified, so as to withstand any foreign attempts to surprise it—now that the King of Spain's forces are entered into Brittany,—Her Majesty has thought good, with the advice of her Council, to order a convenient fortification A tax of 2/- a hogshead is to be imposed on pilchards exported by foreigners; and 1/- a hogshead on those exported by Englishmen in English ships, to be paid to the Customs Officers and by them delivered to the Mayor of Plymouth. The Queen will allow £100 a year towards the costs, and invites the noblemen, gentlemen, and merchants to contribute [3] But the £100 a year was not her personal gift for on the 9th of June, 1592, in "An Order of the Lords of the Council to Sir Francis Drake and Christopher Harris Esquire to collect voluntary contributions towards the fortifying of the town and port of Plymouth,"—referring to "Her Highness's Letters Patent dated at Westminster the xxxth day of May 1592"—it is stated that "of her most gracious and bountiful liberality" she has "granted a certain impost upon every hogshead of pilchards that shall be transported out of her realm together with a certain annuity to be paid yearly out of her customs in the said port," &c The exact sum is not defined All who contribute shall be given in writing by the collector "a testimony" so that "it may appear who have been furtherers of the good work."[4]

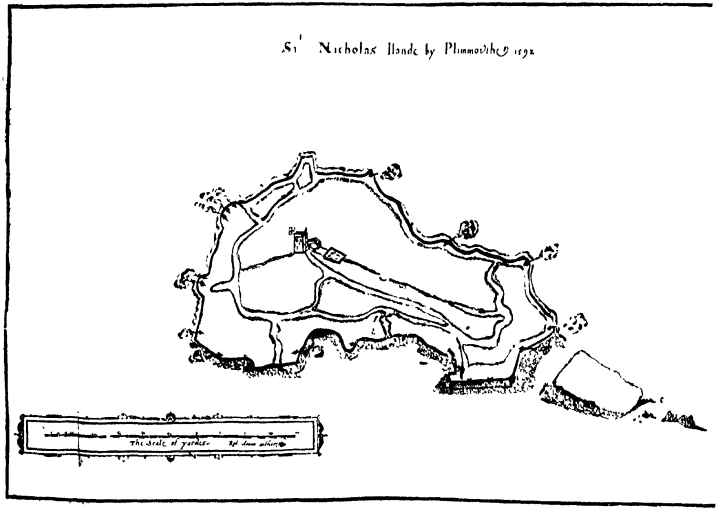
In the Parliament of 1592-3 Raleigh still found it necessary to speak strongly as to Plymouth But on 31st May, 1593, Robert Adams wrote to Lord Burghley that he found the works as forward as time and the small means allowed. "The circuit of the places upon the top of the hill contains 99 perches," &c., &c.; costs being estimated at £981; besides "the gates, sentinel houses, and posterns" which may come to £290. *"The works done are expressed in the plan and the hatched lines show*

[1] Instructions to Adams. Ibid, pp. 345-348.
[2] Cal: S.P.D.E., Vol. III, pp. 225-226.
[3] Cal: S.P.D.E., Vol. III (1867), p. 196; no. 78. Nos. 79 and 80 are further drafts corrected by Burghley, and No. 81 is the draft prior to correction.
[4] *Acts of the Privy Council,* Vol. XXII (N.S.), pp. 524-525.

*the trench and ditch,*" &c The "pricked lines" show the 14 perches of wall, 13 feet high, 4 feet 8 inches at the bottom, 2 feet 8 inches at the top, "which is almost finished" The charges are to be certified by Sir Francis Drake and the other gentlemen concerned The town, he repeats, "has good will but small means"[1] None of the plans are with the letters or the Proclamation; but the map found by the present writer, at Hatfield House, and now first published, (plate 3) seems as if it might be the one made by Arthur Champernowne.[2]

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[1] S P D E, Cal Vol III, pp 349-350
[2] See descriptive matter with Collotype 3




*"St. Nicholas Ilande by Plymouth, 1592 Rob Adames authore"*
(12 x 23 inches)

The Acts of the Privy Council and the State Papers Domestic contain many allusions to "a plot" (map) of Plymouth newly drawn in 1591; and apparently to several different maps, respectively by Drake, Godolphin, and Champernowne, as well as by Adams.

After a fruitless search in the Record Office and British Museum, a unique map now first produced (Plate 3) was found at Hatfield House; and also the above sketch.

## UNPUBLISHED MAP OF PLYMOUTH, TOWN, HARBOURS, AND ST. NICHOLAS ISLAND.

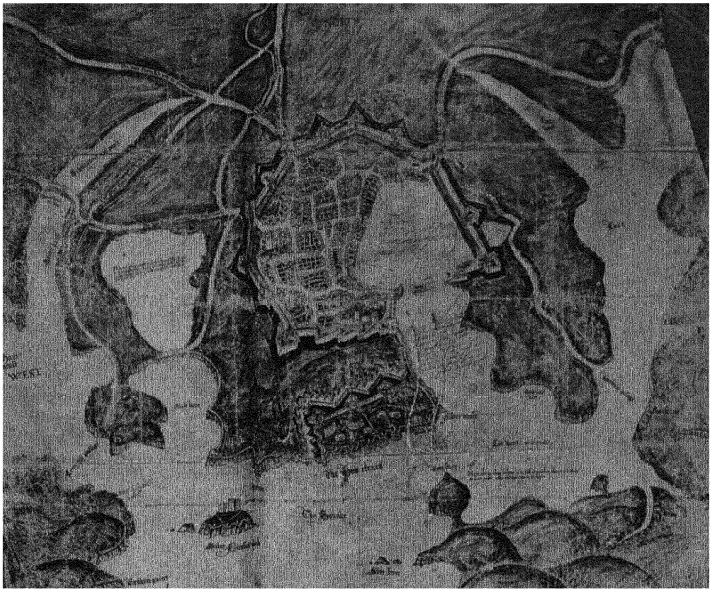
*From the unique original, size 28½ × 35 inches, endorsed "Plat of Plymouth," now in possession of the Marquess of Salisbury, K.G.*

If this is contrasted with the older map of Plymouth in the same collection (first published, E E, Portfolio, plate 1, 1932) much change will be observed in the growth of the town, the improvement of defences, and in cartographical skill. Though not dated either on the face or the endorsement, an approximate date can be inferred from one of the inscriptions, viz.,

"This was plimmouth milporte before the River was brought there by Sir Francis Drake and vi milns builded for him, and this poole made drie for a medow."

The separate map of Water Supply, first published in E F, Vol VIII, plate 33, can be dated 1591 from the entries in the Plymouth Municipal records

The defences of Plymouth were discussed in 1590-91, and strengthened in 1592-93, and again in 1595 This "Plat" seems to be the work of a military engineer. Scheduled in 1928 to be a Portfolio plate, it is still hoped to be able to produce it on a large scale, but it is inset here in what Mr Stanhope-Lovell when Librarian at Hatfield House regarded as its chronological place. Found with the 1591 map of Water Supply, and with a dated sketch of St Nicholas Island, 1592, it seems relevant to the foregoing correspondence.



PART VII.

"The causes that govern the events."

CHAPTER 4

"AS YOUR MAJESTY PLEASES."

SECTION 4

# "Keep my faith, though with the hurt of my estate."

*(Essex's difficulties after the French Campaign).*

**". . . In which honorable resolution of minde, wherewith God hath endewed you ever from your tender yeares, the Almightiest . . . continue your good Lo[rdship] to the encouragement of all noble harts your countriemen who shall follow your footsteps . . . to your Lo[rdship's] worthie fame and renowne, the credit of your countrie, and the manifolde increase of all honorable Virtues, which shall never decay in your name, but bee eternised and remaine in the memorie of man for ever."**

John Elliot to *" The Lord Robert Earle of Essex and Ewe,"* offering him *" Discourses of Warre and Single Combat translated out of French . . . . 1591."* (B.M. No. 8425. bb. 59.)

**"Money and land are base things, but love and kindness are excellent things and cannot be measured but by themselves."**

*The Earl of Essex to the Queen.* (E.E. p. 33).

**The Senior Proctor Thomas Savile "took thereby occasion to commend the Lord Treasurer . . . . . And after him the Lord Chamberlain. And after him the Lord Admiral his great worth and valiant service at sea. And, lastly, fell in commendation of the Earl of Essex, his honourable valiant service in the Low Countries, in Portugal and in France, and so concluded."**

*" The Grand Reception . . of Queen Elizabeth at Oxford 1592* (E.E. p. 37).

## *ROBERT DEVEREUX, EARL OF ESSEX, K.G.*

*Now first published from the original in possession of Lord Hatherton at Teddesley Park, Staffordshire: believed to have been given by Essex himself to his cousin Sir Edward Littleton of Pillaton Hall, ancestor of Lord Hatherton.*

Panel, about 2 feet x 1½. In white satin, with the blue ribbon of the Garter, the "George" jewel not showing in the painting Auburn-brown hair, goldenish beard; pale clear complexion; penetrating dark grey eyes, the "burning eyes" alluded to by Lady Essex.

Reproduced minus the elaborately carved outer frame, which is evidently of later date than the picture On the coroneted frame the Walsingham arms are set on an escutcheon over those of Essex, the usual blazoning for an heiress; but Frances Countess of Essex was not the Walsingham heiress, she was only the heir of her father who was a younger son, and so her seals show the arms of Walsingham impaling Devereux, not an escutcheon The Teddesley picture is one of over thirty portraits of Essex unknown to the Dictionary of National Biography but located by the present historian by enquiring among descendants of Essex's friends and kinsfolk (Other portraits of Essex will be forthcoming in "Elizabethan England" under their probable dates)

*(4) E M Tenison's "Elizabethan England," VII, 44*



PART VII.

"The causes that govern the events."

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## "AS YOUR MAJESTY PLEASES."

SECTION 4

# "Keep my faith, though with the hurt of my estate."

*(Essex's difficulties after the French Campaign).*

ONE of Essex's followers had predicted to Lady Essex her Lord's home-coming from France "with honour to him and joy to your Ladyship;"[1] but there remains nothing to show whether his arrival in mid January was before or after his wife gave birth to her second son. The christening was in "my Lady Walsingham's house," the godparents being Lady Essex, her husband's uncle Sir William Knollys, and her husband's brother-in-law Sir Thomas Perrott.[2] Sir Thomas was then in great grief, for his father Sir John was a prisoner under accusation of High Treason; but, with the Lord Treasurer and Essex both interceding for him, he had not given up hope. It was characteristic of Essex that when the Perrott family were under the Queen's "heavy displeasure" he had the courage to emphasise his connection with them by making Sir Thomas a godparent to his son, who was named Walter after Essex's father; also after the "dearest brother" so lately slain outside Rouen.

In the natural course of events this child would have been bred to "honour and arms." But he did not live to fulfil the promise his godparents made for him that as "Christ's faithful soldier and servant" he should fight vigorously "against sin, the world and the Devil." Lady Walsingham had dreaded the results for Essex's wife of the agitation consequent upon parting with her "dere Lord." And although Lady Essex had promised him "for your little one's sake" that she would "strive to overcome" her "extreme passions" of fear and apprehension, the strain and anxiety had been incessant. Her baby survived the christening less than a month; and has no epitaph except a line in the parish register of All Hallows, Barking:

[1] Hatfield MSS. Cal. Vol XIII, pp. 452-453
[2] Register of St Olave's, Hart Street

"Feb: 19 1591" [92 our style] "Mr Walter Devereux sonne to the right ho: Earle of Essex, Buried."[1]

This was not the last time that Essex's undertaking of "dangerous enterprises of wars" reacted upon his wife. Of her eight Devereux children, two were to be still-born, three to die young, and only three were to be living when their father, aged thirty-four, met his unnatural end.

One of his admirers suggested to him that as not only his power "in Court" but his private comfort was adversely affected by absence in "sea and land wars," he would be wiser to leave fighting to persons of lesser rank, and consult his own interests by staying at home. But the admonition he had received at the age of ten had been that he must resolutely champion his Sovereign and Country, as his ancestors had done.[2] Obligations to the living might have been argued away; it could have been said that the Queen was ungrateful, unreliable, "unkind and unjust"; that as there seemed to be no pleasing her, it was in vain for Essex to go on making effort upon effort, sacrifice upon sacrifice. But for five hundred years his forebears had actively served their respective Sovereigns. So although Queen Elizabeth disappointed him time after time, it was not what she was in herself that determined his devotion; it was the standard in which he had been bred.

Having spent fourteen thousand pounds of his private means in Her Majesty's service during his brief Commission as her Lieutenant-General in 1591, Essex in 1592 was in far worse plight than after his command of the Horse in the Low Countries, or even after his return from Portugal. Moreover whereas he then had been unmarried, his domestic circumstances in 1592 made his heavy load of debt the more alarming. We have noticed that whereas it had hitherto been customary for the Queen's Lieutenant-General to receive (or at least to be promised on paper) £6 a day on active service, the pay lists of 1591, both in the Privy Council Register and in the schedule translated into French, contain figures for the "entertainment" [wages] of every sort of subordinate, even clerks, but show a blank opposite the name and office of the General. Whether Essex tried to get the Queen to refund him the pay usual to his office, we do not know; but we may recall that her "threats against the Earl of Essex" had even included a menace to confiscate his lands.[3] We should also remember how when Essex, outside Rouen, just before Christmas 1591, heard of her depriving him of the Chancellorship of Oxford, he had written of her to Sir Robert Cecil as "an unkind Lady."

While relying upon Burghley in all matters directly bearing upon the war, he looked to Sir Robert to reason with the Queen in connection with private difficulties entailed upon him by his public service. The current notion that because Sir Robert

[1] All Hallows, Barking, was selected because already the burial place of Essex's grandfather. Stow, in his "*Survey of London*," 1598, mentions this monument to "Sir Richard Devereux son and heir to Lord Ferrers of Chartley"; but no trace of it now remains, nor any memorial to the three of Essex's children whose funerals the Register records.

[2] E E, Vol. III, pp 47-49

[3] E E, Vol VIII, p. 565

spoke vehemently against him in 1601, Essex and Cecil had been enemies from the first, appears greatly mistaken, and Cecil himself long afterwards alluded to their old affection.[1] In one emergency after another we shall see Essex writing to Sir Robert with a degree of candour implying close intimacy. Though in July 1592 he shows exasperation, his doubts were short-lived.

" To the Right Honourable Sir Robert Cecill

Sir R. I have been with the Queen, and have had my answer. How it agrees with your letter, you can judge, after you have spoken with the Queen. Whether you have mistaken the Queen or used cunning with me, I know not. I will not condemn you, but leave you to think if it were your own case whether you would not be jealous.[2]

" Your friend if I have cause, R. Essex "[3]

We have not Sir Robert's letter, nor the reply to this. But Essex's next implies that only the Queen was to blame. The royal heart is " inscrutible " is his way of conveying that her behaviour is beyond explanation.

" To my Honourable Friend Sir R. Cecill.

Sir. I perceive her Majesty referred the Report of her answer to my last letter unto yourself . . . . *Cor regis est inscrutabile,* and therefore the answers are riddles. I pray you get me an exposition of your message My first desire was to be relieved by her goodness in as easy and reasonable a suit as ever was made unto her · My second that she will not think it wilfulness but necessity *to keep my faith, though with the hurt of my estate.*

" I pray you send me present word, for I am unpatient of these infinite delays. To write to the Queen herself, within these few days I did think I might have presumed; but scorn and unkindness have made me afraid to profess my affection, and therefore much more to lay open my griefs. Speak no more of me than the Queen is willing to hear. But get her to free me from suspicion of disobedience to her commandments, though I look not to be freed from undoing.

" Your very assured friend R. Essex."

(Queen Elizabeth's conduct about money was the more difficult to understand as of all the virtues habitually expected from Royal personages " to be liberal in the fashion of the Gods " was one of the chief, and avarice was held to be " monstrous.")[4] It would seem as if Sir Robert tried again to reason with Her Majesty; but failed. His account of the matter is missing; we only have Essex's answer:

" To my Honorable Friend Sir R. Cecill

Sir. I thank you for your letter. I have returned it according to your desire.[5] I have given over my suit, and am sorry you have taken so much pains in a matter which hath had so

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[1] Letter to K. James VI (E.E , under date)

[2] i e., suspicious.

[3] Holog: Hatfield *"State Papers,"* Murdin, p 655 and infra, pp 656-7 the other letters. No date except " Julie ".

[4] " De toutes les vertus qui te logent aux cieux,
C'est d'estre liberal, à la facon des Dieux
Qui donnent a foison estimans l'avarice
Un pêche monstreux, escolle de tout vice "

*" Hymne à Henry, deuzieme de ce nom Roy de France,"* praising his generosity, in *" Les Hymnes de P de Ronsard, Gentilhomme Vandomois "* Paris, 1578 (Reprint, *Œuvres Complètes,* 1924, Tome 6, p. 11)

[5] From this we may conjecture that it contained a description of the Queen's temper, and that Cecil wished to make sure it was destroyed, by burning it himself.

ill success. I desire to have nothing from the Queen. I will love my friends ever, and with myself do as I have cause.

"Your Friend very assured R. Essex."

"And with myself do as I have cause" meant have further recourse to Peter Vanlore and the other money-lenders. These letters have been in print since 1759. But without knowledge of the Queen's "threats against the Earl of Essex" as expressed to Duplessis, and also without realisation of Essex's expenditure in her service, they have been read as denoting "prodigality" in general and "arrogance" to Sir Robert Cecil in particular; instead of as the confidences of one intimate friend to another, on a matter in which the Queen's frequent evasions and circumlocutions created extra difficulties.

"I have been driven within these three days to keep company with the basest sort of people that are," (meaning the usurers), writes Essex to Cecil; "yet is not their society so great a plague as these indirect answers and sudden stays which I receive from you. You sent me word this morning the Queen would grant part of my demand; you do now write to me that for the stay of my land yourselt and Mr. Fortescue will take order for £6000 of my debt. If you will either pay it, or redeem those pawns and assurances, which I have given for so much, I will acknowledge her Majesty's goodness to have delivered me from so much of my bondage. But if it be but talk with them, and to let my pawns and bonds lie forfeited, I would be loth her Majesty shall interpose herself in a matter will do me no good"

Adding that he credits Cecil's apology, though the success of the suit is "as ill as can be," and begging him to get "an end" put to the matter one way or another, he signs himself "Your very loving friend." The Queen only vouchsafed a further ambiguous reply; so Essex appealed again "To my Honorable Friend . . ."

"Sir R I am weary both of writing and sending, since I can get no direct answer. The Queen refers me now to the message which she sent by you, which you know was nothing else but to have my creditors spoken withal. How little good that can do me, I have told you. It that be all that the Queen thinks me worthy of, I will neither by myself nor my friends trouble her any more.

"This day at one o'clock I have promised to seal and acknowledge before a master of the Chancery all the writings therefore that which you send I pray you send before.

"Your very assured friend R. Essex."

What precisely was signed and sealed by him that day it would be needlessly laborious to find among the MS. Orders and Decrees of Masters in Chancery; the details are not requisite for general understanding of his predicament.[1]

[1] Two other transactions enrolled on Close Rolls C 54 1411, pt 7, and Ib: pt 14. Triple Indenture, 26th October 33 Eliz: between (1) Robert Earl of Essex and Ewe, etc and (2) "Thomas Crompton and Robert Wright of London, Esquiers" and (3) "Sir Thomas Sherley thelder of Wiston Co Suss[ex]", by which Essex, Wright and Crompton, in consideration of £4000 paid by Sherley, convey to Sherley in fee simple "the manor of Bugbrooke alias Budbrooke Co Northants, which Crompton and Wright purchased "among other things" from the Earl of Essex. ". . . And further that he the saide Robert nowe Erle of Essex *and the ladye Fraunces Countesse of Essex his wyffe and heyres of the saide Earle* . . after the first day of Februarye . . . during the space of three yeres . . . shall make . . . everie such act . . . for the further assuringe . . . of the saide man[or] . . . to the saide Sir Thomas Sherley (Memo that Crompton and Wright came before the Queen in Chancery and acknowledged the above, 29 Oct "Anno suprascript." Essex himself acknowledged it in November).

But it is of interest to discover from Essex's unpublished accounts that the entry as to "Sale of Landes" towards the end of 1592 is headed by "The right honorable the Lord highe trea[sure]r of England," to whom Essex disposed of "Cliffe Parke" at £5000.[1]

A letter of Essex to the Queen, dated "London this 7th of October," no year, may or may not refer to this crisis,[2] but whenever written it is too characteristic to omit.

> "Madame. As in love there can be nothing more bitter than unkindness, so than that there is no truer a touchstone of an humble and constant faith.[3] Since it pleaseth your Majesty to try me with what duty and patience I bear the hard measure that is offered me, I will humbly crave pardon to tell your Majesty, without offence, what sense I have of it.
>
> "When it pleased your Majesty to send me word you would forbear the £3000 for six months longer, your kindness in it was a greater satisfaction to my mind than the loan of so much money could be a benefit to my purse; and now that your Majesty repents yourself of the favour you thought to do me, I would I could as well repair the breach which your unkind answer hath made in my heart, as I can with the sale of one poor manor answer the sum your Majesty takes of me.
>
> "Money and land are base things, but love and kindness are excellent things, and cannot be measured but by themselves. Therefore I will not charge your Majesty refusing me in so small a matter, nor tell you that you once promised it; but I will assure your Majesty that I will owe you all duty for ever, and I must needs love you till I be discouraged. And so humbly kissing your fair hands, I wish you what your royal heart wisheth most.
>
> "Your Majesty's most humble servant R. Essex"[4]

Had Essex been of the "self-magnifying" egotistical disposition attributed to him in 1927 by a writer manifestly unacquainted with his actions, after his experiences and expenditure in 1585-6, 1588, 1589, and 1591 and '92, he might have concluded that he had sacrificed more than enough of his private means in supporting the State, and that it was time to consider his own interests and his children's. But he elected to go on as he had begun, undermining or disposing of his property in national emergencies. Each of his "moral and martiall proceedings" was to

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[1] Which sum was received through "the handes of Mr Vincent Skinner" as appears in "*The Declaration of the Accompte of Gelley Mericke Esquier Steward of the right honourable the Erle of Essex household, and Receiver generall of his Rentes and Revenues, as well as sondrie Somes of money by him receyved and hadd,*" 24 Nov. 1592 to 14 Dec. 1593 Unpublished Longleat Devereux MSS., III, f. 173-77.

Among disbursements noted are sums due: "Interest for his Lordshipps plate pawned for £200 for halfe a yeare" and for his "greate basins and Ewers", also fees "for the contynuing thereof," and "more for his Lpps silver vessels pawned for £120 due for VI moneths" Ib. f. 77 (No date). On the same page is £477 10. paid into "the Queenes Ma^ties Exchequier."

[2] It might have been written after his return from Portugal in 1589.

[3] The word "love" in this has been twisted by Grosart and others into supposed "abundant proof" of amorous relations. But "My very loving friend" was a common address of men to each other, even in formal letters

[4] Hulton MS. Devereux, "*Earls of Essex,*" 1853, p. 207. Devereux explained, "This is the first of the Essex letters in the possession of Mr Hulton. There are in all fifty original letters, of which number forty-three are written by this Earl Robert. These letters are in admirable preservation, the original folding of the letters and the silk fastening apparently just cut, would, but for the discoloration almost make us doubt that nearly three centuries have past since they were written."

leave him materially poorer; but he never allowed his dread of the Queen's "unkindness" to deter him from what he thought to be his duty.

From the Queen herself, down to "poor bedesmen" to whom he gave annuities, all ranks knew him to be vulnerable to an appeal to his sympathies. That the sick and poor—be they scholars or soldiers—found in him a ready protector, as stated in many a semi-illiterate popular eulogy, can be proved over and over again out of his accounts. That Sir Walter Raleigh, on the other hand "polled the poore to the skinne" while adorning his own person magnificently with many jewels, was one of the specified causes for his unpopularity with "the common sorte," as we shall see. But posterity has elevated Raleigh into the conspicuous position actually occupied by Essex.[1] In 1592 when Essex came home from France to a tangle of difficulties and to find the Queen still in a "bitter" humour, Raleigh also fell under her displeasure. Essex, her Master of the Horse, had incurred her wrath because he maintained it was more suitable to the traditions of his house to serve against enemies in the field than remain always in daily attendance upon her progresses at home. Raleigh, her Captain of the Guard, had not offended by frequent absences on foreign service, but by the fact that while remaining at the Court, and affecting to regard her Majesty as his unique goddess, he had beguiled in secret one of her Maids of Honour, Elizabeth daughter of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton.

At the same time that Sir Robert Cecil was reminding the Queen of Essex's campaign in France as the cause of his predicament with the money-lenders, Raleigh, a prisoner in the Tower, was appealing to Cecil to win him the Queen's pardon. Bishop Mandell-Creighton's reference in 1896 to Essex and Raleigh as habitually using similar language about their Sovereign is the more surprising, as the letters received by Cecil from Essex and Raleigh in July 1592 were printed by Murdin so close together that the contrast is striking. Essex's frank notes obviously were meant only for Cecil, and he did not attempt to dissemble his annoyance over the "inscrutability" of the Queen. But Raleigh sent Cecil an epistle palpably composed in order to be shown to that angry lady.

> "My Heart was never broken till this day, that I hear the Queen goes away so far off, whom I have followed so many Years, with so great Love and Desire, in so many Journeys, and am now left behind her in a dark Prison all alone. While she was yet here at hand, that I might hear of her once in two or three Dayes, my Sorows were the less; but even now my Heart is cast into the Depth of Misery. I that was wont to behold her riding like Alexander, hunting like Diana, walking like Venus, the gentle Wind blowing her fair Hair about her pure Cheeks, like a Nymph, sometime sitting in the Shade like a Goddess, sometime singing like an Angel, sometime playing like Orpheus: behold the Sorrow of this world! once amiss hath bereaved me of all . . . . *Spes et fortuna valete* She is gone, in whom I trusted, and of me hath not one thought of Mercy . . . . Do with me therefore what you list . . . . weary of Life . .. .
>
> "Yours, not worthy of any Name or Title W.R."[2]

[1] Especially in S R Gardiner's *"Students' History of England."* This eminent historian cannot have looked at any documents whatsoever in relation to Essex, whom he casts aside as vain and useless, favoured above his deserts by the indulgent Queen (E.E., Vol. X).

[2] Orig: Hatfield MS, Murdin, p. 657.

Although this has been in print over 190 years, and some of Raleigh's most scornful remarks about the Queen after she was dead have been accessible to the world since 1614, and so could easily have been compared,—and although his calculated amorous language passes the border line of the grotesque,—modern opinion has equipped him with all the graces of chivalry; so no matter what he may write it is usually interpreted to suit that convention.[1]

Elizabeth Throckmorton was young enough to have been Raleigh's daughter when he disqualified her for attendance on the Virgin Queen.[2] That he intended to marry her, but realised that if he asked the Queen's permission, it would be refused, is the most charitable inference; but it is not suggested by his own expressions; for in writing to Cecil after his release he indignantly denied that he meditated matrimony: "If any such thing were, I would have imparted it unto your self before any Man livinge; and therefore I pray you believe it not, and I beseech you to suppress what you can any such malicious Report." Not content with denying any intention of this marriage, Raleigh went further still,—"I protest before God, there is none on the Face of the Yearth that I would be fastened unto."[3]

Yet he had gained the heart of one whose devotion to him in his old age after his fall, and even after his death, has done much to gild his memory. Her true love we shall see demonstrated, when his courtly comedy, with its Venus-cum-Diana rhetoric, changed to tragedy, and his fortitude so failed him that he even attempted suicide. In the time of testing,—when his misfortunes won him at last the popular sympathy never vouchsafed to him during his periods of success,—Lady Raleigh was to behave with a heroism almost beyond praise. We can therefore infer that from the first her affection had been generous and unselfish; and though Raleigh in captivity in his last years still made cynical epigrams upon women, as "idols of vanity," there is no reason to suspect that once having married Elizabeth Throckmorton he ever regretted it. His letters to her, after his real sorrows began, we will

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[1] But on September 14th, 1901, Mr Bertram Dobell communicated to the "*Athenaeum*" various poems, found on fly-leaves of a MS "*Register of all the Noblemen of England* . . ." the most effective of which are contrasted verses by Sir Thomas Heneage and "Mr Rawleigh," on Love. Heneage begins.

"Most welcome love, thou mortal foe to lies,
Thou roote of life and ruiner of debate,
An umpire of heaven that truth to vertue ties"

But "Rawleigh" indulges in a scornful invective·

"Farewell falce love, thou oracle of lies,
A mortall foe and enemy to rest,
A bastard vile, a beast with rage possest,
A way of error, a temple full of treason,
In all effectes contrary to reason
A poysoned serpent, covered all with flowers," &c, &c,

ending with the assurance that the "wysest" run away from it

[2] Baptized 16th April, 1565, she was some 25 years of age at the time of her marriage with Raleigh, who was then about 50. (T. N Brushfield, F S A., "*Raleghana*," Part VIII, Trans: of Devon Assoc: &c, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 242-263)

[3] Orig Hatfield Dated "From Chatham the 10th of March." Murdin, p 664.

consider in their place; they are as different as possible from the coldly calculated rhapsodies about the Queen.

Returning now to the events of 1592, and taking up the threads of Essex's affairs, it should be observed that though the Queen had so harshly deprived him of the Chancellorship of Oxford the previous December, during his absence in command of her troops, not even her Majesty was able to diminish his reputation in scholastic circles. And when, during one of her progresses she paused at Oxford, and required his attendance as Master of the Horse, "*Essexius heros, Nobilis et sapiens, superans juvenilibus annis, Cognitione senes*" was warmly welcomed, and all the more acclaimed because of his recent services to the "afflicted French."[1] Similar testimony, as to his being "wise even in his youthful years," strong in action, and "surpassing in knowledge men and masters hoary with age," occurs so often in Elizabethan literature, that when we turn to now current renderings of the "favourite" as "feather headed," "vain," and "reckless," we see that instead of consulting Elizabethans on Elizabethan matters these commentators are echoing Dr. Abbott's "*Bacon and Essex*," 1877; or else are led astray by the 19th Century Lord Chancellor Campbell; who instead of ascertaining the facts of Essex's career, imagined the Queen enamoured of him and of his "flowing locks." The writer of the "*Lives of the Lord Chancellors*" seems to have been unaware how long hair for men had gone out of fashion in England as early as the reign of Henry VIII. When the Emperor Charles V suffered from headaches and had his hair cut off, not only his own courtiers but courtiers all over Europe imitated him. Though a portrait exists of Henry Earl of Southampton with a single slender lock falling upon his shoulder, in over thirty portraits and miniatures of Essex there is nothing of the sort. This trifle is worth mentioning, because Lord Chancellor Campbell's witticisms are typical of a "school" of "history" much applauded in the late 19th century, and now showing signs of revival. Random fancies are presented to the public as "brilliant" interpretation of facts; and the great heritage from the past, which is every Englishman's birthright, is disguised beyond recognition. The erratic blunderer who goes by the name of Essex in modern history is not even a clever caricature of the man whom Oxford University desired for Chancellor:

> "*In bello pugnax, vir strenuus . . .*
> *. . . . dum vitae prodigus ardet*
> *Afflictos Gallos tegere auxiliaribus armis.*"

"Admirer of learned men, he was himself more learned," ever ready to "*embrace the good with outstretched arms*"[2] which last assertion is not a conventional compliment; it can be illustrated by many private letters from persons he had comforted and aided.

When in September 1592 the Queen, with Burghley, Essex and other of her

[1] "*Apollinis et Musarum Fidyllia*" Oxford, 1592. Reprinted Oxford, 1887. Oxford Historical Society.
[2] "*Apollinis*," etc.

high officials in attendance, visited Oxford University, Her Majesty chafed under the " tedious " oration of the Bishop of Hereford, who made a set speech and would not " cut it short." The next morning, the 28th,

> " sending for the Heads of Houses and other Persons," she " spake to them her mind in the Latin tongue. And among others there present she schooled Sir John Rainolds for his obstinate preciseness, willing him to follow her laws and not run before them. . . . . After she had done with him, she proceeded to her Oration; and when she was in the midst thereof, she cast her eye aside and saw the old Lord Treasurer Burleigh standing on his lame feet for want of a stool; whereupon she called in all haste for a stool for him; nor would she proceed in her Speech till she saw him provided of one. Then fell she to it again, as if there had been no interruption. Upon which one that knew he might be bold with her, told her she did it of purpose to shew that she could interrupt her Speech and not be put out, although the Bishop durst not adventure to do a less matter the day before."[1]

(The " bold " one's doubt of Her Majesty showing herself kind and gracious without an ulterior motive of self assertion, is hardly edifying; and though it may be only the fancy of the commentator that the Queen was considerate for Burghley less for his sake than to rebuke the Bishop of Hereford, the combination of two effects in one act would be typical of Elizabeth Regina.)

On Monday the 25th of September the Lords of the Privy Council were feasted by Henry Savile at " Merton College in the Common-Hall . . . where, after they had dined, they heard a Disputation in Philosophy; the answering being performed by Mr. Cuffe," one of Essex's Secretaries, " . . . which being done, the questions were determined by Mr. [Thomas] Savile (then the Senior Proctor)." This was not the same Senior Proctor who had acted under Vice Chancellor James at the mock election the previous December; and so " in the end of his determination, by reason of one of the questions, viz. *'An Dissentiones Civium sint Reipublicae utiles?'* [Savile] took thereby occasion by name to commend the Lord Treasurer (who was present,) in respect of his greate care in the Government of the Commonwealth. And after him the Lord Chamberlain. And after him the Lord Admiral his great worth and valiant service by sea. And, lastly, fell into commendation of the Earl of Essex his honourable valiant service in the Low Countryes, in Portugall, and in Fraunce, and so concluded."[2]

Thomas Savile's " commendation " represented considerable moral courage: considering that Essex's joining of the " Portugall " expedition had displeased the Queen as much as it delighted the soldiers; and also that it was during his services in France she had forbidden the University to elect him Chancellor. Although Savile's tribute has long been in print, and he does not describe Essex as

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[1] Gutch's ed: of Wood's *" Annals,"* 1796, pp. 248-253; and John Nichols' *" Progresses of Queen Elizabeth,"* Vol. III, pp. 146-147; ed: 1823. (B.M. 2081 h.)

[2] " The Grand Reception . . . of Queen Elizabeth at Oxford in 1592. From a MS Account, originally written by Mr Philip Stringer, one of two Cambridge gentlemen who attended Sir William Cecil Lord Burghley (Chancellor of the University of Cambridge) upon that occasion to Oxford. Communicated to Mr Peck by the Reverend Samuel Knight, S.T.P. Archdeacon of Berks." Nichols; *" Progresses of Q. Eliz."* (1823), Vol. III, p. 155 and *Elizabethan Oxford*, 1887, pp. 249-261.

"impetuous" but as "honourable" and "valiant," and praises him in the same breath with statesmen who began their careers before the accession of Elizabeth, the obvious inference—that Essex at twenty-five occupied a position of extraordinary prominence, and had enhanced that renown by his foreign services,—has escaped the notice of the compilers of the Cambridge Modern History. The contrast between the ardent appreciation given to Essex in Academic circles while he lived, and the abysmal ignorance now prevalent as to his personal exploits and erstwhile widespread renown, reveals anew that our historians have taken his character and deeds not from those Elizabethans who could best inform them, but from each other.[1]

[1] Bishop Mandell-Creighton in his *"Queen Elizabeth"* (1896, p. 162) expresses scorn for Essex's "foolhardy doings." In stating that in 1592 the Queen "went to Oxford, to do honour to the "new Chancellor Lord Buckhurst," he refers to Buckhurst as having "succeeded Hatton, to the great mortification of the Earl of Essex, who wished for that distinguished position But Elizabeth was cautious in her bestowal of offices, and would not allow her favourite to accumulate power. ."

Apparently Bishop Creighton was unaware that the Sovereign was not supposed to "bestow the office" of Chancellor of either University; the Universities had hitherto been allowed liberty of election Essex not merely in 1591 "wished for" the "distinguished position" of Chancellor of Oxford, but a section of Oxford scholars had "wished" it for him so early as 1588; and the majority in 1591 "wished" it, but the Queen overrode "the liberty and privilege" of the University and commanded the election of Buckhurst (See E E., Vol. VIII, pp. 579-584).

Bishop Creighton in describing Queen Elizabeth's visit to Oxford in 1592, appears not to have known that Essex accompanied her, and was particularly praised for his services.

## *SIR HENRY SAVILE WHEN PROVOST OF ETON.*

### *From the original on canvas in possession of the Earl of Mexborough.*

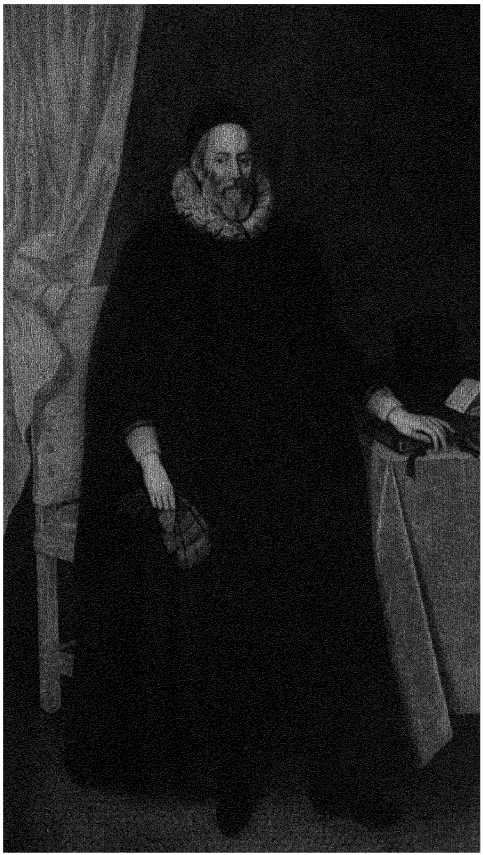
Attributed to Cornelius Janssen. A replica of this picture is in the Provost's House at Eton, and was lent to the "*First Special Exhibition of National Portraits,*" London, 1866, in the Catalogue of which it is thus described, (p 811): "No: 475. Full length; black robes; lace ruff; embroidered gloves in r. hand; dated 1621, aged 72 Canvas, 82 × 48 inches"

Sir Henry Savile—knighted by James the First,—was Provost of Eton for 26 years, and died at the age of 73 in 1622, the year of issue of a fourth edition of his Tacitus No early portrait of him being known, this though much later in date than the first publication of his Tacitus, is set here instead of in the final volume where it would chronologically belong.

It may be that the original is not the one at Methley, but the portrait given by Savile's widow to Oxford University in 1622, and then inscribed on the back "*Memoriae charissimi Maritj Margareta Savilia Uxor ejus consecravit Aetatis suae 72 Anno Dⁿⁱ 1621 Marcus Garret fecit*"

Canvas 86 × 50 inches Described in Mrs Reginald Lane Poole's "*Catalogue of Portraits Exhibited in the Reading Room & Gallery of the Bodleian Library,*" Oxford, 1920, p. 32; no. 79:—

> "Whole length, standing on matting, slightly to r.: black scull cap, short grey hair, beard and moustache; white manifold ruff and turned-back cuffs; black cloak over black clothes, black stockings and shoes; his r. hand holds embroidered and gold fringed gloves, his l. rests on book which lies with a folded paper and a high-crowned black hat on table with a scarlet velvet gold-fringed cover to r, a velvet chair with gold fringes and curtain to l The paper is inscribed '*Illustri viro domino Henrico Savillio et Domino et Amico nostro Colendo Londinum*'"



*APPENDIX A.*

## "PROPER FOR THE DIRECTION OF THE LIFE OF MAN."

### *Henry Savile's Tacitus, 1591.*

"There is no treasure so much enriches the mind of man as learning; . . . no learning so proper for the direction of the life of man as History. . . . . Since we are easier taught by example than by precept, what study can profit us so much as that which gives us patterns either to follow or fly, of the best and worst men of all estates, countries, and times that ever were?"

Thus, over the pseudonym of A B, opens a striking Preface to the first English rendering of Tacitus, printed in 1591; the translation being the work of Henry Savile, a future Provost of Eton.[1] A B.'s observations deserve attention both in their permanent applicability and because traditionally ascribed to the pen of Essex, who elsewhere praised "that most learned and truly honest Mr Savile," and who wrote to Fulke Greville that of all Roman historiographers he regarded Tacitus as the best. In 1598 "*The Annals of Cornelius Tacitus*" were to be dedicated to Essex by Richard Greneway; but our concern at the moment is with Savile, the pioneer, who presented his labours to the Queen. After compliments and apologies, he concluded, "May the Almighty bless your most excellent Majesty with a long, happy and prosperous reign, and the only true means thereof. *many watchful eyes to foresee, many valiant hands to fight, and many godly hearts to pray for the peace of your state.*"[2]

In the Preface, A.B. remarks that as Tacitus is hard to digest in the original Latin, such young scholars as are as yet too "tender" to attempt difficult achievements should be grateful to Savile, who has made the study of Tacitus "pleasant and easy." Then ensues a masterly summary of the moral to be drawn therefrom:

> "In these four books of the story thou shalt see all the miseries of a torn and declining State; the Empire usurped; the Princes murthered; the people wavering; the soldiers tumultuous; nothing unlawful to him that hath power, and nothing so unsafe as to be securely innocent.
>
> "In Galba thou mayst learn that a good Prince governed by evil ministers is as dangerous as if he were evil himself. By Otho thou shalt see that the fortune of a rash man is *torrenti similis* which rises in an instant and falls in a moment. By Vitellius, that he that hath no virtue can never be happy: for by his own baseness he will lose all which either

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[1] Of one of the oldest families in Yorkshire, Henry Savile (second son of Henry Savile of Bradley Hall) was born 30 November, 1549 He married Margaret, daughter of Guy Dacre of Chesham, Hunts, and died 19 February, 1621-2, leaving a daughter and heir who married (1613) Sir John Sedley, 2nd Bt. of Aylesford, Kent The above mentioned Henry Savile, translator of Tacitus, was uncle of Henry Savile of Methley Park, Yorks., whom James the First knighted in 1603. As Savile of Methley died childless, the headship of the family passed to his half-brother John Savile, ancestor of the present Earl of Mexborough, in whose possession is the portrait now reproduced Plate 5

[2] "*The Ende of Nero and beginning of Galba. Fower Bookes of the Histories of Cornelius Tacitus The Life of Agricola. Md LXXXXI*" Colophon "Printed at Oxford by Ioseph Barnes for Richard Wright. Cum Privilegio."

fortune or other men's labour have cast upon him. By Vespasian, that in Civil tumults an advised patience, and opportunity well taken, are the only weapons of advantage.

". . . . in the state of Rome" under Nero and his immediate successors, "thou mayest see the calamities that follow Civil Wars, where laws lie asleep and all things are judged by the sword. If thou mislike these wars, be thankful for thine own peace; if thou dost abhor their tyrannies, love and reverence thine own wise, just, and excellent Prince. If thou dost detest their anarchy, acknowledge our own happy government, and thank God for her under whom England enjoys as many benefits as ever Rome did suffer miseries under the greatest Tyrant."

If Essex had intended openly to sign this Preface,—as Lord Oxford had done for Clerk's Castiglione—[1] he may have concluded it would be wiser to refrain after the Queen's peculiar conduct in relation to the Chancellorship of Oxford.[2] But in 1928 the question was raised, "Was A B the Earl of Essex?" or not. In *The Times Literary Supplement* of May 10th that year, Professor Sir Israel Gollancz stated that having found a copy of this first edition of Savile's Tacitus in which on the title page was printed "Ex dono Anna Barnes," he took this Anna to be the wife of Barnes the printer, and suggested that she might be the A B. of the Preface. To which the answer is that the likeness in matter and style between A.B.'s Preface and Essex's authentic writings is too conspicuous to be thus hastily dismissed; whereas we know of nothing written by the printer's wife. Many years after Essex's death, the Provost of Eton—Sir Henry Wotton, his former secretary,—referring to him as a "sound and acute speaker", added that his best writings were "beyond example". But Sir Israel Gollancz contrasted the loyal peroration with what he regarded as the folly and insolence of Essex's final action some ten years later. The world, however, has yet to know what was behind that frustrated *coup d'état*; and when we come to the last Act of Essex's life-drama, we shall notice a marked resemblance between A.B.'s comments upon the degenerate state of ancient Rome and what Essex deplored as the decline of English honour and safety, when, after Burghley's death, a small faction at Court "usurped Sovereignty and buried freedom." To the spurious Essex of "Modern History" A.B. bears no resemblance; but when the genuine Essex has been fully restored to the place he actually held, it will be manifest that whether A.B. was Essex himself or one of his followers, A.B. represents the same methods and principles of study which Essex laid down explicitly for his cousin Fulke Greville.[3]

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[1] E E, Vol II, p. 173, p. 178 [2] E E Vol VIII, pp. 483-484

[3] E E., Vol I, pp. xxxii—xxxiii As to Essex and the preface to Tacitus, this is often said to have been his on the supposed authority of Edmund Bolton in "*Hypercritica*" But Bolton does not mention any part of the Tacitus volume as Essex's; his allusion is to "The Tractate" known as Essex's "Apology" (1598. E E under date); also to Essex's letters of "advice for travel to Roger Earl of Rutland, than which (he says), nothing almost can be more honourably uttered nor more to the writer's praise, so far as belongs to the noble English orator."

One of Essex's letters to Rutland has been erroneously labelled in the B.M. copy as "by Henry Savell," Egerton MS 2262, ff. 1-7. In Add. MS 12511, ff. 38-42, another copy is signed "yo lor affectionate Cosen Essex," dated Greenwich "4 January 1595" (1596 N S) and headed "The late Earle of Essex his advice to the Earle of Rutland in his Travailes," including matter not in the other copy A 3rd letter on the same theme is in a private collection and is holograph. Essex's own statements in the third plainly show him as having written the other two.

# NOTE: SOME BIBLIOGRAPHICAL CONFUSION CLEARED AWAY.

In Hallam's *"Introduction to the Literature of Europe"* (4th ed: 1854, Vol. I, p. 520) Savile's Tacitus is set ten years too early, viz. as "published in 1581," and the annotations are dismissed as "not very copious or profound," though "deemed worthy to be rendered into Latin in the next century by the younger Gruter, and reprinted on the Continent." In a footnote Hallam adds, "They are contained in a small volume, 1649, with Savile's treatise on Roman militia"; and on p. 528, Hallam states that "the first contribution that England made to ancient literature in this line was the view of certain Military Matters or Commentaries concerning Roman Warfare by Sir Henry Savile in 1598."

Henry Savile (not "Sir Henry" in 1598; his knighthood was in the next reign) did not make his "contribution" in 1598; but seven years earlier; the exact title of his discourse is *"A View of Certaine Militar matters, for the better understanding of the ancient Roman Stories"* It is not a treatise merely on Militia, but on the whole art of war It was not the first of its kind in England, for George Whetstone had treated of "the most renowned Romaine, Grecian, and other famous Martialistes" in 1585,[1] and twenty years earlier Arthur Golding had rendered Caesar's Commentaries into English, and had dedicated his effort to Sir William Cecil.[2]

Hallam states that the work he mentions second—that which Gruter translated—"displays an independent and extensive erudition" Presumably he has in mind *"H Savilus de Militar Romanus"* (B.M 588. a 10) But he cannot have written with the books beside him, or he would have seen that the annotations he condemns as neither copious nor profound and the treatise he praises as displaying independent erudition are one and the same, namely the matter added by Savile to his Tacitus, first published in 1591.[3]

It is not Savile's scholarship but the 19th century summary which in this case was neither "copious nor profound." Though Savile modestly depreciated himself in his epistle to the Queen, he was so precise that he added *"A note of the editions used in such authors as are cited by page,"* mostly from collections published successively by Charles, Robert, and Henry Stephens, and a few by Plantin. They begin with Appianus, edition of 1551, and end with Zosimus, 1590, the year before Savile's own volume was printed. The word bibliography had not then come into the English language;[4] but Savile set an admirable example in acknowledging his scholastic obligations; so that Essex's commendation of his learning, and choice of him to educate his only son, should become easily comprehensible.[5]

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[1] Cockle's *"Bibliog."* (1900), p 27.

[2] 1565. E.E, Vol. I, p. 277.

[3] As Hallam's mistake has never been corrected, we here note the editions of Savile's Tacitus available in the British Museum:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (1) | 1591. | Folio. | B.M. 9040. h. i. |
| (2) | 1598. | „ | (called by Hallam the 1st and a duodecimo). B M. 9041. d 20. |
| (3) | 1604 | „ | B M. 586. i. 13. |
| (4) | 1612. | „ | B.M. 586. 1. 13(2). |
| (5) | 1622. | „ | B M. 586 1 14 |
| (6) | 1640 | „ | B.M. 1308. 1 16(2). |
| (7) | 1673. | 8vo | B M. 999. f. 5. |
| (8) | 1698. | „ | B M 197 a 11. |
| (9) | 1716. | „ | B M 588 c. 16 |
| (10) | 1730. | „ | B M. 294 g. 22 |

The translation into Latin is also in the British Museum, Nos. 534. f. 34; 588 a 10 Hallam's authority was so well established that it does not seem to have occurred to any literary critic during the 96 intervening years to go into the matter independently.

[4] The earliest use of the word known to the present writer is in 1679 when Thomas Tenison gave "Bibliographical" particulars in the first edition of his *"Baconiana"*

[5] Savile was related to Ursula, Lady Walsingham; and we shall subsequently see her petition that her grandson should not be taken away from Savile's care after Essex's execution, when the boy was removed from Eton and treated in a manner which so influenced him that he very unjustly avenged upon the second of the next dynasty what his father had suffered under the last of the Tudors.

*APPENDIX B.*

## MORE DEDICATIONS TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.[1]

In 1592, when the war on the other side of the Channel was the burning question, William Home issued "at his shoppe near the greate North doore of Paules," "*Hypnerotomachia The Strife of Love in a Dream*"[2] The translator endeavoured to give it a reflected glory by consecrating it "to the thrise honourable and ever lyving vertues of Syr Philip Sydney Knight and to the Right Honourable and others whatsoever who living loved him, and being dead give him his due". especially to Essex, wishing him "the perfection of all happinesse and tryumphant felicitie in this life and in the worlde to come" No noble person, says R D, is more fit "to patronise, shield and defende my dutie to the deade than your Honour, whose greatness is such, and vertues of that power, as who so commendeth them deserveth not to be accounted a flatterer, but he that doth not the same may be thought an evil willer." As to the translation, "How your Honor will accept hereof I make no doubt, because that courtesie attendeth upon true nobilitie" R D —whether Robert Dallington, Richard Dyer, or another,—does not seem to have had much confidence in the subject he had chosen

> " my humble request is that Your Honor may not thinke of me (by the tytle of the Booke and some part of the discourse) as if I were amorous and did speake according to my owne passion
>
> " But "oppressed with Melancholie, and wearied with deeper studies, I was glad to beguile the time with these conceits, anatomising in them the vanitie of this life, in the Dreame of Polyphilus; which if it shall please your Honor at convenient leysure to look over, pardoning what you may find amisse I shall think my selfe most happy. . . ."

The editor of the reprint in 1890 remarked upon the dedication as the most interesting part; and in so far as it joins the names of Sidney and Essex, it is significant Books were not dedicated at random[3] It was the usual "habite in men of industry" to "commend their labours to persons of countenance and judgment, and for the most part to such as by their owne experience are able to speak of that argument which the worke presented to them doth principally pursue."[4]

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[1] For earlier dedications to Essex, see Vol V, p. 124; Vol VII, pp 85; 365; 402. Vol. VIII, pp 174-183; 448, 578.

[2] This extraordinary composition by Francisco Colonna had been first printed in 1499 by Aldus and republished in 1545 in Venice Born in Venice circa 1433, its author became enamoured of Ippolita, niece of the Bishop of Trevigi She is alleged to have died in 1466, after which Colonna took the Dominican habit and entered the Monastery of Santi Giovanni e Paolo at Venice, where he survived until 1527, dying at the age of 94 The English translation by R D. was followed by one into French by Bertold de Vercille (folio, Paris, 1600), and another by Legrand, "*Songe de Polyphile*," 2 vols, 12mo, 1804, and reprinted by Bondini, quarto, 1811. Why it should have been thought worthy of a reprint also in our time, it is difficult to understand, for it is a most artificial form of fantasy, tedious, vague, and prolix.—Reissued by David Nutt, 1890, edited by Andrew Lang: "*The Strife of Love in a Dream, being the Elizabethan version of the first book of the Hypnerotomachia of Francesco Colonna*" (500 copies only). Original English version is not in B M. nor Bodleian; nor Bibliothèque Nationale, nor in national libraries of Vienna, the Hague, Leyden, Utrecht, Amsterdam, Munich, nor Berlin (Lang, Preface, p. vi). In 1904, Methuen, London, issued a facsimile of the Italian edition of 1499· "*Polphili Hypnerotomachia*" the main attraction of which is in the woodcuts. A perfect copy of the original was offered in 1927 for £60.

[3] Captain Maurice Cockle in his excellent "*Bibliography of English Military Books . 1900*," observes that dedications are important as showing who were the chief patrons of soldiers; yet though a variety of works on the art of war are noted by him as dedicated to Robert Earl of Essex, Captain Cockle forgot to include Essex in his index.

[4] Philip Jones: prefacing translation of Meier's "*Certaine briefe and speciall Instructions for Gentlemen, merchants, students, souldiers, marriners, &c.*," *&c.* Title-page E.E., Vol. VIII, p. 27.

More appropriate to offer to Essex were "The true steppes of warre, the perfect path of knowledge, the playne plott of warlike exercises," which are the themes of *"The Arte of Warre," &c, &c, drawne out of all our late and forraine services, by William Garrard Gentleman . "* which (as already mentioned) was presented to him by Sir Thomas Gerrard, whose name is spelt respectively by Sir Roger Williams and by Essex as "Garrett" and "Gerarde"[1] Describing the "skirmish before Rouen" in which Walter Devereux had been killed, Sir Roger had informed the Lords of the Council that "if any deserved more commendacions than their fellowes, . . . next unto Mr Devorex it was Mr Thomas Garrett, who marched in the head of his men to charge the enemy and behind them in retiring."[2] And Essex as "Earle-General" highly commended "Mr Gerarde" for having "served especiallie well" and helped to rescue the dead body of Walter Devereux[3] Subsequently "the Company of 150 men of which Captain Raineford, lately deceased, was Captain" was bestowed by the General upon "Mr Thomas Gerard," and he was one of the Knights dubbed by Essex outside Rouen in October 1591 Four years later Essex seems to have been godfather to one of Gerrard's babies.[4]

We have seen the dedicatory Epistle "To the right Honorable Robert Deuorex, Earl of Essex, etc. Knight of the noble order of the Garter, and Maister of her Majesties horses," wishing him "Health, honour and happiness, both in this world and the world to come " and saluting him as one "whose valour neither time nor years could deface" He was not yet twenty-four when thus addressed as if he had been a veteran.[5] That the narrative of his exploits at Cadiz in 1596 would be deleted by the Queen's command in 1601 from Hakluyt's records of England's *"Principal Navigations,"* and that the Universities which in his lifetime held him in very high regard would from the 18th to the 20th centuries become oblivious of his services, no Englishman in 1592 could have foreseen.

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[1] Orig· Endorsed "Sr Roger Williams to ye Lls" Dated "From the Campe before Gurney the (blank) of September 1591" S P. France, Vol. XXV, ff. 290-291 Unpublished postscript, f. 291.

[2] Unpublished S P. France, XXV, f. 289 E E, Vol VIII, p 436.

[3] Hatfield MSS. 203, 121, a, b, c Cal· IV, p 169,and Cal. XIII, p. 459 E E Vol VIII, p. 432

[4] Among expenses recorded by his steward, Gelly Meyricke, 1595·

"Itm to Mr Osborne to give the Nurse and Midwief at the Christianinge Sr Tho: Gerrards child." £2

Unpublished Longleat Devereux MSS., Vol. III, f. 92b.

[5] E E., Vol. VIII, p. 448. Dedications continued, E E., Vol. IX, pp. 415-420, 436

## *SPENSER, OUR "PRINCE OF POETS"*

### *(a) Head from a picture in possession of Pembroke College, Cambridge.*

*Canvas, 29 x 24 inches Inscribed "This portrait of Edmund Spenser, accurately copied by Benjamin Wilson from the original on board in the possession of the Right Honourable George Onslow, was presented by William Mason, M A., to the Society of Pembroke Hall, 1771."*

Reproduced by permission of the Master and Council of Pembroke College.

Photograph, Emery Walker, "*Historical Portraits,*" where the whole picture is given. It comes to slightly above the waist, in a dark garment, and with a background which in the photograph seems to swallow up the figure

The "original on board" cannot now be found The reference to it is in the hand of Mason The eyes in the picture are dark greyish brown; the hair chestnut, the complexion fresh.

As to Spenser's appearance there has been much controversy The most familiar picture, reproduced in Sir Sidney Lee's "*Great Englishmen of the Sixteenth Century,*" is the panel called Edmund Spenser at Dupplin Castle, Perthshire It was copied and beautified by Raeburn; and the copy is in possession of the Earl Spencer at Althorp But if "Soul is form and doth the bodie make," the face in the Pembroke College picture appears more like that of a possible writer of "*The Faerie Queene*" than the personage in the very different portrait at Dupplin They are too dissimilar in features and expression to represent the same man To accept one therefore compels the rejection of the other

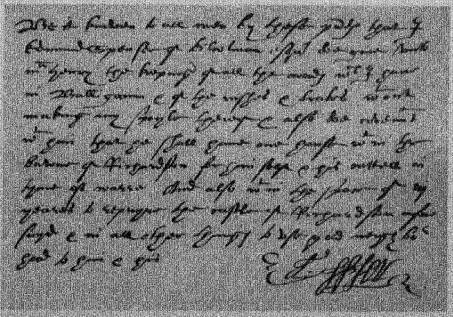
### *(b) Portion of holograph grant by Edmund Spenser of Kilcolman, to "McHenry" (no prefix), allowing him the keeping of the woods of Balliganim, Co. Cork, with the right of shelter inside the "bawne" (fortified enclosure) of Richardston in time of war, "and in all other things to use good neighbourhood to him and his.*

ED. SP[EN]SER."

(B M Add MS 19,869 Undated· Circa 1589 The B M. authorities conjecture the recipient to have been possibly "James Roche alias Machenry of Curraghmachenry, Co Cork, gentleman," to whom with Maurice Roche, son and heir of Lord Roche, a pardon had been issued in 1566. The document was purchased in 1854 among Roche papers, from James Roche in Cork That this letter is holograph was established by the Museum experts when comparing it with another in S P Ireland, Vol cxliv, No. 70)

*(6) E. M Tenison's "Elizabethan England"*





## SPENSER'S ANNUITY FROM THE CROWN, 1591-2.

In the first edition of *" The Faerie Queene "* (1590) Spenser addresses himself to Burghley:

" To you, right noble Lord, whose careful brest
To menage of most grave affairs is bent,
And on whose shoulders most doth rest
The burdain of this kingdomes government,
As the wide compass of the firmament
On Atlas mighty shoulders is upstayed,
Unfitly I these ydle rimes present. . . .
. . . . . .
Yet if their deeper sence be inly wayd,
Perhaps not vayne they may appear to you."

A servant who had been with Burghley for quarter of a century wrote of him that " he entirely loved learning and learned men, whom he ever held in reverence and regard, ever using his credit and authority " to assist and relieve them.[1]

But so established is the fashion of judging Elizabethans not from what they wrote but from what some modern critic pronounces, that Burghley's alleged dislike of poetry and Spenser's hatred of Burghley were emphasised in *" The House of Cecil "* by Ravenscroft Dennis in 1914. Therein Spenser is said to have satirised Burghley, and Burghley to have been so hostile to poetry and literature as to have patronised in all his life only one man of letters, Norden the cartographer. Yet even though the author of *" The House of Cecil "* was not aware of the large number of grateful dedicatory letters to Burghley saluting him as patron of all the " noble arts," Burghley's position as Chancellor of Cambridge University might have saved him from the charge of being a foe to literature; and the touching epitaph he composed for his wife's and daughter's tomb in Westminster Abbey should have prevented his being taken for one of the " frozen hearts " abhorred by Spenser for lack of " natural affection."

The Queen's grant to " our beloved Edmund Spenser " of an annuity, not merely " during Her Majesty's pleasure," but for life, is dated " 25th of February, 1591"[2]. As Leicester, Sidney, Hatton, and Walsingham,—former patrons of Spenser,—were then all numbered among the dead, though Essex (lately returned from command of the Queen's Army in France) would have been a possible person to have " moved " the Queen to benevolence, it is more likely to have been the Lord Treasurer; who had erstwhile done the same for Thomas North, and on his own responsibility had added ten pounds above the sum the Queen authorised, hoping to persuade her to agree.[2] But the editor of a sumptuous six volume edition of *" The Faerie Queene,"* in 1894, added under Spenser's sonnet to Burghley that he is " presumed to have opposed " the royal grant to Spenser.[3] By whom " presumed " is not specified. Nevertheless Burghley's " stinginess " to poets in general and Spenser in particular has become a fixed belief;

[1] Written in 1598. E.E., Vol. IX, p. 240.

[2] As found by the present writer from unpublished letter of Burghley to Leicester, 1580. E.E, Vol. IX, p. 395.

[3] Thomas Wise, op. cit, Vol. I, p. xxii.

though £50 a year was not "stingy" in days when £100 was the official wage per annum of the Principal Secretary of State; and when the Master of the Horse received still less: viz., £66 13s. 4d. If this last was sufficient to offer to Essex, the Queen's "near Kinsman by many alliances," for managing all the royal stables and constantly attending upon Her Majesty's person, a £50 annual gratuity for life can hardly have seemed too small a sum to present to Edmund Spenser. And that Spenser did not hold himself ill-treated we may infer from his praise of

> "my sovereigne Queen most kind,
> That honour and large richesse to me lent."[1]

In the popular Aldine edition of Spenser's Complete Works, the introductory matter of which is compressed from Payne Collier's, Burghley is editorially castigated in relation to "*Mother Hubbard's Tale.*"[2] Commenting on this "severe satire," and contradicting Spenser's own statement that it was "long sithens composed in the raw concept of youth" (though who should know better than Spenser himself?), the editor asserts:—

> "Spenser was doubtless . . . disappointed and disheartened, . . . and the most remarkable passage in the whole performance seems aimed at Lord Burghley, where the poet is dwelling on the misery of waiting and watching for Court favour, while even a reasonable suit is delayed or defeated by the persevering opposition of persons in power:—
>
> "To speed to-day, to be put back to-morrow,
> To feed on hope, to pine with feare and sorrow.
> To have thy Princes grace, yet want her Peeres,"

are lines supposed to have been directed against the parsimonious Lord Treasurer, and we still think Spenser had him in his eye," etc., etc.[3]

The editor applied his same fancy to another poem:—

"... The following autobiographical passages in '*The Ruines of Time*' are decisive," he says: "they aim directly at Lord Burghley, and at him only,—

> "O griefe of griefes! O gall of all good heartes!
> To see that Vertue should despisèd be
> Of him that first was raised for vertuous partes,
> And now broad-spreading like an aged tree
> Lets none shoot up that nigh him planted bee.
> O let the man of whom the Muse is scorned
> Nor alive nor dead be of the Muse adorned."

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[1] "*Amoretti*" (1591) Sonnet LXXIV. In the Aldine ed: of Spenser, n d, Vol I, p xl, the editor admits that £50 a year then was "by no means contemptible." He rated it as equal to £250 Victorian money, and did not forget that in addition to this sum, Spenser was "in receipt of the emoluments . . belonging to his office of Secretary to the Council of Munster," and fees "derived from the situation he held in the Irish Court of Chancery"· also there was the large grant of land and of Kilcolman Castle. But "the parsimonious sovereign . . generally guided by a more parsimonious Lord Treasurer," is implied by this editor to have bestowed the annuity upon Spenser to please Raleigh, and against Burghley's wish. Raleigh had nothing to do with the Treasury, and though he certainly was a patron and friend of Spenser, there is no evidence either that he secured Spenser the pension or that Burghley opposed it.

[2] "*Prosopopoia· or Mother Hubbards Tale. By Ed. Sp. Dedicated to the right honorable the Ladie Compton and Mounteagle. London . . 1591.*"

[3] "*The Poetical Works of Edmund Spenser*" (N.D), Vol. I, pp. li, lii.

"Whatever were the motive (sic) or whatever were the provocation received by Spenser, we know no writer of that day, or indeed of any other, who spoke out more plainly and courageously against a man who was at once the head of the Queen's Council, and at the head of her Treasury. It is the very daring that to some minds renders it almost incredible."[1]

Rather it is the inapplicability which should render this identification not "almost" but wholly "incredible" But whoever was the "aged tree" who "Lets none shoot up that nigh him planted bee," it could not have been the Lord Treasurer; for Spenser was not planted "nigh him"; and those near Burghley were so far from finding him obstructive that it was to him his fellow Councillors and other courtiers oftenest appealed to forward their "suits" to the Queen; in which intercessions his courtesy and patience are attested many times and from many persons.[2] Moreover if Burghley had supposed himself the object of Spenser's public scorn in 1591, and if the Queen had regarded the poet as endeavouring to emulate certain prose libellers whom the Privy Council had rebuked, it would certainly not have been soon afterwards that Spenser would have received a grant for life. Whether it was a reward for "*The Faerie Queene*" or for services in Ireland, or both, is not specified in the Patent; it is merely "divers causes and considerations Us moving," etc.[3] But commonsense might assure us that poets who satirised Privy Councillors, or were in any way insolent, were not rewarded for their wit by pensions under the Crown.[4]

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[1] p lii

[2] The servant quoted E.E. IX, pp 240-241, testified that Burghley answered petitions quickly, not to keep the suppliants in suspense, and that even his refusals were affably and gently worded

[3] Orig P R O. 403. 245/183

[4] For prohibition of "unfruitful, vain, and infamous books," see E E., Vol I, p 152; and Vol V, pp. 170-172. Spenser's annuity of £50 was five times as much as Henry VIII had allowed to the learned and renowned Roger Ascham: £10; a sum which Philip and Mary raised to £20, and Elizabeth maintained at the latter figure See pp viii, xiii of "*The English Works of Roger Ascham, Preceptor to Queen Elizabeth,*" *&c., &c., &c, "With Notes and Observations, and the Author's Life By James Bennett, Master of the Boarding-School, at Hoddesdon in Hertfordshire,*" London, M DCC LXI: Dedicated to Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury, F.R S., issued to subscribers, who included H R H the Duke of York, the Dukes of Argyll and Atholl, Marquess of Rockingham, Earls of Northumberland, Lincoln, Shaftesbury, Scarbrough, Godolphin, Macclesfield and Thanet, and other peers; with many untitled country gentlemen, and City merchants; also the Master and Fellows of St John's, Cambridge, and other Cambridge Fellows (No subscribers from Oxford) Though not equal to Minsheu's subscription list in the previous century (E E., Vol VIII, pp. lix-lx) the names of Bennett's patrons shew that support was still widely obtainable for non-commercial literature

In Elizabeth's day a single patron usually sufficed; when we see a nobleman's coat-of-arms on the verso of an Elizabethan title-page we may infer that he had partly or entirely paid the printer's bill. This custom of armorial commemoration lasted into the 18th century, when Bennett headed his Dedication with the Shaftesbury arms, that peer being by far the largest subscriber to the "elegant and useful edition of an author undeservedly neglected" Nevertheless Bennett regarded his own time as degenerate: he says of Ascham's day that Learning was pursued "with that eagerness and perseverance which in this age of indifference and dissipation it is not easy to conceive."

Bennett rated the purchasing power of money under the Tudors as ten times more than in 1761; and if his estimate is correct Spenser's £50 would have been equivalent to £500 in the 18th century and to much more at present. As £50 had been the annual allowance of John, Duke of Northumberland to his younger son, Lord Robert Dudley, when he married Amy Robsart, we may infer that far from £50 a year to Spenser being as miserly as that figure would be now, it then was very generous, especially as Spenser had also received the aforesaid grant of Irish land.

## "A SIMPLE MAN, VOIDE OF LEARNING."

### *The Gallantry of Gunner Edward Webbe.*

It had been at the end of 1589 that "Wm Ponsonbie entered for his Copie a booke intytuled the farye Queene disposed into xii books, &c. Authorised under the "ands of the Archbp of Cante[bury] and bothe the wardens" as the Stationers Register records, "Primo die Decembris" We have seen how it was issued in 1590, dedicated to the Queen.[1] A few months later there was also dedicated "to the most mighty my gratious and renowned Soveraigne, Elizabeth," etc, etc, "*The Rare and most wonderful things which Ed Webbe an Englishman borne, hath seene and passed in his troublesome trauailes*" &c, "*Wherein is set forth his extreme slauerie sustained many yeeres togither, in the Gallies and warres of the great Turke,*" &c, "*with the manner of his releasement, and coming into Englande in May last*" The object of the narrative was that Webbe, after all his sufferings, might procure some suitable employment.

The declared aim of Spenser was "to fashion a gentleman or noble person in virtuous and gentle discipline,"[2] and so he begins,

> "A gentle Knight was pricking on the plaine,
> Ycladd in mightie armes and silver shields
> And on his breast a bloodie Crosse he bore,
> The dear remembrance of his dying Lord,
> For whose sweet sake that glorious badge he wore,
> And dead, as living, ever him adored"

Those who in our day dismiss this as "moribund mediaevalism," and regard Spenser's "paynims" as mere poetic fantasy, forget that the Grand Turk was then the terror of Europe; and that despite Queen Elizabeth having an Ambassador at Constantinople her subjects were liable to imprisonment and torture if captured at sea by the servants of the Sultan.

"The Turk by all means possible," says Webbe, "would still persuade me and other my fellow Christians while I was there, the time of thirteen yeares, to forsake Christ, . . . . .Which if I would have done I might have had wonderfull preferment . . . and have lived in as great felicitie as any Lord in that Country But I utterly denied their request, though by them grievously beaten naked for my labour, and reviled in most detestable sort, calling me dogge, divel, hell-hound, and such like names: but I give God thankes he gave me strength to abide with these crosses. And though I were but a simple man voide of learning, yet still I had in remembrance that Christ died for me . . This comfort made me resolute that I would rather suffer all the torments of death in the worlde than to deny my Saviour and Redeemer Christ Jesus."

Here we have an Elizabethan's "dear remembrance of his dying Lord." Omitting descriptions of torture,—for what Webbe resolutely endured we find difficult to read with equanimity,—we come to his expressions of gratitude for deliverance·

"Thus lying still prisoner in the Turkes dungeons, it pleased God to send thither for the releasement of me and others a worthy gentleman of this land named Maister Harborne, Ambassador thither for the Company of Merchants, who to the great honour of England did behave himselfe

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[1] E E Vol. VIII, pp 236-237.

[2] "*A letter of the Author expounding his whole intention . . . to the right noble and valorous Sir Walter Raleigh, Knight. Lord Wardein of the Stanneryes, and Her Majesties Liefetenaunt of the County of Cornewayll . . . 23 January, 1589*"

wonderful wisely . . . . Thus by means of the said Maister Harborne I was set free from thraldom, and by him sent into England . "[1]

"At the same time that I was released, there were set at liberty about 20 [other] English men . . . . Here may the bountiful citizens of London see (as in a glass) the fruits of their liberalitie and charitable devotion given at severall times in the yeare towards the releasement of poor captives such as are constrained to abide most vile and grievous tortures, especially the torture and torment of conscience which troubled me and all true Christians to the very soule "

On his return, Webbe, asked nothing except to be employed in whatever work might be "pleasing to God and found profitable to my Prince and Country." We have noticed in the case of Job Hortop the long-sustained patience and unwavering steadfastness of another "true hearted Englishman",[2] and Webbe was of the same heroic temper. (Essex when accused, in 1598, of excessive preference for men of action, replied: "I do entirely love them," and proceeded to summarise the moral debt of the whole nation to the fighting Services.)[3]

Dated "From my lodging at Black-wall this nineteenth of May, 1590," there were two more editions of the *"Travailes"* before the end of the year.[4] And the dedication to the Queen was not in vain: for an unpublished Patent Roll of 14th January, 34th Elizabeth, specifies a grant to "Our beloved subject Edmund Webbe, cannonier" of a pension of ten pence a day for life.[5]

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[1] An Abstract of William Harborne's ten years' service to the Crown in foreign travel, and residence at Constantinople, is printed in Hatfield MSS. Cal: XIII. pp. 444-445; and many references to him occur in the Col. S P Venice (1897).

[2] E.E. Vol I, p 305

[3] In extenso, E.E. Vol X, under date

[4] One, "newly enlarged and corrected by the Author London, printed for William Wright 1590" (B.M. 9 6931), was reprinted by Arber in 1868 (B M 12204 10 2 7)

[5] Pt.15 m 158. Discovered by Captain B. M Ward,—late of the King's Dragoon Guards,—and by him communicated to the present writer. The much greater purchasing power of money then than now should be borne in mind Luxuries were costly, but meat, beer, bread, &c. were cheap

Webbe was son of Richard Webbe "Master Gunner of England," and by his father's influence he had been "preferred" at the age of twelve to travel to Russia in the suite of Anthony Jenkinson (for whose expedition see E E Vol I, pp 183-185) Thus early he began his foreign adventures After release from captivity, he had served for a while in France as a master gunner under King Henry IV.

"The Master gunner is but an under-office appertaining to the master of the Ordinance; And his office is to see all the inferior Gunners do their duties, to be faithful and readie in their charging, discharging, cooling, levelling and mounting of the Ordinance ", &c &c

Thomas Digges *" Stratioticos "* 2nd ed 1590, p 257

## POPULAR LITERATURE: "WORTHY KYNGE ARTHUR."

When Spenser wrote to Raleigh that to make '*The Faerie Queene*" the more "plausible and pleasing" he had set his poem in the reign of "King Arthure"—whom he thought "most fitte, for the excellency of his person, being made famous by many men's former works," and also "furthest from the danger of envy and suspicion of present time,"—the poet was living in a world in which the Arthurian epic was widely popular [1] The professed object of Leicester's magnificent revels at Kenilworth in 1575 had been to revive for Queen Elizabeth the traditional glories of the Court of King Arthur,[2] and among books issued in the vulgar tongue "*The storye of the most noble and worthye kynge Arthur*" had long been a favourite A "*History of King Arthur*" had been printed by William Copland in the last years of Queen Mary's reign [3] How soon another such appeared after Queen Elizabeth's accession is uncertain, because one of the editions is not dated.[4] But in 1581-2,—when the questions publicly under discussion were whether Queen Elizabeth meant to marry the Duke of Anjou, and privately to what extent was she lending her ships for the use of Dom Antonio of Portugal,—Thomas East, on 12th March received "license to print xvj bookes" among which were "*Kinge Arthure*" and "*Arthur of little Britain*" one of which was a black-letter folio, "*The storye of the most noble and worthy kynge Arthur, the which was the fyrst of the worthyes of Chrysten*[5] *and also of his valyant knyghtes of the rounde Table Newly imprynted and corrected Imprynted at London by Thomas East,*"[6] and the other, by the earliest English translator of Froissart, was "*The History of the most noble and valyant knight, Arthur of little Britaine, translated out of French into English by the noble John Boughchet, Knight, Lord Berners*"[7] The "Translator's Prologue" begins,

> "Forasmuch as it is delectable to all humane nature to read and to heare these auncient noble histories of the valiaunte feates . of the victorious knights of times past, and also because that idleness is reputed to be the mother of all vices, whereof somewhat in the eschewing thereof, and in the wate of erudition and learning, I John Bourghchere Knight, Lord Berners have enterprised to translate into our naturall tongue a noble historie . ."

Though these words were written long before Queen Elizabeth's day, "all humane nature" in her reign, except some of the Puritans, still delighted in "auncient noble histories" The two romances issued by East were not enough for that chivalry-loving age The following year 1583 there was "Imprinted by John Wolfe dwelling in Distaffe lane neere the sygne of the Castle, "*The Ancient Order, Societie, and Unitie, Laudable of Prince Arthure, and his Knightly Armory of the Round Table With a threefold Assertion frlendly in favour and furtherance of English Archery at this day Translated and Collected by R R*"[8] The Archers are described as "here" (in London) "yearely

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[1] "A Letter of the Authors . . . to the right noble and valorous Sir Walter Raleigh, Knight, Lord Wardein of the Stanneries, and her Majesties Lieftenaunt of the County of Cornewall . 23 January, 1589" (90 n s)

[2] E.E., Vol. III, pp. 1-12

[3] B M Cat gives 1557 as date Two copies, C 11 b 12; and 634 k.4.

[4] "*The Storye of Kynge Arthur,*" published by T East (B M G. 105 11) B M. Cat. queries date of this copy as 1585, but the printed "*Catalogue of Books . in British Museum . . to the Year 1640*" (1884) Vol I, p 56, conjectures the date as 1560, presumably for 1st edition

[5] Christendom.

[6] Folio BL N D No dedication. (1) "Prologue" (2) "Here begynneth the table or rubrick of all the Chapters in this present volume" B M G. 105 11

[7] "Imprinted at London by Thomas East." B M C 56 d 17 N D. but conjectured in B M. Cat: as 1582

[8] Richard Robinson, Citizen of London. He dedicates it to "Thomas Smith Esquire, Chief Customer in the Port of London, and to the Worshipful Society of Archers" (B M 90 b 22)

celebrating the renowned memory of the magnificent Prince Arthure and his Knightly Traine of the Round Table." And the continuity of the idea of Monarchs as the main protectors of their people figures also in the "Third Assertion" ending with verses on Queen Elizabeth's "Treasures spent in our defence geanst forayn foes and bralles"

"R R" can little have suspected with how much difficulty Leicester, Burghley and other Councillors persuaded her to consent to the "charges" for defence, or how at the last moment in 1581 it was she who strangled Burghley's plans for a "greate and roiall" war against Spain, with Drake in command. But the linking of the "Knightly Armory of the Round Table" with later emergencies is typical of Elizabethan England Wherefore this glance at the titles of books familiar to Spenser's audiences will help to bring home to us how little "archaic" were the principles and ideas of our "Prince of Poets"[1]

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[1] The popularity of the Arthurian epic lasted until the fall of Church and Crown under Cromwell, when one of the petty grievances against "the man Charles Stuart"—as the successful rebels called the King,—was his pleasure in reading Shakespeare's works and Sidney's *"Arcadia"*

Thirty-five years after the death of Spenser, King Arthur had been still a name with which to "delight and profit the Reader"; as we see by *"The Most ancient and famous history of the renowned Prince ARTHUR King of Britaine, The first Part*

*Wherein is declared his Life and Death, with all his glories Battailes against the Saxons, Saracens and Pagans, which (for the honour of his Country) he most worthily achieved*

*As also, all the Noble Acts, and Heroicke Deedes of the Valiant Knights of the Round Table.*

*Newly reprinted and published for the delight, and profit of the Reader London. Printed by William Stansby for Iacob Bloome, 1634"*

(B M. 1077 e 22 (imperfect) and G 10480) This was reprinted and edited by Thomas Wright, in 1855 and 1856; and again later.

The 17th Century publisher protested (echoing Caxton),

". . . . Shall the Jewes be honoured in the memory and magnificent prowess of their worthies? shall the French and Germane nations glorifie their triumphs with their Godfrey and Charles, and shall we of this island be so possest with incredulitie, diffidence, stupiditie, and ingratitude to deny . . . the immortall name and fame of our victorious Arthur? . . .

"The following history was first written in the French and Italian tongues, so much did the poets and chronologers of forrain nations admire our Arthur It was many years after . . . translated into English, by . . Sir Thomas Maleore, Knight, . . . about one hundred and fifty two years past . ."

In 1928 the charm of Geoffrey of Monmouth's King Arthur in *"Historia Regum Britanniae"* was remarked upon by Professor Sir Israel Gollancz in *"Chivalry, a Series of Studies to Illustrate its Historical Significance By Members of King's College, London. Edited by Edgar Prestage, Camoës Professor"*. Chivalry is considered primarily in its origins and early aspects How living the influence of Arthurian legends remained in Elizabethan England is a theme beyond the scope of that work, though Professor Gollancz ends his summary with a brief allusion to Spenser's Red Cross Knight as the "peerless Knight of mediæval chivalry." The Red Cross Knight was also the personification of practical valour and virtue in Spenser's own time; both for courtly readers and generally among the lesser ranks.

"The poet is the right popular philosopher," declared Philip Sidney in 1580, and ten years later the success of Spenser's *"Faerie Queene"* bore out that assertion

PART VII.

"The causes that govern the events."

CHAPTER 4.

"AS YOUR MAJESTY PLEASES."

SECTION 5.

# "Large, excellent, and mighty."

*(A foreigner's impression of London and environs, 1592).*

**London, "large, excellent, and mighty, where ships from France, the Netherlands, Sweden, Denmark, Hamburg, and other kingdoms come almost up to the city."**

*"A True and Faithful Narrative" of "the excursion which his Serene Highness Frederick Duke of Wirtemburg, Count Mumpelgart . . made . . . to the far famed Kingdom of England,"* &c.

**"She has by God's help and assistance known well how to meet her enemies hitherto: witness that mighty Spanish Armada which a few years ago was scattered between Dover and Calais."**

*The same "Narrative."*

**"She is only a woman; only mistress of half an island; and yet she makes herself feared by Spain, by France, by the Empire, by all."**

*The Venetian Ambassador's report of observations by Pope Sixtus V.* (Calendar S.P. Venice. Vol. VIII, pp. 345-346; and E.E. Vol. IX, p. xxxviii).

# NOTE. MUSIC AT THE COURT OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

A large volume might be compiled of Elizabethan references to music; but here it suffices to add a representative extract from "*The Spanish Schoole-master,*" London, 1591 Dialogue VII, pp 128 131 [1]

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|---|---|
| "Now let us go to S Paul's church for to behold the monuments and the relikes of antiquity | *Agora vamos a la yglesia de S Pablo para ver los monumentos y las reliquias de antiquidad* |
| Let us go and see the organs and the musical instruments . | *Vamos a ver los organos y los musicales instrumentos* |
| This is nothing to the musick which I heard upon Sunday last at the Court at Richmond. | *Este no es nada a la musica que oy sobre el Domingo passado a la Corte de Richmondia.* |
| What were these singers and players of instruments? | *Quien eran aquellos cantadores y ranedores de instrumentos?* |
| I know not truely, except perchance they were the Queenes minstrels mingled with the voyces of Italians and Englishmen, which singed very harmoniously | *Yo no se en verdad, sino por ventura eran los musicos de la Reyna, mezclados con vozes de Italianos y Inglezes, que cantauan muy harmoniosamente* |
| Would to God I had heard them although it had cost me a days travel. | *Pluguisse a Dios que les oyesse, aunque me costasse vn dia de trabajo* |
| I would you had for your sake, for you should have heard first and foremost the violes, the cornets, harpes, gitarnes, and trumpets, with the flutes which did triumph | *Oxala por amor de vos, porque vos oyerdes premieramente las vihuelas, cornetas, harpas, guitarras, y trompetas en la flutas que triumpharon.* |
| In truth it was a heavenly harmonie. | *En verdad era vna armonia celestial.* |
| And we saw the Queen as she went in procession, and all the Earls and Lords following her in a most comely order, and passing through the great hall vnto the chamber royal | *Y vimos la Reyna, como andaua en procession y todos los Condes, y varones siquiēedola en vna orden muy compuesta, y passando la sala grande hazia la camera Emperial* |
| You tell me of wonderful things . " | *V m me cuenta cosas marauillos* " |

[1] Messrs Maggs Bros are to be thanked for drawing attention to this forgotten publication. See E E Vol VIII, p 330.

Posterity has been kinder to Queen Elizabeth's musicians than to her Admirals and Generals. Ten volumes of *Tudor Church Music,* financed by the Carnegie Trust and published by the Oxford University Press were followed by an Addenda volume edited by Dr E. H Fellowes As to the adversary's talents, *La Musica de la Casa de Alba,* issued by the present Duke of Alba, is long out of print; but students can consult *The Music of Spanish History to 1600 by J. B Trend, M A* Oxford U P. 1926; *Hispanic Notes and Monographs, No X Hispanic Society of America*

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SECTION 5

# "Large, excellent, and mighty."

*(A foreigner's impression of London and environs, 1592).*

IN August 1592, the month before the Queen's reception at Oxford, the University had welcomed a foreign visitor, Frederick, Count Mumpelgart, or as the French called him Montbéliard, better known under his later title of Duke of "Wittemberg" (Werttemberg). Had his coming to England been expected he would have been met at Gravesend by one of the Royal Household. As it was, he and his suite landed at Dover unknown, and took posthorses via Canterbury to Sittingbourne, where he slept a night, and then "rode post" to Rochester and Gravesend. Sailing up the river to London he passed "the beautiful and pleasant Royal Palace of Greenwich where the Queen is usually accustomed to receive and to give audience to envoys and Ambassadors." She was then at Reading. In London, as he was unknown, "he could not at first find a lodging." Next day, as his secretary relates, he paid a visit to the French Ambassador, De Beauvois La Nocle, "whom he took completely by surprise, for to see his Highness in this place was the last thing to be expected."

While sending to the Court at Reading to know the Queen's "wishes," Count Montbéliard diverted himself by seeing her capital; "large, excellent and mighty," where "ships from France, the Netherlands, Sweden, Denmark, Hamburg, and other kingdoms come almost up to the City." Even while the Court was absent, he found the City so "populous" that "one can scarcely pass along the streets on account of the throng." He was not favourably impressed with the manners of the Londoners: "they care little for foreigners, but scoff and laugh at them." By the 16th of August the Queen sent "one of her pages in a coach" to "convey" him to the Court at Reading, where he was lodged in the house of the Mayor.

"Hardly had his Highness undressed and put on other apparel, when the Earl of Exces" [Essex] "one of the Queen's Council,[1] Master of the Horse, and

[1] Not formally appointed P.C. till February following

Knight of the Royal Order called the Garter, visited his Highness at his lodging, welcomed him in her Majesty's name, and invited him to take dinner in his, the Earl's apartments: to which his Highness after returning due thanks was conveyed in a coach, and was feasted most sumptuously, when the Earl entertained his Highness with such sweet and enchanting music (which in all probability belonged to the Queen) that he was highly astonished at it."

Thus Montbéliard's secretary. But even if those musicians did "belong to the Queen," we may infer that Essex paid them; for in the list of "Rewardes" given by him between November 1592 and January 1593-4 is an undated item of £16 "To Joseph Lupo and other her Ma^ties musitians."[1] It was in this year 1592 that Essex's steward Gelly Meyrick noted that since the death of Leicester in 1588 the burden of entertaining distinguished foreigners had fallen upon his master, costing him on an average £500 a year, when his lands brought in only £2,500.[2] Even as Essex in 1590 had paid for the "diet" and lodging of the French Ambassador and suite at York House, and allowed these guests to suppose it was Her Majesty who defrayed the charges,[3] so for the honour of England, he many a time used to pay where she grudged expenditure; and this even in her own palaces. For example his unpublished accounts reveal that "A diner at Hampton Corte for the Entertaynment of the Erles of Empden in June 1593" cost him £67 16. 9,[4] which was more than his whole year's pay as Master of the Horse. How heavy was his expenditure in the public service the modern world has not the faintest notion.[5]

Count Montbéliard's secretary relates that after dining in "the Earl's apartments" His Highness was "accompanied by the same distinguished Lord to his lodging," and subsequently presented to the Queen by the French Ambassador. He found Her Majesty "surrounded by her powerful Councillors and ladies in waiting, in Court dresses."

"In a very friendly and gracious manner" she conversed with him "on various subjects, and that openly and aloud, so that any in the apartments might understand." The next day he visited her again, with the Ambassador Monsieur de Beauvois La Nocle; who "prevailed upon her" to play "very sweetly and skilfully upon her instrument, the strings of which were of gold and silver."

"Yet notwithstanding that her Majesty was at that time in her sixty-seventh year,"—he is mistaken, she was to be fifty-nine the next month,—"seeing that she was crowned Queen on the 16th of November 1558, in the thirty-third year of her age"—on the 17th of November and her twenty-sixth year, he should say,—"and has thus borne the heavy burthen of ruling a kingdom thirty-four years, she need not, indeed, to judge both from her person and appearance, yield much to a young girl of sixteen."

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[1] Unpublished Longleat MSS., Vol III, f. 75b. [2] Longleat Devereux MSS, Vol II, f 71
[3] Meyrick, Ibid. E E, Vol VIII, pp. 308-9. [4] Meyrick, Ib · Vol III, f 74b.
[5] The existence of Essex's accounts was unknown to Sir Sidney Lee, whose Essex article in the D.N.B., based on easily accessible and often erroneous modern printed works of reference, has been accepted for over half a century as the measure of Essex. It requires complete re-writing. See E.E., Vol. III, p 50, note 1

This can hardly be dismissed as flattery because it was not said direct to the Queen, nor to any of her courtiers; and, though written at the time, was not printed until ten years later.[1]

"She has a very dignified, serious, and royal look, and rules her Kingdom with great discretion, in desirable peace, felicity, and in the fear of God. She has by God's help and assistance known well how to meet her enemies hitherto: witness that mighty Spanish Armada which a few years ago was scattered between Dover and Calais . . . Hence she frequently used this motto: *Si Deus pro nobis, quis contra nos,* which she also did on this occasion when the discourse happened to turn upon that same Spanish defeat.

"After a long conversation, his Highness took humble leave of her Majesty, and departed to his lodging, where in the evening he gave a sumptuous banquet and feast to the aforesaid Earl of Essex, the French Ambassador Beauvois, and other distinguished lords . . ."

"Lords and pages of the royal Court" are mentioned in general terms, but excepting the Lord High Admiral, whose passport is quoted, "the Earl of Exces" is the only peer named. "An old distinguished lord" was subsequently deputed "to show his Highness the splendid royal Castle at Windsor," and "to amuse him with shooting and hunting red deer": which he considered "glorious" sport. But St. George's Chapel "a very beautiful and immensely large church" impressed him even more than the "sixty parks" round Windsor.

"In this church his Highness listened for more than an hour to the beautiful music, the usual ceremonies and the English sermon. The music, especially the organ, is exquisitely played; for at times you could hear the sound of cornets, flutes, their fifes and other instruments, and there was likewise a little boy who sang so sweetly amongst it all, . . . that it was wonderful to listen to him. In short, these ceremonies were very similar to the Papists . . with singing and all the rest. . . . .[2] In the said Church there hang on both sides the

[1] At Tubingen, (4to) German. *"A True and Faithful Narrative"* of the excursion *"which His Serene Highness Frederick Duke of Wirtemberg, Count Mumpelgart . made a few years ago to the far-famed Kingdom of England, as it was written down daily . at his Highness's gracious command, by his private secretary "* Translated in Wm Brenchley Rye's *"England as seen by Foreigners"* London, 1865.

[2] Music was not only ecclesiastical, and an accompaniment of courtly entertainments It was part of daily life. Thirty-two of the Shakespeare dramas contain references to music in the text, and over three hundred stage directions as to music occur in thirty-six of the plays See *"Shakespeare and Music,"* Edward Naylor, London, 1896 Naylor rightly emphasises that from the Sovereign downwards, a proficiency in music was expected of all ranks:

"A large number of passages in contemporary authors show clearly that singing in parts (especially of catches) was a common amusement with blacksmiths, colliers, cloth-workers, cobblers, tinkers, watchmen," &c, &c., &c "If ever a country deserved to be called musical that country was England. . ." All could take their parts in song, and "In this respect, at any rate, the 'good old times' were indeed better than these we now see Even a public-house song in Elizabeth's day was a catch in three parts, a thing which could only now be managed 'the first time through' by the very first rank of professional singers"

Nearly all foreign visitors to the England of that time remarked on two characteristics; the excellence of English music, instrumental and vocal; and the love of flowers, both in gardens and as household decorations. Daily life was lacking in many of the conveniences and comforts now regarded as essential; but music, song, pageantry, gay garments, and a sense of beauty were almost universal; and despite many a tragedy in high life, England was still "merrie England."

shields, helmets and banners of the Knights of the Royal Order called the Garter."[1]

Count Montbéliard was delighted with Windsor Castle, and also with Hampton Court and the "many beautiful gardens both for pleasure and ornament some planted with nothing but rosemary; others laid out with various other plants, which are trained, intertwined, and trimmed in so wonderful a manner, and in such extraordinary shapes, that the like could not easily be found."

As to the interior of Hampton Court, it was very beautiful and most magnificent, "embellished with masterly paintings, writing tables inlaid with mother-of-pearl; organs and musical instruments" of which Her Majesty is "exceedingly fond." The visitor was interested to see "life-like portraits of the wild man and woman whom Master Forbisser [Frobisher] the English Captain took in his voyage to the New World, and brought alive to England." But what impressed him most was "one apartment belonging to the Queen, in which she is accustomed to sit in state" [the Presence Chamber], with tapestries "garnished with gold, pearls and precious stones;" and the royal throne "studded with very large diamonds, rubies, sapphires, and the like, that glitter among other precious stones and pearls as the sun among the stars."

On returning to London the guest was taken to inspect the Tower; where he was disappointed in the armoury: "for although there were many fine cannon in it, yet they are full of dust and stand about in the greatest disorder. At the top of the armoury there is an unspeakable number of arrows, which is a sufficient proof that the English used such things in battle in former times." He considered the soldiers "excellent," however. Though not able to form "a correct estimate of the population," yet from his talks with "distinguished English lords" (unnamed) he inferred that "an enemy wishing to subdue England entirely, . . . would have to make up his mind to fight eight pitched battles, and to confront from thirty to forty thousand men in each."[2]

The nation appeared to him to be as learned as valiant. Oxford is described as the "mother of liberal arts and studies," "founded by the pious benevolence of that devout King of England, Alfred . . . in the year 872":

> "Without reckoning the colleges, Oxford is not much larger than Mumpelgart, for the colleges cover an immense area; the town, however, on account of its dilapidated towers and walls appears as though it had been in former times a defensible, strong, and fortified place; but this is no longer the case, for at present the defences are razed and falling to decay. For the rest, it is situated in a delightful spot, . . . much prettier and pleasanter than Cambridge."

On the 28th of August he departed early in the morning, and taking "the road towards Cambridge," he "passed through a villainous boggy and wild country," and several times missed the way, "because the country thereabouts is very little inhabited."

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[1] Op cit., pp 15 16
[2] Op cit., p 50.

But "about midday we came upon . . little low hillocks, and a fine breed of splendid oxen, and countless numbers of sheep," and "dined at a pleasant village called Winslow, and towards dark we came to Bedford. Between those two places there is for the most part a sandy plain or heath, on which are a great number of wild rabbits which . . . . run free, so that you see fifty or sixty of them together, of all colours; but they scamper off like the wind. . . . ."

After a ride of fifty-five miles he and his attendants reached Cambridge, and were warmly welcomed by the Vice Chancellor, who escorted them first to see the chapel, "like a magnificent and beautiful church . . ."[1] They visited also, Emmanuel College, founded by Sir Walter Mildmay; and heard of "a new College, . . . undertaken by order of Lady Frances, Countess of Sussex, who in 1588 most generously bequeathed five thousand pounds for the purpose."[2] They also inspected "the old ruined and decayed palace and castle, which lies upon an open tract of country outside the town: It has the appearance of having been in former times a very strong place of defence, but now is only used for keeping prisoners in some of the vaults."

The journey back to London included a visit to "the magnificent palace Theobalds, belonging to the Lord High Treasurer of England," which the foreign Prince thought well deserved its reputation as one of the "most beautiful houses" in the kingdom. "The handsome and delightful hall, . . . so ornamental and artistic that its equal is not easily to be met," its "splendid fountain," its ceiling with the twelve signs of the Zodiac, "so that at night you can distinctly see the stars proper to each" interested him the more as "on the same stage the Sun performs its course, which is . . . contrived by some concealed ingenious mechanism."

"On each side of the hall are six trees, having the natural bark so artfully joined, with birds nests and leaves as well as fruit upon them" so indistinguishable from natural trees, that "when the Steward . . . opened the windows, which looked upon the beautiful

[1] p 32 There follows pp 33-42 "A concise and particular Account of Cambridge" translated from Latin.

[2] She died, aged 58, 9th March, and her funeral was 15th April, 1589 Her tomb with a long inscription in Latin is in Westminster Abbey, and was subsequently mentioned by Hentzner in 1598, in his *Itinerarium*. (The inscription is given in extenso in *"Reges, Reginae, Nobiles, et alij in Ecclesia Collegiata B. Petri Westmonasterij sepulti, usque ad annum ueperatae Salutis 1600,"* London, M D C VI pp. 56-57).

An early guide book, *"An Historical Account of London and Westminster,"* 1759, pp 60-61, refers to the stately alabaster monument "to the memory of Frances Countess of Sussex, whose effigy lies in a [re]cumbent posture with a coronet on her head resting on an embroidered cushion, and her body beautifully robed. This great Lady was wife to Thomas Ratcliffe, Earl of Sussex, Lord Deputy and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and Knight of the Garter, &c, and daughter to Sir William Sidney of Penshurst, Kn^t By her last Will, having outlived her husband, she instituted a Divinity lecture in this Abbey [of Westminster], gave 5000£ towards the building of a new College in Cambridge . . . called Sidney Sussex College, and left a sufficient yearly revenue for the maintenance of one Master, ten Fellows, and twenty Scholars, either in the said new College, or else in Clare Hall To her Relations she was most kind, to the Poor most liberal, and to the Ministers of the Word of God most charitable, as her Inscription shows"

Her founding of the College to her husband's honour was the more magnanimous, as he had not always treated her as kindly as she deserved See E E, Vol V, pp. 78-79 (Clare Hall was called after one of the founders, Elizabeth, Countess of Clare and Ulster, c. 1326).

pleasure garden, birds flew into the hall, perched themselves upon the trees, and began to sing . . . .

"There are also many other spacious halls and fine galleries in this splendid palace, with very artistic paintings and correct landscapes of all the most important and remarkable towns in Christendom, as well as tables of inlaid work, and marble of various colours . . . ."[1]

"In another hall is depicted the kingdom of England, with all its cities, towns and villages, mountains and rivers; *as also the armorial bearings and domains of every esquire, lord, knight, and noble who possesses lands and retainers to whatever extent* . . ."[2]

After being shown the house, and the "garden close adjoining, . . . of immense extent" and also the "many fine horses" in the stables, the visitors dined "in the adjacent village," and invited Lord Burghley's steward to join them. "We returned to London safe and well that night." The trip was now drawing to an end: and the passport to "this nobleman Counte Mombéliard . . . to pass . . . into the lowe Countryes" and to receive for that purpose in Her Majesty's name "post horses . . . to the sea side, . . there to seek such shipping as shalbe fit for his transportations, he paying nothing for the same," is signed by Charles Lord Howard of Effingham, Lord High Admiral, and dated "From Bifleete the 2 of September 1592."[3]

"Before His Highness's departure" from London, the Earl of "Exests [Essex] made his Highness a present of a handsome horse."

With the horse and his servants, the traveller "went on board a small vessel which was about to sail for Gravesend, where the large ship that was bound for Flushing[4] in Zeeland was lying, . . . only waiting for a favourable wind . . . When his Highness had got into the Channel the winds were very high and boisterous, and we saw a great many large black fishes called sea-hogs, . . . and the sailors told us that it was a sign of rough and stormy weather; which indeed we soon afterwards experienced . . ."

On arriving at Gravesend, finding that the wind would not permit of sailing that evening, Montbéliard and his attendants rode post to Rochester to see the Queen's warships. "But on the road such a violent wind arose as nearly to upset us, horses and all, and at the same time made the waves so turbulent" that to go out to the ships was impossible. From the shore they could see "not less than forty ships of war": some armed, others "getting ready for sea." He especially noticed "the *English Lion* which caused immense damage to the mighty Spanish Armada a few years before."

"As the great ship in which the renowned English Captain Drack . . . . sailed round

[1] Op cit, pp 44-45 presumably unknown to Mr Ravenscroft Dennis, who in "*The House of Cecil*," 1914, declared Lord Burghley utterly indifferent to art.

[2] To this sentence it is necessary to draw attention It should dispel a modern fallacy that Burghley cared for nobody's pedigree except his own, and that he was "jealous" of the old nobility, instead of which few great personages, even in that age of universal study of heraldry, had a more vivid interest in history, not then divorced from the science of heraldry.

[3] Narrative p 47 [4] "Flessingen"

the world, and had lately returned from the island of Dominica, was at this time repairing on shore and refitting, his Highness went on board. . . . It is indeed a very large and strongly built ship, of several hundred lasts, exceedingly fit to undertake so protracted and dangerous a voyage, and well able to bear much buffeting." The ship's Armouries he found "in fine order as in a well-built castle; in the middle, where the largest cannon are placed, it is eighteen good paces wide; what its length must be in proportion may be easily judged.[1] Afterwards his Highness rode back again to Gravesend, the night being dark as pitch, and the wind high and boisterous."

There he slept his last night on English soil.[2] Appropriately the inspection of Drake's ship is the final episode related of his experiences in England. His secretary then passes to the remarks already quoted as to the excellence of our soldiers, and the stout resistance awaiting any foreign invader. Despite his disparagement of the Tower Armoury, by his impression that the soldiers were admirable, the warships also, the Court magnificent, and trade prosperous, he saw tangible reasons for the Queen's assumption, "*Si Deus pro nobis, quis contra nos?*"[3]

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[1] It was the "*Golden Hind*" in which Drake had circumnavigated the globe, and which was kept in the Thames as a perpetual reminder of his exploit But in 1586 he had hoisted his flag in the "*Elizabeth Bonaventure*" In 1588 his flagship was the "*Revenge*" which perished in 1591 after Grenville's famous last fight E E, Vol VIII, pp 459-472.

[2] Ante, p. 60. W. B. Rye (p xciv et seq) supports the theory of Charles Knight and of Halliwell that Count Montbéliard is the "Duke de Jarmanie" in "*The Merry Wives of Windsor*" "It is a very remarkable coincidence," says he, "that the places mentioned in the Duke's journey from London to the Court exactly correspond with those named in the play" But as Count Montbéliard (not then Duke) travelled from London to Reading in a coach sent by the Queen, that he did not deviate from the quickest and best road is no more "remarkable" than it would be for a foreign royal visitor going by train to-day from Dover to London to pass via Rochester.

Emphasis is also laid by Halliwell, and Rye, upon the Duke in the play and the German guest in real life both being called "Cousen" But as all peers above the rank of Baron, whether foreign or otherwise, were called "Cousin" by the Sovereigns of Europe (even though there might be no blood relationship), what is hailed as the "Cousin *coincidence*" no more proves that these two were the same man than Count Montbéliard and the "Duke of Jarmanie" both wearing ruffs round their necks and rapiers by their sides proclaims their identity with each other The habit of picking out some everyday custom, or circumstance, and calling it a "remarkable coincidence," and proof that Shakespeare had some personal meaning in his plays, leads to elaborate hypotheses being erected upon the slenderest foundations.

The subsequent correspondence of Queen Elizabeth with this foreign visitor we shall see in due course E E, Vol IX, pp 401-412

[3] See E.E., Vol. V, p. 189, for Lord Burghley on that theme, in 1584

PART VII.

"The causes that govern the events."

CHAPTER 4

"AS YOUR MAJESTY PLEASES."

SECTION 6

# "Falsely Accused."

*(The "Fatal Catastrophe" of Sir John Perrott, 1590-1592).*

**"Pacificauit Connaciam, Relaxauit Mediam,**
**Subjugauit Ultoniam, Fregit Lageniam:**
**Ligauit Mononiam, Extirpauit Scotos, Refrenauit Anglos:**
**Et his omnibus peræque vectigal acquisiuit Regina."**

**[He pacified Connaught, loosened the bonds of Meath,**
**Subdued Ulster, brake the bonds of combination in Leinster**
**And bound fast in obedience Munster: He extirpated the invading Scots,**
**Bridled the bold extortions of the English,**
**And by means of all these services he increased the Queen's revenue.]**

*On the Lord Deputy Sir John Perrott, by Sir Nicholas White, Master of the Rolls in Ireland, in "The History of Sir John Perrott," by E. C. S.* pp. 136-137. Dedicated "To my most respected and worthy cousin Bevell Grenvile Esquire."

**". . . laie aside your weapons, hang up your armours by the walles; and learn an other while (for your better advancementes) to pipe, to peddle, to syng, to daunce, to lye, to forge, to flatter, to carry tales."**

*"Riche his farewell to militarie profession 1581."*

**"I make my complaint to God and all good men, that I have been most falsely accused through the malice and envy of some wicked and evil disposed persons, scholars of Machiavell . . . .**

**"Neither have I committed anie of the Treasons whereof I was found guilty at Westminster . . . . I have been faithful and true to my Soveraigne Queene Elizabeth."**

*Last Will and Testament of Sir John Perrott.* 3rd May, 1592 (E. E. p. 79-80).

# NOTE ON SKETCH PLAN FOR PROPOSED COLLEGE.

In "*The Book of Trinity College, 1591-1891*," Belfast, 1892, Tercentenary Memorial Volume issued to subscribers only, Ulick Ralph Burke, M.A., chapter VIII, p 186 (quoting Dr J. W. Stubbs' "*History of the University of Dublin*," chapter I) explains that for a long while it remained impossible to form an accurate idea of the size and arrangement of the Elizabethan College; but that "in the present year a paper in the handwriting of Sir William Temple, 1523, has been found giving the distribution of the Chambers . . ." The Charter was granted in 1591, so the date "1523" must be a misprint for 1623 On p 7 of the same work an outline plan is reproduced, dated in the middle "1610" It is not stated where the original is, nor whether MS or printed It shows a quadrangle, with a grass lawn in front and a path to a small gatehouse some distance away. There is no scale The buildings are enclosed within a wall, on two corners of which are small towers The river Liffey is depicted as far as Dame Street, and the drawing extends downwards to St Peter's "and St Steven's" The artist forgot to give the College any door. The Hospital on the banks of the river, and Bridewell facing the College front, should have their names reversed The sketch is described as "The oldest map of the College (1610)." But as Lord Burghley had often been approached to plead with the Queen for an Irish College, it occurred to the present writer that there might be among Burghley's papers some preliminary sketch, such as that for the proposed fort on St Mary's, Isles of Scilly (E E Vol IX, plate 10)

Accordingly at Hatfield House there was found a large and brightly coloured painting of a quadrangle; grey stone faced with red brick, docketed on the back "*Plott of a Colledg or hospice*," and now reproduced The setting of the quadrangle is rather nearer to the river than in the 1610 drawing; also notice the absence of outer walls enclosing the grounds Observe the handsome doorway, and a path stretching across grass, not to a gate house (as in 1610) but to a small gate A low brick wall borders the lawn, and cuts it off from the flower garden in which the beds are arranged in "knots" dear to Elizabethans

This is not what Burghley would have called "a portraict of the howse" after it had been built, but a rough preliminary sketch We cannot tell whether it was designed in 1565 when Sir Henry Sidney was urging the Queen to found a Dublin University; or whether it was sent to Burghley by Sir John Perrott The latter alternative appears the more probable, in that Archbishop Loftus, after an agitated letter to Burghley, (Cal. S.P Ireland, Vol II, pp cxxv-cxxvi) complains in a postscript as to the Lord Deputy "laying before" him "*a platforme of an universitie drawen by him selfe and for sundry just causes to be misliked*"

If we contrast the "*Plott of a Colledg or hospice*" with the works of Adams, Boazio, or any other professional map-maker of that time, we may recognise the possibility that we now behold the "misliked" rough sketch made by Sir John Perrott, whose clash with the Archbishop on the University question led to an acute antagonism the results of which were very far-reaching.[1]

[1] In "*An Epoch in Irish History Trinity College, Dublin Its foundation and early fortunes, 1591-1660 By John Pentland Mahaffy, D D*". &c &c (London, 1903) Professor Mahaffy only mentions Perrott twice, (pp 29-30, and 34) but justly states that Archbishop Loftus "far from being the founder of Trinity College, as he is represented in Taylor's and Stubbs' histories, was rather the chief obstacle that delayed its foundation," &c.

## *HITHERTO UNKNOWN PLAN FOR TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN.*

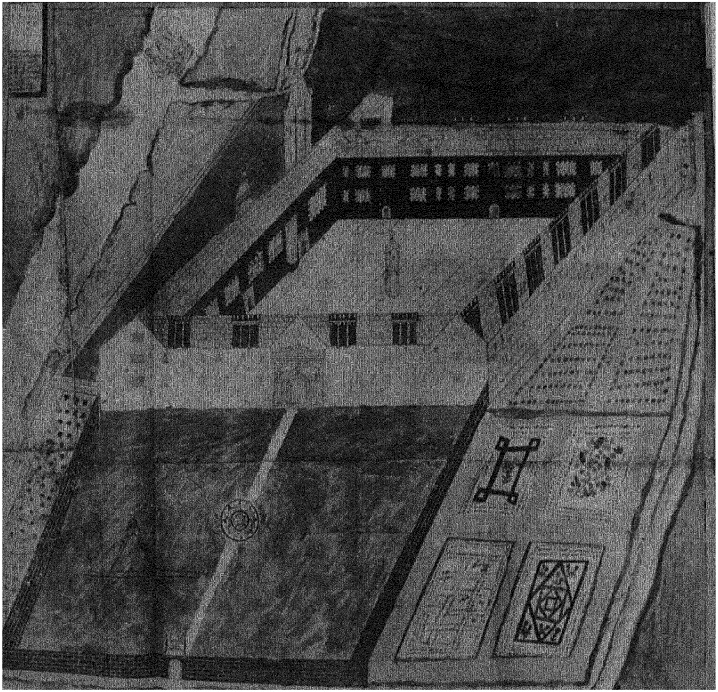
### *From the original at Hatfield House.*

25½ × 30 inches Vellum brightly coloured The placard in the corner beyond the river is lettered as follows

"A the hall
B the chappell
C the butterie and pantrie
D kitchinge
E masters lodgings
F the poompe
G The Inner Courte
H the base courte
I the ma[ste]rs gardens
K the ma's orchard
L the steeple a sea marke
M the fieldes
N an orcharde"

See note opposite for further particulars

*(7) E M Tenison's "Elizabethan England" VII, 4, 6*



## RETROSPECT.

## SIR JOHN PERROTT, LORD DEPUTY OF IRELAND.[1]

The difficulties besetting Queen Elizabeth's Lords Deputy and Lords Lieutenant of Ireland were the more heartracking for themselves in that they were between two fires. If they put down official abuses with a firm hand, and won the affection of the Celtic Irish, they were apt to be denounced to the Queen and Council by such Anglo Irish as they restrained or rebuked Against Sir John Perrott there arose frequent complaints to the Court in England. But on finding that these grumbles produced little effect upon Lord Burghley, Perrott's detractors were encouraged by the Chancellor of Ireland, Archbishop Adam Loftus, so to harry and exasperate the Lord Deputy that his patience wore thin, and his erstwhile robust health became so impaired that he appealed to the Queen to relieve him of the Viceroyalty. This was precisely what his enemies in Dublin desired. But for the Crown to find another able and vigorous administrator, willing to undertake the thankless task, was not to be compassed all in a moment On the 12th of May, 1588, from Dublin Castle, Perrott wrote to Principal Secretary Walsingham in terms we must observe because of the accusation subsequently brought against him of favouring Spain. Although he felt sure

"that your advertisement[2] touching the Spanish preparation is more certain than I can write, yet this much I understand by one Russel, of Drogheda, who being in Biscay in Spain, about 20 days past, spake with one Byrne, a merchant of this country, which lay there for the recovery of certain his goods that were stayed: who coming from the Court

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[1] No contemporary painting is known of Sir John Perrott A mezzotint by Valentine Green does not specify the whereabouts of the original; and though a number of the old nobility of England are descended from Sir John through his great-grandchild who married the 5th Earl of Pembroke, there does not seem to be at Wilton or elsewhere any portrait either of Sir John or of Sir Thomas Perrott In the Sale "Catalogue of the Classic Contents of Strawberry Hill," 1842 (when the Collections of Horace Walpole were broken up), item 112, p 205, is "A Portrait of Sir John Perrott, Lord Deputy of Ireland, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, in black and white chalk, from the original picture at Sir Herbert Perrott Packington's, by Chambers" The present writer cannot discover by whom this was purchased, nor what has become of it There is a crude print called "Sir John Perrott" in "*The Court of Queen Elizabeth originally written by Sir Robert Naunton under the title of 'Fragmenta Regalia' With considerable biographical additions by James Caulfield London Printed and sold by G Smeton, St. Martin's Lane, and J Caulfield, Wells-street, Oxford Street, 1814,*" in which, however, the pictures (though that of Sir Francis Vere is recognisable) seem mostly imaginary. (Those of Sir Philip Sidney, Lord Willoughby d'Eresby, and the Earl of Sussex are conspicuously different from their authentic portraits). We will therefore content ourselves with the graphic verbal portrait of Sir John Perrott by a contemporary. (E E p 70).

[2] i.e, warning and information.

told him that the King of Spain had made a proclamation that all men which were to be employed for the invasion of our estates (as the report went generally) should . resort to Lisbon which he saw them perform; and said that if the wind served them they were at sea, being a great Navy and many men. . . "

The Lord Deputy begged anew for "men, money, munition and victual," for though the Queen had been informed of the necessity "yet Her Majesty cannot be drawn to supply it" And though he was expecting soon to be released from the burden of responsibility, yet he could not "in duty . . as a servant and an Englishman" do other than remind Walsingham that whosoever should govern Ireland the country ought to be provided with adequate means of defence It the enemy succeeded in landing "the cities and towns of this Kingdom, and consequently the Realm itself, will stand in great hazard, . and the few Englishmen that be here" will be "in danger of perishing. And albeit I believe the new Deputy will have the Care thereof as appertaineth, yet I wish that the desire of peace (whereof I have little hope) may not cause forgetfulness" of what is needed.[1] (When writing thus,—and subsequently when keeping Ireland in order during the Armada crisis—little could Perrott foresee that he would ultimately be condemned to death for alleged complicity with the Duke of Medina Sidonia, the Duke of Parma, and the King of Spain).

On June the 16th, 1588, not yet relieved of his office, Perrott wrote further from Dublin Castle to Walsingham as to the prospective invasion. "This present day there came certain merchants of this town out of Bilbao, who were there eleven days past They affirm that the Spanish Navy went out of Lisbon to the seas twenty-one days thence." Giving the reputed figures, he added that the Irish merchants heard, by a letter from Lisbon,

"the certain time which was appointed for the said Navy" [to sail]. "And also whilst they were there there was great processions and invocations made for the good success of the Spanish fleet . . . . with whom if our ships may meet—as we hear that my Lord Admiral and Mr Drake are gone to the coast of Spain,—I doubt not (with God's help) but that Her Majesty shall have an honourable victory, and shall beat those shipping which hath overcome the Turk . whereby Her Highness shall be famous over the whole world."[2]

Sir John Perrott's first experience of Spanish troops had been when King Philip's and Queen Mary's forces combined for the capture of St. Quentin,[3] and he had been employed by Queen Elizabeth to encounter the Spaniards by sea. It was then that she had sent him "a fair jewel," and a message that "as long as he wore that for her sake, she did believe, with God's help he should have no harm" And as he passed down the river at Greenwich in his barge, "the Queen looking out of the window," she shook her fan at him and "put out her hand" in token of her greeting and good wishes.[4] And in such sort had he been accustomed to her graciousness that when he began to receive "nipping" letters from her during his absence in Ireland, he was the more perturbed. The early part of his career is set forth in a narrative compiled too near the time of the events for the writer to dare investigate the final tragedy. But when published in the 18th century the title page gave a mis-

[1] Cal. S P Ireland (Eliz ) Vol. III, 1586-1588 (July) No. 22, p. 513.

[2] Cal S P I Vol III, p 523, "Overcome the Turk" refers to the victory of King Philip's illegitimate brother Don John of Austria over the Navy of the Sultan Selim in 1571. E.E. Vol II, pp 77-97.

[3] E E. Vol. I, Prologue, pp. 95-105

[4] *"Life, Deedes and Death of Sir John Perrott,"* p 109

leading impression of completeness.[1] The biographer holds back his name, but explains in his Pretace,

> " For the certainty of what is here set down, although the writer cannot say he was an eye-witness of all, yet that which he hath not seen as witness he hath either received from such of sufficient credit as are for the most part alike to justify their information, or else it is drawn forth of letters, or other authentical writings yet extant."[2]

Dr. Rawlinson, the eminent Oxonian collector of MSS, judged the handwriting to be " about the end " of Queen Elizabeth's reign. The MS only extended to where Sir John departed from Ireland " and sailed to his castle of Carew in Pembrokeshire," for the writer explains that his " wearied pen is unwilling " to proceed to Perrott's end; chiefly because " the catastrophe of his life was very tragical, and to write all that happened therein may perchance breed offence. . ."[3]

It was Dr Rawlinson who, in 1727, added Perrott's Will, saying (p. 293) " Our Author seems to have a very great tenderness to Sir John Perrott, and therefore draws a veil on that part of his life which he judges too melancholy to be exposed." But as that biography is a drama lacking the fifth Act, we will now consider " the catastrophe."[4]

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[1] B M No 276, 2 5. *" The History of That most Eminent Statesman, Sir John Perrott, Knight of the Bath, and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland "* [Should be Lord Deputy ] *" Containing I An Account of his Descent, Birth, and Behaviour in the Courts of King Henry the Eighth, and King Edward the Sixth II His Travels into France with the Earl of Southampton, his return to England, and Promotion by Queen Elizabeth III The Rebellion of Fitz-Morris suppressed, 1572 IV The remarkable Attainder of James, Viscount of Baltingles, and his Four Brothers, 1585 V The Manner of Sir John Perrott's Departure from Ireland, 1588 VI His Fatal Catastrophe, His Last Will and Testament and his Death in the Tower, 1592. Now first published from the Original Manuscript written about the latter end of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth Per varios casus, per tot discrimina rerum Virgil London Printed in the Year M D CC XX VIII "* The MS was headed *" The Life, Deedes and Death of Sir John Perrott "* The editor's Address to the Reader " Nov the 18th, 1727 ", does not state who owned the MS, but only that it had been

> " communicated from Ireland and thither is again safely transmitted The Political Affairs of that Kingdom, for twenty years inclusive, from 1572 to 1592, are herein more authentically related than will be met with in any other Histories And the unparalleled Efforts of this Great Man's Enemies are a sufficient memento not only how little Security is to be placed in Courts but how little Confidence is to be put in Princes themselves " . . This valuable piece was printed at the expense of " Richard Rawlinson, LL.D., and F R S , late of St John's College, Oxon "

[2] pp x-xi Spelling now modernised

[3] Except Plutarch's Lives of the Ancient Greeks and Romans and the life of Agricola by Tacitus, biography was not in fashion, for even Hakluyt's Voyages were more general than biographical. Perrott's anonymous champion " marvelled why " our English historians had been backward in publishing the gallant exploits of their countrymen, to show " that all the renowned deeds were not done in the first Age of the World " He claims " that even our latter times " have produced " men of as great magnanimity, courage, wisdom and experience " as the heroes of old. To any reader who tells him that " to write the lives of particular Men is as unnecessary as it is unusual," he answers " that tho' it be somewhat unusual, yet it is nothing unnecessary but rather very profitable " because " in Reason and Policy " individual cases " do better inform and instruct us " than " the observation of General actions." (We may add that both are needed to elucidate the relation of the particular personages to the general progress of events )

[4] In 1933 the Irish Manuscripts Commission published *" The Chronicle of Ireland 1584-1608 By Sir James Perrott Edited by Herbert Wood, F S A , F R Hist Soc "* The editor states that the MS was bought for 6/6 probably at the sale of the Duke of Chandos " There is no mention of the name of the author . in the document itself, but it is quite evident . that he was Sir James Perrott " (illegitimate son of Sir John Perrott) He dedicates his " unpolished labours " to William, Earl of Pembroke " Sir John Perrott's Government " is summarised, pp. 23-57. There is no reference to his subsequent fall. The narrative ends abruptly " The rest of Sir John Perrott's Government is wantinge, and fitter to be supplied and sett forth by another than myselfe "

PART VII.

"The causes that govern the events."

CHAPTER 4

## "AS YOUR MAJESTY PLEASES."

SECTION 6

# "Falsely Accused."

*(The "Fatal Catastrophe" of Sir John Perrott, (1590-1592).*[1]

IN 1580, Philip Sidney had deplored that history may be discouraging, because in certain famous instances the wicked triumphed and the virtuous were vanquished. May we therefore lose heart? he says. No! Rather should we seek the aid of Poesie to "set Vertue so out in her best colours, . . . that we needs must be enamoured of her" whether or no she prosper on earth. The poet should show "that which deserves to be accounted good," in such fashion as "to awake the thoughts from the sleep of idleness to embrace honourable enterprises." He ought so to make "magnanimitie and justice to shine" as to fire and inspire in his readers a corresponding strength of heroical purpose.[2] Written before Shakespearian drama had risen to renown, and not printed until nine years after Sidney's mortal wound, these words forecast the effects produced by tragedies in which the victim remains morally far superior to those who bring him to destruction:

"Yet am I richer than my base accusers
That never knew what truth meant."

The more we see the Elizabethan era from within, the more we shall realise how "Shakespearian" were the tragedies in actual life. And if any Shakespearian character can be compared to a prominent Elizabethan, the courageous, loyal, outspoken Falconbridge in *King John* is the one who bears the most resemblance in

[1] In the Calender of State Papers for Ireland, Vol. III, 1586 1588, (July) the General Index contains three and a half columns of references under Perrott's name, and the previous volume gives him two and three quarter columns of Index. But many of the most interesting documents are only briefly epitomised So it has been necessary to go to the original MSS in order to comprehend with what fortitude the fiery-tempered ex-Lord Deputy endured his undeserved disgrace His handwriting is difficult to read, (the *m* and *n* being sometimes hardly distinguishable); but his manner of expression is characteristically direct and vigorous The present writer began investigating Perrott's case in 1926, and the ensuing section now embodies in a concentrated form the only attempt made in our time to co-ordinate the evidence

[2] "*Defence of Poesie*" Ed· 1906, Caradoc Press, pp 29, 40

speech and manner—though not in circumstances—to Sir John Perrott, Lord Deputy of Ireland. Though Perrott's fall was startling even in an era of tragedies in high places, his name conveys little today either in England or Ireland. Yet no study of Elizabeth as a Queen can be complete unless his character and fate are comprehended. Before passing to the main particulars, let us see how he appeared to one who knew him.[1]

> "He was in stature verie tall and bigg, . . . exceeding the ordinarie stature of men by much, . . . his bodie was very compacte and proportionable through all partes. As he did exceed moste Men in Stature, so did he in strength. . . . His hair was auborne until it grew grey in his later yeares his countenance full of Majestie, his eyes marvellous piercing, and carrying a commanding aspect, insomuch that when he was angrie he had a verie terrible visage or looke; and when he was pleased, or willing to show kindness, he then had as amiable a countenance as anie man, . . . as many as knew him can well testify for a truth. . . As he did surpasse moste men in greatnesse and comeliness of his stature, so did he surmount the most parte of men of his time in the Greatness and Magnanimity of his minde; . . for he was of an undaunted spirit, never regarding his adversaries, were they never so manie or so greate: In time of danger he showed himselfe always resolute and valiant; he had a verie sharp wit, and was (as may be said) naturally wise; for though he was not learned in the sciences, yet would he give as good a reason for matters of experiment as moste men."

Sir Robert Naunton—though a carpet knight, who in his *"Fragmenta Regalia"* dealt largely in malicious innuendo,—nevertheless admits Perrott to have been "a very goodly gentleman of the sword, . . . of a very ancient descent" and "vaste estate," who "came not to Court for want" but was disinterested in his service. "Being by his constellations destined for arms," Perrott, "a wise man and brave courtier," yet "loved to stand too much alone and on his owne legs." Worse than this, he long absented himself from the Queen's presence: "a fault" observes Naunton, "incompatible with the ways of Court and favour." Partly because of his "kind of haughtiness," Sir John had been selected in 1584 as "the fittest person to bridle the insolencies of the Irish." But his adversaries are believed to have recommended him for the post of Lord Deputy in the hope of compassing his ruin, Ireland being even then the grave of reputations.

He, however, "did the Queene very great and many services" in the turbulent sister kingdom; and to spare Her Majesty's purse (which saving was always the way to her favour) "he imposed on the Irish the charges of bearing their own armes." This last assertion is confirmed by Perrott's own words. From Dublin on the 17th of January 1584-5 he wrote to the House of Commons (of which he had erstwhile been a Member,) that he had so prevailed with the native Irish,

> "as well by good dealings as by over-ruling them with Her Majesty's Forces, that I have wonne them to entertaine English Souldiers instead of Scots; so as I have compounded with the Chieftains of Ulster for the maintenance of 1000 English souldiers, and do mean to proceed with the rest with their combination and to their owne good, that I hope to have a trayned garrison here in readiness of two

[1] *"Life, Deedes, and Death of Sir John Perrott,"* pp 17, 19 (N B This is not the same publication as *'Life of Sir John Perrott."*)

thousand Foote-men and five hundred Horse readie for all events, and those in time to be but a small charge to her Majestie and that Realm."[1]

The Irish could respond to his strong hand and warm heart; but he often incurred the wrath of Anglo-Irish officials whose methods he found fault with, and endeavoured to reform. As expressed in the MS. *" Life, Deedes and Death of Sir John Perrott,"* " His whole life was like a tragical comedy, in the beginning prosperous and joyful; in the end unfortunate and lamentable . . . Men of great spirits are subject to greatest perils," and " towards the end of Princes' reign (especially in their declining Age) many things happen otherwise than at other times they would or should do."

As Perrott's " extraordinary personage, wit, valour and experience were causes of his employment and preferment, so the same procured unto him much private hatred and evil will: which with his plain words, severities in Government, and not weighing of his evil-willers were in the end the causes of his overthrow . . ."[2] When he was governing Ireland, the Queen's " sharp and reprehensive letters had nettled him," says Naunton. But, we may add, though Her Majesty frequently addressed such letters to her Viceroys—Sir Henry Sidney having often smarted under them,—her changes of mood were commonly endured with patience, like vagaries of the climate. Perrott's exasperation under the volley of her " nipping " reproaches was to be turned against him: not at the time, but years after.

It happened at the end of 1585 that an Irish relapsed priest, Denis O'Roughan, was discovered by the Archbishop of Cashel to be circulating forged warrants purporting to come from the Lord Deputy. These—fabricated under Roughan's instructions by one Henry Byrd,—were enclosed by the Council in Dublin to the Privy Council in England, in a letter relating how the Archbishop of Cashel had warned the Lord Deputy that it was possible the same pair of villains had been " counterfeiting his Lordship's hand " in yet more important matters. Of the forgeries discovered and confiscated, one was " a general pardon " to Roughan, in which, whereas Ireland should have been termed Her Majesty's Realm, Perrott was represented as having referred to *his* Realm and Council: " a dangerous matter to the Lord Deputy if he had signed any such warrant." The forger, Byrd, had a brother John, who apparently " feared something that might come to the Lord Deputy's ear against him;" for among the documents seized had been a copy of a letter to the Privy Council in England in which Byrd " exonerated himself before your Honours of a charge not yet laid against him,"—of being a " Papist." But " There never was suspicion of his religion," continues the Irish Council; yet as he has now proved guilty of corruption, and of slander against the Lord Deputy, who had " dealt honourably " with him and given him no provocation,—his conduct must " justly of everyone be condemned."[3]

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[1] Second *" Life of Sir John Perrott "* By " E.C S " pp 51-2

[2] Op. cit. p. 292

[3] Letter " At Dublin the 24th December 1585." Signed by nine of the Council, including two Dillons, Edward Brabazon, and Edward Waterhouse Op cit. pp 232-236.

When Perrott's Viceroyalty came to an end, " at the day of his departure out of Dublin," many Irish thronged to say goodbye, including " the old O'Neale, Turlough Lenough," who " in great Reverence and Love . . . took boat and saw him on Shipboard, looking after him as far as ever he could see the ship under saile, when he shed tears . . .

> " Also a great number of poor country people came thither . . . some that dwelt twenty, some forty miles from Dublin; and many of them that had never seen him before; Yet they did strive and covet, as he went through the streets, if they could not take him by the hand, yet to touch his garment: all praying for him and for his long life. And when he asked them why they did so, they answered that they never had enjoyed their own with peace before his time, and did doubt they should never do so again when he was gone. Such was the love of the country in general towards Sir John Perrott; . . . and of all that is here written touching his services there are divers yet living worthy of credit who will bear record thereof."[1]

This popularity, though it might have awakened the Queen's jealousy, does not appear to have harmed Perrott at the time. One of the most extraordinary features of his tragedy is the long maturing of the plot against him. The rumour circulated retrospectively in 1590 was that in 1588 during the Armada crisis, when Her Majesty had written graciously to her Lord Deputy, he had " publiquely " remarked " in the Great Chamber " in Dublin Castle, that as soon as the Queen felt the menace of foreign invasion, her soldiers, neglected in peace, became suddenly of value in her eyes, and that, instead of being railed at, he was " again one of her white boys."[2]

We have seen Burghley refer to her conduct in another crisis as both " perilous and absurd," and rely on Hatton and Walsingham then to combine with him to overcome her caprices in private while upholding her prestige in public.[3] Even if Perrott had indulged in the quip ascribed to him, it did not constitute treason; it required to be mingled with other matter before it could have fatal consequences.

A division of courtiers into followers of Castiglione and Machiavelli is suggested by Perrott's scorn for the methods of the Florentine lawyer. He himself was of the school of Castiglione in his abhorrence of double-dealing. That he should live to be accused of treachery would have seemed to him incredible. And so far as we can trace his fall to any of his own actions it would seem as if the worst came upon him through misplaced magnanimity. For though the old O'Neill and the " mere Irish " shed tears at his departure, he left behind him a ruthless foe in the person of the relapsed priest. " They who neglect to punish evil, sanction the doing thereof;" and though Perrott had ruled Ireland with a strong and steady hand, he does not seem to have punished Roughan's forgeries as they deserved. And far from being grateful

[1] MS " *Life, Deedes and Death of Sir John Perrott,,*" pp. 289-290.
[2] Naunton, " *Fragmenta Regalia,*" ed: 1824.
[3] E E Vol VI, p. 89.

for such leniency, this Irishman was to pursue the Lord Deputy with intense and virulent malice, and never rest until he had procured his ruin. But until after the events nobody would have believed that a known cheat and forger would have been able to compass the downfall of so eminent a soldier and statesman as Sir John Perrott.

Retiring to his native county of Pembroke, he was enjoying the life of a country gentleman at Carew Castle when in 1590 he was arrested. With his usual scorn of persons who stooped to underhand intrigues, he wrote to Burghley that he hoped all crooked "purchasers" of the Queen's favour,—"enemies of your Lordship and of me too,"—would fail in their attempts at mischief-making.

> "My Lord," he wrote, "As nothing shall trouble my mind for my own case, conceiving my conscience as clear from crime in these matters,—so assuredly if my impeachment it come, my heart shall be full of sorrow and my mind much troubled," but "rather than any spark of trouble should come to any for my sake, I will with good will choose the Tower or a worse place for my harbour. And in the end Her Majesty shall find me much truer than my contraries. Only my suit to your Lordship is that I may be charged, and licensed to answer, which in my opinion were good justice. I am but a counter of Her Majesty's; she therefore may either make me 1000 or not one But I am as true to her as any one, in all parts Praying to God that her purchased favours have not been a mean to drive men to malign me, and thereby to work me this disgrace, which assuredly will so appear in the end. . . ."[1]

From time to time Sir John Perrott's case was mentioned in newsletters sent abroad: "What will ensue hereof" nobody could say: "Men talk diversely," some accusing him; others imputing all the trouble "to the power of Sir J(s) adversary the Chancellor."[2] Sir Christopher Hatton's Chancellorship was nearing its end; his fatal illness having begun, though it was not yet recognised as dangerous. His alleged enmity to Perrott appears to rest on no more substantial authority than hearsay; amplified after the Queen's death by Sir Robert Naunton. Hatton's abomination of Perrott is also asserted by David Lloyd, whose *"State Worthies,"* 1646, was based chiefly on Naunton and Camden. After commending Sir John's Irish services, Lloyd asserts,

> "He was England's professed friend and Sir Christopher's professed enemy; he fell because he would stand alone. In the English Court at the time he that held not by Leicester's and Burghley's favour must yield to their frowns. . . . He [Perrott] was so like a son of Henry the eight that he would not be queen Elizabeth's subject: but Hatton's sly smoothness undermined his open roughness, the one dancing at Court with more success than the other fought in Ireland. . . ."[3]

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[1] Signed "J Perrott" Addressed to "ye L of boorle" [Burghley] "at courte" Endorsed "8 June 1590 Sr Jho p[er]ott" Spelling modernised above, from holograph S P Dom. Eliz: CCXXXII, No 41 Noted with misleading brevity in *Calendar* 1581 90, p. 670 The accusations against Perrott are more fully calendared than his own letters

[2] S P. Dom: Eliz. Addenda Vol. XXXII, No 7 "12th March 1590" (91 N S) "Sir Tho Williams, and Sir Nicholas White, and Philip Williams once Secretary to the Erle of Pembroke" also reported as "Committed to the Towre."

[3] Vol I, pp 395-398 *"Statte-Worthies, or the Statesmen and Favourites of England from the Reformation to the Revolution By David Lloyd . . London MDCLXVI."* ("To the Hope of England its young gentry Is most humbly Dedicated the Honour of it, its Ancient Statesmen: . . .")

But Leicester was dead: Burghley was friendly: and Hatton, as we have seen, had done much more than dance. As to Perrott being an illegitimate son of Henry VIII, his mother—Mary, daughter of James Berkeley, younger son of Maurice, Lord Berkeley—is described in *"The Life, Deedes and Death of Sir John Perrott,"* as "a lady of great virtue, wisdom, and good government," and his "father's line" as of "auntient and well knowen Linage and name which had continued in Pembrokeshire above four hundred years," the family claiming to have come to England at the Norman Conquest and to have maintained unbroken dignity and honour ever since.[1] Furthermore, Sir John's character was as unlike as possible to any Tudor especially in his disdainful frankness, and his speedy forgetfulness of injuries.[2]

Whereas Hatton was represented by Naunton as scheming for Perrott's ruin, there seems every reason to believe that the contemporary reference to "the Chancellor" was not meant to denote the Lord High Chancellor of England, but the Chancellor of Ireland. In the Preface to the Calendar of Irish State Papers[3] the editor correctly states that Perrott's impeachment "was abetted by the Chancellor, Archbishop Loftus, whom he had disobliged by endeavouring to appropriate the revenues of St. Patrick's Church to the new intended University of Trinity College Dublin." In a previous volume of the Calendar,[4] in correspondence with Lord Burghley, Archbishop Loftus admits that Perrott protested "he never intended any alteration in the Church before he had acquainted Her Majesty with it." Then after an avalanche of complaints he adds a long postscript in which he describes how the Lord Deputy "willed me to enter into conference and consultation with him *how most conveniently either the whole church, or some good part thereof, might be converted into an university, laying before me a platform of an university drawn by himself, consisting of many impossibilities, and for sundry just causes to be misliked.*"[5]

Loftus does not explain his objections, but declares that Perrott's "dealings for the most part are so furious and violent, and toward myself so void of charity, that

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[1] The genealogical particulars given in *"The Life"* &c here reduced to tabular form (facing p 84) are in opposition to the scandal as to Sir John's illicit Tudor paternity In the female line he descended from the early Kings of South Wales, and to alter this to a descent from the second Tudor Monarch would have been easy for a retrospective coiner of anecdotes.

In Joseph Foster's *"The Royal Lineage of our noble and gentle families,"* &c. Privately printed, 1883, p 159, Sir John Perrott is given two wives, (1) Anne daughter of Sir Thomas Cheney, K.G., and (2) Jane Pollard, by which last he had a daughter Anne who married Sir John Philipp of Picton Castle, Bart, from whom descended the family of Lloyd of Dolobran, Co Montgomery (op cit pp 142-145, 155-158) ultimately to be famous in the person of George, 1st Lord Lloyd of Dolobran

[2] Vide his early biographer, *"The Life,"* &c p 20:—"In anger he would sometimes deal roughly and severely even with those he loved best; but being once pacified, he would easily forget his former displeasure" Against opponents he would maintain his cause "by the law; but if submission were offered by his inferior, or reconciliation by his equal," he would "readily receive it." Here perhaps we have the reason for his undoing. To forgive enemies is Christian, but to trust them is dangerous, unless, as Lord Burghley used to say, the interests of the trusted are identical with those of the trusting person

[3] Vol III, p xliv [4] Vol II, pp cxxxvi-cxxxvii

[5] Ib p. cxxxix E F ante p 64

I can expect none other but all extremities from him." It appears an irony of fate that even Perrott's zeal for the creation of a University was one of the reasons why the Irish Chancellor became his relentless foe.[1]

In MS. *"The Chronicle of Ireland,"* by Perrott's illegitimate son James, pp. 48-49, the clash between Archbishop Loftus and the Lord Deputy is described as arising chiefly from the Archbishop's objection to the plan "to connect the levings of St. Patrickes . . . to the maytenance of a college and universitie:" an enterprise approved by the Queen. "But some of the Lord Chancellor's nearest kindred, alies, and frends, having gotten other leeses or possession of the best of these levings," were determined to keep them, and drew many people into their "faction" against the Lord Deputy. The Archbishop "writting sundry letters unto England againyst it . . . prevayles so farre that letters are written from the Queen and Counsell of England to stoppe the passage of these levings." But also the Queen bade both Chancellor and Lord Deputy "forbeare such crossings as might hinder the publicke service. Yet this admonition was not well followed on either side;" and "both brake the bandes of charitie, pacience, and policie."

To be committed to the Tower of London was apt to denote the beginning of the end; and so, when Perrott was first arrested, Lord Burghley had striven to avert that ill-omen by offering to keep him under honourable confinement at Cecil House. Astonishing to relate, the person who vehemently objected to this was not Her Majesty, nor, apparently, any of the high personages, but the forger Denis Roughan. Whereas Perrott had addressed the Lord Treasurer with the deference due to Burghley's position, reputation, and services, Roughan called him to account in a fashion no man of Burghley's own world would have attempted:[2]

"Right Honorable and my Singular Good Lord

"It is very strange of you to keep a traitor Sir John Perrott within your house this five months. My Lord, if your honour, or any whatsoever—especially Sir John Perrott himself—can prove that those letters which are showed against him to be counterfeit letters and not his deed, what is the cause that he is restrained from his liberty. . . . . ?"

[Roughan apparently felt that as long as Perrott was in the house of the Lord Treasurer the case would not go forward. He therefore tried to alarm Burghley into fear of compromising himself at Court by countenancing a "traitor."]

". . . I may say that you suspect him to be traitor (or else he should not be kept

[1] Though we are apt to think of Trinity College (*Collegium Sanctae et Individuae Trinitas juxta Dublin*) as the first Irish University, there had been previous efforts. Pope Clement V in 1311 had authorised the Archbishop of Dublin to found such a centre, but no progress had been made until 1320 when his successor formed a school in St Patrick's Church. In 1358 Edward III granted the scholars his letters of protection, and in 1364 confirmed a grant from the Lord Deputy Lionel Duke of Clarence to found a divinity lecture. But the establishment gradually declined and at the dissolution of the monasteries by Henry VIII it ceased to exist. Sir Henry Sidney in 1568 brought up the matter in the Irish Parliament, and offered to give £100 and land to the value of £20 per annum, but in vain. In 1584 Sir John Perrott's proposals should not have incurred such wrath from Archbishop Loftus if he had reflected that the Lord Deputy was harking back to the precedent of 1320.

[2] S.P. Dom. Eliz. CCXXXIII. No. 110. Holograph. Directed "To the right honorable and his singular good lorde the lo: highe Treasurer of Englande &c." Endorsed "4 Octob: 1590 De. orogha to ye L. Tresor." Unpublished. Briefly calendared Cal. S.P.D. 1581-90, p. 604. Spelling now normalised.

prisoner): And it should be tried by law, if ye did minister justice, as ye do not. But ye mock at the truth, and to undo the poor priest; for which, my Lord, I did write to my Lord Chancellor that I am jealous with your honour, for I perceive you are very cold in her Majesty's cause, concerning Sir John Perrott; because I cannot have him tried by law, the which I require, for the love of God and in way of justice.

"Out of the Gatehouse. The xiiij of October, 1590.

Your honour's humble and daily orator,

DENNIS ROWGHANE, Prieste"

The Gatehouse being a prison, this shows Roughan himself as under arrest; and on this there will be more to say later, in connection with this "poor priest" who had broken his vows and taken to himself not only a wife but also a "pretended wife;" and whose previous forgeries of the Lord Deputy's hand had been exposed by the Archbishop of Cashel, a very different man from the Archbishop of Dublin. Had Burghley been morally weak or a time-server, he might have felt uneasy at being thus held up as the protector of one who had incurred the Queen's anger; but, as we shall see, the impudence of Roughan did not move the Lord Treasurer, except to devise further means to try and bring the Queen to reason. There are many more epistles from Roughan, one of which Lord Burghley docketed as "a very vain letter;" another as a "frivolous letter."[1] And what may well make us doubt Hatton's alleged enmity to Perrott is that Roughan's manner in the effusion now ensuing is as insolent to Hatton as to Burghley, equally accusing him of sheltering Perrott from the law:

"Right Honourable and very singular good Lord,

"I am in your hand since the month of May last, and I cannot have justice against Sir John Perrott after that I have proved him a traitor by witness and with his own hand written and confessing himself a traitor, the which or never a man in England or Ireland shall prove the contrary but that it is his hand. Wherefore it is very strange that he is not committed to the Tower, without [i.e. unless] that *ye are about to hide, drown, and conceal his treasons against Her Majesty.*"

Roughan then rebukes Sir Christopher for showing "the greatest favour" to Perrott: an accusation overlooked by all who follow Naunton in classing Hatton as the contriver of Perrott's downfall. After various clumsy repetitions, Roughan asserts, "I defy any in England or Ireland to save him by virtue of the law; I mean if he be tried at all." Alleging that Lord Burghley lacks zeal in the Queen's cause, Roughan comes to his preposterous peroration: "Council of England, ye are blind and without Truth in Sir John Perrott's case: for he is a traitor!"[2]

The Earl of Arundel at his arraignment in 1589 had protested that the witnesses

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[1] S P D OCXXXII, Nos: 63, 64, 25th and 26th June. The last word of "a frivoloss lre" looks at first glance like "he," but is only the usual 16th century abbreviation for "letter." Of one of Roughan's effusions (CCXXXIII, No 114) the second half is in Latin as if this were easier to him than English, as was the case with some other Irishmen. His English abounds in clumsy repetitions. The contrast between his manner and Perrott's has escaped notice, because the *Calendar S P Dom 1581-1590*, gives only brief epitomes of some of Perrott's most essential letters and Roughan's most impudent effusions. While Perrott loses by abbreviation Roughan gains.

[2] To Sir Christopher Hatton. Dated "Oute of the gatehouse this xxiijth of October, 1590, by me Dennis Rowghane" Orig. S.P Dom. Eliz. CCXXXIII, No. 111 Holograph (Cal 1581-90, p. 694 epitomises this letter fully, but (as already said) Sir John Perrott's letters inadequately)

against him were persons unworthy of credence. And so with Perrott. In an era when rank and ancestry were almost universally respected, it is the more incongruous to find that Roughan—whose evil character (as we have seen) had been exposed by the Archbishop of Cashel and the Irish Council in 1585,—could nevertheless in 1590 get himself taken seriously against a high personage whose notable services to the Crown in four reigns should have rendered incredible any accusation of disloyalty to the Queen. (Moreover we have seen Perrott's actual correspondence with Walsingham at the time of the Armada crisis.[1]) Burghley was certainly trying to confute the slanders. Three day before Christmas 1590 he had written to Perrott,[2]

> "Sir,—Whereas you have heretofore, and since your coming out of Ireland, informed her Majesty—amongst other such service for her Majesty's advantage done by you during the time of your government there,—that you had greatly augmented her Majesty's Revenue, and done things whereby much profit had grown to her Majesty, . . . it seemeth her Majesty is informed there never came any profit . . . either in your time or since. . . ." He encloses to Perrott a note of the alleged particulars as "delivered to her Majesty, wherefore I pray you to write unto me such a letter as I may show unto her Majesty, and therein to set down all such ways and means as you have used for the advancement of her Majesty's Revenues in that Realm, or otherwise raising any Commodity or Profit to her Majesty; and the same to send unto me, with the note enclosed again, as soon as you can finish the same So fare you well.
>
> From the Court the xxij[nd] of December, 1590.
>
> Your very loving friend,
>
> W. Burghley."

Accordingly, "From the Strand this 23rd of December 1590"—namely from Burghley's own house,—Perrott replied, ". . . if your Lordship will let me have my books that I left at York House, and some time of conference with your Lordship, I shall then be able perfectly to set down the peculiarities of these things demanded . . ." He hopes the Queen will not "suffer me to entertain my old years with the greatest sorrow and grief of heart, . . . to be by a machiavellian device holden an offender in her sight, that never offended her . . ." Indeed "having followed the Sun only, and not any inferior planet, it may be I have the fewer friends to solicit for me." He invokes Burghley to manage that he may be "thoroughly charged and heard, which this long seven months I could not obtain. And if I be thereupon found faulty, let me taste of all extremity." But otherwise, he pleads "that Her Highness will in her princely heart think of my long restraint from her presence, and that I have deserved liberty, by my faithful services" ever "since I saw her Highness first." He explains how his reforms in Irish affairs—military, civil, legislative, territorial,—had resulted not only in great increase to Her Majesty's revenues, but in his being able to leave the country in good order and obedience: the native Irish chiefs and Lords coming to Dublin to bid him farewell. Far from having been offended by his firmness, they declared they could have wished

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[1] E.F. *ante*, pp. 65-66.

[2] Spelling now modernised, from S.P. Dom. Eliz. Vol. CCXXXIV. No. 64. In a secretary's hand, signed by the Lord Treasurer Calendared (S.P.D. Col. 1581-90 p. 705), but only in a few lines, though one of the most important of Burghley's letters.

to accompany him to England to kiss the Queen's hand.[1] But, whatsoever the reason, the Queen did not relent; and the following March a newsletter for sending abroad relates that "Sir John Perrott was committed to the Tower . . . with the other gentlemen":

> " . . the Attorney and Solicitor have been very busily employed in considering the points and proofs, . whereof men do diversely discourse as they be diversely inclined to the Chancellor and Treasurer who was said to become sick upon the resolution of sending him [Sir John] to the Tower from my Lord's house. . The Vice Chamberlain is affected to Sir John Perrott, likewise the Earl of Essex for his sister's sake [she] being married to Sir Thomas Perrott . · [Sir John] is charged to *have written to the King of Spain and dealt with him to further his attempts,*[2] *to be received into the Church of Rome,* to have practised with the northern lords of Scotland to the prejudice of religion; but all the proofs lies upon the credit of one priest," "irreverend speeches uttered against the Queen" being also among the accusations.[3]

The accusers did not attempt to convict Perrott of any recent offence. They harked back to January 1588: saying that on the 31st he had "falsely and traitorously" plotted and "imagined in his heart to deprive, depose, and disinherit the Queen's most excellent Majesty from the royal seat: to take her life away, to make slaughter in the realm, to raise rebellions in England and Ireland; and that he did procure a foreign power to invade the two realms."[4] Well did Perrott challenge the jurors, and exclaim, "Lord send me justice!" wishing "he might have men of his own sort, and such as knew service and feared God," to judge him. Thus to accuse an officer renowned under Henry VIII, Edward VI and onwards, of conspiring to bring about a Spanish invasion, was so incredible that it had to be blended with matter calculated to sting the Queen's vanity and provoke her resentment. Therefore the Lord Deputy was said to have alluded to Her Majesty as "that fiddling woman," who troubled him "out of measure;" and who would endanger her own safety by giving "sour bread" to her best servants. Perrott firmly replied that he never "spake any such words."

The "witness" then produced against him was Roughan, who was offered a Bible to swear on! Perrott protested "that it was no matter" whether the man were "sworn or not, for his word and oath were all one; there was neither truth nor honesty in him."

The judges were Her Majesty's Sergeant at Law, Puckering, her Attorney General, Popham, and her Solicitor General, Egerton. All three were eminent "gownmen." Yet they saw, or affected to see, no impropriety in calling as witnesses against the former Lord Deputy of Ireland a person previously notorious for pro-

[1] Vol CCXXXIV No· 65 Calendared S P Dom: 1581-90. p. 705, and the date 1590 queried in Calendar though distinctly so written in original from which extracts now printed supra (spelling modernised) See also Calendar, Nos· 67, 68.

[2] Italicised words interlineated.

[3] S P Dom· Eliz CCXXXVIII No· 82 Endorsed "22 Martii 1590" (91 New System)· "To *be* written to Jr" Cal 1591-94, p 21; now checked from original.

[4] *State Trials, Cobbett,* 1809, Vol I, pp 1315-1324 (B M No: 2019 d)

curing forged warrants in that Lord Deputy's name! An alleged letter from Perrott to the King of Spain, and another to Sir William Stanley—the betrayer of Deventer,—were produced; and it was on those grotesque fabrications that Perrott was "found guilty" of conspiracy against the Crown! Despite his "greatness of heart" and complete innocence of "the guilt of treason," despite his long service and fidelity, and despite the forgeries being contemptuously denounced by him, the judges and jury passed sentence of death, although (we must repeat) the Archbishop of Cashel in 1585 had warned the Privy Council that the scoundrels who forged the Lord Deputy's hand to a spurious pardon had probably been guilty of other and worse forgeries than those then discovered. Writing *"Fragmenta Regalia"* in the days of James the First, Sir Robert Naunton alludes openly to the forgeries as such, and traces Perrott's ruin not to any traffic with Spain but to the Queen's anger at his supposed "disreputation of his Sovereign,"—wherefore the reader is adjured to "beware of the exorbitancy of the tongue." Perrott's own memoranda exist in the Record Office, and are annotated by Lord Buckhurst. Where the list is worded *"The Copie of the forged lettre to the Kinge of Spayne under S^r^ Dennys hand lefte at my L. Chancellor's,"* Buckhurst adds "S^r^ J. P^rot^ hath dyvers copies sent already, and w^ch^ copy ys ment I know no^t^." The list also includes *"The Coppie of the forged letter to S^r^ Will^m^ Stanley under S^r^ Dennyse hande lefte with my L. Th^rer^ Treasurer w^ch^ his L. said was delivered to Mr Sollicitor"* [*Egerton*].

Naunton alleges that on hearing the news of Perrott's condemnation to death, the Queen "swore by her wonted oaths that the jury were all knaves." Also that upon being escorted back to the Tower, Perrott exclaimed to the Lieutenant, "'What! will the Queen suffer her brother to be offered up as a sacrifice to the envy of my strutting adversaries!' . . . Which remark being made known to the Queen, and the warrant for his execution tendered, . . . she refuses to signe it; and swore he should not die, for he was an honest and faithful man . . ."[1]

Turn now from unreliable retrospective anecdotes to Essex's letter written at the time. "To the right honourable my very good Lord the Lord High Treasurer of England":[2]

"My very good Lord,

"Since my coming to the Court I find that the Queen is earnestly pressed to have sentence pronounced against Sir John Perrott; and she seems to be very resolute in it. The day appointed is so near as we have but this day and to-morrow to labour in it; and I am so cried down with the number of voices as, if your Lordship's authority do not back me, I shall plead in vain.

"If your Lordship come this day I hope her Majesty may be brought to like of the course whereof your Lordship and I had speech. If your Lordship come not, I shall be alone; and yet will I employ that poor strength I have to the uttermost. If your Lordship, knowing how weak the argument of the Queen's favour is, in so great a cause, will write

[1] *Fragmenta Regalia* That the Queen refused to sign the death warrant is indisputable, but as for Perrott being her "brother," see E E ante, p 74

[2] S P om: Eliz· Vol CCXLII No· 4 (Calendered p 218) Endorsed in Lord Burghley's hand "3 May 1592 E^r^ Essex S^r^ Jho p[er]ott" checked now from original (holograph).

anything which I may show to the Queen in favour of it, your Lordship shall give me strength, and the cause, I hope, good success.

"Your Lordship will pardon my motion which proceeds of a desire to bring that to pass which your Lordship wishes. And let me understand by this bearer your Lordship's pleasure

"I do rest always at your Lordship's commandment,

R. Essex"

There was some potent adverse influence at work; for the three Judges who had condemned Perrott were within a few weeks all promoted. Puckering was made Lord Keeper of the Great Seal,[1] Popham Lord Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench, and Egerton Attorney General.[2] (We should bear these names in mind, for Sir John Perrott was not to be the only soldier for whose ruin they were partly responsible). After these appointments, the Queen "began to be appeased," and "was often heard to applaud that receipt of Theodosius Honorius, and Arcadius: 'If any person speak ill of the Emperor through a foolish rashness and inadvertency, it is to be despised: if out of madness it deserves pity; if from malice and aversion it calls for mercy."[3] It would seem therefore that her thoughts were not running on the so-called Conspiracy with Spain, on which Perrott had nominally been condemned, but upon the angry remarks he was alleged to have made about herself.

On the 27th of May, Perrott's son and heir, Sir Thomas Perrott, who was Essex's brother-in-law, wrote to Burghley on "the unfortunate estate wherein my father now doth stand, and all belonging to him." What was the most bitter to Sir Thomas was not so much the forfeiture of lands as the "staining" of blood,—"*a matter unrecoverable and the most grievous of all others: seeing life may be pardoned, living restored, but blood never truly renewed again.*" He alluded to the law by which the descendants of men convicted of High Treason forfeited "honour of blood," a crushing penalty for those who set honour above all things. Sir Thomas pleads neither his father's services nor his own, though both were considerable, but implores that "inasmuch as Justice and Mercy are the chief ornament of an excellent Prince, her Majesty having proceeded in the one may now beautify herself with the other: which no doubt God will reward her Majesty and those that persuade her in so heavenly work."[4] The reference to her justice presumably is to her having refrained from signing the death warrant. But the mercy for which Sir Thomas hoped was

[1] The nearest equivalent to Lord Chancellor

[2] Cobbett, *State Trials*, Vol I, pp 1327-1334 A brief Diary of Lord Burghley, Hatfield MSS Cal Vol. XIII Addenda, pp 464-467, gives *April 28th* as the day "Sir Jh Perrott arayned," and *May 5* "Sir Jh Perrott convycted by a Jury" *May 10* "The sess for Sr Jho Perrott adjourned until the 20 of May" But for May 20th there is no entry (at least none in the Calendar reprint, p 465) And *May 28*, "at Greenwych Serjaunt Puckeryng made knight and of the Counsell and L Kep. Mr Popham knighted and named to be Ch Justice. Mr Egerton the Solle named to be Attorn General" "*June 3* Serj Puckeryng L Kep sworn in the Chance by me the L Tresor, and he fe[a]sted a g nomb of Lords"

[3] *State Trials* Ed 1818 p 1334

[4] S P Dom· Eliz Vol. CCXLII No 28 Unsigned Endorsed in Burghley's hand "27 May, 1592, the state of Sr Tho P[er]otts wealth in la[n]ds and goodes from Sr Tho P[er]ott" Cal S.P. Dom: 1591-94 p 223 does give this long letter, in modernised English.

the reversal of the attainder. Even though Sir John had not yet been taken out to execution, he was none the less a condemned man; and it might have seemed as if he were fated to the same long-drawn ordeal as Philip Earl of Arundel who was languishing in the Tower under sentence of death, never knowing each night that he might not be beheaded on Tower Hill the next morning. In June, Sir John was interrogated anew before a special Commission, which included Lord Buckhurst, Sir Robert Cecil and Mr. Justice Gawdie. Presumably he expected them to reverse the previous condemnation. But again the judgment was death, in the hideous form which Tudor law inflicted for High Treason.[1]

Burghley and Essex remaining his friends, there was still some hope that they might prevail upon the Queen to relent. But though she held out against such as "pressed" for her signature, she would not release Sir John or admit him innocent. And not only did the unjust judges prosper, but also the perjurer who had sworn away Sir John's life. While the former Lord Deputy of Ireland lay in the Tower under a sentence for alleged high treason, a pardon was granted in June 1592 "by her Matie unto Sir Dennys Oroughan and Margaret his wief, of all treasons by them commytted before the xx daie of Februarie in the xxxii yere of her Maties Raigne." This pardon is recorded as "subscribed by Mr. Popham when he was the Queene's Attorney."[2] Then follows a line, and the word "nil": which means that there was no fee paid to the Signet Office, and that the grant was not enrolled.

June waned to July, July into August, August into September; and Sir John's death warrant was still not signed. But neither was he released. We may wonder whether the Queen intended only to make him do penance for a time and repent within prison walls any hasty expressions of which he might have been guilty. As he had a good constitution, and an unquenchable spirit, she may have supposed that a few more months in the Tower—even under sentence of death—need not permanently injure him. But "while he thus had hopes of his life, he fell sick."[3] Whether this was by destiny or by contrivance, who can say? Enemies who had shown themselves ruthless may have dreaded the vengeance of their victim if he were vindicated and pardoned,—they not knowing how he had recently written in his Will, "I do forgive all men, and desire to be forgiven of all men," leaving to "God's Justice and Jugment" all "revengings for the great wrong I have sustained." His consciousness of innocence gave him fortitude and patience, as we see by his last messages to his Queen and kinsfolk in his Will.[4] Though a condemned man had no legal right to bequeath property, his goods and lands being forfeit to the Crown, Sir John strove to appeal to the Queen's old affection: ". . . I make my complaint to God and all good men that I have been most falsely accused through

[1] *State Trials*, ed. 1818, p. 1334. This sentence—the victim's heart to be cut out and other horrible mutilations performed on his body before he was dead—was in the case of high ex-officials usually commuted by the Sovereign to beheading

[2] Signet Office. Docquet Book I Index 6800 "Sir" does not mean Roughan was a Knight; the title was generally given to a Catholic priest

[3] *State Trials*, ed. 1818.

[4] "*Life, Deedes and Death of Sir John Perrott.*" In extenso, pp. 306-315.

the malice and envy of some wicked and evil-disposed persons, scholars of Machiavelli." Not only had they called him a traitor to his Sovereign and Country, but also had asserted "that I do deny the merit and Benefit of the Blood-shedding of my Saviour Jesus Christ: which I would not do to get the whole world." As for the letters implicating him in a "confederacie with the King of Spain," these, he repeated, were "forged and devised" by Oroughan "and his partners."

"Neither have I committed anie of the Treasons whereof I was 'found guilty' at Westminster the 27th day of April or thereabouts." With characteristic candour he admits that when hindered in his work by the trickery of others, "upon some sharpe matter received," he did actually write "some fond [i.e. foolish] and eager words, for the which I sorrow in my Heart and Soul." But never had he been in communication with the King of Spain or any of his Ministers either directly or indirectly, nor received any message from them, nor sent King Philip any message "this thirty-five years last past."[1] Nor was he ever in confederacy with the Duke of Parma. He again repeats that the alleged letters to the Spanish King and Sir William Stanley were "forged and devised" by "Oroughan" and his associates. Never had Oroughan been employed to carry any such communications: "Neither did I ever give or deliver him any money of my own" only some "Spyall money, or diet monies allowed by warrant, being Her Majesty's money, as by Sir Henry Wallop's Account will appear; except that he might have [had] some part of the Alms money . . . Neither did I every allow him meat from my table nor apportion him wine when he listed out of my cellar."

Perrott had employed one Jasper Thunder as a spy to Portugal, but had "never sent messages by him to the Duke of Medina, the Marquis della Santa Cruce [Santa Cruz] or to any Spaniard or Portingall . . . Neither did I ever favour Papist for Papistries sake, but I did justice to and for them upon any complaint, as I did to others according to the Commandment I received from Her Majesty."

Far from maligning the Queen, he had given money to rhymers to set forth her "most worthy praises," as by the Treasurer's accounts could be seen. Nor did he know any Jesuits or Seminary Priests, "or ever heard of their names," until his arraignment when he was accused of reconciliation with the Pope. As for the charge that he had tried to bribe the Lord Treasurer and Sir Robert Cecil, "I did never give or promise to them penny or penny worth;" but owed much to Burghley for diet [while at Cecil House]:

> "God bless him and his, which is all the payment I am able now to make to him. The Lord bless the Erle of Essex, and keep him in Her Majesty's Favour. I send my Sonne and my Daughter, with their two little Children, God's Blessing and Myne; and pray them to serve God and their Prince faithfully; and [God] have Mercy upon my Soule, and forgive me my Sinnes, as I have been faithful

[1] His only acquaintance with King Philip had been in Mary's reign when he had served under the Earl of Pembroke at St Quentin, in the campaign described in E.E. Vol. I, Prologue, pp. 93-104.

and true to my Sovereign Queen Elizabethe, and do praye for as many as will live and die in God's Cawse . . . Amen, Amen, saith John Perrott."

By his " Daughter " he meant his daughter-in-law, Essex's sister, Lady Dorothy. As to his " Sinnes," the actions which come under that head relate to his private affairs; he had several illegitimate children,—of one of whom, James, we shall hear later. So far as duty to Queen and State were concerned, and justice to the soldiers who served under him, Perrott had nothing for which to ask pardon; and his few " fond and eager words," of annoyance under great provocation, should weigh lightly in the balance now as compared with a life of strenuous service and steady patriotism.

Though he died in prison under the verdict of treason, the Queen—who may have intended to release him,—authorised his estates being restored to his son; which favour was commonly ascribed to Sir Thomas Perrott being brother-in-law of Essex.[1] Yet the " Machiavellians " contrived afterwards to persuade Her Majesty to go back on her word. And despite the death the previous November 1591 of Lord Chancellor Sir Christopher Hatton, the now supposed arch-enemy of Perrott, there remained, not only after Hatton's death but after Sir John himself had passed out of life, some relentless being whose hatred pursued him beyond the grave, and was entailed upon that " Sonne and Daughter " for whose future the dying man had been so warmly concerned. To pass on his ancestral inheritance to his descendants was one of his few ambitions; but this the invisible enemy first seemed about to permit, and then opposed underhand.[2]

And the legal luminaries who condemned Perrott were by no means penitent or remorseful. We shall yet see, after the death of Lord Burghley, how they contrived to dominate the Queen, while appearing to bow down to the ground before her " infinite absoluteness."

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[1] Naunton so accounts for it; he was at the time in Essex's employment. Camden (*Elizabetha*, p 647) say: *" Bona filio qui Essexi Sororem duxerat ex transcriptione prius facta et Reginae gratia obvenerunt "* (Cit· editor, *" Life of Sir John Perrott "* by E C S, p. 293). Camden is not reliable on what relates to the Court; but Essex was a " most affectionate brother " of Lady Dorothy, and the friend of all soldiers; and Sir Thomas Perrott's gallant services in the Dutch war had been performed chiefly when he was in Essex's Cavalry.

[2] The editor of Calendar of State Papers Ireland (1877) Vol III, p xlv, says of Sir John Perrott that he was " found guilty and sent back to the Tower;" but that after Essex interceded for him he " was respited by the Queen who was well persuaded of the injustice done to him; he subsequently fell ill and died a natural death " &c. From this the reader would infer that Perrott received the Queen's pardon; whereas the Register of his burial indicates that such grace was never granted:

" 1592. Sir John P[e]ratt, condempned of high treason, buried v[th] Oct: in the chappell."

*" Notices of the Historic Persons buried in the chapel of St Peter ad Vincula in the Tower of London "* &c. By Doyne Bell, F.S A. London, 1877 p. 47 and p. 205.

## POSTSCRIPT. "LAWFUL MONEY OF ENGLAND."

### *An astonishing disclosure.*

Though after the death of Sir John Perrott no letters of Roughan, nor any to him, can be found, nor any further mention of Roughan in the Privy Council proceedings after that date, there is one document which shows his mendacity as very profitable to himself Not content with having obtained a pardon for his own treasons (details not specified) this knave even procured a pension! The Patent Roll on which the hitherto unknown grant is to be found is in such a broken state as to be difficult to read But the date is legible, the Queen's additional grace to "Dionoso Oroghan" was after his victim had died in the Tower. Though the story of how Sir John had been condemned on forged evidence was openly current in the next reign, the Queen's bounty to the criminal and perjurer—as conferred in March 1594 N S.—only now comes to light.

"Elizabeth by the Grace of God, etc etc

To the Treasurer and Chamberleins of our Exchequer greeting Whereas We by Our letters patents bearing date at Westminster the one and twentieth day of this instant month have given and granted, *for Us, our heirs and Successors,* to Dennys Oroghan ane Irish Preeste an Annuity or pension of forty pounds by yere, good and lawfull money of Englande: To have, enjoye and receave the same unto the said Dennys Oroghan, untill he shalbe provyded of *some other preferrments of the lyke or greater value, eyther in this our Realme of Englande or in our Realme of Irelande*. and to be paide unto him or to his assignes from the feaste of the Anuncyacon of our ladye nexte comynge after the date hereof, out of the Treasure of Us, Our heyres and successors, at the Receipte of Our Exchequer at Westm[inster] by the handes of the Treasorer and Chamberlaynes of the same . . at foure usuall termes of the yere, and so to to be continyed unto him in maner as abovesaid as by the said letters Patents more at large appeareth: We do therefore comaunde you that from henceforth yerely from tyme to tyme and untill the said Denys Oraghan shalbe provyded of some other p[re]ferrements of the lyke or greater value, . . ye do paye until the said Denys or his assignes the said Anuitye Witness our selfe at Westm this xiiith day of Marche"[1]

What the Lord Treasurer said when this Warrant was sent up through the Chamberlains of the Exchequer we cannot tell[2] Despite prolonged search in the Record Office there seem not to be any traces of the Letters Patent in which it was usual to specify the reason of bestowal of annuities And though Dennis O'Roghan was to draw the pension until he received other preferment "of the lyke or greater value," how he ended, and what became of him, and his real wife and "pretended wife," nothing remains to show Having been instrumental in wrecking one of the most loyal, vigorous, and successful rulers of Ireland, this forger and bearer of false witness vanishes. But he was to have imitators, as will be shown before writing 'Finis' to this History.

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[1] Unpublished Patent Roll No: 1396. 35 Eliz· (1594). Pt 2. m 30. *D Dionisio Orogan*

[2] That Burghley became aware of the transaction is seen by his notes of various Royal grants, which include "June, An Annuity of £40 per annum granted to Denys Oroghan, an Irish Priest that accused Sir John Perrott." There are no comments upon or explanations of this and other sums he was required by the Queen to disburse, which include in August one of £300 to the Earl of Essex: and in December a payment to Dr López, whose secret intercourse with Spain we shall soon examine.




OPERATIONS OF THE DUKE OF PARMA BEFORE CAUDEBEC. 10 May 1592.
Now first reproduced from "*Henriciados*," 1595. (B.M. No. 10660. 1.6(1))

The position of Caudebec, on the north bank of the Seine, eighteen English miles West-North-West of Rouen, and almost midway between Rouen and Havre de Grace, had necessitated its capture in 1591, before King Henry IV could safely settle to the siege of Rouen. It was obvious that if the foes, who already possessed Havre, remained also in possession of Caudebec, they could send provisions, ammunition, and reinforcements up the river into Rouen and enable that city to hold out indefinitely. Nevertheless we have seen Queen Elizabeth's refusal to allow her forces to be used in the siege of Caudebec, despite all the efforts of Essex, her General, and her Ambassador Sir Henry Unton, to make clear to her that its capture would affect the major issues. (E.E. Vol. VIII, pp 495—496, 519).

After Caudebec was taken by King Henry's forces, her refusal to send four thousand more troops for the siege of Rouen, when she heard of the advance of the Duke of Parma, was the reason King Henry was obliged to raise the siege. No sooner had Parma entered Rouen in triumph than the Duke of Mayenne and the other French officers assured him that Rouen could not be secure so long as Henry's forces were left in control of Caudebec. The surrender of Caudebec to Parma, when he brought up his heavy artillery—as depicted in "*Henriciados*,"—ensued on the 1/11 May, 1592. The proceedings of King Philip's General are a conclusive answer to Queen Elizabeth's fancy that to trouble about Caudebec was mere dalliance by the way.

PART VII.

"The causes that govern the events."

CHAPTER 5.

"A DELECTABLE VARIETY OF MATTER."

SECTION 1

# "A Gallant Commander."

*(The death of Alexander, Duke of Parma, 1592).*

**"Farneze, a Romaine by birth, Alexander by name, Achilles by valour, and Vlisses in pollicie."**

*"The Heroyck Life . . . of The most Christian King Henry the fourth" &c. &c. by "Père Mathieu, official historiographer. Translated "by Ed: Grimeston, Esquire, London, 1612."* Pt. II. pp. 51-52.

**"Thus ended Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma, in the 47th year of his age . . . He was indeed a gallant Commander."**

*Cardinal Bentivoglio, "History of the Wars of Flanders," English version, 1678,* p. 250

**"Wars begin when you will, but they do not end when you please"**

*Machiavelli, "History of Florence,"* Book III.

**"No rank or authority whatsoever doth, in my judgment, require greater prudence, neither more excellent qualities, than that of the Captain [General] of an Army; because the things for which he has to provide are infinite in number, and infinite are those accidents and chances which offer themselves from one hour to another, so that he hath need of more eyes than Argus . . ."**

*Guicciardini. Circa 1525. Maxims. Reprinted, Paris, 1576, and Venice, 1578*

**"Greatness of degree is universally desired, because all the benefit which is therein is outward and visible, and the evil lurks inwardly, . . . it is doubtless a state full of perils and suspicions; of a thousand troubles and labours."**

*The same. Maxim 82.*

**"It is a secret force of superiority not to have to get on by artful trickery, but by an inborn power of rule. All submit to it without knowing why . . . . . Such magisterial spirits are Kings by merit and lions by innate privilege . . . . They perform more by a gesture than others by a long harangue."**

*Baltasár Gracián, "Del natural imperio,"* in *"Oráculo Manual y Arte de Prudencia." &c.*

## *THE INFANTA MARIA OF PORTUGAL.*

*From the original by Antonio Moro, in the Prado Gallery* No. 2117, "*Museo del Prado Catalogo de los Cuadros*" Madrid, 1945, p 398

Photograph, Ruiz Vernacci

Elder daughter of Dom Duarte, and granddaughter of King Emmanuel, the Infanta Maria was born in Lisbon, 8th December, 1538, and married to Alexander Farnese, Prince (afterwards Duke) of Parma, 11th of November, 1565 She died at Parma, 8th July, 1577 Nevertheless in 1580 in her right her husband was named as a possible claimant to the throne of Portugal Among other claimants were her sister Catherine, married to the Duke of Bragança; and Dom Antonio, (illegitimate) son of Prince Luis by Violante Gomez See E E. Vol III, p 214

Parma did not come forward as a candidate, his loyalty to his uncle King Philip II being inviolable

*(8) E M Tenison's "Elizabethan England," VII, 5, 1*



PART VII.

"The causes that govern the events."

CHAPTER 5

"A DELECTABLE VARIETY OF MATTER."

SECTION 1.

# "A Gallant Commander."

*(The death of Alexander, Duke of Parma, 1592).*[1]

IN the autumn of the same year 1592 during which the friendly German Prince had congratulated Queen Elizabeth on her marvellous salvation in 1588, her enemy the Duke of Parma was taken ill. Ever since his wound at the siege of Caudebec in May he had been struggling against failing health. About the middle of October, "grown very weak," he returned to Brussels and asked to resign his command. But King Philip had no mercy upon him; or, as Cardinal Bentivoglio expresses it, "thought not good to condescend thereunto: hoping the Duke might yet pass again into France." Urged by the French Leaguers, His Most Catholic Majesty commanded his General to "prepare to go again into that Kingdom." From Brussels the Duke went to Arras; and "through the strength and vertue of his mind he continued as much as he could to govern the weakness of his body." Showing himself in public on horseback and on foot, he was "indefaticable in his negotiations," working yet more "by night than by day." Unwilling to "confess himself to be mortal" [or more likely too proud to beg a second time for the consideration his Sovereign had refused,] his efforts were the means of hastening his death.

"Thus," says Cardinal Bentivoglio, "ended Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma, in the 47 year of his age . . . For what concerns the military profession, none hath more reputation in France than he, for the two memorable succours of

[1] For portraits of Parma, see F E. Vol VI, plates 9, 10, 11 and his armour, Vol VII, plates 13 and 16 For his capture of Antwerp, E E. Vol. V, pp 261-263; 280, his repulse outside Zutphen, E E Vol. VI, pp 190-202; and his siege and capture of Sluys, E E Vol VII, pp 102-122

A full description of his illness and death is given in Professor Léon Van der Essen's *"Alexandre Farnèse, Prince de Parma, Gouverneur General des Pays Bas (1545-1592) Tome V (1585-1592) Avec une Etude Iconographique par Francis Kelly, (Londres)"*, Bruxelles, 1937, pp 378-387 A contemporary print, inscribed *"Alexander Farnesius D G Parmae et Placentiae Dux"* faces p. 175 of tomo II (1896) of Duro's *"Armada Española desde la union de los reinos de Castilla y de Aragón"*.

Paris and Rouen . . . He was indeed a gallant Commander," respected in his own time and secure to be "admired by posterity."[1]

*Un bel morir tutta la vita onora.* But King Philip did not appear inordinately grieved. Though expressing regret, he alluded to Parma's death as an "accident" which he hoped need not be followed by any disastrous consequences.[2]

Lord Burghley set down in his Chronology, without comment, "1592. Nov. 22. The D of Parma dyed at Arras."[3] If this was cause for congratulation to Queen Elizabeth's Protestant subjects, still more was it a relief to Henry, King of France and Navarre, who could thenceforth look forward to freeing his dominions from the invaders; for Spanish and Italian troops were unlikely to prove so zealous under "Duke Dumayne" as when led by "renowned Parma." Though Charles, Duke of Mayenne was of the famous house of Guise, Alexander Farnese, Prince and Duke of Parma, considered himself the greater, being son of Ottavio Duke of Parma by his wife Margaret of Austria, illegitimate daughter of the Emperor Charles V. Born in 1544, bred to arms from earliest boyhood, he had served in the battle of Lepanto under Don John of Austria in 1571; and at the death of Don John in 1578 had been appointed to his place as Governor General of the Netherlands. In 1579, in right of his wife, Maria of Portugal, a granddaughter of King Emmanuel the Fortunate, he, or rather his son, had been named as a possible King of Portugal: a claim he would not press against his uncle Philip II. In 1586 he had succeeded to his father's Dukedom the day before some of his troops were repulsed by the English under Essex outside Zutphen.[4]

Though he was one of the conspicuously cool-headed and strong administrators to whom Spanish prestige was deeply indebted, a modern English fashion of referring to him as the greatest General of his time has arisen from imperfect remembrance how much less difficult were his tasks than those of the Duke of Alba and Don John of Austria. During the last twelve years of Parma's career, he had at his back a Sovereign possessed of the vast material resources of the Indies and Brazil, which had fallen to Spain in 1580-83 in consequence of Alba's conquest of Portugal.[5] Moreover we have seen how Queen Elizabeth, in opposition to the advice

[1] "*History of the Wars in Flanders,*" English version, 1678 p 250 His body was embalmed and taken to Brussels, to the chapel at the palace "*les soldats des differentes nations se disputent l'honneur de lui rendre les derniers devoirs funebres Sur sa couche d'apparat, le duc de Parme reposait, amaigri par la maladie et les suffrances des derniers mois, les yeux clos à jamais. Sur le robe de capucin que les convrait des pieds à la tête, brillait, a la lumière des cierges, le collier de la Toison d'Or que Pierre-Ernest de Mansfelt lui avait naguerre remis au nom du Roi, aprés la fin victorieuse du Siege d'Anvers*"

Van der Essen. Vol. V, pp. 365,386. On Parma's death, Mansfelt was declared Governor and Captain-General of the Netherlands in his place, unless or until King Philip should decide otherwise Parma's body was taken to Parma and placed in the same tomb with that of his wife in the Convent of the Capucins · but afterwards transferred to the crypt of the church of the Madonna della Steccata.

[2] Philip II to Mansfelt and Fuentes Madrid, 30 Dec: 1512. *A. G R. Copies de Simancas,* Vol. 25. Van der Essen, Vol V, p. 384.

[3] Hatfield MS. 333. Cal: XIII. Addenda. p. 467

[4] E.E. Vol. VI, pp 190-202. [5] Ib: Vol. IV, pp. 3-22.

of her best Councillors, crippled her own servants and allies in 1585-87 in the Low Countries, and thus unwittingly aided her foe.[1] Also how in the French campaign her refusals, delays, and denials so hampered King Henry IV that he was obliged to retire with his forces, and allow King Philip's General to ride in triumph into Rouen.

By the death of Don John in 1578, the Duke of Alba in 1582, the Marquis of Santa Cruz in 1587, and now Parma in 1592, King Philip lost within fourteen years his four best Commanders. If we did not know to the contrary, we might suppose that on the death of Parma he would have desired peace with France and England; instead of which this indefatigable "Leviathan" redoubled his efforts. The projects he evolved—with the aid of Father Parsons, S.J., Father Cresswell, S.J., and other English Catholic favourers of his cause,—we will consider in their chronological places. Seldom has any Monarch proved more persistent in consolidation of his conquests, and in unwavering adherence to his ambitions. But so completely is the real King Philip forgotten throughout our Empire that an exponent of "modern historical analysis" in 1927 could dismiss him as a "creature of circumstance," a "victim of necessity." And there were few who saw the total inapplicability of such a phrase to the proud, magnificent, and most subtle monarch, whom English writers are at liberty to dislike as an adversary to this country but whom reason and justic demand that they should cease to travesty or underrate. Had King Philip in any way resembled the "creature" who goes by his name to-day in many an English current handbook, it would not have been so superlative an achievement to have held out against him. But his powers of organisation and England's prolonged resistance, were upon such a scale as will never be fully comprehended so long as the custom prevails of reducing the great to fit the fancies of the small, and calling that process "History."[2]

Though Don John of Austria, the Duke of Alba, the Marquis of Santa Cruz conqueror of the Azores, and Alexander, flower of the Farnese, had all in turn been withdrawn from the earthly stage, the King, in whose service they had laboured, was to outlive his nephew Parma by nearly six years; and during those years devise so much trouble for England that in many respects Lord Burghley in the last phase of his career required even more astuteness than in the first.

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[1] E.E. Vol. VI, pp. 67-99; 128-139.

[2] An antidote is afforded: *"La Disciplina Militar"* of Sancho de Londoño, dedicated in 1568 *"Al Ilustrisimo y excelentisimo Principe y Señor Don Fernando Alvarez de Toledo Duque de Alba"* &c. &c (licensed for translation into English in 1589). The qualities required for a great General are defined (pp. 15-16 of the present Duke of Alba's reprint, Madrid 1943):—

"Conseguirse ha, si la Majestad Real en quien han de resultar los prósperos o adversos sucesos de las guerras ofensivas o defensivas, eligiere, por sus principales ministros, personas en quienes concurran las cualidades y partes necesarias a los cargos que les ecomendare. Especialmente en los Capitanes Generales, se requiere gran experiencia y entender el arte militar mejor que los demás ministros a él inferiores, pues han de determinar 'proprio motu' o haciendo elección entre diversos pareceres de aquellos que a sus consejos fueren admitidos, en los cuales también se requiere, de más de prudencia, inteligencia, integridad y fidelidad, mucha experiencia, porque no hablen a tientas en cosas que pueden importar ejércitos, provincias y Reinos."

## "SCHOOLE POINTS OF SEDITION."

### *Queen Elizabeth's Proclamation, 1591, and the retort, 1592.*

We have seen how the repeated efforts of Sir Henry Sidney, and after him Sir John Perrott, to persuade Queen Elizabeth to establish an English College in Ireland took no effect while either of them were in office Only when Perrott was a prisoner, accused of High Treason, did the Queen sign Royal Letters Patent authorising the creation of a University in Dublin The reason she was brought to the point in December 1591 will be easier understood if we consider her Proclamation of 18th of October of that year, as to "Seminarie Priests," namely those of English birth in Catholic educational establishments abroad Burghley had written to Essex in France, "Such countermines as we have against the Jesuits I send your Lordship in print"; but these publications are not now with the letter One of them is likely to have been *"A Declaration of great Troubles pretended against the Realme by a number of Seminarie Priests and Jesuites sent, and very greatly dispersed in the same, to work great treasons," &c &c "With a provision very necessary for remedie thereof. Published by her Majestie's proclamation"*[1] She declares that after reigning thirty-three years, and having been preserved from the former violence and "malice of Our enemies," she had hoped King Philip's purpose "in seeking to trouble Our estate without any just cause" would have "waxed faint and decayed in him and all others depending on him . . . Yet to the contrary We find it, by his present mightie actions, so great as he never before attempted To fortify these his strange violent attempts with some new colour" he hath of late "procured a Milanois, a vassal of his owne to be exalted into the Papacy of Rome,[2] and has seduced him, without consent of the College of Cardinals," to draw upon the papal resources, and "therewith to levie forces in Italie (which hath no sound of Warre in it these many yeeres) and in many other places, to be guided by his Nephewe" [King Philip's nephew, the Duke of Parma], "and sent to invade France." Such aggression "concerneth Our estate very greatly, and cannot but be directly very daungerous to Our dominions"

Moreover "it is also known" that King Philip's preparations of naval forces "against Our Crown and Dominions" are not abandoned but increased "By colour of his peculiar Pope's authoritie," he had become more and more hostile There follows a denunciation of his methods, of influencing a multitude of young men,

"for whom there are, in Rome and Spaine" and elsewhere, entertainment and places of livelihood provided, to enable them "to be instructed in schoole points of sedition; and from thence to be secretly conveyed into our Dominions, with ample authoritie from Rome . to stir up" and

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[1] "Imprinted at London by the Deputies of Christopher Barker Printer to the Queenes most excellent Majestie" Sought in vain in Rymer's *Foedera*, in *Statutes of the Realm*, in *Acts of the Privy Council*, in Cardwell's *Documentary Annals*, in Wilkins' *Concilia*. Not in B.M Catalogue under "Jesuits"; but found at last in B M, catalogued merely under "England. Elizabeth" (B M 396 bb 44).

Only since running to ground the actual Proclamation, the present writer sees that Cal: S P Dom Eliz Vol III, pp. 112-114, gives an abstract of it; not from the Proclamation as issued in English, but from a 7¼ page Spanish translation Also in Cal: pp. 114-115, are Articles for the Commissioners, who are ordered to examine on doubt any suspected persons and ascertain whether and by whom they have been moved to join the forces of the Pope or the King of Spain, &c. &c. There follows a note of the previous proclamation against "Papists," including one of 1588 (1st July) forbidding the circulation or keeping of Bulls from Rome, or other such publications.

[2] Gregory XIV. Elected December 5th, 1590; and died 15th October 1591. The news of his death reached England soon after this Proclamation was issued

"persuade our subjects to renounce their natural allegiance, . . Bulles pretending to promise Heaven to such as will yeelde," and "cursings" to such as will not.

[In a subsequent letter to Henry IV,[1] Cardinal d'Ossat describes in detail these "Colleges and Seminaries," and how young English gentlemen are there educated in the belief that Spain has the best right to the Crown of England After the usual course of study, such pupils as are found most firm on behalf of "the Spanish Credo are sent into England there to plant that faith"; and also "to spy, and give notice to the Spaniards of what passes in England," and offer advice how to bring that Kingdom under the power of Spain; and if need be to suffer martyrdom, more for "the said Spanish faith than for the Catholic religion"[2]]

The Queen declares "Parsons the King-Catholikes Confessor," and "a scholar named Allen, . honoured with a Cardinal's hat" to be among the most conspicuous of the Espaniolated English. And in consequence of this blend of secret practice with martial vigour,

"it is Our duty to increase Our forces to the uttermost, to have as great or greater strength on the seas, and forces by land" Hence the division of England into Lieutenancies, "with deputies and assistants" to "consider all things requisite, bands of horsemen and footmen fully furnished with armour, weapons and munition, to defend their Country, all Our subjects" ready "with hands, purses, and advices; and prayers to God"

"To withstand the attempts of Seminarists, Jesuits and Traitors, . We have determined, by advice of Our Council, to appoint Commissioners in every shire, city, and port, to enquire what persons are suspected to have been sent to persuade our people to treason"

These clerical emissaries usually came into the kingdom in lay attire [naturally,—considering the severity of the Penal Laws, but this remark is not in the text] Any subject who has knowledge of their purposes is bidden "to inform the Commissioners within twenty days, . upon pain of being abettors and maintainers of traitors No favour or excuse allowed"

The troubles—says Her Majesty—are not of native growth, but are contrived from abroad; wherefore enquiry is to be diligently made as to all foreigners who have been admitted to residence in England within the space of one year past, and much care is to be exercised who shall be admitted in future [3]

This Proclamation was translated into Latin and French by the Queen's adversaries, and printed abroad with commentaries attributed to Father Robert Parsons *"Elizabethæ Regmæ Anglia Edictum Promulgatum Londini 29 Novemb Anno MDXCI Andræ Philopatri ad idem edictum Responsonsio"*, 1592,[4] also *"Response à l'injuste et sanguinaire edicta d'Elizabeth"*[5]

The retorts consist mostly of accusations Drake is a "pirate" "Rawlay" is said to have founded a school of atheism, a charge which was to be repeated at his trial in 1603. We need not labour to confute it; his *Historie of the World* will speak for him, as we shall ultimately see. Nor need we answer the charges against Drake of cruelty in San Domingo and "Cades" Inevitably he was detested by the "Espaniolated" English But to call *le Drak* a nobody, *cet homme de rien,* was wide of the mark He was a gentleman, both in the moral and heraldic sense of the word, and Don Pedro

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[1] 26 November, 1601. Further extracts E E. Vol IX, pp 504-505

[2] *mieux pour ladite Foi Espagnol que pour la Religion Catolique.*

[3] "Given at our Mannour of Richmond the 18th day of October, 1591, in this xxxiii yeere of our raigne. God save the Queene" pp. 3-11, B M. 3936 b 44

[4] He dates the edict 29th November, 1591 The proclamation (supra) is dated 18th October. First edition of Parson's book, issued *cum permissione Superiorum* is in B M (No. 3000 a 1) Imprint, after the Index, *Finis Augustæ Apud Ioannum Fabrum, Anno Domini MDXCII Mense Octobri,* There was also an edition of 1593. Both are exceedingly rare

[5] B.M. No. 847 c 31. See for the edict (in large Italics) pp. 1, 19, and 30; 33, 67, and 99

de Valdés meeting him afloat as an implacable but honest foe had been prompt to recognise his quality.[1]

The main point of the reply to "Queen Elizabeth's "sanguinary edict" is a reiteration that the Pope had absolute power to dethrone Princes and to absolve subjects from their oaths of allegiance, as Father Parsons firmly believed, but which the Queen and her champions as firmly denied. Moreover, at Salamanca University the famous Dominican, Fray Francisco de Vitoria, had pronounced that the Pope was "not a secular Sovereign," wherefore his concern should not be with the making and unmaking of Monarchs but with the souls of mankind [2] a dictum not likely to have pleased any of the nine Popes contemporary with Elizabeth [3]

We have seen how Henry VIII had altered the Coronation Oath, and added the words italicised below: To the ancient promise to "maintain the lawful right and liberties of the old time granted by the righteous Christian Kings of England *to the Holy Church, but not prejudicial to his jurisdiction and dignity royal,*" repeating that he would adhere to the "customs of the realm . . . *not prejudicial to his Crown or Imperial jurisdiction.*"[4] In Elizabeth's first Parliament both Houses had accepted the Statute "for restoring the spiritual jurisdiction of the Imperial Crown and abolishing Foreign Power" (i.e. that of the Pope in England)[5] And at first Elizabeth had been content so to legislate that no Catholic could hold office under the Crown The heavier disabilities date from after the Bull and Declaration in which Pope Pius V dispensed her Catholic subjects from obedience to "the pretended Queen,"[6]—an impolitic measure of an otherwise astute statesman, as King Philip in private deplored to the Spanish Ambassador[7]

Although all such disabilities of Catholics were abolished in 1829, there are writers still living who appear as indignant as if no repeal had taken place, and who represent Elizabeth as a malicious monster How unreasonably she could behave even to her own champions and Allies the present work has shown from the sources, and it would be astonishing if she who was harsh to her best defenders had been tender-hearted to her foes.

Each side was acting with a definite object the Catholics mostly regarded Pope Pius's Bull as justifying them in the utmost antagonism to Elizabeth, while her Protestant champions were thereby spurred to defend her the more decisively Not "Lutherans" (as the Spaniards were fond of calling them,) they took their stand theologically and historically much further back, maintaining that long before the rise of Protestantism their ancestors had demurred when the Vatican strove to encroach on the independence of England[8]

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[1] E E. Vol. VII, pp 335-339; Vol VIII, p. xliv. But this depreciation of Drake's origin had appeared in an otherwise favourable reference by the Venetian Ambassador, Gradenigo, from Madrid, 12th April, 1586 "Drake is thirty-seven years old, of mean birth, but loaded with honours and riches by the Queen He is of great courage as a Captain, eager to please, severe in his justice, and is beloved by all"

*Cal S.P. Venice* Vol VIII (1894) p 156.

On 25th June the same year, however, the Ambassador (Ib p. 173) was repeating a rumour as to Drake at New Carthagena having "set fire to a Convent of nuns and burned them inside" Actually the English Laws and Ordinances of War forbade injury to women. Penalty for disobedience,—death Drake was from first to last humane to the Spaniards; as he reminded the Governor of Puerto Rico in the last letter he ever wrote. (E E Vol IX, p. 549).

[2] E E Vol VIII, p 366 [3] Table of Popes, E E Vol. V, p. 223. [4] E.E Vol. I, p. 142.

[5] 29 April 1559. E E. Vol I, p 161. [6] E E. Vol II, pp. 43-51. [7] E E. Vol II, p 49.

[8] The Statute of Provisars, A D. 1351, confirmed 1391, enacted that the Pope should not appoint the Bishops of England. The Statute of Præmunire, 1353, was re-enacted in 1365 and 1393, forbidding any person to bring Papal Bulls or declarations into England without permission of the Sovereign. Penalties for disobedience, imprisonment and forfeiture of goods. The same punishment for subjects who carried to the papal courts cases in which the English Crown claimed jurisdiction. King John's unpopularity had not been merely because of his tyrannical temper, but because while overbearing to his own subjects he had put England at the disposal of the Pope. (See Shakespeare's *"King John."* Act III, Scene 1. The King asserts his independence of Rome in secular matters; but in Act V, Sc. 1, he surrenders his Crown to the Cardinal Legate, and receives it again "as holding of the Pope" See Act V, Scenes 2 to 6 for the results)

To represent Elizabeth and her Councillors as moved by a fancy for novelty is fundamentally erroneous: her argument was that she reverted to "ancient custom," and that, except only King John, the Plantagenet Sovereigns, like their predecessors, had not admitted the right of the Pope (even when he was acknowledged Holy Father of all Christendom) to claim jurisdiction over the internal affairs of England. On the other hand Father Parsons, Cardinal Allen, and many of the Catholics in England, held that independence was an over-rated advantage, and that England would be safer and more prosperous as part of the great Spanish Empire under King Philip II, than as a small Protestant state ruled by "Mrs Elizabeth." In Volume X we shall hear them speak for themselves in the crisis of 1596 Meanwhile let us bear in mind that their aims and objects were fervently approved by the Duchess of Feria (born Dormer, of a Sidney mother) [1]

[1] Not only Catholics suffered for refusal to conform to the Established Church. There were other forms of dissent. Henry Barrow (E E. Vol. VII, pp. 243-247) founded a sect called the Barrowists, and from 1586 onwards made frequent attempts to stir up strife, chiefly by accusing the English Church of "Popery" and "idolatory," &c. &c. With one John Greenwood he was indicted, 21st March, 1592-3, at Old Bailey for writing and "feloniously publishing" seditious books against the Queen and Church. He and Greenwood were hanged at Tyburn on 6th of April; not for their theological opinions but for the sedition to which those opinions prompted them. A list of Barrow's illicit publications is given in Cooper's *Athenæ Cantabrigienses* (1861), Vol II, pp. 151-153. Barrow is there described as "third son of Thomas Barrow esq of Shipdam in Norfolke by his wife Mary, daughter and one of the coheiresses of Henry Bures of Acton in Suffolk." He is not to be confounded with a different Henry Barrow, who was also a Cambridge scholar

## "AN HVMBLE SUPPLICATION TO HER MAJESTIE"

Written, it is supposed, in immediate response to the Royal Proclamation against Jesuits 1591, but not published until much later—and then anonymously, without name of printer or place of printing,—"*An Humble Supplication to Her Majestie*" on behalf of the English Catholics is now known to have been composed by Robert Southwell S J.[1] Despite the fact that by Statute Law all Jesuits were forbidden entry into Her Majesty's "Realms and Dominions," he had come in disguised, and had managed to carry on his missionary work under the protection of the Countess of Arundel Posterity has done ample justice to his zeal, valour, culture, personal merits, and literary attainments, and the "*Supplication*" is of the more moral interest in virtue of his having suffered in 1595 the utmost penalty. In relation to the 1591 Proclamation he tells the Queen that confidence in "your Majestie's goodnesse, (perfect in all Princely duties, as the only shot [sheet?] anker of our just hopes) induced us to lay open our manifold extremities" He cannot believe she has approved the Proclamation. Especially resenting the accusation against Catholics as "Fugitives, Rebelles and Traitors" and "unnatural subjects" because they take refuge in Rome and Spain, he protests that Catholics who go abroad, owing to the persecution they suffer at home, should be pitied not vilified He objects to the refugees being called "base of birth", and claims that there are more gentle-born among the Catholic priests than among the clergy of the Established Church As to "departure out of the Realme," he deplores that "we must resolve to abandon our Countrie, friendes, and all such comforts as naturally all men seeke and finde in their native soyle" He denies that the Catholics are conspirators "No, no, most gratious Soveraigne, Heaven and Earth shall witnesse with us in the dreadfull day of doome, that our breast never harboured such horrible treasons, and that the end of our in coming is the salvation of soules, not the murthering of bodies we beeing rather willing to die . "

Previously, in December 1586, he had written to his father as to the Babington plot, "The occasion for this outburst was given by the men who set on foot that wicked and ill-fated conspiracy which did to the Catholics cause so great mischief that even our enemies had they had the chance, could never have chosen a plot so wicked to us and more to their mind"[2] Manifestly he had no suspicion of Mendoza's concurrence If we turn back to the Spanish correspondence, and also to the Anathema of Pope Pius V, it becomes clear that no Tudor Sovereign could reasonably have been expected to look trustfully upon Catholic subjects after the Pope had forbidden them to accept her sovereignty[3] King Philip had realised how heavy a handicap this public repudiation would be to the Catholics His private letter to his Ambassador in this country has long been in print,[4] but the present writer cannot recollect seeing it quoted by any previous modern English historian, whether Catholic or Protestant Yet it throws more light on the unhappy situation than many chapters of retrospective commentary.

Southwell denied that Catholics would "take part with the Armie of the Pope" [i e of Spain], but actually the names of some who had done so were ascertainable from the Duke of Medina Sidonia's captured Army List[5] Southwell believed that so "ready to defend our Realme" were "the Catholike subjectes," that "what armie soever shoulde come against you, we will rather yeeld our

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[1] B.M 3935 aa 33 Though dated 14 December 1595, this is believed to be a misprint for 1591—which would represent the date of writing The only printed edition (according to Gillow's *Dictionary of English Catholics*) was issued in 1600

[2] Cit Janelle, p 50 For particulars, see E E Vol VI, pp. 255-352; 381-424 Southwell's words have been overlooked by a living author who treats the plot as mere folly of "silly boys"

[3] E.E. Vol II, pp. 43-51. [4] Cal S P Simancas, ed · Hume. E.E Vol I, p xlii. Vol. II, p. 49

[5] E.E. Vol. VII, pp. 380, n 3; 234.

breastes to be broached by our enimies swordes than vse our swordes to the effusion of our Country blood."[1]

But whatever his personal feelings, he was bound by the rules of his Order; which having been devised by Loyola on a martial foundation made obedience to the General of the Jesuits the essence of discipline in theology as in all else. Accordingly, despite the "*Supplication*," Southwell in his religious meditations could elsewhere go so far as to declare,

"Though an angel should descend from heaven and bid me not remain in the Society, or if I should have but one single superior who would tell me the contrary, I would despise and reject the word of the angel and follow the judgment of that superior

"Although the entire Society should be in opposition to the Superior in matters relating to his office, and wherein he by authority and right of office, may and *ex officio* ought to determine and order, I will cling to him although the contrary side should possess reasons however efficacious and plausible, and be supported by men the most renowned in the whole world for learning and piety. Yea, although the Superior himself should be a man in other respects wicked and nefarious"[2]

Reading Father Southwell's impassioned and eloquent denunciation of the tortures suffered by Catholics in Bridewell and other prisons,—and knowing of his own courage and endurance,—we might not remember that torture was then part of the grim code of law of every country in Europe, most notably employed by the Inquisition, not merely upon English Protestant captives but upon Catholic Spaniards suspected of heresy, who were not even allowed to know the names of their accusers. But it seems not to have occurred to Southwell that the opposition of Elizabeth's Ministers to Catholicism was not entirely doctrinal but was largely based on dread of the Inquisition, and on the recollection that when Philip of Spain had been King Consort of England the Smithfield fires had consumed for heresy many a Protestant not convicted of treason Elizabeth prided herself on being more merciful than her sister; but magnanimity was not among the attributes of the younger daughter of Henry VIII, and when we see her ruthlessness towards some of her own most devoted defenders, we shall feel less surprise at the hard lot of the Catholics in her time It ought to be possible now for Protestants to appreciate the constancy and self-sacrifice of Southwell and his brethren, and for Catholic historians to recognise with King Philip how the Bull and Declaration of Pope Pius V reacted against Catholics in England. The Anathema being phrased in terms no Sovereign could have been expected to forgive, the appeal of Father Southwell, however accurately representative of his own feelings, could not, with the Queen or her Ministers, outweigh the terms of the Anathema. As the Pope had not only dispensed all English Catholics from their allegiance but proclaimed that if they accepted the laws of Elizabeth they should come under the same Anathema, it was in vain for any Catholic—however eminent for piety—to profess loyalty to the Throne after Elizabeth's Crown had been denounced from the Vatican as usurped and invalid. This requires emphasis, because in all the vast mass of 19th and 20th century English writings whether pro or con the Monarchy of Elizabeth, it appears as if neither side has studied the exact wording of that pronouncement which from 1569-70 till the Queen's death—and afterwards—is the key to a tragic incompatibility even more political than theological.

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[1] *Supplication*, p 67. But the letters of Father Parsons and Father Cresswell to King Philip II show a completely different point of view (E.E. Vol. X). There are, however, no Spanish State Papers mentioned in the Bibliography to "*Robert Southwell the writer A Study in religious inspiration*," by Pierre Janelle (Sheed and Ward, 1935) Janelle (p 244) states that "the defeat of the Armada had dealt a crushing blow" to all Catholic hopes from Spain This notion that after 1588 King Philip abandoned his intention for the conquest of England is so general in 19th and 20th century English and American publications whether Catholic or Protestant that the only inference to be drawn is that the writers failed to realise that English theology and politics of Elizabeth's time can only be fully understood by a study of the Spanish relevant matter, and by comprehension of the war which had not yet ended when Queen Elizabeth lay on her death-bed.

[2] Tanner. p 33 Ch. 1-2. Cit. Janelle, "*Robert Southwell The Writer*," (1935) p. 104.

*CORRIGENDUM E E Vol. IX, plate 9, facing p 98*

The photograph of the Scottish College at Valladolid has been included by mistake in this volume, for the College was not founded until 1627. It was then established in Madrid, by the bequest of Colonel William Semple and his wife Doña Maria Ledesma de Salamanca, who placed it under control of the Order of Jesus When the Jesuits were expelled from Spain in 1771, the College was moved to Valladolid by King Carlos III. The present Rector, Don Santiago Connolly, writes (25 November 1950)

"Durante ese tiempo el Colegio ha sido y sigue siendo, el único centro de cultura que une a España con los católicos de Escocia, con provecho extraordinario para estos que por su parte, han contribuido a que España sea conocida y amada en Escocia y en otros pueblos de habla inglesa."

## *THE ENGLISH AND SCOTTISH COLLEGES AT VALLADOLID.*

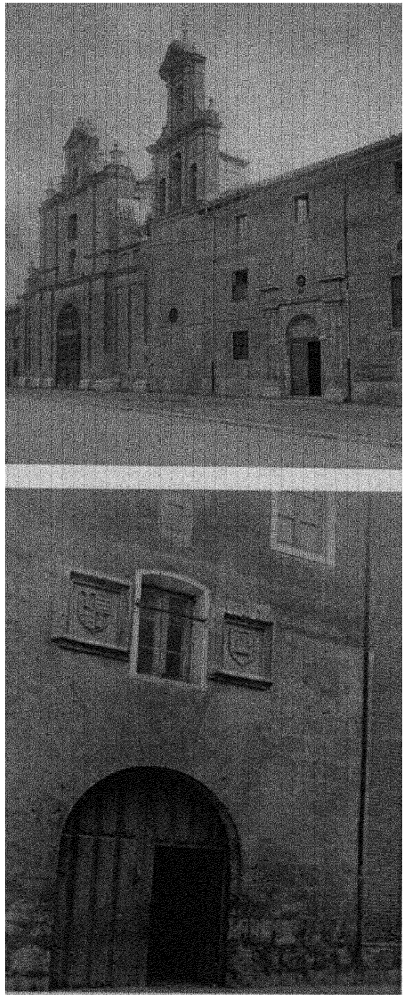
*From recent photographs by courtesy of the Director of the Real Academia de la Historia.*

Photographs, Carvajol

From Madrid, 14th October, 1589, the Venetian Ambassador in Spain, Tomaso Contarini, had reported to the Doge and Senate "the necessary preparations for erecting a College of English Jesuits at Valladolid The King raised many difficulties before giving his consent, but finally permission was granted, provided that no one should be received into the College without having first produced a certificate of the place whence he came, his profession, and his Catholic manner of life"

*Calendar of State Papers, Venice, Vol. VIII, 1581-1591,* London, 1894 No: 885, pp 470-471

For the Irish College at Salamanca, and notes on English Seminaries in Spain and France, see E I Vol VIII (1947) plates 2 and 3



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## PART VII.

### "The causes that govern the events."

### CHAPTER 5.

### "A DELECTABLE VARIETY OF MATTER."

#### SECTION 2.

# "Those intended Invasions."

*(The Parliament of 1592-3. Measures for defence).*

**"It exhorteth every one in his vocation to embrace pietie and to honor Justice; . . . . whatsoever is most rare and excellent, . . . . concerning the ordering of a great estate, . . . . is found to be herein set downe in so pleasant a language and delectable varietie of matter, withall so accommodated to the humour of our nation, that I hope to get the goodwilles of those that shall read . . ."**

*De Fresne to the King of Navarre, April 1587 introducing "The Politicke and Militarie Discourses of the Lord de La Novve." Translation by E[dward] A[ggas]. London, 1587.*

**"The principal cause of this Parliament is that Her Majesty might consult with her subjects for the better withstanding of those intended invasions . . ."**

*The Lord Keeper of the Great Seal (Sir John Puckering) to both Houses of Parliament, on the day of the opening, 19th February 1592-3.*

**"Mr Francis Bacon assented to the three subsidies, but not to the payments under six years . . . The gentlemen must sell their plate and the farmers their brass pots ere this will be paid."**

*"Journals of all the Parliaments,"* &c. p. 485.

**"I can see no reason that the suspicion of discontentment should cross the provision for the present danger. The time is now more dangerous than in Eighty Eight."**

*Sir Walter Raleigh in the House of Commons.* Ibid, p. 493.

**"My mind was never to invade my neighbours or to usurp over any. I am content to reign over mine own. . . . Yet the King of Spain doth challenge me to be the quarreller."**

*Queen Elizabeth, to her Parliament on the day of its dissolution. 10th April, 1593.*

# SLANDERING THE DEAD

*Rebuke to a calumniator of Lord Leicester.*

At Hampton Court, on the 23rd of January 1592-3, the Lord Chamberlain and the Vice-Chamberlain, with Lord Buckhurst and Sir John Wolley, on behalf of the Privy Council, sent a letter to Sir Francis Hastings, Sir John Clopton, and others, as follows:

> "We have been given to understand of certain very lewd unreverend speeches uttered by one Edmund Wattes, a Prebendary of the Cathedral Church of Wells, against the deceased Earl of Leicester, in his lifetime known to us and to all the realm to have been a personage of so great worth for his loyal and dutiful service to her Majesty and the realm as we may not in justice suffer his memory to be blemished, and his actions unjustly taxed, especially in matters of so heinous quality as by the speeches of so lewd a person."

A copy of the slander was enclosed; but has not been preserved in the Council Records. In 1585 the Privy Council and the Queen herself had replied to the libels then in circulation against Lord Leicester.[1] On this later occasion (1592-3) an enquiry into the case was ordered; and that it the said Wattes had spoken as alleged, he was to be sent under guard to answer for his words.

This has been in print for nearly half a century;[2] but the hoary scandals against Leicester still flourish. A recent writer dismissed them as a "gross exaggeration," but in such terms as to insinuate that they had a basis of fact: and this although in the present History they have been thoroughly examined and disposed of.[3]

It is significant that the rebuke to Leicester's calumniator came from his own contemporaries and colleagues. It was not until a month later that Leicester's stepson Essex first took his seat in "Her Majesties Most Honorable Privy Council," he being the youngest of that august body of administrators and statesmen.[4]

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[1] E E. Vol. V (1936), pp 150-151

[2] *Acts of the Privy Council.* N S Vol. XXIV.

[3] F E. Vol. III, pp. 149-166; Vol. V, pp 139-169, and as to his military service in the Netherlands, Vol. VI, pp 1-132; 168-251. But in *The Elizabethan House of Commons* (1949), p 231, Professor Neale quotes the 1706 reissue of these libels without any indication of their origin. He declares them applicable to "the world of Essex and Robert Cecil";—though when these calumnies originally appeared Essex had not yet come to Court. Professor Neale is so occupied with the supposed clash between these two Privy Councillors that no student of his book would realise therefrom that the main point throughout Essex's career was whether or no Queen Elizabeth's kingdom and subjects were to fall under the dominion of Spain.

[4] The next youngest was Sir Robert Cecil; and he was present on this occasion:—At the Court of St James, the xxvth of February 1592(3): in the presence of the Lord Keeper, Lord Treasurer, Earl of Derby, Lord High Admiral, Lord Buckhurst, Sir Robert Cecil and Sir John Wolley: "This day in the afternoon the Earl of Essex, Master of the Horse, took the Oath of Supremacy and of a Privy Councillor at the Council Board, and afterwards signed with the rest of their Lordships this letter following" [it was about an outrage against a "preacher"]. *Acts of the Privy Council,* xxiv, p. 78

PART VII.

"The causes that govern the events."

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"A DELECTABLE VARIETY OF MATTER."

SECTION 2

# "Those intended Invasions."

*(The Parliament of 1592-3. Measures for defence).*

ON the 29th of March 1589 the Queen had dissolved Parliament, which had only been sitting since the 4th of February.[1] When Parliament next assembled, 19th of February 1592-3, there was no Lord Chancellor. Sir Christopher Hatton had died in 1591, and the Queen did not appoint a Chancellor, only a Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, Sir John Puckering.[2]

The Sovereign and the peers being seated, the Members of the Lower House were given permission that as many as could conveniently be let into the Upper House should come to hear the Lord Keeper's speech, the theme of which was the "malice of the King of Spain." As "the high and mighty ships" he had sent in 1588 had not answered his purpose, he was now "building some ships of a less bulk, after another fashion; some like French ships, some like the shipping of England; and many hath he gotten out of the Low Countries." His invasion of Brittany, where he was strongly fortified, would facilitate any further attempt against England. He had been conspiring with some nobility of Scotland; which the Scottish King would hardly believe until Her Majesty warned and convinced him. King Philip's purpose was "on the north parts to assault us by land, and on the south side to invade us by sea." Therefore "we, Her Majesty's subjects," must "think what is fit for us to do" to help to meet the necessary charges for defending "this her Realm." Parliament had not been called to make new Laws or Statutes; but for the Queen to consult with her subjects "for the better withstanding of those intended invasions . . ." And whereas Parliamentary orators were apt to delight

[1] E E. Vol. VII, Table facing p 414; and see Vol. VIII, p. xix

[2] The temporal peers in this Parliament in 1592-3, were the Marquess of Winchester, Earls of Oxford, Derby, Northumberland, Shrewsbury, Kent, Worcester, Cumberland, Sussex, Huntingdon, Bath, Pembroke, Hertford, Essex, Lincoln; Viscount Bindon; Barons Howard of Effingham, Hunsdon, Strange, Morley, Stafford, Grey, Scrope, Mountjoy, Sandys, Windsor, Cromwell, Wharton, Rich, Sheffield, North, Chandos, St John, Burghley, Buckhurst, De La Warre, Compton, Norris. Peers spiritual, the Archbishop of Canterbury and 8 Bishops.

themselves with "vainglorious" rhetoric, the Lord Keeper admonished them that the case was too urgent, the time too precious, for "good hours" to be lost in idle talking.

On the 22nd of February, the Queen again being present, the Lord Keeper spoke afresh on the Spanish menace. Also to "show out of the History of England" that "ever since Henry the Third's time" the English Sovereigns had maintained themselves to be Supreme Head over all causes within their own dominions. In reply to the customary request for "liberty of speech" the Queen granted it, provided it were not abused: "Wit and speech" being sometimes turned to mischief, she would not authorise any Member of Parliament to speak "whatever cometh in his brain to utter," but only to express his views after due thought and consideration.

Sent up to the House of Lords from the Commons was a Bill for the naturalisation of William son of Sir Robert Sidney, Governor of Flushing; and of Peregrine son and heir of Sir John Wingfield; children born abroad. Also there was concurrence in the confiscation of estates of the fugitive Sir Francis Englefield, Catholic, "attaint of Treason."

On the 5th of April the Bishop of Worcester spoke as to relieving "such of our soldiers" as had been reduced to begging in the streets of London. He proposed that every Earl should give forty shillings, every Bishop thirty, and every Baron twenty; the Bishop himself and Lord Norris to collect the money, "committing the bestowing thereof to the Earl of Essex and the Lord Willoughby of Eresby." This especially was to aid soldiers wounded in the wars. Such peers and members of the Lower House as had absented themselves from the debate were requested to give "double of the sums of money paid by the Lords that have been here present;" which was declared "very just, considering the Lords and others who have been absent and have been at no charge to come up and give their attendance, may very reasonably, and with great saving to their charges," contribute as suggested.

In the House of Commons the main theme was "timely preparation to be made against the ambitious and proud designs of the Spanish King." Some displeasure was occasioned to the Queen by questions as to the Succession to her Crown,—a forbidden topic. But Sir Edward Stafford placated her by compliments to her "magnanimity, zeal, and judgment" in confronting her formidable foes. Sir John Fortescue praised Her Majesty as "not only careful for the preservation of her own realm but of her neighbours' also: 'tis well known that the French King had not been able to withstand the Duke of Parma's coming into France had it not been for our English men and money." Presumably Stafford and Fortescue were not aware of the extent to which the Queen had impeded that aid by her caprices and delays.[1] They rejoiced over the vast improvement in the Navy since her accession. Finding it then "greatly decayed" it had been so strengthened that "now she is

[1] E.E. Vol VIII, pp. 559-575.

able to match with any Prince in Europe, which the Spaniards found when they came to invade us. Yea, she hath with her ships, compassed the whole world, whereby this land is made famous . . . " Her Household, he maintains, was not extravagant; and her apparel, while " royal and princely as befitteth her calling," was " not excessive."

Bacon proposed calling a Committee to discuss the Subsidy; which Committee was to meet on the following Monday. He demurred to combining with the House of Lords, and wished this action " apart by ourselves." Standing upon the privileges of the Commons, he invoked a precedent of the 13th Century; to which the House assented.

Sir George Carew announced that " Her Majesty is determined to send Sir Francis Drake to sea " to encounter the Spaniards with " a great Navy," by which the danger of invasion should be averted; and for this the charges are " by Us to be supplied."

Sir Walter Raleigh urged improvement of the fortifications of Plymouth, and thought that a royal army should attack King Philip's forces in Brittany; and elsewhere intercept his treasure ships. Sir Robert Cecil agreed as to the " great and urgent necessity " for defence; and Fulke Greville said that the rich should bear the largest share of the burden, so that the poor " be not overcharged."

Sir Francis Drake spoke strongly; so did Sir Thomas Heneage and Sir John Fortescue; but they were opposed by Francis Bacon, who only approved of the subsidy provided it were spun out over six years. He complained that " the gentlemen must sell their plate and the farmers their brass pots " to pay the sum proposed. He held also that the demand would " breed discontentment," and that her Majesty's safety was " more in the love of the people than in their wealth." Moreover he feared that such heavy taxation would make an " evil precedent."

Sir Thomas Heneage retorted that he saw neither difficulty to obtain the money nor any hazard of the people's love in requiring it. Sir Walter Raleigh said, " I can see no reason that the suspicion of discontentment should cross the provision for the present danger. The time is now more dangerous than it was in Eighty Eight; for then the Spaniard which came from Spain was [obliged] to pass dangerous seas, and had no place of retreat or relief if he failed. But now he hath in Brittany great store of shipping, a landing place in Scotland, and men and horses there . . . "[1] As for difficulty over the subsidy there was more trouble made in " talking about it than there would be in the gathering of it."

[1] In 1591 (28th October) Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, had reported to the Doge and Senate, in cipher, that " Don Juan d'Aquila (meaning del Aguila) " who is Commander of the Spanish troops in Brittany, announces that the affairs of the League are progressing favourably, and that the Spaniards are always making their position surer and surer " *Cal. S.P. Venice. Vol. VII.* p. 561. Numerous despatches, printed in the Calendar, touch upon the Spanish control of Brittany, and the actions of the English troops there and in Normandy. We have seen in E E Volume VIII, how the Queen impeded progress, but the Venetian Ambassador in France had no suspicion of this. On 18th November 1591 he was reporting from Chartres (Sciartres) that " The Queen of England is quite aware that Villars, who holds Havre de Grace as well as Rouen is in the pay of Spain; and this makes her anxious lest the King of Spain may some day use them as a base of operations against England " (Ib. p. 562)

Two or three Members then stood up, all wanting to speak at once. The Speaker calmed them; and the House in the main agreed with Drake and Raleigh. The Queen's subsequent coldness to Bacon was in consequence of his opposition to the subsidy.

The orators in the Lower House were more prolix than those in the Upper, where business was despatched with less disputation.[1] The most eloquent appeal in the House of Commons was by Sir William Unton:[2]

> ". . . We are not ignorant," he said after describing the dangers from Spain, how Her Majesty "hath set up Kings, maintaineth and still upholdeth two Kings and their Crowns upon their heads, as also how many other estates which without her had long since perished. What mighty expenses she hath been charged with for France, and what more is expected and must be expended there of necessity, I can well witness. . . ." England's interest demanded "the preservation of that brave and worthy King, of our religion and therein most zealous; and *you know the knot of religion is never ending: it is the link which binds man to God and man to man*"[3] The French King's cause "is ours; we are both embarked in one ship; and therefore must run one fortune together. His country is now the stage of Christendom, wherein all nations our enemies seek to play their tragical parts: which finished, they will begin here." The design of "the unsatiable Spaniard" is to master France, and then England; and finally "to make himself absolute Monarch of the world. . ."

After this, with an admonition that the State and private individuals stand or fall together, "the weale publique" being every man's concern, Sir William had appealed for a triple subsidy to carry on the war; all of which has been overlooked by the large body of modern English and American writers who follow each other in asserting the Spanish menace against England to have ended in 1588 with the defeat of the Armada.

On the 10th of April the Speaker of the House of Commons was invited into the Upper House. His discourse was on the text that the English Parliament was of venerable antiquity, going back to Saxon days under King Ine.

The Lord Keeper said that Her Majesty did not wish her people to be alarmed by the great danger from Spain, but to be encouraged to a united boldness against those enemies; therefore she ordered a muster of the armed Companies in every shire, and that "their possessions of Armour and munition" should be even better than heretofore. She then spoke direct: "This kingdom hath had many wise, noble and victorious Princes." Without comparing herself with any of them, she wished to remind her Parliament that she had not sought to enlarge her dominions by force: or increase her territories:

> "My mind was never to invade my neighbours, or to usurp over any. I am

[1] In "*The Journals of all the Parliaments during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*," ed: D'Ewes, London 1682, the business of the Lords in this Parliament of 1592-3 fills eleven folio pages, pp. 456-467, and that of the Commons 43 pages, pp. 458-521.

[2] *S.P. Dom Eliz.* CCLXIV No 91. Briefly epitomised in Calendar 1591-94. Supra from original MS.

[3] These italicised words are in Latin in original.

content to reign over mine own . . . Yet the King of Spain doth challenge me to be the quarreller, and the beginner of these wars. He doth me the greatest wrong that can be . . ."

Congratulating herself on a clear conscience, she added, "I fear not all his threatenings; his great preparations and mighty forces do not stir me. For though he come against me with a greater power than ever was his Invincible Navy, I doubt not but (God assisting me upon Whom I always trust) I shall be able to defeat him . . . For my cause is just.

"I heard say when he attempted his last invasion, some upon the sea-coasts forsook their towns and fled up higher into the country, and left all naked and exposed to his entrance. But I swear unto you, by God, if I knew those persons, or may know of any that shall do so hereafter, I will make them know and feel what it is to be so fearful in so right a cause.

"The subsidy you gave me I accept thankfully, if you gave me your good-will with it; but if the necessity of the time and your preservation did not require it, I would refuse it . . ."

"Thus, with most gracious thanks to the House, her princely speech ended." Upon which, with the usual formalities, the dissolution ensued. And not until four and a half years later, 24th of October, 1597, was Parliament to meet again.[1]

On the 15th of November 1592, from Hampton Court, the Privy Council had written to Richard Drake, cousin of Sir Francis,

> "Whereas her Majesty . . . is contented that Don Pedro long sithence remaining prisoner under your charge, shall be set at liberty, and exchanged for Mr. Edward Wynter, prisoner with Mondragon at Antwerp, who is to defray the charges of his ransome, . . . we have thought good to let you understand so much, to the end you acquaint Don Pedro herewith, that thereupon he may forthwith write her Majesty's gracious intent herein to Mondragon," &c., &c.[2]

After further delays, Don Pedro de Valdés having been a prisoner since 1588, wrote from Brussels to King Philip, 19th of March, 1593:

". . . eight days before my departure from England I was taken to Court by orders of the Queen, where I was treated very handsomely, and was visited by the Councillors, nobles, and naval officers there. They unanimously requested that when I arrived at your Majesty's Court I would use my best offices in favour of peace, and a return to the old amity between the two countries; and they seemed to desire this more than ever. I was then taken to London, where I was entertained at a banquet by the Lord Mayor and aldermen. The next day I went to visit the Lord Treasurer, who also pressed me to use my influence in favour of the peace. I found him very ill; and yesterday I received news that the doctors had abandoned

[1] See Vols. I to VII of E.E. for Parliamentary Tables, unnecessary from Vol. VIII to the end because Parliament was called so seldom.

[2] *Acts of the Privy Council*, (N.S.) Vol. XXIII, (1901 p. 301) For Don Pedro's capture see E.E. Vol VII, pp. 335-338 and Vol VIII, p. xliv For Mondragon, see E.E. Vol IX, pp. 414

hope of saving him. *He will be the greatest loss the English could suffer, as he is the most important man in the country.*"[1]

As to peace, the Queen and Burghley had repeatedly expressed a wish to resume the ancient alliance, provided it could be on their own terms. But Don Pedro goes on to show that while willing for peace they were ready for war. When Parliament met, he relates, supplies were raised for the fleet, which force was alleged to be ordered to seize, fortify, and hold Puerto Rico and "make it their rallying point." [We shall see how when subsequently in 1595 Hawkins and Drake arrived before Puerto Rico the Spaniards, long forewarned, had prepared a strong resistance]. After further details Don Pedro adds, "I am informed the fleet is being equipped very actively and will shortly put to sea."[2] On the 26th March he wrote again to the King from Brussels, as to the activities of Drake and Cumberland. Except that he calls the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal "the Chancellor," his information is correct as to the Queen being in London for the Parliament and the "Chancellor" making "a great speech" in her presence:

> "He set forth the strength of Your Majesty in all parts, and pointed out that now you were beginning to gather forces in Scotland. To resist them, he said it would be necessary to grant the Queen a large sum, and it is understood this was voted. They also discussed the further oppression of the Catholics . . . I am endeavouring to establish means of communication with England, so that regular and trustworthy reports of all that happens there" be sent to Brussels for Count Fuentes to receive all necessary information.[3]

King Philip, we should bear in mind, was receiving repeated overtures from Ireland.[4] And reassurances also from some Scottish Catholic noblemen, suggesting that "for entrance into England the command should be given either to the Cardinal Archduke Albert, or to his brother the Archduke Ernest." A Scottish peer should be selected for local command in Scotland; and a Spanish fleet sent to protect the Coast while the army of invasion entered England over the Border. Also it might please His Majesty to "found a college" there to educate Scottish Catholics in an adequate respect for Spain.[5]

Thus from Spanish sources we can see how well justified were Elizabeth's Councillors in their Parliamentary speeches, and how fortunate it was for her that both Houses voted at once the subsidy which Francis Bacon suggested should be delayed in payment across a period of six years. Philosophers are not always the wisest statesmen; and Queen Elizabeth would have fared ill had she not—as Savile expressed it—possessed among her subjects many "watchful eyes to foresee" as well as strong forces ready to fight. We now turn to an Englishman's advice in 1593 as to the need for incessant preparations for continued resistance to the great and vigorous Empire of Spain.

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[1] This tribute from the adversary escapes the notice of all who imagine Burghley as "the original of Polonius."
[2] Add. MSS. 28 420 Cal: S.P., S. Simancas, Vol IV, pp 596-598
[3] Add: MSS. 28 420. Cal: Ib: p. 598
[4] Estado 839 Cal. Ib p 609
[5] Estado 839 Cal Ib. pp 613-617

# "To defend ourselves, or aid our friends."

*(Sutcliffe on organisation for security, 1593).*

**"Nor could the Spaniards have done such things as they have of late; but that they excel all others in the observance of military discipline."**

*"The Practice, Proceedings, and Lawes of armes"* 1593.

**"He that desireth peace, he must prepare for wars, and long preparations of war made in time of peace give speedy victory in time of wars. Men do not easily provoke or attempt wars against a nation or country that is ready to resist . . . Contrariwise the peaceable and inconsiderative are a spoil and prey to their neighbours."**

*Sutcliffe, Dedicatory Epistle to the Earl of Essex, 1593.*

**Since "the Kings of England have had the government at sea, neither have foreign nations succeeded to invade us, nor have we wanted means to defend ourselves, or aid our friends."**

**"The use of the Navy is great in peace, greater in wars."**

**"Those Nations and Cities that have the Commandment of the Sea, howsoever they are spoiled at land yet can never be thoroughly vanquished before they are beaten at sea."**

*Sutcliffe: chapter xviii.*

**"By your own experience in the service of the Low Countries, Portingale, and France, you both understand the practise of arms and the wants of the soldiers . . . All those parts which are required of a sufficient General do seem to flourish and show forth themselves in your doings."**

*Sutcliffe to Essex, 1593.* E.E. p. 111.

**". . . prudencia, intelligencia, integridad y fidelidad, mucha experiencia." ". . . [prudence, intelligence, integrity and fidelity; great experience."]**

*Sancho de Londoño on the qualities required of a Captain-General. "La Disciplina Militar,"* 2nd(?) edition, 1589.

## NOTE: "READINESS FOR DEFENCE OF THESE COASTS."

On 10th of December 1592 from Hampton Court the Privy Council wrote to the Earl of Bath and to his Deputy Lieutenant for Devon to assemble the Justices of the Peace and inform them of Her Majesty's "gracious liberality," in giving an annuity out of her Customs to help towards the fortification of Plymouth. The Council "have been desirous to understand by Sir Francis Drake (being at this present here in Court)" the effects of the appeal for "the furtherance of a work so necessary" in these dangerous times.[1]

On the 19th of July 1593 the Lord Treasurer Burghley, the Earl of Essex, the Lord High Admiral and the Lord Chamberlain addressed a letter to Sir John Gilbert and Sir Francis Drake:

> "Ye shall understand that her Majesty hath had knowledge from the Isle of Jersey by letters of the 13th of this month that there have been seen upon the coast of Brittany about Conquet 30 sail of ships and gallies; and though we think very likely that you there of the West have had knowledge thereby, the winds having been so much westerly, yet her Majesty hath commanded us to advertise you thereof, and that you, being the Lieutenant's deputy in those parts, should by authority . . . take order that the forces of the counties upon those coasts might be warned to be in readiness for the defence . against any sudden incursion that might be made; and specially for the defence of Plymouth, now being begun to be fulfilled. And that you would send out some small vessels towards the Coast of Brittany, to discover their actions, and thereof to advertise us And likewise we require you to send to the Deputy Lieutenants of Cornwall" to prepare their forces "to withstand any attempt that may be made . . . . And so we wish you well to fare, requiring you to let us understand how the fortification of Plymouth doth proceed."[2]

"At the Court at Windsor Castle the 22nd of August 1593," The Lord Treasurer Burghley, the Earl of Essex, the Lord High Admiral, the Lord Chamberlain, and Sir Robert Cecil with Sir John Wolley, wrote "to the Justices of the Peace, Gentleman, and others of the County of Devon," remonstrating with them that they have become slack as to the fortifications· ". . . Very few or none of you, besides the Earl of Bath who hath contributed one hundred pounds, have hitherto contributed anything at all." Her Majesty greatly wishes to have the fortifications finished; and the Council admonishes the Justices and others to do their duty A similar letter was sent to Cornwall; and a letter "to Sir Francis Drake and John Heal Esquire," requiring them to overcome this "slackness in Devon and Cornwall[3]

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[1] *Acts of the Privy Council* 1592, N.S. Vol. XXIII (1901) p. 352. Also pp. 353-354.
[2] *Acts of the Privy Council.* Vol. XXIV, pp. 406-407.
[3] Ibid, pp. 477-478.




# PRACTICE, PROCEEDINGS, AND Lawes of armes, described out of the doings of most valiant and expert Captaines, and confirmed both by ancient, and moderne examples, and precedents,

By Matthevv Sutcliffe.

Luke 14 31.

Τις βασιλεὺς πορευόμενος συμβαλεῖν ἑτέρῳ βασιλεῖ εἰς πόλεμον, οὐχὶ καθίσας πρῶτον βουλεύσεται εἰ δυνατός ἐστιν ἐν δέκα χιλιάσιν ὑπαντῆσαι τῷ μετὰ εἴκοσι χιλιάδων ἐρχομένῳ ἐπ' αὐτόν;

What king going to make warre with a forreine prince, sitteth not downe first, and taketh counsell, whether he be able with ten thousand, to meete him that commeth against him with twentie thousand?

Cicer. offic. lib 1

*In rep. maxime conservanda sunt vera bella*

Ibidem

*Sunt quæ quod fortunæ, est optimum fit, tamen irridet mens non audent dicere*

## IMPRINTED AT LONdon by the Deputies of Christopher Barker Printer to the Queenes most excellent Maiestie.

*1593*

Title page of Sutcliffe's chief work, now first reproduced. Dedicated to the Earl of Essex, 1593

Quarto · Blackletter. 342 pages of text; with title page, 6 pages of Preface; and 16 pages of Dedicatory Epistle.

(B.M. 713. c.5. Also in the War Office Library; Royal United Service Institution, Royal Artillery Institution, and at Lambeth Palace.) Spelling modernised in the ensuing quotations.

Owing to the erroneous idea in our time that all danger from Spain ended in 1588, this vitally important discourse has long been allowed to sleep unread: whereas the unpractical animadversions of Sir John Smythe have been solemnly quoted as if representative of the Elizabethan army. See E E. Vol. VII, pp. 307-308.

In Catalogue 690 (1948) of Francis Edwards Ltd, this book is described as "Very rare" and priced at £40 (160 dollars—before devaluation).

*APPENDIX.*

## "TO DEFEND OURSELVES, OR AID OUR FRIENDS."

*Sutcliffe on organisation for security, 1593.*

While King Philip's forces were tightening their grip upon Brittany, there appeared in 1593, dedicated to Essex, *"The Practice, Proceedings and Lawes of armes"* by Matthew Sutcliffe, who had been one of the judges attached to the Marshal's Court during the actions in the Low Countries, Portugal, and France. In the present History we have seen military enterprises abroad, from the capture of St Quentin in Queen Mary's time[1] down to the surrender of Rouen to the Duke of Parma in 1592;[2] so we should the easier understand the observations of Sutcliffe, who explained that he was not aiming his rebukes at any particular person but pointing out defects in English organisation in the hope of averting their repetition. The Dedicatory Epistle, opening with an allusion to "the storms that hang over our heads," deplores the tendency of some who sit safe at home to resent being asked to consider the sufferings of those who hazard their lives abroad. "We hear of our enemies' preparations against us, and know their pride, . . . we have seen and felt their attempts," and even though they are not actually "at our doors," they are "very near." Having established themselves in Brittany, which "confronteth all the western coast of England," they most likely mean to approach still nearer.

Sutcliffe then draws upon classical axioms applicable at all times "*He that desireth peace, he must prepare for wars, and long preparations of war made in time of peace, give speedy victory in time of wars Men do not easily provoke or attempt wars against a nation or country that is ready to resist. . . . Contrariwise the peaceable and inconsiderative are a spoil and prey to their neighbours*"

Tamely to endure an insult from an enemy encourages him to offer another, but to be well prepared ensures that "neither the enemy shall have cause to rejoice or hope, nor we cause to lament or fear." England, "being heretofore openly defied," is now again "very hardly threatened by the Spaniard," King Philip having neither renounced his former aims nor altered his methods "His subjects have exercised divers acts of hostility in taking our goods, imprisoning and ransoming our persons:" they holding "that such as are by the Pope's Bull excommunicate for heretucks, are open enemies and may be invaded" without a new declaration of war.

As even the "barbarous Emperor" of the Turks took care to study "Cæsar's Commentaries translated into Arabic," any man is very arrogant that would say that the reading of Frontinus, Vegetius, Livy, Cæsar, Xenophon, and other ancient histories is superfluous. And it is not reasonable "that the labours of all should be measured by the presumption of some which write of matters of which they never had experience," such as Machiavelli. The best guides in history are those who are both "writers and doers," above all Cæsar and Xenophon; and in later times Guicciardini, who had been personally "employed in great

[1] E E. Prologue, Vol I, pp. 93-105 [2] Vol IX, pp 3; 79.

matters." Though weapons and tactics change, "the general rules are always the same."[1] Insufficient encouragement was being given in England to the valiant; but Sutcliffe looked to Essex to remedy this defect:

> The main hope being "grounded upon that expectation which all this nation hath of your heroical actions. God hath placed your Lordship as it were on a high stage; . . . . never man had greater favour of the beholders, nor was more likely to obtain a singular applause of the people. All men's eyes are fixed upon you to see what effects will follow those virtuous and noble parts the which already have made your name honourable. As others choose ease, so your Lordship hath followed the wearisome travails of wars. By your own experience in the service of the Low Countries, of Portingale and France, you both understand the practise of arms and the wants of the soldiers. The general hope of all soldiers, nay, of all that love their country, is that your Lordship which so well understandeth the common disorders of the wars," and hath "favour and means by reason of your authority to correct them," will see them redressed. "All those parts which are required of a sufficient General do seem to flourish and show forth themselves in your doings. . . . ."[2]

Sutcliffe then dared to put his finger on the weak point: namely that "hitherto Her Majesty hath not been resolved to bring into the field a sufficient army," and the small forces sent abroad have lacked "much of their necessary provision; not that the cost is so great that it could not be borne," for Sutcliffe believed that thirty or forty thousand men could well be maintained abroad; soldiers, he protested, "do not spend more or eat more abroad than at home." Invoking the examples of Edward I and Henry V, he declared that if all English men "were resolved to bestow more in iron and steel than in silks and velvets and golden coats,"—and "if true and ancient discipline of arms" were restored,—it would not only be possible to produce adequate forces but "we should also recover the ancient glory of the English nation spread far abroad in France, Spain, and other countries in the past, and now blemished only with some men's misgovernment."

> "Wherefore seeing it hath pleased God not only to make your Lordship acquainted with but also partaker of the common calamities of soldiers, and given you favour and access to her Majesty in whom it lieth to reform those abuses, as you have hitherto employed your person and goods in the service of her and your country, so I beseech you cease not until such time as you have accomplished to redress of these disorders. . . . ."
>
> "It is not the courage of the Spaniards, nor force of the Dutch, nor bravery of the French that hath frustrated our late attempts"; the trouble is largely from within, "especially those abuses which through want have crept into armies of late time, and for pity could not be corrected" when soldiers had either to plunder or starve.[3]
>
> "If a General have sufficient force and provision, it is his fault if he do nothing," But if he lack either force or pay, "then it is their fault that should have sent him forth better provided. *Many do great wrong to our Generals in the Portugal expedition, when they*

[1] An excellent code had been drawn up by Lord Leicester. (E.E. Vol VI, pp. 27-31), and reprinted in 1590 by his former Muster Master, Thomas Digges, in *"Stratioticos"* pp. 275-282; Digges adding a translation of *"Certaine Militare Ordinances published and practised among the Spaniards,"* pp. 283-297 (E.E. IX, pp. 117-122); also the *"Laws and Ordinances"* of the Prince de Condé during the Civil Wars in France, pp. 297-305

[2] For which qualifications see E.E. Vol. VII, pp. 19-21

[3] But the penalty for plunder in the Portuguese campaign had been death. See E.E. Vol VIII, p. 132, for Norris's drastic discipline.

*impute the fault to them God knoweth that with such slender provision nothing could be done more. Others that are more deeply to be charged for wrecking that enterprise, yea and famishing many pour souls, lie hid; and I think mean not to answer until such time as God shall call them before His tribunal there to answer once and for all."*

Presumably he was thinking of the food contractors, for in 1593 it had not yet been suspected that certain alien refugees had acted as spies for Spain while posing as devoted to Queen Elizabeth and King Antonio.[1]

Though Sutcliffe regarded the disappointing result of the expedition of 1589 as not entirely due to the courage of the Spaniards, he nevertheless emphasised that the adversaries could not "have done such things as they have of late but that they excel all others in the observance of military discipline. Neither were it possible that the Turks should have prevailed so much against Christians but that they reward virtue highly and punish disorders severely." If England is to maintain her place in the world, it must be by efficiency and preparedness equal to that of Spain; and if by Essex's influence and organisation this could be achieved "then would I not fear either the malice, or power or riches of the Spaniard or other foreign enemy of this State."

> "This therefore is the thing which especially I commend to your care which indeed is the cause of the whole country, and ought to be the care of all that love the honour, peace, and prosperity of the same. For confirmation of your Lordship's judgment, that well knoweth more than I can say, and for direction to such as are ignorant, I have described the right course, . . . confirmed by ancient and late precedents of most expert warriors, and because it so pleased your Lordship, published the same,"—this book being the fruit of knowledge "won not only by long observation but also by dangerous experience both in France, Italy, Flanders and Portugal. . . . .
>
> "If any good come of my labours, the same is wholly to be ascribed to your Lordship, whose singular favour towards me both at home and abroad gave me first occasion, leisure and means to write these discourses. . . . . The success I commit to God, the care to your Lordship and others whom it concerneth: beseeching the Almighty, as Lord of warriors and governor of all our actions, so to direct the affairs of State under the governance of our gracious Sovereign and to give that power to your endeavours, that the glory of the English nation by your noble deeds may be increased, the blemishes of our proceedings in wars washed away, and all good orders restored."

Bearing in mind that no book could then be published without royal permission, and seeing that Sutcliffe's discourse was produced through the Crown printer, we may infer that his criticisms would not have been permitted thus to reach the outer world had it not been officially intended to countenance the reforms he suggested

> "Many do wonder," he says, "some complain"—and all who have "any love to their Country" should lament,—"that in those warlike actions which of late years have been attempted publicly, the success hath been so slender, the loss of men so great, the charge so burdensome, . . . ." Many therefore must be desirous to know the causes. "And to say truth, good it were that the true causes of disorders were publicly known, that not only those that are wrongfully charged may be cleared, but those that laugh at others griefs" might be unmasked, and the armies in future be "better supplied."

[1] E.E. Vol. VIII, pp 23-25.

Before he passes to questions of organisation, strategy, tactics and transport he touches on the morality of war:

"For although soldiers are the principal actors in these tragical matters, yet before we draw an army into the field, or make levy of soldiers, many things are to be considered and provided First . . . . that our cause be good and just. For wars without cause are nothing but robbery and violence contrary to humanity and reason."

Under special headings he names the subjects of which he proposes to treat:

1st, what makes war just or unjust,

2nd, "what portion is to be made of treasure, arms, munition, victuals, ships by sea, and carriages and tents by land."

3rd, the help of confederates.

4th, the qualities required in a General.

5th, how to transport armies by sea or land; and, "whether it is better for the English nation to invade the Spaniard, or any other foreign enemy in his own country, than to receive his assault at home or to stay until he be come to our coast or within our country."

6th, "what order and array an army is to observe in marching."

7th, Offensive and defensive action considered

8th, "for that, oftimes, time is vainly spent in deliberations, dalliances and delays, to the impoverishing of many states and overthrow of many good actions", it should be made clear that nothing is more advantageous than "expedition and celerity, in preparing, marching, executing fighting, and all enterprises of war; nor anything more hurtful or dangerous than delays."

9th, "What orders are to be observed in the fortifying, defending and governing of our camp and lodging, that we be not either charged *a l'improvista,* or easily forced to fight."

A further twelve points ensue, of which the chief are in relation to sieges and the naval side of warfare. Ultimately he considers "peace, time, and confederacies," and rewards to such as have done "valiantly in the service of their country" He is emphatic that "soldiers chosen of our own nation are far to be preferred before strangers and hired men" If they are subjects of the Crown he does not mind whether they are English, Welsh, or Irish. He would not have possibilities for the future measured by the actions "of late in France, Portugal, or the Low Countries, where our soldiers have been for the most part on the weakest side, destitute of horse,[1] unprovided of carriages, and wanted victuals, and arms, and munitions and many things necessary." But considering what they achieved even under such heavy disadvantages, they would have done much more had they been "better provided and furnished," He claimed that "the soldiers chosen of this nation are bound with a straiter bond to their Prince and Country than any stranger," and "are more patient in adversity, and have less cause to revolt" Though their pay is often in arrears "they notwithstanding continue constant and loyal" But as to mercenaries,—"strangers"—they are not to be trusted. Their hands being for sale and "their hearts faithless," they regard whatever cause as best

[1] Not actually "destitute" in 1589 and 1591 when the Cavalry were "Voluntary Gentlemen" who acquitted themselves gallantly But they were relatively few in number

where they can be best paid; so that they sometimes "not only forsake their friends but also join with the enemy."

The chief essential in war is to choose the General wisely, and then give him adequate power and means. for how can a Commander vanquish the enemy if he lacks "convenient forces or means" and if he is so "bridled and bound by his instructions" that he may not "take advantage of time and other circumstances?" The ancient Romans were victorious largely because they did not lay down too arbitrarily to

> "their Generals what to do, and what they should not do, much less how they should do, or when they should do it. *Much more absurd therefore it is that men that never saw enemy, nor knew the strain of wars, should take upon them to direct Generals what they should do at land or sea.* And very strange it seemeth to me that Generals, to whom armies are committed, should like schoolboys take forth such lessons as those ignorant pedants and *scrivanoes* should prescribe. Wars are not made by indenture, neither can any covenant with his enemy to do this, or not to do it."

The Roman Captains in the classic ages had "authority most large and means sufficient. Their forces were great and provision plentiful." Under the word *imperium* was comprised all necessary authority "to levy men, to lead them, to employ them, as appeareth by the Commission given to Octavius Cæsar that afterwards was called Augustus."

> "Good had it been for our Generals likewise in the Low Countries and otherwhere that their authority had been also enlarged. For while they had neither victuals, nor lodging, nor ships, nor carriages, nor artillery, nor munition, nor other furniture of war but at the pleasure of the States, . . nor could execute any man of those Countries for treason without their consent,[1] it is no marvel if their proceedings were slow, their executions slender, their wants great" After examples drawn from ancient history, Sutcliffe adds, "Whosoever, therefore, for envy, or fear, or other cause, goeth about to persuade Princes to pare their General's authority, and to bind them with strait conditions, hath an evil mind himself, and as much as in him lieth ruinateth the affairs of his Prince. For what service can they do that are not only pinched in their provisions but also bound fast by their Commissions?"

How wise was the Emperor Charles who added to his Commissions to his Captains "that they should proceed according to the variety of times and occasions."

The power to make war or peace appertains to the Sovereign, as also the nominating of the General The General then should choose officers for their valour and virtue, preferring those that care more for honour than for profit; those that are "skilful, loyal, valiant, diligent." Also "the choice even of common soldiers" should embody a resolute preference for the best. Good soldiers are not to be made "of rogues or masterless men, or inhabitants of prisons."

> "Our young gentlemen, and serving men, are easily trained and made fit for the wars. But of all others the old soldier, if such may be had," merits "the first place. They are so far to be praised above young soldiers as artificers excel their apprentices. A handful of tried soldiers hath often put to flight multitudes of men not exercised in wars." Julius Cæsar's old soldiers were invincible. "It were therefore to be wished that more account were made of valiant men that have long served their Prince and country."

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[1] See E E Vol. VI, pp 115-118

Their oath of fidelity is of primary importance: for loyalty should be a matter of religious obligation:

"When the Duke of Alua [Alba] went about to reform divers disorders in the Spanish soldiers, among other points it was ordained that every soldier should at their entrance take a solemn oath to serve the King faithfully, and to be obedient to their Captains and officers, and not to depart the Army nor from their colours without licence in writing" The words of the Ordinance are these: "*Que todos los soldados despues de ser elegidos por sus capitanes, con las circunstancias que en tal elección se requiere al tiempo de ser admitidos por los oficiales del sueldo, con juramento solemne, se obliguen a seruir bien y fidelmente a su Mag*[d], *y a sus captanes generales a obedecer a todos sus superiores, a no partirse del exercito, ni de sus compañias sin licencia en escrito de quien se la pudiera dar*"[1]

But unless the soldier is given his pay it is not reasonable to exact those conditions. Sutcliffe has much to say about the need for better organisation of supply and transport. [It was not until nearly three centuries later, in 1888, that the Royal Army Service Corps was founded "to undertake, as a wholly combatant military body, the responsibility for both the Supplies and the Transport of the Army."][2]

Though Sutcliffe's own experience had been exclusively in wars ashore, he reminded his countrymen that "those Nations and Cities that have the commandment of the sea, howsoever they are spoiled at land, yet can never be thoroughly vanquished before they be beaten at Sea"[3] After examples from foreign wars, he urges,

"*if we mean either to maintain the honour and reputation of our country, or to defend ourselves against the enemy, . or to prosecute injuries done unto us, or to aid our friends that crave our help, we must have diligent regard to our seafaring men, and shipping, that both may be maintained and kept in order.*" *Prior to England having adequate sea power, "first the Romans, then the Saxons, after them the Danes, and last of all the Normans" were able to invade and conquer this realm But since "the Kings of England have had the government at sea, neither have foreign nations had like courage to invade us, nor have we wanted means to defend ourselves or aid our friends.*

"*If that our ships had not had the advantage of sailing when the Spaniards came to invade us, or if we had wanted shipping, God knoweth what would have been the issue . . . .*"

"*The use of the Navy is great in peace, greater in wars. Thereby traffic and intercourse betwixt friends is maintained. victuals that go to the enemy are stopped, our wants of victuals, arms, munitions, and other necessaries are supplied, the enemy's coast is spoiled,*

[1] Sutcliffe, pp 69-70 That he gives it in Spanish, without translation, indicates how well Spanish was then known in England. Except that Sutcliffe's *fidelmente* is spelt *fielmente*, his *exercito* is spelt *ejército* this oath occurs in exactly similar form in "*El Discurso sobre la forma de reduzir la Disciplina Militar, a meyor y antiguo estado, por Don Sancho de Londonno Maestre del Campo, Dirigido al Illustrimo y Excellmo Principe y Senor Don Fernando Alvarez de Toledo Duque de Alva etc Lugarteniente, y Capitan General de su Mag*[d] *y su Gouernador en los Estados de Flandes, En Brussellas, En casa de Roger Velpius, en l'Aguila dorada, cerca del Palatio 1589*" Reprint, edited by the (17th) Duke of Alba, Madrid, 1943 p 69 For the English version of Londoño's work, see E E Vol. VIII, pp 205-207, and for English military oath see E E Vol VII, p. 27

[2] "*British Army at War By Brigadier E. O H Tollemache, D S.O , M C , A D C*" London, 1941 p. 66.

[3] Sutcliffe, pp 273-288

*our own defended, the coast towns of the enemy's country that live upon the sea are brought to great extremities, our own maintained"*

*If sea power be lacking in either case, "the trade of merchandise cannot be maintained," nor "the sea towns of the enemy be besieged, nor can we understand the enemy's proceedings, nor help or well defend our friends or ourselves"*

(This is still true to-day). Sutcliffe adds how foolish it would be to underrate the foe. He appeals to all who have lost "many good friends" in the wars, to consider how to strike if or when the enemy is off his guard. Above all, he pleads, the intention to strike should be kept secret so as to take the foe when he thinks himself most secure "Let the practise of war in maritime causes be diligently followed" and victory will ensue ashore. But although the joy and triumph "of victory be exceeding great," yet it would not be right to refuse "a reasonable peace" upon suitable conditions

Whether Sutcliffe drew sword in person we do not know,—but his remark about his "dangerous" experiences might imply that he did, when he accompanied Norris to Portugal and Essex to France in the same capacity as William Cecil in the time of Edward VI, when Cecil, a judge in the Marshal's Court, had volunteered to fight against the Scots.[1]

That Essex, aged twenty-six, was selected by Sutcliffe as the Privy Councillor most able to combine with his personal sympathy for soldiers the necessary influence to effect the desired reforms, is one of many significant facts which in our time has remained buried in the deepest oblivion; the inconsequent, rash, "petulant" Essex of 19th century creation having usurped the place of the General who in his day was the most conspicuous Englishman of the younger generation, whether at home or abroad With him also has been buried the Elizabethan Army To permit both to rise again, and to be seen as they were in life, is a debt of justice very long overdue.[2]

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[1] E.F Vol I p 166, Note 1 This fact though commonly forgotten now, was well remembered by Cecil's contemporaries Sir Richard Shelley, 18 Dec 1563, (Cal S.P.F VI p 626) wrote to him about Sir James Shelley as more martial even than the other brother Edward, who, *as Cecil himself saw*, was among the first to venture his person against the enemy in the terrible battle of Musselburgh, This was "Mr Edward Shelley slayne at Musselbourgh fielde," whose portrait by "Haunce Eworthe" was in possession of John, Lord Lumley in 1590. *"Records of the Lumleys"*, 1904, p 331

[2] Typical of the fundamental fallacies is the statement of Professor M. W. Wallace, in his *"Life of Sir Philip Sidney,"* (1915) p 305, that "the possibility of a foreign invasion of England was a question that was discussed more or less throughout Elizabeth's reign, but the Queen regarded the possibility as slight, and accordingly the discussion was more or less academic . . . the Queen knew Philip of Spain's procrastinating character well enough to feel assured that he would not actively resist English indignities or espouse the cause of the Queen of Scots unless conditions were unusually favourable."

This is the more strange in that Fulke Greville's tribute to Sidney's memory relates largely to that hero's efforts and suggestions how to meet the Spanish menace; and that point is proclaimed on the title page Indeed it is hardly possible, except in modern histories, to avoid allusions to the power and ambition of Spain

A chief difference between the 16th and 20th century is that whereas Lord Burghley was willing to see and listen even to any master of a bark if he brought news of Spain,—and "many watchful eyes to foresee" were deemed as necessary as many valiant hands to fight,—in our own time whether prior to 1914 or to 1939, there was no surer way to invite rebuke in England than to draw attention to the hostile writings and speeches, and the ever-increasing antagonism, organised from Berlin A respected M.P. asserted in 1940 that "unpreparedness" was an "English tradition." And none of his colleagues answered that it was not so during the 40 years that Lord Burghley navigated the ship of State The foregoing selections from Sutcliffe were made in 1928 Volumes I to VII of

"*Elizabethan England*" appeared between 1934 and 1940 (the Portfolio having been issued in January of 1932) In 1946 the Oxford University Press published a short monograph called "*Elizabeth's Army*", not mentioning that since the publication of "*Elizabethan England*" it was hardly a new discovery that the military men during this reign were not so contemptible as even Sir John Fortescue had been led to believe them "*Elizabeth's Army*" (1946) treats more of the administrative than the martial side. But in the present History the reader is enabled to see the results in the field and politically, and to appreciate the Generals to an extent not possible without full knowledge of their campaigns abroad

In that under the Copyright Act the author-publisher of "*Elizabethan England* '*In Relation to all Foreign Princes*'" is obliged to give free copies to the institutions named on p. iii, the students and writers in those establishments can obtain without trouble or expense material it has taken this historian more than a quarter of a century to find and co-ordinate

## "FOR THE RELIEF OF POOR MAIMED SOLDIERS AND MARINERS."[1]

On the 2nd April 1593 from the Court of St James the Privy Council refer the claims of wounded and disabled soldiers to be examined and reported upon to the Parliamentary Committee, by Sir Robert Sidney, Sir Conyers Clifford, Sir Thomas Shirley, Sir Nicholas Clifford, Sir Henry Killigrew, Robert Wroth, Sir John Hawkins, Anthony Shirley, Sir Thomas Constable, Thomas Barne, Sir Thomas Baskerville, Richard Young, Oliver St John.[2] And on the 27th April, the Lord Keeper, Lord Treasurer, Earl of Essex, Lord Admiral, Lord Buckhurst, Sir Robert Cecil, Sir John Wolley, and Sir John Fortescue address a letter to Sir John Hawkins, stating that wandering about in London and Westminster at the time of the late Parliament, were "divers soldiers and mariners hurt and maimed in her Majesty's service" They being unfit for service, "there has been compassion had of them and a present contribution of money made by the Lords and Commons of this Parliament towards their relief" &c &c.[3]

It is surprising that the repeated modern assumption that the Crown took no measures to aid disabled soldiers has not long since been answered by reference to the Parliamentary debates and the Acts of the Privy Council.[4] We therefore must now notice the Committee for Relief The names undernoted are of Privy Councillors, and of Members of the House of Commons (The sequence in

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[1] Sutcliffe's sweeping statement as to the way soldiers were neglected should not make us oblivious that there are numerous cases of special relief. For example in *Acts of the Privy Council*, 1591-2, Vol XXII, (N S) p 448, is a letter to the Lord Deputy of Ireland on behalf of the bearer, Daniel O'Sullivan who did "faithful service" in "the late expedition in France under the command of our very good Lord the Earl of Essex, whence he returned lame and diseased" in consequence of wounds O'Sullivan applies for a place in garrison "in the Castle of Mayne within the realm" The Council "pray and require" the Lord Deputy to arrange this.

Also, Ib p 356, a letter from the Council "at the Court at Whitchall" to Sir William Bevill (and others). "Whereas this poor man John Robins, being born in those parts, and impressed in Her Majesty's service, hath been maimed in the wars and lost one of his legs," he should receive "reasonable relief" contributed from the Hundred where he was born.

Ib: p 228, a letter to the Earl of Bath on behalf of "Cornelius Daniel, a poor soldier maimed in her Majesty's wars."

Ib. p. 345, a letter to the Dean of Chester bids him secure the "room of an almsman" for Robert Rogers in consideration that he had lost a leg in her Majesty's service, also he is to be allowed "such pension as he hath formerly received."

Also, p 272, the Justices of the Peace in Kent are rebuked for allowing a wounded soldier to "depart so discontented and unrewarded" and are exhorted to attend "as well for the present relief of the poor soldier as for the encouragement of others," &c

Ib p 335, orders to Sir Thomas Shirley (and others) to examine into the conditions of certain persons in London "in the habit of soldiers," some being maimed and diseased, some already relieved and others not Such as wish to return to their various centres are to have passports and relief, but such of them as hereafter are "found wandering about this town" are to be punished.

Ib p 295, instructions as to soldiers in the City of London; men who try to pass themselves off as soldiers when they have not served are to be "committed to prison or punished as rogues." But genuine soldiers whose wounds are not "perfectly cured" are to be recommended to "the Masters of Hospitals" and maintained until cured of hurts received in service.

[2] *Acts of the Privy Council*, N S Vol. XXIV (1592 3) 1901, p. 160 Also pp 178-180. Parliamentary grant for relief of distressed mariners and soldiers

[3] Ibid, pp 191-192.

[4] Since (in 1928) these words were written the Oxford University Press has issued a brief monograph "Elizabeth's Army," in which a few Acts of the P.C are quoted (1946). E.E., ante, p. 117.

the MS is neither alphabetical nor in any order of precedence, so the most important names are now italicised.[1]

*Sir George Carye*
All the Sergeants at Law
*Mr Francis Bacon*
Mr Nathaniel Bacon
Mr Edward Dyer[2]
Sir Thomas Morgan
*Sir Thomas Baskerville*[3]
The Recorder of London
Mr Skynner
Mr Andrew Palmer
Mr Wrothe
Sir William Moore
Mr George Moore
Sir William Brunker
*Sir Thomas Shirley*[4]
Sir Moyle Fynch
Mr Harry Fynch
Sir Edward Dymoke
*Sir Francis Drake*
Mr Edgecombe
Mr Thomas Fane
Sir Walter Covert
*Sir Walter Raliegh*
Mr Anton
Mr Nicholas Saunders
Sir Francis Urre
Mr Sands [Sandys]
Mr Chute
Mr Hickford
Sir John Poyntes
Sir Harry Cocke
*Sir Edward Hobbye* [Hoby][5]
Mr Charles Dymoke
*Sir Robert Sidney*[6]
Mr Arthur Gorge [Gorges]
Sir Anthony Cope
*Sir John Wingfield*[7]
*Sir William Reade*[8]
*Sir Edward Stafford*[9]
*Mr John Thynne*[10]
Mr Laurence Stowghton
Mr Warren
Mr Amersham
Mr George Wraye
*Sir Conyers Clifford*[11]
*Mr Robert Sakvil*[12]
Sir Thomas Denys
Mr Edward Lewkenor
Sir Francis Hastings
Mr Peryam
Sir Thomas Reade
Sir Ferdinande Gorge[13]
Sir Humphrey Foster
Sir Harvey Poole
Sir William Bevell
*Sir John Harrington*
Mr Boyse
Sir Thomas Weste
Mr Richard Lewkenor
Mr Jerome Horsey

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[1] March 8-24 1592(3) Docketed "Committee names in the bill of relief of poor maimed soldiers and mariners". 1 page Printed in Hatfield MSS Cal· Vol IV, 1892, pp 295-296, but apparently not quoted until now by any writer on the Elizabethan era

[2] Friend of Sir Philip Sidney

[3] Who took over the command in 1596 after Drake's death E.E. Vol IX, p. 608

[4] A cousin of Essex, one of the three renowned Shirley brothers

[5] Translator in 1597 of Mendoza's *Téorica y Practica de Guerra* E F Vol X

[6] Sir Philip's brother: Governor of Flushing.

[7] E E Vol, pp. 92-94 [8] E.E. Vol. VI, p 218

[9] Who had been Ambassador in France.

[10] Ancestor of the Marquess of Bath, who possesses Dudley and Devereux MSS extensively quoted in E.E.

[11] E E. Vol VIII, p. 526

[12] [Sackville,] Son and heir of Lord Buckhurst, ancestor of the Dukes of Dorset and others of note, for whose careers see the Hon. V Sackville-West's *Knole and the Sackvilles* (1947)

[13] Gorges One of Essex's knights E E Vol. VII, p 526

ADDED TO THE ABOVE ON SATURDAY 24 MARCH 1592(3)

| | |
|---|---|
| Mr Vice Chamberlain | Mr Hubberd |
| *Sir Walter Raleigh*[1] | *Sir Moyle Fynche*[4] |
| Mr Seynt John [St John] | Mr Harry Brooke |
| *Sir William Knolles*[2] | Sir Robert Cecil |
| Mr Anthony Cooke | *Sir Thomas Conyngesby*[5] |
| *Sir John Wolley*[3] | Mr Vincent Skynner |
| Mr Richard Browne | Mr Riddlesden |

It is remarkable that a Committee including men of such consequence as those now italicised, was unknown to Sir John Fortescue, who in his *History of the British Army* and also in his chapter on the Army in *Shakespeare's England* stated that disabled soldiers in Elizabeth's reign were left to beg or starve.[6]

[1] Who is on the previous list.

[2] Essex's uncle, or cousin, there were two of the name, father and son.

[3] Secretary for the Latin tongue. For Drake's letter to him see E.E. Vol. VIII, pp. 113-114, plate 7.

[4] Who is on the previous list. Ancestor of the Earls of Winchilsea.

[5] Previously Muster Master under Essex in France, for his Journal see E.E. Vol. VIII, and portrait, ibid, plate 29, facing p. 396.

[6] E.E. Vol. IX, pp. xxxvi-xxxvii.

# The Spanish Discipline.

Having noticed Sutcliffe's observation that without excellent discipline the Spaniards could never have won their far-reaching fame and power, having also studied the Laws and Ordinances of War of Lord Leicester, (first rescued from oblivion in 1936 in Volume VI of the present work, pp 5-8, and 27-31,) we will now examine the Spanish military code, in some respects identical with the English. Blasphemy, drunkenness, immorality, disorder, and insanitary conditions, were severely punished Any outrage upon women, or ill-treatment of the aged or infirm, or injury to churches, even in a conquered city, were forbidden[1] Prohibited also were duels Two years after the defeat of the Armada, Thomas Digges re-issued in his "*Strattoticos,*"[2] "Certaine Militaire Ordinances published and practised among the Spaniards," which we now reprint

"That all Souldiers (after they are receiued or elected by their Captaines with such circumstances as is required in such election, at such times as they shalbe entered into pay, or admitted by the Officers of account by oath) shalbe bound to serue his Maiestie faithfully, and likewise his Captaine Generall: to obey all his superior Officers, not to part from the Armie, nor from his companie, without licence in writing from such as haue authoritie to geue it.

"Also, forasmuch as to blaspheme GOD, or vainly to sweare by his holy name, is a very great sinne: No Souldier shall renounce (sic) or blaspheme, vnder paine for the first time thirtie dayes imprisonment, for the second sixty, and to be shamed openly with a gagge on his tongue, and for the third to be made a Galley-slaue, either perpetually, or to some time certaine.

"That no man play at vnlawful games that prouoke men to these blasphemies, vnder the paines aboue mentioned

"That no man keep in his house any suspected woman, vnder pain (if he be an officer) to lose his office; if a Pensioner, his pension and for common souldiers, to be depriued of their pay for a time certaine, or at pleasure.

"Farther, for that dronkennes doth turn men into beasts, and makes them many times vtter words tending to mutinies, and new sects in Religion. If any man drink dronk, he shalbe chastised as an infamous person with a Banne, that shal publish his fault

"That no Souldier go into any taucrne, or common tippling house to eat or drinke, vnlesse in trauailing, vpō paine for the first time to lose a Moneths pay, for the second two Moneths pay, and for the third time to be banished with shame

"And bicause the greatest point of a good souldier doth consist in this, That souldiers hold felowships, called in Spanish *Camerades,* whereby they may both better cheape finde themselues, then liuing single or apart, and also thereby linke in friendship, whereupon many great commodities depend:

"These *Camerades* or societies ought to take great care that there enter not into their fellowshippe any vitious or lewd persons, that might draw the rest to play: or if any of them should defraud their fellowes of that which shall be committed vnto him, for the finding of the whole Society (besides restoring foure fold) he shall for the first fault be committed to prison for a certain time. and for the second fault shalbe condemned to the Galley

"Furthermore, forasmuch as God commands that we shall not touch his annointed. That no souldier lay hands on any Priest or any other Religious person, nor misuse them in words; vpon paine of punishment according to the qualities of the offence.

"That no Officer lodge any man in any Church, Monasterie or Hospitall, nor in any house or Grange to them pertaining, vpon paine to loose his Office

"That no souldier of his owne head enter to lodge in any Church, Monasterie or Hospitall, or

[1] When in 1576 in the sack of Antwerp these rules were broken, certain Spanish officers protested that offenders were not Spaniards, but foreign mercenaries who had got out of hand The same was said as to Calais in 1596.

[2] See E E. Vol. VII (1940) pp. 19-21

We have seen the French Laws of War of Henry IV, 1591, E E. Vol. VIII, pp. 369-370. Digges in 1590 gives for France Laws of War previously published by the Prince de Condé.

in any Houses or Granges to them appertaining, vpon paine to be committed to prison for some time certaine, or at pleasure

"That no souldier touch, or take any sacred thing, or appertaining to the Churches, Monasteries or Hospitalls, on paine to restore seuen fold the thing taken or robbed, and to be punished corporally according to the qualitie of the fault

"Furthermore, *seeing that men of warre are entertained to auoid oppression, and to defend the weake and afflicted That no Souldier force any woman on paine of his life and especially such as are rendered or taken prisoners by assault* for that in such Cases the violence is such, as many for feare do consent to the will of them that require them And till such feare be past, it must be accounted Force, albeit it seeme that they willingly consent to them that desire them

"*That no souldier kill any women or aged man, nor any impotent person, albeit in the Furie of Victorie, and this also on paine of life nor shall lay handes on them, on paine to be punished according to the nature of the offence.*

"That all souldiers confesse themselues at least once a yeare, at such times as holy mother Church appoints on paine to be punished at discretion accaording to the circumstances of the fault, in respect of the time, & cause that made him disobedient.

"That all Captaines and officers haue especial care to learne if any of their Souldiers omitte to confesse themselues. and if by their admonition they will not go to Confession, then to aduise their Campemasters, to the end that they may by proclaimation banish them out of their bands: and also to giue notice thereof to the Officers of Accounts, that they enter not these men in paye in anie other Bandes.

"Farthermore, that no Souldier after he is by the Captaine receiued, and by the Officers of Accounts allowed in any bande, shall part from that bande without expresse leaue in writing, first under the Captaines hand seene and allowed by the Campe masters, especially to go to any other *Tercio*, on paine to be banished the Armie with shame, and neuer after to be, capable of the Kings paye. And that Captaine shall receiue such a Souldier without such lycense, shall loose his band, sythence for want of justice herein there hath happened disobedience among Souldiers, and quarrels, brawles, and murthers among Captaines

"That no souldier stray abroad to lodge out of the Campe or place where his Ensigne shall stand, without carrying in writing a lycense signed by his Captaine, &c as is aboue said. where must be set downe how many days he may be absent, on paine (if he haue a pension) to loose it. or if he haue but single pay, then to loose a monethes pay and the like paine on them that returne not within the time by their Licenses prescribed, vnlesse they bring sufficient witnesses of iust impediments. for it is certaine that some craue leaue, lewdly to auoid paines, or to liue vpon others, and that more is, oppresse those whom they ought to serue

"That no souldier play away his Armes, or Engage them, on paine for the first fault to loose a monethes pay, and for the next to be banished with infamie

"Further that no Souldier play away or engage his garment, nor play upon credite, on paine to the winner to loose his winnings, and to the looser to be committed to prison during pleasure: and the garment or pawne that he shall so lay or loose to be giuen to the Hospitall of his Tertio or Regiment.

"That no Souldier omit to present himselfe at musters with all his Armes entire and well appointed, on paine to be Checked of his pay, or aduantage that he should receiue for those Armes, or for himselfe, and not to be allowed him till he haue those Armes to serue withall

"That the Captaines appoint these aduantages for *Harquebuziers,* be readie and practized persons, and after they are entred in the muster books, they cannot change them at their pleasure, nor without a sufficient cause which must be made knowne to the Campemaster, for by his decree onely it may be taken from him.

"That all Souldiers at Musters haue dutifull respect vnto all the officers of Accounts and paiments, on paine of punishment at discretion on such as in word or behauiour shall miscarrie themselues, according to the manner of their fault.

"That no souldier passe the place in anothers name, on paine to be made a Galley slaue for a time arbitrarie: and for the Officer that shall wittingly passe him, the losse of his office, and such farther paine as the case shall deserue.

"If any souldier shall strike a superior Officer, while he is about his Maiesties affaires, he shall dye for it.

"It any souldier when he should be chastized by his officers for any fault or disorder (when he

may escape) shal lay his hand to his sword and abide, he shallbe punished at discretion, according to the place and qualitie of the offence.

" If any souldier (for matters not touching order of the seruice of his Maiestie, especially for play), shall lay hand or strike any Officer, he shall be punished at discretion according to the qualitie of the Fault: But the Officer shall not lay to his charge the striking of an Officer, for they ought not to give vniust occasions, thinking to be respected as officers, when it is not in matter of the seruice of his Maiestie.

" That euerie inferior Officer shal obey a superior Officer in all matters concerning order, and the seruice of his Maiestie, although he be not his proper Campe Master, Captaine, Alphier or Sergeant, on paine of punishment, arbytrarie according as his disobedience or small respect shall merite.

" That no souldier giue impediment to the ministers of Justice in execution of their office, on paine of death.

" Also to auoyde vacaboundes and many other disorders and inconueniencies that ensue by sufferance of men to follow the Campe without paye, and that Spyes may not safelie by that means also enter. It shall not bee lawfull for any man to enter into the Campe or Armie without paye allowed him in the Muster books, on payne that hee shall not be capable of any paye, or partaker of any praye or bootie, and also to be chastised as vacaboundes; if it be not approued that they be seruantes to some such as haue stipend in the Armie.

" That no souldier or other treate or practise with the Enemie especially in secret, on payne of death

" If any Souldier haue vnderstanding of any other that serues as a spye or treateth with the Enemie, and shall not discouer it to some chief officer, he shall dye for it.

" Furthermore, for the auoyding of mutinies, and such meanes as are vsed to stirre up and accomplish them it is commaunded that all Captaines when they receiue any Souldier, shall vnderstad whether they can write, and thē cause thē to write their owne names, & the names of their father and mother, and the place where they were borne, in a booke that euery Clarcke or Ferrier doth of purpose keepe for all the Band, whereby they shall greately auoyde both Chartelles and Libels, for fewe can counterfeit so well their handes, that shall not be some resemblance of letters be discouered, hauing such means to compare them together to[o] few in such cases dare trust another

" There shalbe no secret meetings nor vnlawfull Assemblies, for there be mutenies brewed, and there they treate by coniectures of all that is done in secret Counsels; whereof proceede aduertisements to the Enemy, whereby oftimes they betray those that haue the charge of Castels and Forts, by whose sloth and tolleration these mutinous Assemblies are permitted.

" Whosoeuer shall make or set vp any Chartell, or shall speake any seditious wordes whereof may proceede tumult or mutinie, shall dye for it, and not be heard

" Whosoeuer shal haue knowledge of any that hath written or set forth any Chartelles or Libels, or spoken any seditious wordes, and not reuealed it presently to his Superiours, shall incurre the paine of the principall, and haue the same punishment.

" Furthermore, for asmuch as the Armie cannot be sustained vnlesse victuallers may safely come and go, and vnlesse the milles, villages, barnes, houses, and other places of the cōfines be kept and preserued, it is cōmaunded that no Souldier nor other person shall stirre abroad to take victuals or other spoiles, nor to hinder such as cōduct them, nor breake any milles, barnes, villages, houses, or other places of the confines, on payne of death

" That no man shall take nor buy any victuals, but in the market place, and after they are prised by the Officers thereto deputed, on paine arbitrarie.

" Also for auoyding of controuersie betweene different Nations, that no man shall vse gaming or idle play with any of another Nation, on paine arbitrarie, which shall extend to life, if any fray grow between them about it.

" That no person neither within nor without the Camp shall take anything from any person of any other Nation vpon payne arbitrarie

" Furthermore, seing it should serue to small purpose to settle the Camp in an wholesome place, with all other parts thereto agreable, if afterwards the aire should be infected with the filth and excrements of many dayes: It is commaunded that no Souldier or other person do any such thing within the quarters of the Camp, nor in any other place that may infect the aire, or annoy the Camp, on payne arbitrarie that may extend to life, as there shall be cause.

" That the persons deputed to carrie dead beastes out of the Camp, take especiall care to carrie

thē away, and burne them, and to couer their excrements & filth, in such sort as to annoy no more the Camp then the Enemies, on paine, if they be found negligent to be punished for example.

"That no Souldier or person set vp Tent, or make Cabin out of the quarter assigned him by the Furryer, on payne, arbitrarie

"And by cause by not ending old quarrels new tumults and mutinies in Cāp do oft arise It is ordered, that no Souldier on paine of life shall take or haue communication of any old quarrell, but onely to accord and end the same

"That no Souldier for no new or old quarrel shall challenge any other on payne of death to the challenger, and of banishment to the defendant that shall meete him, if hee may escape without note of infamie

"That no Souldier coming to any quarrell, enter into it, either in Camp, or garrison, on payne of death

"If any Captaine or Officer shall lift vp his hand to chastise any Souldier, saying, kill or mayme him, he shall loose his companie, albeit it fall not out as he sayth. But if the Souldier be slaine, the Captaine or Officer shall dye for it, albeit it be not he that killed him, or hurt him

"If any Captaine or Officer by hand chastise a Souldier, let none other person set to his hand, on payne arbitrarie, that may extend to life, if the case so require.

"If on sodaine motions which men can hardly gouerne, a couple fall out and set their handes to their swordes, let those that are present part them, and reconcile them without taking part with the one or the other, on payne arbitrarie, which may extend to life, if the case so require.

"And whither secure there shalbe any occasion to transport or carry their Ensigne, let Captaine, Officers and Souldiers (all with their Armes) go in order, on paine of punishment arbitrarie.

"That during the time of garde, the Ensigne there remaining, the Captaine and Officers shalbe there, and not permit any of the Souldiers, to leaue it without license, or for any vndue cause, on payne arbitrarie to the Officers, and such correction on the Souldiers as they shall in heate giue them

"That no Souldier leaue the Sentinell, on payne of death, nor part frō the place where their Officers leaue them, nor sit downe, on payne of such correction as the Officers shall geue them in furie, which shall extend to life, if they finde him asleepe

"That as oft as an Alarme shalbe geuen, the Ensignes shall with all speede together with the Captaines, Officers and Souldiers repaire to the assigned places, on payne to him that shall delay, if he be an Officer, to be depriued of his Office, and for a Souldier, such punishment as his Officer may geue in the heate of his furie

"And if he cannot readely put on his Armes defensiue, let him go with his Armes offensive onely, for sometymes such speed is required, as if the Souldier come to late, albeit he come with all his Armes, yet he is subject to such correctiō as his Officers may geue him in the sodaine furie

"That no mā dare to geue any false alarm without order from such as haue thereto authoritie, on paine of death

"That all Souldiers with great dilligēce attend to the first sound of the Drumme to call them to their Ensignes, on payne to them that do not, or shall come too late, to receaue such correction as their Officers in furie shall geue them

"And if any Souldier in march shall step out of his place (as many tymes they will to robbe and spoyle), these are to be punished not onely for breaking their array, or leauing their place by their Officers assigned thē, but for such disorder it may also extend to his life

"That no Souldier (without lawfull cause), leaue of any part of his Armes while he marcheth, on payne to bee thrown out of his ranke with shame.

"That no Souldier follow the baggage or women of the Campe without license in writing from such as may geue it, on payne to be disarmed and spoyled by the Prouostes of the Camp

"That all Souldiers in march shall obey all Officers in the Armie, albeit they be not of their owne Band or Regiment, on payne of such correction as any Officer (that shall finde them out of array) may in furie geue them, if they shalbe disobedient

"That whatsoeuer shall bring any Ordinance, albeit he be none of those Officers that ordinarylie doe it, yet shall he haue free passage, on payne to him that shall resist, of punishment arbitrarie, which may extend to life, if the case so require

"That no Souldier go to viewe any Camp or Fort, or other thing, without leaue from such as haue authoritie, on payne of death.

" That no Souldiers begin a skirmish without leaue of such as haue authoritie, on payne of death.

" Furthermore, if any place rēdring itself shall become vnder the protection of his Royall Maiestie, or his Lord Generall, whether the same be Citie, Village, Castle, or Fort, no Souldier shall presume to enter there into to sacke, or take any thing without expresse order, on payne of death; nor shall approach the ditches or walles thereof vnder colour of Inquirie of the cause, on payne of punishment arbitrarie, which may extend to life if the case so require

" That no Souldier or other person stray abroad without license of such as haue authoritie, on payne both to loose all he shall get, and further punishment arbitrarie which may extend to life, if the case so require

" That whatsoeuer shalbe taken in these Rodes, or Iournies, be brought to such superior Officers as by authoritie haue geuen them license. on payne to them that shall conceale or defraude any part, not onely to loose their due portion, but also punishment arbitrarie besides

" That no person go to any sacke or pillage on the Enemy, without expresse order, on paine of correction arbitrarie

" Finally that no Souldier prate nor talk while he is in Ordinance or in Squadron, on payne to be throwne out of his ranke, with reproch and shame, as a violatour of Souldierlike modestie.

*Sic Argiua phalanx in praelia densa mouebat*
*Assiduè, pariter'q suos Dux quisq' regebat*
*Imperitans, alijmox festinare silentes*
*Diuersi haud tantas gentes sub pectore vocem*
*Condere, conspecti metuentes principis ora* [1]

" But seing the chief cause of all disorders groweth by coueting of spoyle, that ought to be taken away by reducing all spoyles (duly taken of the Enemy) to a publike heape. and to proceede according to these Articles ensuing

" After the custome of France or of Castile,
the Kingdome, Prouince, or Segniorie,
the captiue King, Citie or Towne,

It is the Kings, that ruleth Soueraigne,
but the taken Generall is the takers prisoner,
and him may he raunsome at his owne pleasure

Any inferour person taken in battaile
be any of ours, (vpon particular challenge
man to man), is his owne, good and lawfull prisoner

All baggage that is found within a Citie,
got by assault, or els by Batterie,
is pray, to be sacked by any Souldier.

Geuing neverthelesse to their chief Commander
all their Munitions, Standard, and Ensignes
with all the great and grosse Artillerie.

The peeces that are not sound nor whole
dismounted or without their wheeles,
are all the Master of the Ordinance Fees.

But such as are dismounted by them without
the Gunners take, together withall those
that by their Arte are battered or burst

This (confesseth the aduersarie) is a gallant custome
saying, to me it seemeth verie good,
well may your Souldierie be therewith contented.

But this is (quoth he) onely in a generall Battaile,
albeit *Dauid* say it is not of right,
but only of bootie gotten by Inuasion

[1] From Sancho de Londoño's " *Disciplina Militar* " quoted under the heading of *Prohibicion de gritar y hablar.*

For then a heape of all spoyles should be made,
and out of that the taken to be raunsomed,
and the hurt and wounded to be recured
And horses lost in seruice recompenced,
euen what they cost (if bought without the yeare)
or els the present value by oath approued
And then after this is past and done,
whatsoeuer remaines should be duided
ratably, according to each mans charge and place.
This was the course by *Alphonso* established,
not onely of that which is taken in Rhodes,
but euen of that also which is wonne in battaile
These orders are not obserued in these dayes;
but such a Generall as makes them kept,
may doe farre more honorable and great exploits
The Conqueror shall not then need to feare,
that the Conquered should repaire his forces againe
nor the valiant part till victorie be cleare.
He that by order is absent from the spoile,
will not withstanding abide his due charge.
knowing, that of others pray he hath his part.
And they (that for the guard of the Campe remaine)
will tarrie out their due appointed time,
knowing they shall haue their part in others spoile

"These and like orders made Rome Lady of the world, and by neglect thereof, Couetous of Spoile in these dayes works great mischiefes &c I omit the rest at large set downe in that discourse by a Spanish Campmaster that extolleth the Antique Romane discipline farre aboue the Spanish [1] And yet we see that small handfuls of that megre wretched Nation (onely by obedience to their officers, and reuiuing among them a few of those antique Romane customes) have done things almost incredible, euen in these our dayes"

The words "megre wretched Nation" are not meant to be insulting, but refer to the fact that Spain, a mountainous country, was, relatively to its area less fertile and less populated than England and Wales [2]

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[1] The present historian observes that the Campmaster *(Maestre de Campo)* can not have been other than Sancho de Londoño, whose treatise on *"Disciplina Militar"* was written by order of the Great Duke of Alba, and dedicated to him, April 1568 The concluding "Articles" as rendered by Digges are a prose translation from Londoño's 18 verses beginning

*"A la vzanda de Francia y de Castilla,*
*el reino, la provincia y Señorio,*
*el Rey captivo la ciudad o villa."*

See reprint of 1589 Brussels edition; Madrid, 1943. (Edited by the present Duke of Alba) pp 18-20 and Ibid pp 32-34, *De las Legiones Romanas*

[2] As far as can be ascertained, the foregoing Spanish Laws and Ordinances have never appeared in English since the 2nd edition of *"An Arithmetical Warlike Treatise named Stratioticos Compendiously teaching the Science of Nombers," &c &c "as are requisite for the profession of a Souldier Together with the Moderne Militare Discipline, Offices, Lawes and orders in every well gouerned Campe and Armie inuiolably to be obserued First published by Thomas Digges Esquire Anno Salutis 1579. and dedicated unto the right Honorable Earle of Leicester. lately reuiewed and corrected by the author him selfe, and also augmented" &c. &c "At London Imprinted by Richard Field 1590"* pp 283-297 As this work is exceedingly rare, the reprint should be helpful

The rules of Chivalry had long previously been set forth in print at Burgos by Alfonso de Cartagena, Bishop of Burgos, in his *"Doctrinal de Caballeros"* which was in its second edition by 1497 The Bishop's summary of the history, origin, and etiquette of the mediæval code, is the same as in France and England· service began as a page at the age of seven, and at fourteen there was promotion to *escudero* (literally shield-bearer; what we in England used to call "esquire"), and at twenty one the *escudero* could aspire to knighthood if his character and principles were deemed worthy of what was both an honour and an obligation. The Orders of Santiago, Calatrava and Alcántara also are described by the Bishop.

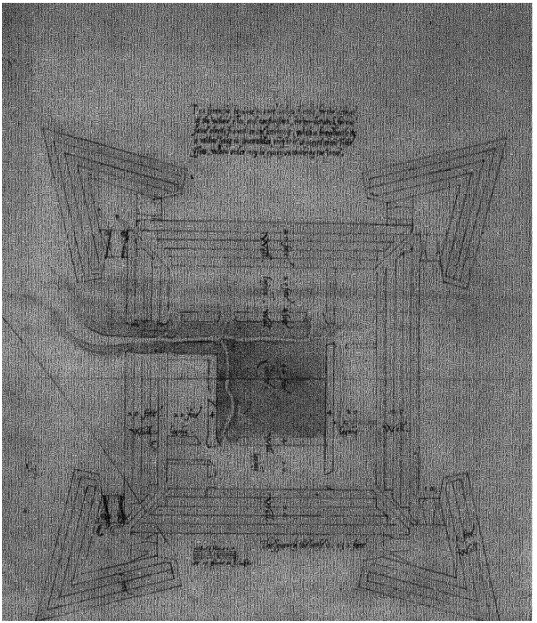
## *"FOR THE DEFENCE OF THE WHOLE ISLES:"*

*Unpublished plan for the fort now called Stella Maria or Star Castle, St. Mary's; Isles of Scilly.*

Pen and ink 18 x 16½. Found among MSS at Hatfield House Endorsed on the back "plot of a forte on our Ladies Land."

Inscribed apparently by the same hand which made the drawing,

"This fortresse begunne in oure ladies Ilande for the defence of the whole Isles, and not finished, the tymberwork for the same already being framed to the setting up, with a brew house & a Milne lying in southwales, redy to be conveyed to the saide Iles, when order may be gyven as touching the same."



## "TO THE BEST PURPOSE AND LEAST EXPENSE."

*Fortification of the Scilly Isles, 1591-93.*

Since identifying at Hatfield House in 1927 the sketch plan now first reproduced, the present writer noticed in *Acts of the Privy Council* a letter "At the Court on Mondaie the 20th of Marche" 1591,[1] from the Lord Treasurer (Burghley), Lord Admiral (Howard of Effingham) and others, to Sir Francis Godolphin:

> "Whereas at your last being here you did acquaint us with a plot you caused to be drawn for the fortifying of the Isles of Scilly, and especially St Marie Island, for defence of the road, wherein Her Majesty having been by us moved hath thought it fit first to be advised and advertised how the same may be done, and to what purpose it will serve: And to that end the bearer hereof, her Majesty's servant Robert Adams, a man of very good skill and knowledge in these matters, is by her special direction sent down to view these principal Islands and specially the Island of St Mary: whom we are to require you to accompany to that place, that he may confer with you of the plot and works already begun, how the same may be finished to best purpose and least expense; either according to the plot set down or in other more convenient sort, as upon conference with you and view of the place you shall advise and agree upon; that upon his report her Majesty may be moved to give her consent for the speedy performance of that which shall be meet to be done for this service"

At the same time a letter was sent to the Mayor of Plymouth. But there must have been many difficulties and delays; for in 1593 the Council was again writing to Sir Francis Godolphin, Captain of the Scilly Isles, in relation to "fortifications to be made in St Mary Isle;" a "platt" having been presented by Sir Francis to the Queen "and by her allowed." He is authorised to "procure the labours of the people of the Islands for carriage and the necessary works".[2] Also a Warrant was sent to the Lieutenants of the County of Cornwall, and other officers, to assist Mr. Robert Adams in the conveying of such materials as he shall think fit for the fortifying of the Isles[3]

And further, from "the Court at Oatlands; the 9th of July 1593,"—present, the Lord Keeper, Lord Treasurer, Earl of Essex, Lord Admiral, Lord Buckhurst, Sir Robert Cecil, Sir John Wolley, and Sir John Fortescue,—the Council despatches "a letter to Sir Francis Godolphin and Robert Adams: We have received your letters declaring the reasons that moved you to plant the fort you have begun there" on "the hill called Hue Hill in St Marie's Isle, at that place you first made choice of, the plot whereof you have sent also unto

[1] Vol. XXII, (N S) p 33.
[2] Ibid (N.S.) Vol. XXIV, (1901) pp. 223-224.
[3] Ibid, p. 236 Adams had also been employed in relation to the fortifications of Plymouth. E.E, IX, ante, pp 24-26 See list of maps by Adams, E.E Vol IX, pp. 443-444

us." Referring the matter to the direction of Godolphin and Adams, the Council wrote also to Sir Walter Raleigh to keep 100 men ready to be sent to Scilly "when occasion shall require." Evidently the work was finished that year; because "1593" is the date carved over the main doorway under the initials of Elizabeth Regina.[1]

Twelve years later, Richard Carew, in his *"Survey of Cornwall"* (1602), dedicated to Sir Walter Raleigh, enumerates forts and castles "old and worn out of date, and some in present use." Among the former, Tintagel, and Castle-an-Dinas; and "Of the latter sort is a fort at Scilly, called ——" he leaves a blank, but must have meant Star Castle,—made "defensible" by the Queen's order, and governed by "Sir Francis Godolphin, who with his invention and purse bettered his plot" [i.e. improved upon the plan and exceeded the allowance]. "and therein hath so tempered the strength with delight, and both with use, as it serveth for a sure hold and a commodious dwelling."[2]

[1] See E.E. plate 11

[2] In *"English Life"* Vol 8, No 2, (1927) pp. 79-82, Professor A E Richardson's article "An Island Fortress of Romance, Star Castle in the Isles of Scilly" refers to an Indenture of 14th December, 13th Elizabeth, in which the Queen leased to Francis Godolphin (not Sir Francis until 1580) "those of Her Highness's Isles, Islands, Territories and Rocks commonly called the Isles of Scilly" Professor Richardson conjectured that Star Castle may have been begun as early as 1589 (He was not aware of the sketch plan now at Hatfield, of which, however, the present writer informed him in 1929)

In the British Museum the earliest printed map showing the Scilly Isles is dated 1695; viz the Isle of Wight with the Islands of Scilly, surveyed by Captain Collins Map 2655 (30). Previously Blome in his *"Britannia,"*—issued to subscribers, 1673,—p 319, (after stating the Hesperides and Cassiterides of the ancient Greeks to be "situate against the most western Cape of Cornwall," &c. &c) adds that St Mary's was "strengthened with a castle called Stella Maria, built by Queen Elizabeth. and hath a large and commodious harbour for ships."

See also Borlase's *"Observations on the Ancient and Present State of the Islands of Scilly,"* &c., Oxford, 1756, pp. 10-11, and between pp. 40-41 a large panoramic plan showing the position of Star Castle

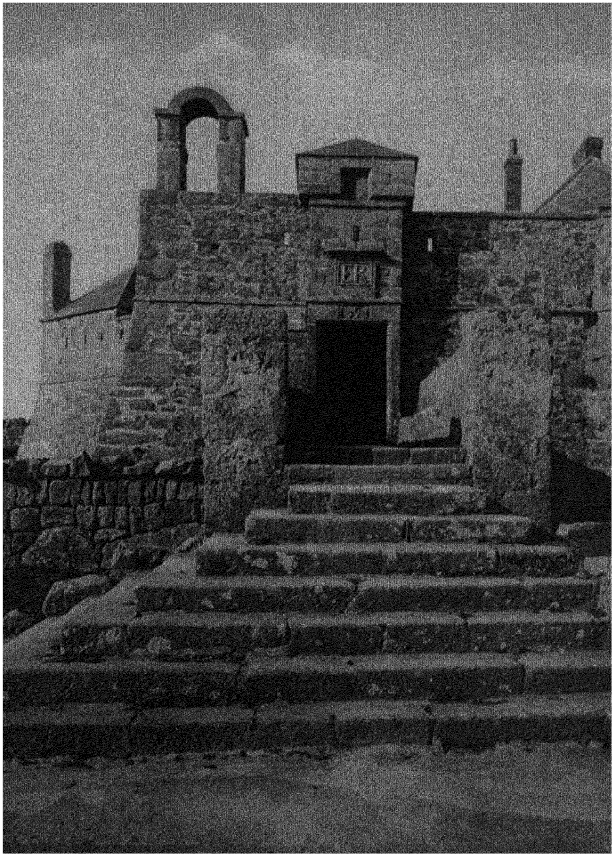
## *ENTRANCE TO STAR CASTLE, ST. MARY'S, ISLES OF SCILLY.*

*Photograph, Gibson & Son, St Mary's.*

Notice the initials F G for Sir Francis Godolphin, at the bottom of one side of the doorway, over the top of which "E R 1593" is conspicuous. The sketch plan (plate 10) being improved upon by Godolphin, the fort consists of 8 salient angles, projecting 24 feet, in every point of which there is a watchhouse, the roofs arising from the walls. A platform, about 7 feet high, and the same broad, connects the whole of the interior. This is surmounted by a wall or breastwork of granite, of nearly the same height, each angle of which is pierced with 6 loopholes for musketry. There are 96 such apertures in the whole building.

Further, a circuit of lines, around the hill on which Star Castle stands, would have been capable of mounting some 120 guns, giving protection to the Roadstead and main entrance.

*(11) E M Tenison's "Elizabethan England".*



# "Pupil of Mars, sweet child of the Muses."

*Hitherto unnoticed contemporary references to the Earl of Essex as a Poet.*

**"Noble pupil of Mars, sweet child of the Muses . . . is there anyone who is ignorant of the endeavours of your Muse, and your verses often to be sung to an Aonian lyre."**

*Thomas Watson to the Earl of Essex· Latin dedication of "Superius The First sett of Italian Madrigals Englished . . . 1590. Cum Privilegio Regiæ Maiestatis."* First translated, E.E. Vol. VIII, p. 299.

**". . . my Lord of Essex chose to evaporate his thoughts in a sonnet," this "being his common way . . ."**

Sir Henry Wotton (Essex's secretary). *"Reliquæ Wottoniæ."* 4th ed: 1685. p. 165.

**"Well-lettered warrior . . .**
**Young Essex, that thrice honorable Earl."**

George Peele: *"Polihymnia."* 1590.

**"On account of your illustrious family, magnificence, wit, writings, generosity of mind, military service, and every heroic virtue, . . . and also because of the very delightful friendship between us . . ."**

*William Gager· Latin epistle "To the most illustrious and most noble hero Robert Earl of Essex, Knight of the Garter, Master of the Horse . . . From Christ Church Oxford, the first of January, 1592,"* giving reasons for dedicating to him *"Meleager, . . . 1592."* E.E. Vol. VIII, p. 585.

**"Apollo deckt his Muse in silvers shine,**
**And wrapped in gold his golden thoughts divine:**
**Honours wonder, Wisdoms mirror**
**In his brave breast lived together."**

*R. P[ricket]: "Honors Fame in Triumph Riding. Or the Life and Death of the late Honorable Earle of Essex . . . 1604."* E.E. Vol. XII.

# TENOR.

## *SONGS*
## AND PSALMES

*compoſed into 3. 4. and 5. parts,*
for the vſe and delight of all
ſuch as either loue or learne
*MVSICKE:*

BY

*IOHN MUNDY*
Gentleman, bachiler of Muſicke,
and one of the Organiſt of hir
Maieſties free Chappell of
*WINDSOR.*



*Imprinted at London by Thomas Eſt,*
(the aſsigne of William Byrd,) dwelling in
Aldersgate ſtreet, at the ſigne of the
black Horſe. 1594.

## "PUPIL OF MARS, SWEET CHILD OF THE MUSES."

Though a tendency has increased to seek Shakespeare less in Francis Bacon than in Roger Manners, Earl of Rutland, or William Stanley, Earl of Derby, or in Derby's father-in-law, Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford, nobody has thought of suggesting among possible "Shakespeares" Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex and Ewe. The large number of contemporary references to Essex's "wisdom," his "writings" and his "Muse" have long lain buried. It is not, however, intended here to enter him in the tournament of competitors for the honour of having had a hand in the works of Shakespeare. No man—not even one who sometimes dates letters at 4 a.m., and explains that he has scarcely leisure for "meat or sleep"—could have carried out all the official duties performed by Essex from the age of nineteen and also have created the works of Shakespeare during a life ending at four-and-thirty Moreover, we have it on Essex's own authority in a Latin letter in 1598 that his stern task-mistresses "Warfare and the State," had encroached more and more upon the time he would have wished to spend in quiet companionship with the Muses.[1]

His career was one of the most strenuous in a strenuous age The "noble severitie" of his mother in his childhood, his father's dying message bidding him hasten to serve Queen and country, and not least the influence of Lord Burghley, combined in encouraging to action a nature which Queen Elizabeth described as "needing rather the bridle than the spur"[2] But his "bookishness from very childhood," was so well known that even in his early teens at Cambridge his sympathy had been sought by such students as hoped ultimately to shine as authors.[3] And soon after he was twenty-one, Professor Albericus Gentilis at Oxford—as we have seen—had adjured him to write of warfare and matters of State.[4]

Thomas Watson, on the other hand, being a poet, thought mainly of Essex as a writer of songs.[5] And so in all the dedicatory letters,—whether on "Martial Causes," theology, poetry, philosophy, or romance,—each saluted in Essex a capacity for whatsoever that writer himself considered the most attractive and important

Even as numerous appeals to Essex's sound judgment in war and statesmanship have slept unread, while a "prodigal" and "schoolboy" was put forward in 1888 by S. L. Lee in the *Dictionary of National Biography* in place of the General of "great honour and discreet government"[6] whose approval so many of his elders were glad to attain,—so likewise the chief literary references have been allowed to fall into oblivion.

It has been shown in the present History that the lyric "There is none, O none but you," ascribed to Thomas Campion who set it to music, was testified by Viscountess Pur-

[1] Forthcoming, E E, under date.
[2] E E. Vol. VIII, p. 385. [3] E.E. Vol. V, p. 124 [4] E.E. Vol VII, pp 402-404.
[5] Although, in an unpublished letter to Fulke Greville, Essex remarks "For poets I can commend none, being resolved to be ever a stranger to them," he was there referring exclusively to Greek and Latin writers, and urging Greville to concentrate upon historians, especially Thucydides and Tacitus The letter is undated: and he did not remain "a stranger" to the poets, but refers elsewhere to being tempted to spend more time in reading them than he could well spare
[6] So described by Sir Henry Unton. E E. Vol. VIII, p. 461.

beck to have been "made by Robert Earl of Essex that was beheaded." And the hereditary intimacy between her family and that of Essex, and her son's marriage with one of Lady Essex's grandchildren, make Lady Purbeck a suitable witness.[1] Campion's aims were defined by himself in his Preface "to the Reader" of his *"Two Books of Airs. I Divine and Moral Songs II Light Conceits of Lovers"* dedicated to Francis, Earl of Cumberland.[2]

> "Out of many songs which, partly at the request of friends, partly for my own recreation, were by me long since composed, I have now enfranchised a few; sending them forth, divided according to their different subjects into several books The first are grave and pious: The second amorous and light For he that in publishing any work hath a desire to content all palates must cater for them accordingly. . . . ."
>
> Singers should "yield a sweetness and content, both to the ear and mind: which is the aim and perfection of music."
>
> "Short Airs, if they be skillfully framed and naturally expressed, are like quick and good Epigrams, . . . . many of them showing as much artifice, and breeding as great difficulty as a larger poem. . . . In these English Airs I have chiefly aimed to couple my words and notes lovingly together. . . . ."

He concludes with a renewed reference to the skill required. ". . my words," he says, so his editors are not to be blamed for assuming that the songs were all his own Let us see a later note "To the Reader" in reference to his *"Third and Fourth Books of Airs"*.

> "Some words are in these Books which have been clothed in music by others, and I am content they served their turn: yet give me leave to make use of my own. Likewise you may find here some three or four Songs that have been published before. but . To be brief, All these songs are mine, if you express them well! Otherwise they are your own. Farewell.
>
> Yours, as you are his,
>
> THOMAS CAMPION"[3]

"All these Songs are mine" may be accepted literally of the volume to which the assertion is prefaced, but the poem under discussion occurs in the earlier volume. No matter

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[1] Poem; particulars, and music E E Vol. VIII, p. 275

[2] The poem under consideration is in *"The Second Booke of Ayres Containing Light Conceits of Louers. To be sung to the Lute and Viols, in two, and Three Parts: or by one Voyce to an Instrument. Composed by Thomas Campian London printed by Tho Snodham, for Mathew Lownes, and I Browne Cum Privilegio."*

[3] Reprinted by Edward Arber, *"An English Garner"* Vol. III, 1880 Next after Dr Arber, the scholar who did most to draw attention to Campion was the late A H Bullen, whose *"Works of Dr Thomas Campion,"* 1889, privately printed, made a considerable impression At first Mr Bullen took Campion's prefaces to mean that every poem was his; but becoming doubtful as to *"There is none, O none but you,"* Bullen in re-issuing a selection of *"Lyrics from the Song Books of The Elizabethan Age"* added notes as to authorships of Songs previously not identified. These "Additional Notes" were reprinted in 1913 in a popular edition of the *"Lyrics from the Song Books . . ."* Pocket Book Series, London, Sidgwick and Jackson, including the statement (p. 209) that "There is none" had been "attributed to the Earl of Essex." The authenticity of this attribution has, however, not been proved until shown in E E Vol. VIII, p 275

The latest edition of *"Campion's Works"* is edited by Percival Vivian, Oxford, 1909. (See E E Vol. VIII, pp 446-447). His compilation contains facsimile title pages; British Museum numbers of all the first editions of Campion's Song Books; a map; genealogical notes, Introduction, and detailed commentary But the otherwise full Bibliography (pp. 380-383) omits any reference to Dr Edward Arber, the rediscoverer and first reprinter of Campion's works!

how the song "made by Robert Earl of Essex" came into the hands of Campion, its difference in tone and style from Campion's own writings should be recognisable. As Campion, in the Preface above quoted, defines his intention to "cater" for all tastes, and as he claims that his briefest work required more "artifice" and skill than many a longer poem, it is the less likely that he wrote "There is none, O none but you," in which appears no art, but the love which makes its challenging appeal to "after ages."

When Campion in amorous verse looks to a life after death his most typical picture is of a cruel fair one who will go "home to shades of underground," consorting there with "blithe Helen," and other troublers of men's peace.

> "Then wilt thou speak of banqueting delights,
> Of masks and revels which sweet youth did make,
> Of tourneys and great challenges of Knights,
> And all these triumphs for thy beauty sake.
> When thou hast told these honours done to thee,
> Then tell, O tell, how thou didst murder me."[1]

In the Preface to this volume issued in 1601, Campion and his friend Rossiter as musicians plead primarily for that art, and they add that "As in Poesy we give preeminence to the Heroicall Poem, so in Music we yield the chief place to the grave and well invented Motet: but not to every harsh and dull composed Fantasy."[2] By "we give" they seem to mean the English in general; not that they themselves give "Heroicall" Poems preeminence in the volume of Airs much in which is far from heroic. Lesbia is crudely admonished, "Thou fool, to-morrow thou must die,"—and Dr. Campion declares

> "I care not for those ladies
> That must be wooed and prayed,
> Give me kind Amaryllis,
> The wanton country maid,"—

and so on, in a fashion suited to the jingling tune to which it was composed. Campion's lyrics, made by an expert musician expressly to be sung, are technically more skilful than the few poems which have come down to us with the name of Robert Earl of Essex, who manifestly wrote verse only when under strong emotion, whereas Campion's weaving of amorous fancies was as conscious an exercise of dexterity as the "sly passadoes" of a fencing master.

If with Campion's compositions in their calculated variety we compare some of the anonymous contemporary lyrics emanating from intense feeling concentrated upon one beloved being, the deliberate artifice of Campion becomes the more apparent. Note also the contrast between his "light conceits" and his "divine" poems such as

> "Never weather beaten sail more willing bent to shore,
> Never tired pilgrim's limbs affected slumber more
> Than my wearied sprite now longs to fly out of my troubled breast.
> O come quickly, sweetest Lord, and take my soul to rest."[3]

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[1] "*A Book of Airs, by Thomas Campion M D and Philip Rossiter Lutenist*" Entered at Stationer's Hall 8 May 1601. Arber's reprint, "*An English Garner*," Vol III, p 210. Contains Essex's verses

[2] Op. cit. III p 199

[3] "*Two Books of Airs. I Divine and Moral Songs.* Arber's ed: 1880, p. 277.

His separation of "moral" from "amorous" songs, the divorce between love of God and love of woman, the depicting of woman as apart from and often an obstruction to matters of spiritual import, are very different from the exalted love

> "By which alone a power is given
> To live on earth as they in heaven."[1]

We know from one of Essex's secretaries that his "darling piece" among his own writings was an antithesis between "Love and Self-Love."[2] And though the "piece" is lost the title still speaks.

When in 1904 Sir Sidney Lee, editing *"Elizabethan Sonnets,"* described the love in Elizabethan poetry as nearly always feigned, this was the more infelicitous in that whether in Queen Elizabeth's day or our own, love can seldom be successfully counterfeited; the poet who uses that theme merely as a means of drawing attention to his own talents seldom moves hearts though he may divert superficial minds. When we meet lyrics which contain little artifice, but throb with faith and feeling, we may reasonably infer they were written to an individual and not to the public.

> "True Love hath winges and can as soone
> Survey the Worlde as Sun or Moone,
> And every where oure triumphes keepe
> O'er Absence which makes others weep."[3]

Whether the "True Love" emanated from some never-to-be-identified lyrist or from Spenser, "Prince of Poets in his time," whose "Amoretti" were written to his future wife, it was in essentials the same: the keynote being a proud determination to withstand time, death, and catastrophe. This is a note so difficult to "feign,"—or to sound at all unless a man believes in it,—that where heard it may as a rule be adjudged genuine. That so many of the most haunting Elizabethan lyrics are anonymous becomes explicable if we accept them as not written for fame or money but solely for love.

Essex had no time to "fill the world with envied books."[4] How crowded was his short life of "incomparable industry" we only see when we realise what heavy labours were entailed upon one who at nineteen and again in his twenty-second year had been Cavalry General, and between 1591 and 1599 was four times to command Her Majesty's forces,—as well as being Master of her Horse from 1587 onwards; and from 1592-3 a Privy Councillor, and subsequently Master-General of the Ordnance, Chancellor of Cambridge University and of Trinity College, Dublin, and Lord Lieutenant General of Ireland. It was in 1590, the year of Essex's marriage, that Thomas Watson wrote to him, *"Ecquis enim vestrae nescit conamina Musae, Metraq[ue] ad Aoniam, saepe canenda lyram?"*:[5] which words speak for themselves, in that the poems being often put to music is stated by Watson not as a conjecture but as a fact In 1594 a book of part-songs "for the use and delight of such as either love or learn Musicke" was dedicated to Essex in terms which, even allowing for the language of compliment, are sufficiently remarkable:

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[1] Anon: Egerton MS. 203 ff. 10-11.
[2] Sir H Wotton, *"Reliq Wotton"* 4th ed: 1685 p. 165.
[3] Anon: Egerton MS. 203 ff. 10-11.
[4] E E. Vol. VIII p 283
[5] Dedication to him of *"Superius"* B.M. K.3.k.12.

. . . "I have exercised the nine sweet Muses, with greedy affection, *to delight the tenth. Your Honour is the same excellent tenth Muse.* . . . If I satisfy not you I satisfy not any, though all besides. If I content you I hope I shall content all. . . .

Your Honors in all dutie to be commaunded,

JOHN MUNDY."[1]

Mundy's reference to having "exercised the nine sweet Muses" for Essex's delight might lead us to think him responsible for all the verse, as well as most of the music in his book, did we not recognise the lament by Chidiock Tichbourne,[2] also the Earl of Oxford's "Were I a King, I might command content."[3] As is often the way in Elizabethan Song-Books, the poets' names are not given with the lyrics It is from other sources we identify one here and there. But to this day nobody knows the authorship of some of the most fervent of Elizabethan love poems; for instance "Dear, if you change, I'll never choose again," with its impassioned ending.

"Earth with her flowers shall sooner Heav'n adorn,
Heaven her bright stars through earth's dim globe shall move,
Fire heat shall lose, and frost of flames be born,
Air, made to shine, as black as Hell shall prove;
Earth, Heaven, Fire, Air, the world transformed shall view,
Ere I prove false to faith or strange to you."[4]

Nor can we tell who wrote certain tenderly loving verses in honour of a lady more beautiful in grief than others in joy: first printed in the "*Seconde Booke of Songs or Aires*" issued in 1600 by Dowland, who, being patronised by Sir Robert Sidney, Lady Essex's brother-in-law, might possibly have had access to poems she had inspired.

"Her face was full of woe,
But such a woe, believe, as wins more hearts
Than Mirth can do with her enticing parts.
Sorrow was then made fair,
And Passion wise; Tears a delightful thing,
Silence beyond all speech a wisdom rare,
. . . . . .
As made my Heart at once both grieve and love."

When on the "fatal" 8th of February, 1601, Essex felt his last hour to be approaching, he burnt, in the presence of his wife, his sister, and his secretary Cuffe, not only the story of his political troubles "written all with his own hand," but also the contents of a locked casket, upon which, he said, no man's eyes but his own had looked.[5] For reasons to be

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[1] "*Tenor. Songs and Psalmes composed into 3, 4, and 5 parts. by John Mundy, Gentleman, bachelor of Musicke, and one of the Organest of his Maiesties free Chappell of Windsor Imprinted at London by Thomas Est, (the assigne of William Byrd), dwelling in Aldersgate Street, at the signe of the Black Horse 1594* E.E. p. 130.

[2] E.E Vol. VI, p. 261. [3] E.E. Vol. V p. 53.

[4] This was first printed in Dowland's "First Book of Songes or Aires," 1597. Dowland was a special protégé of Sir Robert Sidney, to whom he subsequently dedicated "A Musicall Banquet," in which appears one of Essex's early poems, with his name added, after he had been nine years dead.

[5] His statement to the Lieutenant of the Tower. E.E. under date

indicated in a later volume of this History, it seems likely that these were letters to him from his wife.

There is some temptation to select from the wealth of anonymous verse sundry lyrics which bear a marked resemblance to Essex's style and spirit. But the aim of the present work being to show the Elizabethan world not from "inference arguments" but from "Proof, the over-ruler of Opinions," it would not be fitting to devote further space to uncertain poems while there remains much indubitably authentic prose material yet to be made known in this History, for elucidation of the hidden "causes that governed the events."[1]

[1] There exist in MS some dreary, prolix, and crude verses retrospectively ascribed to Essex as lamentations upon his fall; they will be touched upon in due course and compared with genuine lyrical expressions of his feelings. The contrast in manner and matter will be evident at a glance. It should not be forgotten that Horace Walpole included Essex in his *Catalogue of the Royal and Noble Authors* and stated that to enter into all the particulars of his life "would be writing a history of the sixteen or eighteen last years of the reign of Queen Elizabeth;" and that "On whatever her favour was founded, it was by no means placed undeservedly," because to his "heroic courage" were added "great talents for the state, great affection for literature and protection of learned men, and the greatest zeal for the service and safety of his mistress" There are several errors in Walpole's summary, for example that the "mysterious treasons" of López were "screened and protected by the Cecils." (For the actual doings of Burghley and Sir R Cecil, see E E. Vol. IX, pp. 245-290). But Walpole's rendering of Essex in 1758 was considerably less superficial than that of Sir Sidney Lee in the D N B. in 1888.




A page from "*Tenor . . . Songs and Psalmes composed into* 3. 4. *and* 5. *parts, for the use and delight of all such as esther loue or learne Musicke by John Mundy Gentleman, bachiler of Musicke, and one of the Organest of hir Maiesties free Chappell of Windsor*" London 1594. Dedicated to the Earl of Essex, whom Mundy salutes as the Tenth Muse.

## NOTE "SUNDRY SUMS OF MONEY" 1592-1593.

*Unpublished particulars.*

The accounts kept by Essex's Steward, Gelly Meyrick, show that from 24th November, 1592, to 14th December, 1593, Essex's expenses came to £5,177 2s. 7d.; his income from his lands being only £2,500 per annum. As this was one of the least eventful years of his life, during which he did not arm or equip troops, it enables us the better to realise the costs of living for a man in his position. The items include an extra £100 given to his Countess in June, and many "rewards" and "gifts" to obscure persons, also "annuities and pensions," servants' wages; expenses of travelling and boat hire for himself and others; entertainments to nobles and knights; payments to collectors of Imposts on Sweet Wines; posts to France and elsewhere; bills of shoemakers, saddler, furrier, pewterer; large sums for the entertainment of foreigners: one supper at Essex House, 25 March, 1593, "the Italian gent being there," costing over £20. And ". . for the mooing, making and Inning of the haye at Wansted with other disbursements . . . £9 10." Among the "provisions of sondrie kindes," we see "to Ralph Abnett for a paire of Stockings geven by his Lpp to her Ma^tie £6," and "to William Johnson of Reading for lace £19:16." Some of the entries are tantalisingly vague; for instance "special service by his honnors direction," for "sondrie necessaries," and "for the speedie accomplishment of his Lpps affaires." "To Otwell Smith for certen Ingines by him paid for and d[elivere]d to Mr. Pettingall at Walsingham howse £6:13·4."

Although Essex when away from the Court dressed more simply than was usual for a personage of his rank, he had in 1593 "a suite of Apparell" to wear when attending on Her Majesty at Windsor, which cost £214. Expenses at the Court include lodgings for his grooms, harbingers, pages, and yeomen. "His honors rewards uppon severall small occasions," include gratuities to men at the Queen's stables; to the keepers at Wanstead, "to a painter for drawing Demse[?] parke in colors 13s. 4d.", "To Sir John Wingfield to give the Nurse and midwife at the Christening of Mr. Saviles sonne at Oxford," &c., £5. "To the poore in St. Clements p[ari]sh 10s.;" aid to two sick men, £2. "To ye ffrensh Ambassadors man that presented his Lpp with a sturgen pie, with 2s. to him that brought it, £1. 2s." "To Mr. Thomas Beech who p[re]sented a booke to his honour from Mr. Downes of Cambridge £10." ". . to provide nec[essa]ries against the Queenes daie" [the Coronation anniversary tournament] "£48 and more . . . at another tyme £10." "To Richard Jones, M^ris Eliz. Vernon's man, £13:11:18"; "To Joseph Lupe and others her M^taes musitians £16." "To Jo Sawndes his Lpps' poor Bedeman £2:10," "To Russell's wife the Gardiner of Essex howse for her husband's wages he being deceased £5." "To Mr. Richard Tauerner for a reward for serveying the northern parks £13:6:8," and "to diuers other persons for sondrie rewards to them given by his Lpp at diuerse tymes . . . £10:3:7."

To meet these and other expenses, we see "his Lpps Plate pawned for £200 for half a yeare." ". . . . To Thomas Westwoodd for Interest of his Lpps plate and greate basons and Ewers pawned for £200 vi months ended xxvii^o Novemb^r w^th x for the contynuing thereof £10:10 to him more for his Lpps silver vessell pawned for £120:" and numerous borrow-

ings at high rates of interest. Also "mony . . . paid unto the receepte of the Queens Ma^ties Exchqueires £477:10." And further "mony paid and delivered to ye Countesse of Essex her honors hands" £100, borrowed for her benefit; and to the Countesse of Leicester "and Sir Xpofer Blunte" for the half year's rent of Wanstead £110; and so on.

A typical entry under "Ryding and travelling" is "Disbursed between xxiii^th of October and first of November for his Lpps service in his Jorney to Dover w^th the entertainment of the LLs knights and gent that went thither and back againe besides his Lpps own gent and yeomen and charges of post horses and horse meate," &c., &c., £143:11:6.

These Accounts and much else sleeping unread, there has been no comprehension of the cost of Essex's activities; a general accusation of "prodigality" being a swift and easy fashion of avoiding a search for particulars of services to Crown and Country,—now for the first time revealed.[1]

[1] The Statement concludes· "S[u]m totals of all ye paym^te and allowances aforesaid with the Superplusage £5,177:2:7 And so ye said Accomp is in debt the some of £11 19·3."

"The Declaration of the Accompte of Gelly Merricke Esquier Steward of the right honorable the Erle of Essex household, and Receiver Generall of his Rents and Revenues, as well as of sondrie Somes of money by him receyved and hadd, as also how and in what manner the same hath bene by him disbursed yssued and paide to the same Earles use, ffrom the xxiiith daie of November 1592 annoq Regni Dne Regine XXXVth untill the xiiith daie of Decembr Anno regi Regne XXXVth . . . 1593." Unpublished Original. Longleat MSS.

## MICHAEL DRAYTON AND HIS PASTORAL POEMS. 1593.

In the same year that Shakespeare dedicated *Venus and Adonis* to Lord Southampton, there appeared also in print *Idea The Shepheards Garland* offered by Michael Drayton to "Master Robert Dudley."[1] This small quarto hardly gave promise of the popularity ultimately to be attained by the poet. It consisted of nine "Egloges," each introduced by a quatrain: such as

> "When as the joyfull Spring brings in
> the Summers sweete reliefe:
> Poor Rowland malcontent bewayles
> the Winter of his griefe."

This contrast between the promise of Spring and the heavy heart of the languishing lover had been a favourite theme for troubadours from the 12th century onwards. But Drayton's shepheards diversify their amorous woes and joys with an ode to Elizabeth Regina, under a transparent disguise.

> "O thou fayre silver Thames. O clearest crystall flood,
> Beta alone the phœnix is of all the watery brood,
> The Queene of Virgins," etc, etc

There is also a lament that "Elphin is dead, and in his grave is laid,"—thought to be meant for Sir Philip Sidney,—

> "the Muses treasure
> the Graces pleasure,
> Reigning with Angels now in heaven above.
> . . . . . .
> Oh Elphin, Elphin, Though thou hence be gone,
> In spight of death yet shalt thou live for aye,
> Thy Poesie is garlanded with Baye.
> and still shall blaze
> thy lasting prayse:
> Whose losse poore shepheards ever shall bemone."

[1] In 1926 the title page of *Idea*, 1593, (B M. C.30 c 21) was selected for reproduction in E.E., at a time when Drayton and his poems seemed to excite little interest. The present writer was not then aware that Professor J W. Hebel of Cornell University, U S A. was collecting material for a complete edition of Drayton. He died before he could finish his editorial work; but Mr Bernard Newdigate and Mrs K. Tillotson carried on his activities, and in 1931 from the Shakespeare Head Press, Oxford, began the series of five volumes of *The Works of Michael Drayton. Edited by J William Hebel* Tercentenary Edition; 500 copies; with Drayton's portrait in Vol I, and his coat of arms on the front title pages also reproducing the original title pages of all his publications. Wisely, the first four volumes give the words of Drayton himself; the commentary being reserved for Vol V (1943) The General Preface in Vol I by Professor Hebel is a model of what such introductory matter ought to be.

At the age of nine Drayton had been accepted as a page in the household of Henry Goodyere of Polsworth Hall, Warwickshire; the mediæval custom of sending gentle-born youths to learn the ways of the world in the houses of territorial magnates being still to some extent prevalent. When Essex was Cavalry General in the Netherlands in 1585-86, Goodyere, with seven followers, had joined his "Horsemen at the Hague" who were "all Gentlemen" and "all Voluntaries," mostly the personal friends of Essex himself and of Lord Leicester.[1] And it was Leicester (Sidney's uncle and Essex's step-father) who had knighted Goodyere during that campaign.[2]

The name of "Idea" is believed to have denoted Anna, younger daughter of Sir Henry Goodyere. In 1596 she married Sir Henry Rainsford, of Clifford Manor near Stratford-on-Avon. Drayton continued to celebrate her "Virtue, Honor, Wit and Beauty," and looked to future ages for sympathy:

> "And though in youth my youth untimely perish,
> To keep thee from oblivion and the grave
> Ensuing ages yet my rhymes shall cherish,
> When I entombed, my better part shall save;
> As though this earthly body fade and die,
> My name shall mount upon eternity."

Fervently patriotic, of a faithful heart and alert mind, Drayton was an ardent advocate for learning and chivalry. In 1596 he issued a book of *Legends*, and in 1597 *England's Heroicall Epistles*. His ballad of Agincourt still keeps its place in anthologies:

> "Fair stood the wind for France
> When we our sails advance,
> Nor now to prove our chance
> Longer will tarry.
> But putting to the main,
> At Caux, the mouth of Seine,
> With all his martial train
> Landed King Harry.

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[1] E.E. Vol VI, pp 45, and 218

[2] "Knights made by Robert Erle of Leicester" &c Harl. MS 6063 Art 26, p 45 E E Vol. VI, p 218

The editor of the "King's Classics" selection of Drayton's Sonnets, gives 1594 [should be 1593] as the date of the first edition of *"Idea,"* and p. xxxviii, describes "the Gooderes" as "a gentle but not noble house." This is a common but erroneous 20th century confounding of nobility with peerages. Some of the most ancient noble families had (and still have) no hereditary titles. The statement of the Elizabethan Attorney General *Nobiles sunt qui arma gentilicia antecessorum suorum proferre possunt* was the re-affirming of what had previously been pronounced by the famous Judge Littleton. And according to the *Book of Honour and Arms*, dedicated to the Lord High Chancellor by the Norroy Herald in 1590, an untitled gentleman of good family could challenge a peer, provided the peer were not at the time his superior officer in the Navy or Army. In 1610 Milles' *Catalogue of Honor or Treasury of True Nobility*, pp. 79-81, defined "Knights, Esquires, Gentlemen," as "Noblemen of the lesser sort." Long after Elizabeth's day, when Cavalier and Jacobite Catholic refugee gentlemen took service in Austria, France or Spain, they were always careful to assert their nobility. Subsequently Sir James Lawrence in his handbook *The Nobility of the British Gentry* rebuked English travellers abroad for not taking their proper place. Lawrence's work which ran into a 2nd edition in 1827 was dedicated "To the Gentlemen of Great Britain, whether Peers, Knights, or Esquires, *the countrymen of Sir Philip Sidney*, and the true Nobility of the Empire." (England had been declared an Empire by Henry VIII,—but even in Edward III's day this claim was made).

And taking many a fort,
Furnished in warlike sort,
Marcheth towards Agincourt
In happy hour;
Skirmishing day by day,
With those that stopped his way,"—

and so on, for thirteen more narrative verses ending

"Upon St Crispin's day
Fought was this noble fray,
Which Fame did not delay
To England to convey."

Drayton—like Shakespeare—had not been educated at a University; but in 1598, in *Palladis Tamia,* Meres described him as being "among schollers, souldiers, Poets, and all sorts of people, holde for a man of vertuous disposition, honest conversation and well-governed carriage:"—"which" adds Meres acridly, "is almost miraculous among good wits in these declining and corrupt times," &c., &c

The only known painting of Drayton (panel 23¼ × 17½ inches) is inscribed "Ætat suae 36. A.D 1599."[1] In that year his *Epistles* and a new version of *Idea* helped to justify the laurel wreath with which the painter adorned him Of a generous mind, devoid of jealousy, Drayton was sympathetically appreciative of other poets, Spenser particularly; and Marlowe, whom he described as "all air and fire." Among the dead, he delighted in "noble Chaucer," and "princely Surrey," and in the ill-fated Sir Thomas Wyatt. To his later poems we shall recur, when considering the manner in which he welcomed King James VI of Scotland to the throne of Great Britain.

[1] Purchased, 2nd of July 1887, at Christie's, at the sale of pictures which had belonged to Lady Mary Thompson, daughter of the 5th Earl FitzWilliam, and widow of Leonard Thompson, of Sheriff Hutton Park, Yorkshire Presented in 1888 to the National Portrait Gallery




# THE SHEPHEARDS GARLAND.

## Fashioned in nine Eglogs.

*ROWLANDS SACRIFICE to the nine Muses.*

*Effugiunt auidos Carmina sola rogos.*



Imprinted at London for Thomas Woodcocke, dwelling in Pauls Churchyarde, at the signe of the black Beare. 1593.

Title page of first edition of Drayton's "*Idea*" 1593. (B.M. No. C.30. c.21). Only five copies known; this, and one at Sion College, three in America, namely, at the Henry Huntington Library, the Folger Library, and belonging to Dr. Rosenbach.

## DRAYTON'S "IDEA," B.M. C. 30. c. 21.

In 1924 when including the title page of Drayton's *Idea* 1593 among illustrations selected for *Elizabethan England*, the present writer noticed that the autograph "R Essex" on the title page of the British Museum copy did not exactly resemble either the "R. Essex" of his Latin letters, Lansdowne MSS (E.E. Vol III, pp 54, 56, and plate 18*b*) or the "Essex" of the Cadiz letter in 1596 (also in the Lansdowne MS, the last reproduced among the Museum facsimiles). Afterwards, examining holograph correspondence of Essex from his boyhood at Cambridge to his overthrow in 1600, it became manifest that his writing altered considerably from 1591 onwards. In 1594 he apologises for his "bad" hand, the Earl of Derby having complained that one of his letters was difficult to read. According to his state of health and spirits, or whether he was scribbling in haste or writing slowly, the variations were such that for the present historian across a period of over a quarter of a century to master the art of reading the originals and checking erroneous transcripts or misleading epitomes, has been a strenuous task. But whether or no the B.M. copy of *Idea* belonged to Essex, it is of interest as one of the only two specimens surviving in England of the first edition. As such, the title page was reproduced in facsimile in the Oxford edition of Drayton's Complete "*Works*." In the editor's Notes, however (Volume V) the MS alterations and the "R Essex" are dismissed as "forgeries" perpetrated by Payne Collier; and the reader is referred to *The Times Literary Supplement* 11th July 1936, p 576, to an article by Kathleen Tillotson headed "Another Collier Forgery." Many reasons are there given for rejecting the previously unquestioned MS annotations; and the signature is described as "quite a good imitation of an early hand, but not like Essex's other signatures." But as Essex's undeniably authentic signatures are sometimes not much like each other, we may doubt whether anyone except a scientific graphologist could finally decide whether "R Essex" on the title page of *Idea* was penned in the time of Queen Elizabeth or of Queen Victoria. The incentive to Shakespearian forgeries is comprehensible. But Essex's name in Payne Collier's day had little if any market value; and forgery of numerous alterations in the verses being a laborious achievement, required, one might think, some definite object. Mrs Tillotson's essay is a marvel of precision and detail in minor bibliographical particulars, but shows no consciousness of the major facts as to Essex's position in the eyes of his contemporaries. The motive she ascribes to Collier when charging him with "forgery" is that presumably it was "in support of his theory that Essex was Drayton's patron and is alluded to as 'Robin-red breast' in the third eclogue,—both notions," she adds, "being unlikely if not impossible."

But there is no need to have recourse to forgery to support a theory that Essex may have countenanced Drayton. In that Drayton's first publication had been dedicated to one of Essex's near connections, and as "Idea" was the daughter of Sir Henry Goodyere, and Sir Henry (as we have seen) was among Essex's "Voluntary Gentlemen" of the Horse, in 1585-86, and knighted by Essex's step-father—also as Essex before 1593 was already a renowned patron of literature,—an acquaintance with and interest in Drayton seems very probable.

Let us consider Payne Collier's exact words in the Introduction to his privately printed version of *Idea*, circa 1870:

> "The following tract is a typographical fac-simile of Michael Drayton's second publication, his first that was not of a sacred character: his "Harmonie of the Church" came out in 1591; and between that year and 1593 we know of no separate publication from his pen. In reprinting these Pastorals we have not merely imitated the types, but we have followed the pagination, the spelling, and even the corrupt punctuation. The original is so rare a book that only two, or at most three copies of it are extant: the one we have used has the autograph of Queen Elizabeth's unfortunate favourite, the Earl of Essex, on the title page, and various verbal and literal manuscript corrections which we have not introduced, because our object was to show the very form and condition of the work as it came from the poet's hands. Moreover it comprises poems never afterwards acknowledged by Drayton, and the whole shape of the small volume was altered when it again made its appearance. The author does not speak of the Earl of Essex as his patron, as he probably afterwards became,

but he celebrates Sir Philip Sidney by the name Elphin, and he inserts an elegy upon him, and an eulogy upon the Queen, which we apprehend, exist only in the volume in the hands of the reader Drayton was, of course, a warm admirer of Spenser, whom to a certain extent he imitated in the department of pastoral; and while we write we have before us his copy of "The Faerie Queen" with his autograph and many notes, and corrections from the beginning to the end. Spenser chose Colin as his pastoral name, while Drayton adopted that of Roland"

This is signed by Collier's initials, J.P.C.; and the book was not for sale, only 75 copies were "printed for presentation." The "R. Essex" on the title page has been toned out of that facsimile edition. As Collier alludes to Essex merely as the Queen's "unfortunate favourite"—instead of as Her Master of the Horse, General of the Horse, Privy Councillor, and subsequently Admiral-General, Master-General of the Ordnance, Lord Lieutenant General of Ireland, Chancellor of Cambridge University and of Trinity College Dublin,—we may reasonably infer that Collier knew little about him. And it is difficult to understand what would have been gained circa 1870 by forging Essex's signature and fabricating corrections and alterations which Collier did not adopt

The dedication, in 1593 "To the noble, and valerous Gentleman, Master Robert Dudley: enriched with all vertues of the minde, and worthy of all honorable desert. Your most affectionate and deuoted Michael Drayton," was to the illegitimate son of Essex's step-father In days when people in England of a certain standing were usually all acquainted with each other—and upon Essex especially had fallen the mantle of Sir Philip Sidney as patron and protector of "Arts and Arms,"—there would have been nothing extraordinary in Essex possessing and correcting a volume of verse by a poet whose only previous effort had been dedicated to the "godly and vertuous" wife of one of Essex's uncles [1]

Mrs Tillotson's editorial labours have been so admirable that we naturally hesitate to question her opinion on matters relevant to her special subject. But her pronouncement that the annotations are forged, and to be labelled henceforth as by John Payne Collier comes from one who is familiar with Collier's career but apparently not with the contemporary fame of Essex.[2] She quotes Collier, *Bibliographical and Critical Account of the Rarest Books in the English Language* 1865, p 227, as calling the emendations "singularly judicious" and seems to imply that Collier was capable of such corrections but Essex not We should recollect that one of Essex's secretaries, Henry Wotton, when praising him as a "sound and acute speaker," gave the palm to his pen; and we have seen him saluted as the "Tenth Muse". There is nothing incongruous or unlikely in Essex reading poetry attentively enough to correct misprints or amend lines that do not scan.[3] Students should consider carefully

[1] *The Harmonie of the Church, Containing the Spirituall Songes and holy Hymnes, of godly men, Patriarckes and Prophets, all sweetly sounding to the praise and glory of the highest Now (newlie) reduced into sundrie kinds of English Meeter meete to be read or sung, for the solace and comfort of the godly By M.D. London Printed by Richard Ihones, at the Rose and Crowne, near Holborne Bridge, 1591* Dedicated to the "godly and vertuous Lady Jane Devereux of Merivale," 10th Feb 1590 (i e. 1501 N S.) Signed "Your Ladiships to command, in all dutiful services Michael Drayton" Merivale belonged to Essex and was bequeathed by him to his wife (See Essex's Will, 1591, E E Vol. VIII, p 355) So presumably his uncle, the husband of this lady, had it only on a lease

[2] This is comprehensible, in that the foolish and frivolous Essex of Modern History bears no resemblance to the actual man, whose character and actions have been buried under a mausoleum of error, the wealth of direct evidence as to his services and reputation having lain in oblivion until excavated and reconstructed in the present History, Vols. III to XI

[3] For example·—

p. 11 "prayers" altered to "fires" to rhyme with "desires"
p. 23. "good old Godfrey:" Godfrey altered to "Geffry."
p. 24. "thy fame" altered to "by fame," and "fear" altered to "ire"
p. 27. "at all to have" altered to "than all" &c
p. 30. "sute" altered to "shoote."
p. 41. "unworthy" altered to "unearthy."
p. 45. The word "now" inserted to make a line scan
p 52. "by" altered to "but."
pp 56 and 58. Other apparent misprints corrected, &c. &c.

Mrs Tillotson's argument which is a marvel of skill and ingenuity; but is weakened by her declaring it "unlikely if not impossible" that Essex could have patronised Drayton. Essex's approval had been sought by men of letters even when he was in his teens at Cambridge.[1] and as to his "bookishness" there exists not only his personal testimony but abundant and emphatic contemporary references, as will have been seen by any reader of this *Elizabethan England*.[2]

As it is many years since the present writer has handled the B M copy of the first quarto of *Idea*, it seems best not to hazard an opinion whether the signature is genuine, but an Elizabethan forger (whose dealings will be scrutinised in their chronological place) though boasting that he could imitate almost any script, complained that "his Lordship's ragged romaine hand" was troublesome to counterfeit.

Nothing was proved or even indicated in any political or historical controversy by Collier bringing in Essex's name, so it is not clear why Collier need have perpetrated "forgery" for which no sufficient reason appears Moreover, as Collier, whatever his faults, was a pioneer in drawing attention to Drayton, who had long been neglected, it might be thought that the 20th century co-editor of Drayton's Complete *Works* would have been benevolently inclined to the 19th century antiquary. But even if Mrs Tillotson adheres to her opinion as to the "forgery," the editorial references to Essex in any later editions might well be enlarged from the present work. In 1588 Professor Gentilis had alluded to Essex as one who from "first boyhood" had devoted himself to literature, and attained "high authority" therein;[3] and in 1589 on his return from Portugal he had been acclaimed by George Peele in an "Eglogue Gratulatory" as one of the "most renowned and beloved of Shepheards"[4]

In 1592-3, before publication of *Idea*, Essex had been saluted not only for his martial achievements but for his "writings." And though only a few poems now survive with his name attached, it has been publicly stated in 1590 that his verses were often "sung to an Æonian lyre"[5] In 1593 another poet had described him as "thrice valiant"[6] By 1595 he was apostrophised as "England's cedar" to shelter the deserving in literature and art[7] Dedications to him had begun when he was at Cambridge and continued in great number and variety up to the time of his Irish campaign (1599) In a later Volume of this History we shall refer to how "amazedly" Drayton saw "Essex' great fall"

Some of us may think that the "forgery" accusation should be submitted to a technical graphological test, and certainly not turn upon the argument that patronage by Essex of Drayton was "unlikely if not impossible" especially when we remind ourselves anew that Sir Henry Goodyere, in whose household Drayton was brought up, was among the "divers Knights and many squiers and gentlemen" in Essex's Cavalry when Leicester was Commanding-in-Chief, and that the Horsemen were described by one of themselves as "of his own friends, followers and servants:"[8] and also that *Idea* was dedicated to the illegitimate son of Essex's stepfather[9]

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[1] E E. Vol V, p 124

[2] See especially Vol VIII, pp 174-180; 448, 578, and Vol IX, ante pp 40-50

[3] E E. Vol. VII, p 403.

[4] F E Vol VIII, p 175

[5] E E Vol VIII, p. 209; and see also Vol IX, p 134

[6] E E Vol IX, p 160

[7] *Polimanteia*, E E Vol IX, pp. 536

[8] E E Vol VI, p 17

[9] In Leicester's first Will, all in his own hand, (1582,) discovered in the Longleat MSS by the present writer, this illegitimate son is alluded to as being well known to the Countess of Leicester (Essex's mother) and to Leicester's friends, and in his second Will he appeals to his wife to be kind to his "base son Robert Dudley" who is "young and casual." (E E. Vol VII, p. 392). As Essex must have been acquainted with both of the persons to whom Drayton's first two books were dedicated, it is reasonable to infer that he also would have known Drayton

## " ALL AIR AND FIRE."

### *The Spirit of Christopher Marlowe.*[1]

The assertion that Christopher Marlowe was an atheist is so often repeated, with squalid details of his alleged speeches, that it is the more desirable to allow him to reveal himself in his plays. His impassioned " Mephistophilis," in the *Tragicall History of Dr. Faustus,* is so strikingly different from the Mephistopheles of later date that we may reasonably infer something of the dramatist's own feelings from the fashion in which he handles his legendary theme. When Marlowe's Faustus, waving aside " vain trifles of men's souls," consents to incur " eternal death " for the sake of " four and twenty years " of " all voluptuousness," the scorn of Mephistophilis for the short-sighted shallow-hearted mortal is expressed with an intensity which could scarcely be surpassed:

*Faustus.* Tell me, what is Lucifer, thy Lord? . . . . Was not that Lucifer an angel once?

*Mephisto* Yes, Faustus, and most dearly loved of God.

*Faustus*: How comes it then that he is Prince of Devils?

*Mephisto* O, by aspiring pride and insolence,
For which God threw him from the face of Heaven.

*Faustus* And what are you that live with Lucifer?

Mournfully Mephistophilis pronounces his own and his brethren's epitaph:

" Unhappy spirits that fell with Lucifer,
Conspired against our God with Lucifer,
And are for ever damned with Lucifer."

Faust, in idle curiosity, asks, ' Where are you damned?'

Laconically the fallen angel replies, *In Hell.*

Dr. Faustus incredulously retorts, *How comes it then that thou art out of Hell?*

The answer of the degraded immortal spirit is scathing in its concentrated anguish:

Why this is Hell: nor am I out of it.
Thinkst thou that I, who saw the face of God
And tasted the eternal joys of Heaven,
Am not tormented with ten thousand hells
In being deprived of everlasting bliss?

This—one of the most poignant passages in Elizabethan drama,—has not saved Marlowe from being held responsible for a farrago of grotesque blasphemies ascribed to " Christofer Marlye." What is old and in MS is not any more necessarily true of its day than printed matter of the moment is invariably true in ours; and when the reputation of the dead is in question, the obligation becomes the greater not to be hastily credulous. This has already been demonstrated in relation to *La Vie Abominable,* attacking Robert Earl of Leicester.[2] The perpetrators

[1] Since this was written there has appeared a monumental work in 2 volumes illustrated with facsimiles, *The Tragicall History of Christopher Marlowe* by John Bakeless, 1942, for particulars of which see E E. pp 156-158.

[2] E.E. Vol. V, pp 139-169

of that libel remained anoymonus: but, Marlye's accuser was one Richard Bame or Bome or Baines [1] There were several of that name, and if the slanderer was the creature hanged soon afterwards at Tyburn, on a criminal conviction, we might suppose his 19th century eulogists would have seen the unreliability of such a witness But we are told by the general editor of the "Mermaid Series" that there is no "reason" to "doubt the substantial accuracy" of Bame's allegations,[2] and while admitting that Sir Francis Walsingham, George Chapman, and Michael Drayton held Marlowe in high esteem; he fails to see how improbable it would have been for them to have admired or even countenanced Marlowe had his conversation been of the gross and hideous obscenity ascribed to "Marlye." By 19th and 20th century critics the word "atheism" was and often is used loosely as a synonym for theoretical agnosticism. But when Elizabethans called a man an "atheist" they did not mean only that he was unable or unwilling to accept the creed of any Church, but that he defied the moral law, and that his bond was worthless as his word.

In the 16th century the charge of "atheism" was seldom brought by itself or in an abstract sense, Leicester's calumniator of 1585 combined it with high treason, bigamy, and other crimes. And "Marlye" was accused by Bame not only of "scorne of God's words" but of boasting "that he had as good right to coyne as the Queen of England, and that he was acquainted with one Poole, a prisoner in Newgate, who hath great skill in mixture of metalls; and having learned such thinges of him he meant through help of a cunnying stamp-maker to coyne French crownes, pistolettes and englishe shillings."[3]

Marlowe's editor, who brings this forth as applicable to the author of "Doctor Faustus," seems to forget that the penalty for coining was to be hanged, drawn and quartered, and that this had been carried out in Marlowe's day with the same rigour upon certain "gentlemen born" as upon some of the "common sort"[4] These executions were sufficiently public and notorious to make Bame's assertion as to "Marlye" the equivalent to a declaration that he deserved a shameful death; even as the libeller who had accused Leicester of atheism and treason apparently hoped to put into the Queen's mind to have him arrested and executed.

It is surprising that Marlowe's editor was at the pains to transcribe in extenso and add to Marlowe's works (as a relevant "document") Bame's crude, brutal, and disgusting assertions,—the very antithesis to Marlowe in whom the chivalrous and fastidious Michael Drayton saw

> "those brave transluminary things
> That our first poets had, his raptures were
> All air and fire."

A poet may have a dual nature and express both sublimity and cynicism; but it is not easy to believe that Shakespeare's "dear Shepherd"—famous for "golden lines" and transcendental yearnings—would have sunk to the blasphemous fatuity and bad English ascribed to "Marlye." If Marlowe is conspicuous for one quality above all others, it is an intense and

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[1] The latter spelling is used by Mr Bakeless and the former in the "Mermaid" edition quoted *infra*

[2] pp.xliv-xlv. op. cit

[3] Harl MS. 6853 f 320-321. Renumbered 307-308 In extenso, Mermaid Series selection of Marlowe's dramas, pp 428-430 Another copy, Harl. 6848. f. 185-186.

[4] Holinshed's Chronicle III, p 121 (B.M c 1. 1 65) and p 1271. "five English gentlemen" in company with a Frenchman, having been guilty of counterfeiting gold and silver coin in 1578, were "conveied from the Tower of London towards Norwich there to be arraigned and executed . . ." Coining had been punishable by death ever since the days of Edward III

palpitating delight in beauty. Even the ruthless Tamburlaine, when enamoured of "divine Zenocrate," lapses, or rather rises, into Christopher Marlowe:

> "If all the pens that ever poets held,
> Had fed the feeling of their masters' thoughts,
> And every sweetness that inspir'd their hearts,
> Their minds and musing on admir'd themes:
> If all the heavenly quintessence they 'still
> From their immortal flowers of praise,
> Wherein as in a mirror we perceive
> The highest reaches of a human wit;
> If these had made one poem's period,
> And all combined in beauty's worthiness,
> Yet should there hover in their restless heads
> One thought, one grace, one wonder at the least
> Which into words no virtue can digest."[1]

The popularity of *Tamburlaine the Great*,—printed several times in Queen Elizabeth's reign, a sure sign of a play having attained success,—may partly have been due to topical allusions,—

> ". . . . Armadoes from the coasts of Spain
> Draughted with gold of rich America"

but more to the exuberant beauty which permeates even some of the most melodramatic scenes. Tamburlaine is tyrannical, bloodthirsty, ranting, arrogant and overbearing, but his speech is never boorish or repulsive. Beauty of expression, and an eager delight in the yet subtler beauty which is beyond expression,—such are the key-notes of Marlowe.

As one of the editorial arguments put forward in defence of the "substantial accuracy" of Bame's vile allegations is that "it is noteworthy" "that Marlowe's heroes are usually heathens or infidels, and that he takes every opportunity of insinuating a sceptical opinion,"[2] let us return to Marlowe himself and see what is the ultimate reward he allots to atheism in *The Tragicall History of Doctor Faustus*. He shows how a narrow heart can vitiate a powerful mind; and how intellect marred by egoism, and devoid of love or sympathy, becomes its own dupe, signs away its transcendental birthright; and repents too late. No atheist could have conceived the Faustus of Marlowe. The learned doctor's self-complacency is depicted as provoking contempt from the very devils. When Faust scoffs at the sorrow and remorse of his supernatural visitant, and lauds his own callousness as "manly fortitude," Mephistophilis sternly rebukes him. And when his time of "all voluptuousness" is within a few moments of expiring, his boasted "fortitude" stands him in poor stead:

> *Faustus* Curst be the parents that engendered me!
> No Faustus, curse thyself: curse Lucifer
> That hath deprived thee of the joys of Heaven.
> *(The clock strikes twelve.)*
>
> Oh, it strikes, it strikes! Now body turn to air,
> Or Lucifer will bear thee quick to Hell.
> *(Thunder and lightning.)*

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[1] Act I, Sc: 1. (1590?)
[2] "Works," Vo. I. Mermaid Series, pp xl-xli

O soul be changed into little water drops,
And fall into the ocean,—ne'er be found.
*(Enter Devils)*
My God! my God! look not so fierce on me!
Adders and serpents, let me breathe awhile!
Ugly Hell, gape not! Come not, Lucifer!
I'll burn my books!—Ah Mephistophilis!
*(Exeunt Devils with Faustus.)*

And the Chorus enters, and mourns:

Cut is the branch that might have grown full straight,
And burned is Apollo's laurel bough
That sometime grew within this learned man.[1]

In a popular ballad on "The Judgment of God upon Doctor John Faustus," Faust is poignantly penitent, and implores "all Christian men" to be warned in time and "embrace trew faith that never more decayes."[2]

As the Statute Book registered dire penalties for "Conjuracions, Inchantments and Witchcrafts,"[3] the story of a "learned man" who, not content with the lawful reaches of intellect, signed away his soul in exchange for "foure and twenty yeares" of "all thinges I would desire," including wizardry, did not then appear so much fantastic as terrible:

Wo the day of my nativitye:
wo to the time that once did foster me:
And wo unto my hand that sealed the bill:
wo to my selfe the causes of my ill.
. . . . . .
. . . . all too late I curst my wilful deed,
the grief whereof did make my hart to bleed:
All days, all hopes, all nights I mourned sore,
repenting me of all things done before.

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[1] In 1919, some distinguished admirers of Marlowe erected at Deptford a tablet

"To the immortal memory
of CHRISTOPHER MARLOWE, M A
who met with a tragic death near this spot
1st June, 1593, aged 29 years"

So far so good. But unhappily they added

*"Cut is the branch that might have grown full straight"*

the words which Christopher Marlowe had applied to the damnation of Dr Faustus! It is further remarkable that Mr John Bakeless, in *The Tragicall History of Christopher Marlowe* (1942), Vol. I, pp. 188-189, sees no incongruity in the choice, but commends it. He points out, however, (pp 292-293,) that these lines resemble "a couplet in 'Shore's Wife,' a poem by the obscure Thomas Churchyard which was published in the 1563 edition of the 'Mirror for Magistrates,' &c. &c

'They brake the bowes and shakte the tree by sleight,
And bent the wand that mought have growne full streight'"

["Obscure" is hardly a felicitous epithet for the veteran Captain Thomas Churchyard who wrote in prose with considerable lucidity of the "unconquered courages and aspiring minds" of Englishmen; and whose verse was popular throughout a long career, in which he won credit both as a swordsman and a penman]

[2] *Roxburghe Ballads* Vol VI, p 703, and Shirburn MS. f. 129 *The Shirburn Ballads*, ed. Clarke, 1907. pp. 72-75.

[3] 5 Eliz Cap. 16. A D 1563.

That the ballad is not merely a story of an evil choice and consequent disaster but also of intense remorse is characteristic of a period when the greatest and the simplest minds were akin in so far as a story without a moral would have seemed to them a story without a point. Art had not yet claimed the dismal freedom of leading nowhere and expounding nothing. Therefore the attraction of Faustus, whether in prose or verse, in eloquent drama or in pedestrian doggrel, lay in the moral,—which some of the later critics fain would argue away.[1]

[1] For example, the editor of the Broadway version, p 52, declares, "it was absurd that Faust's attempt to solve an intellectual problem should lead to the loss of his soul." But it was not for intellectual curiosity that Faust was condemned, but for renouncing eternal salvation for the sake of four and twenty years of "all voluptuousness." ("What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his soul?").

But in *The Tragicall History of Christopher Marlowe* (1942) Vol. I, Chapter VIII, p 275, Mr John Bakeless rightly classes "Doctor Faustus" as Marlowe's greatest play and even goes so far as to claim that "no conception more truly tragic than the struggle of the powers of Darkness for a human soul has ever graced the English stage In this play we come closer than anything else he ever wrote to the proud, fiery, agonised spirit of the poet himself, grasping forever at what he never would attain, the scholar 'still climbing after knowledge infinite,' . . . "

This we may question, for it was not pride but vanity which impelled the legendary Faustus to traffic with the Devil. Yet Mr Bakeless's summary of "The Historical Faust" (pp. 278-281) is of special interest, also "The Legendary Faust," (pp 281-286) He appears to realise that one of the reasons why the play had so strong an appeal was that by Elizabethan audiences it would have been accepted as historically as well as spiritually real

As the foregoing pages are passing through the press my attention is drawn to a remarkable essay "Goethe and the Faust Legend" by the author of "The Triumph of Beauty,"—Charles Richard Cammell, in *The Atlantis Quarterly*, September 1932, pp. 70-84. Mr Cammell puts forward the fact that there were two different men called Faust, one an impostor falsely claiming magical powers, and the other a genuine scholar and adept in the Occult (not necessarily evil) He quotes "an entry in the account book of the Bishop of Bamberg, 12th February 1520, by the Bishop's Chamberlain: 'Item 10 gulden given and presented to Dr Faustus, *philosophus* in honour of his having cast for my gracious master a nativity o indicens, paid on Sunday after Scholasticas by the order of Reverendissimus.' He reappears in the 'Sermones Convivales' of Johann Gast, 1548, and, with his full name of Johannes Faustus, in the 'Locorum Communium Collectanea' of Johannes Manlius (Johann Mennel) 1563."

Mr Cammell is of opinion that the legend has arisen from a confusion between the two, and that the philosopher Dr Faustus was in no way responsible for the vagaries of the charlatan of the same surname.

See also *The Myth of the Magus*, by E. M. Butler Cambridge, 1948

## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE.[1]

Whether Marlowe's drama inspired the Faust ballads or the ballads the play, nobody knows; but *A Ballad of the life and deathe of Doctor Faustus the great cunngerer. Allowed under the hand of the Bishop of London,* was licensed on the 28th of February 1589-90 not long before the first appearance of Spenser's *Faerie Queene.*

There were two prose versions of the legend. *The Historie of the damnable life and deserved death of Doctor Iohn Faustus, Newly imprinted, and in conuenient places imperfect matter amended, according to the true Copie printed at Franckfort, and translated into English by P. F. Gent Seene and allowed Imprinted at London by Thomas Orwin, and are to be solde by Edward White, dwelling at the little North doore of Paules, at the signe of the Gun, 1592.*[2] (As 1592 Old System can be any date up to and inclusive of March 24th 1593, this book may have been published so late as 1593, only a few weeks before Marlowe's death.)

In 1594, or 94-5, appeared *The Report of Doctor Iohn Faustus containing his appearances, and the deeds of Wagner. Written by an English Gentleman student in Wittenberg an University of Germany in Saxony Published for the delight of all those which desire Noveltes by a friend of the same Gentleman London Printed by Abell Jeffries, for Cuthbert Burby and are to be sold at the middle Shop at Saint Mildreds Church by the Stockes 1594*

The first of these, which is much the more interesting, has the sub-title *A Discourse of the most famous Doctor Iohn Faustus of Wittenberg in Germanie, Conjurer and Necromancer. wherein is declared many strange things that he himself hath seene and done in the earth and in the Ayre, with his bringing up, his travailes, studies, and last end*

"Son of a poor husbandman," his "godly parents," seeing him "to be of a toward wit," had set before him as a vocation the study of divinity, a rich uncle sending him to the University of

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[1] The earliest known edition of Marlowe's Faustus is a quarto issued the year after Queen Elizabeth's death: *The Tragicall History of D. Faustus As it hath been Acted by the Right Honorable the Earle of Nottingham his seruants Written by Ch Marl London Printed by V S for Thomas Bushell* 1604 (Bodleian.) But the play is believed, by Malone and others to have been acted from 1590 onwards It was reprinted in 1609, 1611, 1616, 1619, 1620, 1624, 1631 in some instances amplified There was a pause during the Cromwellian suppression of the theatres But after the Restoration of the Monarchy, "*Dr Faustus*" was printed anew "by W Gilbertson at the Bible without Newgate," (quarto) 1663.

Of modern editions the first seems to have been in *Old English Plays,* Vol. I. 1814 In 1818-20, 1826, 1850, and 1870, Marlowe's works were reprinted, and in 1885 *Faustus* reappeared in Vol. I of *The Elizabethan Dramatists The Works of Christopher Marlowe, in Three Volumes. Edited by A. H. Bullen, B A.* London 1884 Other editions followed and in 1910 the Works were re-edited by C. F. Tucker Brooke (Oxford) with revised text

In 1884 in *The Bibliographer,* William Heinemann had published *An Essay towards a bibliography of Marlowe's "Tragical History of Dr Faustus".* This was reprinted by Elliot Stock as a pamphlet (30 pp.) It is in five sections. I The Quarto of "*Doctor Faustus*" II (i) Modern Reprints; (ii) In Periodicals; (iii) In Works on Goethe's Faust. III. English Criticism. IV. Translations: German, Portuguese, Swedish V Foreign Criticism on Marlowe's Faustus.

A Bibliography—English and foreign—of Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* and modern monographs thereon is given by Mr John Bakeless in his *The Tragicall History of Christopher Marlowe,* 1942, Vol. II, pp. 349-369

[2] Earliest known editions, B.M No. C 27 b 43 (80 pp. and 3 pages of contents.) An undated note is attached to B M copy; "This edition is of amazing rarity, even if not unique It is not noticed by any of our bibliographers. The earliest one mentioned by Thoms is dated 1626 The one that editor has reprinted is somewhat altered from the present copy, which has an additional chapter, not found in the later editions See Chapter 60, which is not given by Thoms." Both the 1592 and 1594 editions have been reprinted in Broadway Translations; Routledge, London; Dutton, New York. (With an introduction by William Rose, M.A., Ph.D. not at all in tune with the text.)

"Wittenberg." There he aspired to learn the "Chaldean, Persian, Hebrew, Arabian and Greek tongues;" and named himself "Astrologian," "Magician," and "Physician" But "being of a naughty mind and otherwise addicted, "Faustus applied not his studies." In his craving for power he betook himself to "Charms, Soothsaying, Witchcraft, Enchantment"[1] After a while he succeeded in raising "Mephistophelis," the attendant spirit of the Prince of Devils; who appeared in the "likeness of a gray Friar." In order to have Mephistophelis "at his commandment . . . . in what form or shape so ever he would," and to ensure that for four-and-twenty years all his desires should be granted, Dr Faustus signed and sealed a vow that he would "*be an enemy to all Christian people,*" and "*deny his Christian belief*" giving himself "*to his Lord Lucifer body and soul*"[2] Not having attained enough power to satisfy him "through the gift that is given from above," he "covenanted" instead with the Prince of Devils for "*four and twenty years of all delight and success And hereupon I defy God and his Christ, and all the host of Heaven . being in perfect memory calling all infernal powers to witness of this my letter and subscription*"[3]

The school of "modern thought" which belittles freewill, and throws on environment the responsibility for human error, would not have been accepted by Elizabethans, who held each soul personally answerable to the Almighty Hence the wide appeal of *The Damnable Life and Deserved Death of Doctor John Faustus*; also of the play in which Marlowe instead of departing from the traditional moral clarified and intensified it,—for, as Sir Philip Sidney used to say, "the poet is the right popular philosopher."[4]

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[1] In 1614 in *The Historie of the World,* Raleigh (Book I, cap. xi) thought it necessary to discourse "of the divers kinds of unlawful magic"

[2] *Dr John Faustus* (1592), Chapter IV. [3] Ib: pp 76-77.

[4] Since the foregoing notes were set on paper, Mr John Bakeless in *The Tragicall History of Christopher Marlowe,* 1942, Vol I, pp. 274-327, has devoted Chapter VIII to Dr Faustus, and (Vol. II, pp 349-369) gives a Bibliography of "Translations, Separate Editions, Books and Articles" An early 19th century attempt to establish a parallel between Faustus and Byron's 'Manfred' seems to be supported by Mr Bakeless despite Byron's emphatic denial that he had ever read Marlowe, also despite the conspicuous differences in matter and manner Dr Faustus is an individual of obscure antecedents whose inordinate ambition, greed for power and craving for sensual indulgence, are combined with total absence of scruple or principle. Faustus is the arch-egotist; every act and word of his being prompted by self-aggrandisement The Byronic tragedy is that of a fallen spirit who feels the cosmic clash between good and evil and suffers poignantly in the struggle, one aware of

"a tyrant spell
Which had its birthplace in a star condemned,
The burning wreck of a demolished world,
The wandering hell in the eternal space."

There is in Manfred nothing petty, sordid, grotesque, nor gross

"My injuries come down on those I loved; I never quelled
An enemy save in my just defence,—
But my embrace was fatal."

It is not clear why Mr Bakeless regards it as "snobbery" to recognise a difference which is fundamental. The end of Manfred is in striking contrast to the exit of Faustus. Manfred defies the evil spirits:

"Back to thy Hell!
Thou hast no power upon me . . .
I have not been thy dupe nor am thy prey,—
But was my own destroyer . . .
Back ye baffled fiends!
The hand of death is on me, but not yours.
[The demons disappear]"

And Manfred's last words to the Abbot are "Old man, 'tis not so difficult to die."

The present historian, however, is not concerned with modern literary controversy but strives to aid the reader to see Marlowe's drama as it would have appeared to Elizabethan audiences happily unaware how vast an accumulation of commentary would grow up around it in a more sophisticated age.

## POSTSCRIPT.

## "THE TRAGICALL HISTORY OF CHRISTOPHER MARLOWE."

### *A monumental work. 1942.*

"To its author at least, it is a somewhat startling reflection that this study of Christopher Marlowe has occupied most of the interval between the two World Wars, about as many years as the life of its subject. Begun in 1920, it has expanded almost of its own volition rather than of mine—from the original effort merely to discover the sources of *Tamburlaine* into an effort to bring together everything that can now be known about Christopher Marlowe No such attempt can ever be completely successful; but I trust that twenty two years endeavour after thoroughness, completeness, and accuracy have at least reduced the inevitable blunders and omissions to a minimum."[1]

A grant from the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial in 1936 enabled Mr Bakeless to "spend some months in research in British archives." (In the Bibliography Vol. II, pp. 300-303 is a list of MSS drawn upon at Canterbury, Cambridge, and London) No attentive reader of this work can fail to recognise that it is likely to remain the arsenal from which to seek information as to the central figure. But a chief use of poetry being that we may enjoy it, those who read verse not as a duty but a pleasure may sometimes wonder whether it may not be an advantage to know little of a poet except the dates of his birth and death That is, unless he was conspicuous in large affairs, as for example Sir Philip Sidney, "President of Learning and Chivalry," soldier, courtier, diplomat, man of the world,—who privately expressed himself in verse "to ease a burdened heart,"[2] and who openly championed "Poesie" for the declared reason that it elevated the human mind and soul, and inspired its lovers to "as high a perfection as our degenerate souls" may be capable of.[3] Spenser also was more than a mere man of letters, and the charm of *The Faerie Queene* is enhanced by our remembrance that he was ultimately Sheriff of Cork and author of a *View of the State of Ireland*. But where Christopher Marlowe is concerned, the present writer first chose to read his dramas minus editorial prefaces, so that the initial impression was not overshadowed by prosaic particulars of the poet's miserable exit from the stage of life, nor weighted by acquaintance with the huge edifice of 19th and 20th century commentary of which Marlowe has been the subject,—one might almost say the victim. Nevertheless, if biographies of poets must be written,—if they are to be judged not by their works alone but by their lives, if their flights of fancy and their impassioned ecstacies must be subjected to as close a scrutiny as a corpse undergoing a post mortem examination, it is well that this should be done by a scholar whose zeal for his chosen theme is beyond question, and whose work is produced in a manner as agreeable to the eye as convenient for reference. Mr Bakeless was able to labour from start to finish without anxiety as to ways and means the funds of the Carnegie Endowment being drawn upon for the costs of his research,—which as to his central figure is so thorough that no late comer is likely to find anything to glean after him in the fields he has so laboriously reaped But in that this book is likely to go into further editions, may we suggest it could be perfected if the author would substitute for the fancies of Sir Sidney Lee on the López case the facts as elucidated in the present History[4] And he might reconsider several minor points also extraneous to the main biographical matter When, wisely repudiating Marlowe's authorship of *Lusts Dominion*, Mr Bakeless (Vol. II) treats of the sources, he correctly dates King Philip's death *1598* on page 272; but on p. 273 he says, "Even the source

[1] John Bakeless Preface to the above named work. In 2 Volumes. "Cambridge Massachusetts, Harvard University Press 1942." London Humphrey Milford. Oxford University Press (Vol. I, 375 pp. Vol. II, 432 pp.)

[2] E.E Vol. V. pp. 59-61. Vol. I. pp. xxx-xxxii. [3] EE. Vol. V. p. xxi

[4] E.E Vol IX pp 247-267, the first judicial analysis of López direct from the evidence

pamphlet was not published until 1589," &c, This *True and brief declaration of the sickness and last words of Philip the Second, king of Spain* " &c.; "*1589*" being manifestly an overlooked misprint.[1]

The López fallacies as believed and revived by Mr Bakeless call for a Note to themselves (E.E. Vol. IX, pp 286-288). The other oversights though less vital are worth amending in a publication the aim of which is completeness and finality. For instance—in treating the question of irreligious scepticism, Vol I, pp 107-140—Giordano Bruno is alluded to (p. 129) as having "encouraged speculation of an atheistical nature." But Bruno was burnt at the stake not for atheism but for eight points of heresy, an entirely different accusation As reported in a contemporary newsletter from Rome, the "obstinate heretic" said "he died willingly and was a martyr, and that his soul would ascend to Paradise." (The concentrated essence of his case can be seen in E F. Vol. V, pp 241-247) Mr Bakeless appears to have taken Bruno's views not from Bruno's writings but from the Rev Thomas Zouch D D, whose early 19th century monograph on Sir Philip Sidney—beginning with a spurious portrait—is defaced by many blunders Furthermore it does not seem to occur to Mr Bakeless that Sir Sidney Lee (born Levi) being a Jew both by heredity and conviction was hardly the best guide to Christian theology Nor is it fair to Raleigh to accept as to his alleged "atheism" the assertions of Father Parsons, who had no personal acquaintance with him and who took every convenient opportunity of launching thunderbolts against Queen Elizabeth's champions (excepting only Robert Earl of Essex, whom Parsons and Cresswell both were ill-judged enough to try to win to the service of Spain[2]) Nobody could read Raleigh's account of Grenville's last fight, nor his *Historie of the World*, nor his letters to his wife, and still regard him as an atheist,—meaning by "atheist" one who denies any Deity and any hereafter life Raleigh, even as Bruno, should be judged from his own writings.

Mr Bakeless, after quoting and considering every shred of available ancient gossip as to Marlowe's reputed profane conversations, concludes (Vol. I, p. 140) "Perhaps he was [an atheist] Some of his recorded utterances point that way"

But would not any of us who use a pen wish posterity to judge us by our authentic written works; and not by words put in our mouths by unreliable persons deliberately out to make mischief?

The Inquisition examinations of Bruno survive in exact records of his replies, taken down at the time (Being secret, these records were not required to be doctored to make a case.) But there only exist *obiter dicta* as to Marlowe's supposed atheism, which can be largely counterblasted out of his own dramas[3] Mr Bakeless admits that in *Dr Faustus* "that frantic wretch's appeals to God for mercy" seem more than "an author's device" But he then adds,

> "True, the best poetry is the most feigning, especially dramatic poetry; but true also that Marlowe is the least adept of dramatists in concealing himself All his characters are Marlowe, as all Shaw's characters are Shaw"

The comparison is unfortunate, between Christopher Marlowe the precursor of Shakespeare, and Bernard Shaw who chose Stratford-on-Avon as the place at which to vaunt his personal contempt for Shakespeare,—whose love of the heroical and exalted elements in mankind is certainly in sharp contrast to Shaw's scoffing flippancies As to Marlowe's characters being invariably Marlowe, take *The Massacre at Paris* In what way does Marlowe, the son of a cobbler, owing his rise in life to his poetic genius, resemble either King Henry III, or Henry Duke of Guise, both of whose circumstances, ideas, heredity and actions were totally different from those of the dramatist?

As for "the best poetry" being the "most feigning," a poet of our own day, the Nawab Sir Nizamat Jung Bahadur, maintains that "poetry is the natural language of strong emotion" And while a dramatist should be endowed with "a vast comprehension" of many different natures,[4] the best poetry can only arise from profound feeling, deep understanding, and fervent emotion,—qualities scarcely possible to counterfeit.

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[1] This pamphlet in its historical bearings will be considered in E E. Vol. X Even in the most carefully produced works the figures sometimes become misplaced The present historian has to apologise for not noticing that 1568 had been misprinted 1586 (E E. Vol. V, p. 841); and 1587 reversed as 1578 (Vol. VII, p. 110)—this last corrected by an erratum slip).

Particulars, E.E. Vols. X-XI

[2] E.E. ante pp. 147-151.

[3] E.E. Vol I, p. xxxviii.

The process of analysis so necessary in a legal case may tend to come between us and the poet, rather than bring us nearer to his spirit. For this reason the Oxford edition of Drayton sets the poet's own words first and relegates biographical and critical matter to the concluding volume.

It may remain a matter of personal taste whether it is more interesting to tabulate "parallel passages,"—subjecting poetry to prolonged scrutiny in search of possible borrowings,—or to float on wings of song, and endeavour to see Elizabethan drama as it would have appeared to those who first acclaimed it "Piece out our imperfections with your thoughts," says Shakespeare's Prologue to *Henry V*, and the playgoers were very ready so to do.

Every effort is made by Mr Bakeless to investigate all aspects of Academic life, and to reconstruct the career of Christopher Marlowe from his school days at Canterbury to the possible hidden factors behind the brawl in which he untimely perished. But this biographer so careful in all that relates to Marlowe is not so scrupulous as to Audrey, Lady Walsingham; he even makes her the instigator of the murder Though there is not a vestige of evidence to inculpate her, he states (Vol I, p. 163) "It is at least conceivable that Marlowe was killed because he knew too much about affairs of State in which Lady Walsingham was guiltily involved."

As to "affairs of State," some very "guiltily involved" persons at the Court will be unveiled in Volume XI of the present History, in a manner leaving nothing to conjecture. There has not come to light, however, (not even in the present historian's 26 years of continuous investigation of Elizabethan Court life and its labyrinth of statecraft,) anything worse as to young Lady Walsingham than that at the time of the Queen's death she was suspected of being Sir Robert Cecil's mistress: a scandal for which no solid foundation can as yet be discovered To shift responsibility for Marlowe's murder from the man who slew him to the shoulders of a lady, and drop this poison in the cup with the words "It is conceivable" would in the case of a living personage be thought reprehensible Moreover it is a sad reflection that the miserably undignified exit of Marlowe appears sometimes to excite more interest than the "brave transluminary things" of his poetic genius Happier such poets as remained anonymous! How merciful for the author of "Dear, if you change I'll never chose again" that as he wrote to an individual and not to the public no inquisitive posterity has linked his song with any "conceivable" crime or scandal[1]

[1] It is because the work of Mr Bakeless is so detailed and extensive that the few matters open to criticism are the more conspicuous. He wisely dismisses Marlowe's alleged "lewde loue" as a manifest invention; but adds (Vol. I, p 149) a reference to Anthony à Wood as reviving "the story Marlowe and his erring lady" But Anthony à Wood says nothing of any "lady", only of "a certain woman" for whom Marlowe "had as his rival a bawdy serving man" In Elizabethan English the term "lady" was never applied to anyone below the rank of a Knight's wife or widow. (Untitled females of quality, however exalted their pedigrees, were only called "gentlewomen.") In no circumstances whatsoever would a woman of the type of the alleged "lewde loue" be called a "lady" by Marlowe's contemporaries, or even by men writing in the 17th century, such as the gossiping Anthony à Wood

Mr Bakeless refers alternately to "Lady Walsingham" and to "Lady Audrey Walsingham" meaning in each instance Lady Walsingham, formerly Audrey Shelton. Up to 1602 she was known as "the young Lady Walsingham" to distinguish her from Ursula, Lady Walsingham, the widow of Sir Francis.

# "WINTER, PLAGUE, AND PESTILENCE."

Though "Merrie England" enjoyed much pageantry and romance,—poetry, music and Arcadian graces being then no exotics but universally popular—these delights were interrupted by devastating epidemics of pestilence.

"Fair Summer droops droop men and beasts therefore;
So fair a summer look for never more.
All good things vanish less than in a day,
Peace, plenty, pleasure, suddenly decay.
Go not yet hence, bright soul of the sad year.
. . . . .
Short days, sharp days, long nights come on apace:
Ah, who shall hide us from the Winter's face:
Cold doth increase; the sickness will not cease;
And here we lie, God knows, with little ease
From winter, plague and pestilence, good Lord deliver us.
. . . . .
"London doth mourn, Lambeth is quite forlorn;
Traders cry woe worth that ever they were born.
. . . . .
Adieu! Farewell earth's bliss
This World uncertain is
Fond are life's lustful joys:
Death proves them all but toys.
None from his darts can fly:
I am sick, I must die
Lord, have mercy on us
. . . .
Queens have died young and fair,
Dust has closed Helen's eyes
. . . .
Swords may not fight with Fate.
. . . .
Come, come, the bells do cry.
I am sick, I must die.
Lord, have mercy on us
Haste therefore each degree
To welcome destiny:
Heaven is our heritage,
Earth but a player's stage
Mount we unto the sky
I am sick, I must die.
Lord, have mercy on us"[1]

This being the frame of mind in which an otherwise cheerful poet met the epidemic in 1593, it is the less surprising that when Essex three years later, in his capacity of the Queen's Lieutenant-General, insisted on unprecedented sanitary precautions, his innovations were regarded with astonishment. We shall see how he had only one case of illness during the Cadiz expedition; and isolating that one, he prevented the infection from spreading. But though in 1589 in the "Portingale Journey" Drake and Norris had lost more men by sickness than by the sword, as Essex himself had sadly witnessed, his own reforms were to win him no thanks from the Queen, who insisted on regarding the good health of her forces in 1596 as a miracle from God and a special favour to herself[2]

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[1] Thomas Nashe, in *Summer's Last Will and Testament*, vide *Lyrics from English Dramatists*, ed: A. H. Bullen, pp. 28-30, and Introduction pp xii-xiii Also *Elizabethan Lyrics*, Norman Ault, 1925 pp. 172-174

[2] E.E Vol. X. It is not necessary in the present history to record every outbreak of plague; but we have noticed the epidemics during and after the defence of Havre (E E. Vol. I, pp. 234-236) and the sufferings of Willoughby's troops in France in 1589 (E E. Vol VIII, p 219) and, in a lesser degree, those in Normandy in 1591, when Essex himself was prostrated by camp fever (Ib: p. 432).

## "THE FIRST HEIRE OF MY INVENTION:"

### *Shakespeare's "Venus and Adonis," 1593; and its progeny.*

In estimating the combined religious, moral, policital and artistic influences which blended in the "Golden Age" of letters, we see that it was not the drama which created the spirit of England, but that Shakespearean drama was the result of that spirit. Only supreme genius could have so fully embodied the many-sided era; but it is unfair to our race to class Shakespearean drama as a miracle or an exotic. Though its flowers be immortal, its roots were in English earth. And far from Spain having no influence upon Shakespeare, the prolonged need for resistance to Spain, and the resolute facing of this necessity, affected all Elizabethan men of letters, from "grave scholars" at Oxford and Cambridge down to writers of street ballads. But in April 1593, when the Stationer's Register recorded the licensing for publication of *Venus and Adonis,* the first printed work to bear the name of William Shakespeare, neither was his theme a novelty nor the occasion auspicious. A less favourable moment for the reception of a new author it would be difficult to imagine. The plague had raged the previous year from Lady Day to Christmas, taking toll of over 11,000 lives; and was breaking out again. Amid wide-spread misery few would have hearkened to a poet singing of "rose cheeked Adonis" wooed by Venus "more white and red than doves or roses are."

Presented "To the Right Honorable Henrie Wriothesley, Earle of Southampton, and Baron of Tichfield," the slender quarto, issued by Richard Field, "to be sold at the sign of the white greyhound in Paules Churchyard," is memorable partly because the dedication is the first by Shakespeare:[1] In the thirty-fourth year of Elizabeth's reign he apologised for his boldness in approaching the youthful peer who is now mainly remembered for having been his patron:

"Right Honorable, I know not how I shall offend in dedicating my unpolished lines to your Lordship, nor how the worlde will censure me for choosing so strong a propp to support so weak a matter, onely if your Honour seeme but pleased, I account myselfe highly praised, and vowe to take advantage of all idle hours, till I have honoured you with some

[1] In May the same year, 1593, a minor poet, Barnabe Barnes, requested Southampton's favour for *Parthenophil and Parthenope, Sonnets, Madrigals, Elegies and Odes,*—"That with your countenance graced they may withstand Hundred-eyed Envy's rough encounterment." This sonnet is followed by others, to Mary, Countess of Pembroke; to Lady Strange; and to Lady Bridget Manners; and preceded by an appeal *"To the Right Honourable most renowned and thrice valiant Robert, Earl of Essex and Ewe."*

The editor of these verses, Sidney Lee, *Elizabethan Sonnets,* 1904, Vol. I, attached little importance to dedications. They are, however, graduated according to the natures of the personages apostrophised. A reference to Essex as *"thrice valiant"* carried to Elizabethan readers its full meanings,—namely that he had served in three foreign wars; the Low Countries 1585-6, Portugal 1589, and commanding the English Army in France, 1591. Southampton is lauded merely for his "gracious eyes"; but Essex is asked to deign to glance at the "bashful first fruits of the Muse" when "time from cares of more import permits,"—this last being an allusion to his recent appointment to the Privy Council.

graver labour. But if the first heire of my invention prove deformed, I shall be sorie it had so noble a god-father, and never after eare so barren a land, for feare it yeeld me still so bad a harvest.

I leave it to your Honourable survey, and your Honor to your hearts content; which I wish may always answere your owne wish, and the worlds hopefull expectation.

Your Honors in all dutie

WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE."

Presumably the response of Southampton was gracious; for despite the unfavourable time of publication, *Venus and Adonis* was reprinted the following year.[1] Also in 1594 Shakespeare's "untutored lines" as he termed his next poem—*Lucrece*—were offered to Southampton in the same diffident manner as his first:

"The love I dedicate to your Lordship is without end, whereof this pamphlet, without beginning is but a superfluous moiety. The warrant I have of your honourable disposition, not the worth of its untutored lines, make it assured of acceptance.

"What I have done is yours; what I have to do is yours; being part in all I have devoted yours. Were my worth greater, my duty would show greater; mean time as it is, it is bound to your Lordship, to whom I wish long life, still lengthened with all happiness.

Your Lordship's in all duty

WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE"[2]

In 1594 also came into print *The First Part of the Contention betwixt the two famous Houses of York and Lancaster, the Death of the Good Duke Humphrey. And the banishment and death of the Duke of Suffolk and the Tragicall end of the proud Cardinall of Winchester with the notable Rebellion of Iacke Cade; And the Duke of Yorks first clam unto the Crowne.*[3]

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[1] And again in 1595, 1596, and 1600; then in 1602; and several times after.

[2] Spelling now modernised. Both dedications are omitted from the otherwise admirable "Ariel" Edition of the Works of Shakespeare, 1895-1899.

It had been intended to treat extensively of Elizabethan drama, but this became unnecessary; for in 1923 the Clarendon Press issued in four volumes "*The Elizabethan Stage, E. K. Chambers*", a vast collection of matter bearing on the London stage from the accession of Elizabeth to the death of Shakespeare; with Bibliography, chronological list of printed plays; chapters on the Revels and Pageants, the playhouses, players, private theatres, foreign players in England, &c. &c.; with index of Plays, Persons, Places and Subjects. Vol. II contains particulars as to the players of the Earls of Oxford, Arundel, Sussex, Hertford, Derby, Pembroke, Essex, Leicester, Warwick, the Lord High Admiral, Lord Chamberlain, and other noblemen. The material is so extensive, and set forth in such detail, that numerous references to the stage in the present History have been deleted, and others reduced unless bearing directly upon the deeds of some of the chief personages: for example Walsingham's establishing of the Queen's own players in 1583 (E.E. Vol. V, pp. 49-51); a play depicting the events of 1588 (E.E. Vol. VII, pp. 374-378), and the Guise drama, circa 1591, (E.E. Vol. VIII, p. 212, n:4): the "*Doctor Faustus*" of Marlowe (Vol. IX, pp. 147-153), and various plays at later date bearing upon the wars with Spain and the achievements of Essex. Sir E. K. Chambers' magnum opus being accessible in University and public libraries, the Elizabethan stage plays are now much better known than the life-drama of warfare and the State, with which latter elements the present History is principally concerned. But in reading "*Elizabethan England*" all students should bear in mind that the stage, under control of the Crown, was from 1583 onwards a far-reaching educational influence, fostering pride of race, loyalty to the Throne, and love for history.

[3] "London. Printed by *Thomas Creede for Thomas Millington are to be sold at his shop under Saint Peters Church in Cornwall.* (sic) *1594.*" This was the second part of Henry VI; the first did not appear in print until the folio of 1623, called *Mr William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies.*

This was followed in 1595 by *The True Tragedy of Richard Duke of York, and the death of good King Henrie the Sixt with the whole contention between the houses of Lancaster and Yorke, as it was sundrie times acted by the Right Honourable the Earle of Pembroke his seruants.*

In December 1594 Lord Hunsdon's players performed at Greenwich Palace: as shown by an entry in the accounts: "To William Kempe, William Shakespeare, and Richard Burbage, seruants to the Lord Chamberlayne, upon the Councelles warrant dated at Whitehall xv[th] Marcij; 1594, for twoe severall comedies or enterludes shewed by them before her Maiestie in Christmas tyme last paste."[1]

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[1] Halliwell Phillips, *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare*, 6th ed Vol I, p 109 As these pages are passing through the press there appears *Sergeant Shakespeare* by [Sir] Duff Cooper (London, Rupert Hart-Davis 1949) giving his conjecture that Shakespeare perhaps accompanied Lord Leicester to the Dutch War in 1585, and that from certain passages quoted we may infer that he saw the fighting from the standpoint of a non-commissioned officer. This sparkling essay, however, repeats the mistake, derived from Fortescue, that Queen Elizabeth despised soldiers (E E Vol. IX, p. xxxvi).

From the same publisher there has been issued simultaneously *Shakespeare's Sonnets Dated And other Essays*, by Leslie Hotson, drawing upon internal evidence and arguing that instead of being products of Shakespeare's maturity some may be assigned to the year 1589 Dr Hotson seems to be the only critic except the present writer who has seen how impossible it is that "Mr W. H." could have been William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke (who was born Lord Herbert and therefore was never addressed as "Mr") Shakespeare students may be advised to pay attention to Dr Hotson's analysis of the Sonnets in the light of contemporary material But in one of the other essays, "The Earl of Essex and Falstaff," he has followed the 19th and 20th century fallacy that Essex was "neither an able general nor a man Elizabeth could trust." His Essex is the "ambitious favourite" of modern history, bearing no resemblance to the actual champion of England and the Crown. As to the events of 1599-1601 they will be fully elucidated in a later volume of the present History. But meanwhile, as nine volumes will be available at Harvard, and in Columbia University, Washington Congress Library, and many another American institution, Dr Hotson could see therein the position held by Essex in the eyes of his contemporaries, both friends and foes.

The present writer was surprised, while excavating to the foundations, to discover how memorable were the services of Essex, and how high he stood in the esteem of Henry IV, and of Burghley, Walsingham, Huntingdon, Hatton, Drake, Hawkins, Williams; and in the world of letters. Dr Hotson's work in relation to literature has been so admirable where the honour of literary men is concerned that it would be the more suitable for him ultimately to be fair to Essex who of all the younger generation was the principal patron of "good learning." So much was this the case that so early as in 1591 there were many at Oxford who desired him for University Chancellor (See E E. Vol. VIII, pp. 578-584) And in 1598 in succession to Lord Burghley he was unanimously elected Chancellor of Cambridge (E.E. Vol. X).

PART VII.

"The causes that govern the events."

CHAPTER 5.

"A DELECTABLE VARIETY OF MATTER."

SECTION 3.

# "A poor distressed exiled King."

*(The sorrows of Dom Antonio of Portugal, 1592-93; and Queen Elizabeth's dealings with the Grand Turk).*

> **"What man that sees the ever-whirling wheele**
> **Of Change, the which all mortall thinges doth sway,**
> **But that thereby doth find and plainly feele**
> **How Mutabilitie in them doth play**
> **Her cruel sports to many mens decay?"**
>
> *Edmund Spenser, "Mutabilitie,"* Canto vi.

**". . . a poor distressed exiled King."**

*Robert Earl of Essex, of Dom Antonio of Portugal.* (E.E. Vol. VIII, p. 4).

**". . . we cannot altogether despair, considering her Majesty doth protect the King. In his safety we do comfort ourselves . . ."**

*Captain Edward Prinne to the Lord High Treasurer* (Burghley). December 1592 First published E.E. Vol. IX, p. 169.

**"In that there is nothing more becoming to great and potent Monarchs than to aid, help, and favour afflicted Princes, as much as they can and their powers permit, We have constantly taken and embraced the cause of this very good King, the rightful inheritor of the kingdom of Portugal . . ."**

*Queen Elizabeth to "the very august and invincible Emperor Sultan Murad Cham, powerful Lord of the Ottoman Kingdom, and . . . Sovereign of the Eastern Empire."* 11th April, 1593. (B.M. 1195 a.9. pp. 325-326).

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"DOUBTLESS a man doth live more easily in the World, hath a longer life, and may in a certain sense be called happier, who is of a lower spirit . . . ; because a noble spirit doth serve rather to the toil and torment than to any repose of its owner." Nevertheless the first "doth partake more of the nature of a brute than of a man;" but "the second doth pass beyond the rank of man and approach rather to the celestial nature."

This was not the reflection of a hermit or divine, but of Francisco Guicciardini; who had been a lawyer, Ambassador, Governor, and General,—which last "rank and authority" he defined as requiring immeasurably "greater prudence" and stretching of faculties than any civilian office. His practical wisdom was a byword in the 16th century; the older and younger generation of European diplomatists were alike educated upon his maxims. A correspondent of Machiavelli, his counsels were built oftener on observation of the weaknesses, ingratitude and incongruities of mankind than upon transcendental hopes. But unlike Machiavelli, he did not disparage the chivalrous virtues; rather he declared that the man who adheres always to exalted principles preserves his dignity more effectually in adversity than ungenerous natures in their triumphs.

Elizabethan literature abounds in allusions to the mutability of Fortune. We have a notable instance in the career of Dom Antonio, elected ruler of Portugal, the Indies, Brazil, the Azores, and other "Discoveries and Conquests" of a glorious Empire, yet brought at last to such destitution that had it not been for Queen Elizabeth he would have starved, after having expended such private means as he possessed upon efforts to deliver Portugal from "the Spanish captivity." Seldom had any man in high place lost his all for larger ends, or endured with more consistent patience

one calamity after another. And far from abandoning hope after 1589, far from realising that the often postponed but repeatedly promised loan from Morocco was illusory, far from accepting defeat, he repeatedly persuaded himself that victory would be to the side which could hold out longest. So he confronted the world less with the disillusioned eyes of one who had seen the overthrow of his dearest hopes, than as a warrior maintaining unbroken fidelity to promises, and never shirking responsibility. Unable to shake off the conviction that courage and constancy, though baffled many times, must ultimately prevail, his persistence was not born of stoicism but of unquenchable ardour.[1]

How heavy the price of patriotism on the losing side we shall increasingly see. Those of his countrymen who had propitiated the invader were many of them enjoying high offices. Some had received new titles; one even the Order of the Golden Fleece. But to Antonio, Prior of Crato, whom the people had chosen because he was so "greatly beloved," the consequences had been wounds, hardships, exile, many ordeals; each effort followed by fresh disappointment. And this series of disasters had now extended across a period of over a dozen years.

The Muse of History is capricious. For one, she will take up his griefs and make of them a dazzling crown; another equally meritorious will be lashed with contempt. The friar who scoffed at "*Os Lusiadas*" as fruitless labour because Camoens died in a pauper's hospital, is a common type of this world's hasty judgments. But the epic thus disparaged has since been translated into every European language. A soldier who is also a poet has a great advantage over his fellows who suffer in silence. The fame of Camoens became world-wide less in virtue of his personal valour than of his eloquence. But Dom Antonio, who strove steadily to hold to the same "*antiga fortalezza*," receives no laurels today, neither in Portugal nor in England.

To Christobal de Moura—who transferred his allegiance to the King of Spain, —promotion, trust, a marquisate, and more power than was allowed to any other

[1] Antonio's pride of race will be better understood if we turn to "*The Portuguese Pioneers By Edgar Prestage M A , D Litt , F R H S., F R G S. Camoens Professor of Portuguese Language, Literature, and History in the University of London.*" London (A. & C Black) 1933. With 4 maps, no 1 of which, "The World, Coasts and Places discovered or visited by the Portuguese shown in red" reveals at a glance how great an Empire had been lost to the descendants of the pioneers when the Duke of Alba and the Marquis of Santa Cruz overthrew the forces of Antonio (E.E. Vol. IV.). Professor Prestage says (p 326),

"In *The Lusiads* Camoens celebrates the nautical knowledge of his countrymen and shows a surprising accuracy in his numerous references to astronomy, while Sousa Viterbo in his *Trabalhos nauticos dos portugueses* mentions over 400 individuals, including 83 astronomers and cosmographers, 55 cartographers and makers of nautical instruments, 133 pilots and 22 pilot-discoverers. The royal family had set an example of interest in astronomical science from the time of John I" [founder of the Dynasty of which Antonio was the last]. ". . . D. John de Castro says that the house of the Infant Luiz was the place where cosmography flourished more than anywhere. When speaking of the expedition to Tunis in which he accompanied the Infant, he remarks that the subject was continually discussed between them and that the spoil which his master selected to bring home consisted of some old Arab astrolabes." [Dom Luiz, Duke of Beja, was the father of Antonio As to the Tunis expedition, see E.E. Vol. VII, pp. 14-18 and plates 5 and 6.]

of the conquered race.[1] To Dom Antonio, whom no Spanish offers could tempt, fifteen years of slowly-drawn-out misery; then death with his "great task" unfulfilled, the "captivity" of his people afflicting him still with the same distress as under the first shock of disaster. Poverty is hard to bear proportionate to the magnitude of the work it first cramps and then breaks; and its weight is intensified when it comes unexpectedly upon a man whose youth has been left behind. Over sixty years of age, often suffering in health from the effects of wounds received in the battle of Alcántara, Antonio's plight was the more unhappy when added to his sorrows and disappointments was the acute humiliation of being reduced to the rôle of suppliant for personal necessities.

Accustomed erstwhile to give with both hands,—his "liberality" as well as his gracious manners having endeared him to the poor among his countrymen when he was Prior of Crato,—he could not in 1590 even pay the debts contracted for the expedition of Drake and Norris to Portugal. On the 19th of May 1592, he addressed a memorandum to the Queen that "whereas to our great grief we stand indebted to sundry yor Maties loving subjects in suche sommes of money as at this present we are unable to satisfy," he ventured to suggest that she might consider whether she would give order to the Lords of her Council to direct the Lords Lieutenant of every County and the Bishops of every diocese to require the Justices of the Peace, the collectors for the said Bishops, and their inferior officers, to collect for him a penny in the pound from persons chargeable to the subsidy: as had been done for the City of Geneva, and in other foreign countries, to compensate owners for the loss of ships taken in service against Spain:

> "by means whereof yor Matie may not be in that respect further charged, neither yor highnes able subjects . . . . particularly rated for any payment thereby . . . ." and the levying of so small a sum need not be "burdensome" to the people. "We do and will remaine bounde unto them, by the word of a Prince, to Requite yor highnes said subjects", rewarding them "with far greater Comodities" when it shall "please God to restore us to our Countries and Commonwealth."[2]

This, preserved among Burghley's papers, is without any annotation to indicate

[1] The descendants of Christobal de Moura were to become distinguished in diplomacy and to win a permanent place in European history vide "*La elección de Fernando IV Rey de Romanos Correspondencia del III Marqués de Castel-Rodrigo Don Francisco de Moura Durante el tiempo de su embajada en Alemania (1648-1656) La pública segun los originales que obran en el archivo de su Casa El Principe Pio Marqués de Castel Rodrigo Madrid, 1929*" Dedicated ("*septiembre de 1927*") "*Al Duque de Berwick y de Alba Marqués del Carpio*"

With the correspondence of this Portuguese diplomat and Philip II in regard to Portugal is preserved a "*Breve relacion de la vida del Marqués de Castel Rodrigo, don Cristobal de Moura*"

Vide Don Julián Paz, "*Catálogo de la Colección de Documentos inéditos para la historia de España Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan, Madrid 1930*" Tomo I, pp. 63-84

A vast quantity of material also remains as to King Philip's "*Sucesion de la Corona de Portugal*" Ibid, 63-84, as to provisions for the army under the Duke of Alba, pp 718-728; and the Duke's victorious invasion, pp. 333-427. We need frequently to remind ourselves that though Alba died in 1582, the results of his generalship at Alcántara lasted until 1640 Also that the fate of Portugal was an object lesson and a warning to England against the dangers of being unprepared for war.

[2] Unpublished Lansdowne MS 63. 47 f. 131 Contemporary translation.

the answer. That it was negative we may infer: for by the end of 1592, Antonio, worn down with illness, was reduced to desperate want, the particulars of which are described by one of his followers in a letter to Burghley. There is also a brief appeal direct from Antonio to *"Monsieur le grand Tresorier d'Inglaterra,"* dated *"en Londres le 16me de Desembre."*[1]

"I have become so weak on account of my sickness that I cannot at present make use of my own hand: nor will the necessity in which I find myself permit me to wait until I am able to write in person. Therefore I beg you to hear what Captain Prin will say to you on my behalf: and that you will give yourself the trouble to speak to the Serene Queen: for I hope from the greatness and benignity of Her Majesty that if my petition reaches her through your Excellency she will grant me some aid; for I could hardly be in more dire extremity than I am at this moment.

Praying God to give you, Monsieur le Grand Tresorier, health and a happy and long life . . . .,

Your very affectionate KING."[2]

The unpublished letter of Captain Prin (Perin or Prinne) is docketed "The miseryable estate of Dom Antho. k. of Portugal."[3]

"Right Honourable, my humble duty considered:

The cause of this my writing unto your Honour is the duty wherewith I am bound unto her most excellent Majesty: the which notwithstanding I am alien born, yet my father was an Englishman,[4] and myself in heart, love, and fidelity, will give no man place; . . . . for which cause, my very good Lord, I have emboldened myself, craving pardon for this my attempt.

"The King my master lies in London in the greatest misery that ever any man lay: destitute not only of necessaries but of comfort: for he falling sick at Uxbridge, where he lay, sent hither to have the help of one of her Majesty's physicians.[5] I know not how the matter fell out, but her Highness was not made acquainted with the matter. So that there came no man to him: the which was no small grief unto him to see that fortune had brought him to that miserable state."

Prin feels it the more incumbent upon him to make known to Lord Burghley Dom Antonio's plight, as he understood some "three years past" that the Queen had given orders to have a couple of rooms specially furnished for him, and he doubts if any such order was carried out. But "to the end [that] strangers" might not see the King of Portugal in such a "miserable lodging," Prin urged that some measure should be promptly taken for his relief. It "would pity your Honour's heart if you did see him lie between four bare walls, void of all good comfort, and

[1] French Orig Endorsed "16 Dec: 1592. K of Portingall to my L." Lansdowne 72. 33 f. 39.

[2] *"Vostre tres aficione Rey"*

[3] Addressed "To the right honorable and his verie good lowrde the L. bourghly L heigh Tresure of yngland and wane [i.e. one] of her magties most honorable priue Counsel." Orig: Unpublished Lansdowne MS 35 71. ff. 197-197b. Undated. Endorsed by a later hand in pencil "1582", clerical error for 1592, the date of Antonio's own reference to Prin as his messenger in his illness and destitution. The spelling of "Edward Prinne" is that of one who has lived long out of England. We will therefore attend to the feeling and substance of his letter, without the encumbrance of his peculiar orthography which distracts from his graphic expressions.

[4] "anengleshe man".

[5] "fyzisiouns".

accompanied only by us poor servants that cannot help him in any other [sort] than to mourn with him his unhappy fate." The most " comfort and honour " would be if some courtier could be sent to visit Dom Antonio with messages from the Queen; and if some other gentlemen of quality of their own accord would come to see him.[1]

" And this would not only put him in great comfort, but all us in greater hope that God has not altogether given us over, . . . we cannot altogether despair, considering her Majesty doth protect the King. In his safety we do comfort ourselves, and do have in great hope that by her Majesty's good means the poor Kingdom of Portugal shall have relief. I beseech your Honour to take compassion: and that the great charge Her Majesty hath been at may not now for a small matter be put in hazard, as in truth my very good Lord I do greatly fear." One " hard chance over another " has borne heavily upon King Antonio, but Prin has done his best hitherto " and will do till death, as I am bound."

" Thus I [take] leave: praying the Almighty God long to continue your Honour to the comfort of this her Majesty's realm.

Your Honour's servant in all duty till death

EDWARD PRJNNE."

" Though alien born " he was ever zealous for " this her Majesty's realm." (We have seen how from Morocco in 1590 he had written to Walsingham that he would be happier poor in England than rich in Barbary. And two and a half years after Antonio's death, when he was in Brittany with the French Army, fighting against the Spaniards, " serving the Lord Marshal of Brysacke [de Brissac] as his steward," he was nevertheless eager to return:[2] " I mean by the grace of God, after Bluet [Blavet] is taken, to come over to England, where I hope by your Lordship's means to find Her Majesty graciously bent towards me," he wrote to Essex from the Camp before the town of Soissons. " I am with the Marshal very well; . . . Notwithstanding, my desire is to England, there I would rather be with brown bread there than here with all that I have in my Lord's house . . . ").[3] That his appeal on behalf of King Antonio was promptly met is a reasonable inference from subsequent assertions of Dom Emmanuel and Dom Christovam that Queen Elizabeth had been their father's and their own " sunshine."[4]

After the baffled enterprise of Norris and Drake in 1589, King Philip's secret correspondents from England had sent him word that Antonio, " very poor, old, and broken," was " living in lodgings hired by the week."[5] That he was practically destitute, his own and Captain Prin's letters confirm; but he was not discredited. Prin's letter to Burghley was written on the 16th of December 1592. And " 1592 "

[1] " some wanne gentt Come frfome the quines magtie and others of their frye wills (in Respect of honower) ".

[2] To the Earl of Essex, 20 March, 1597(8) 3 pp Hatfield MS 204. 68 Calendared VIII, p 81-82, the name misprinted " Pryme ".

[3] " 3 April 1598 ". Ib: 176. 136. Cal. p. 110. " at Morlaix the 12th of April " he wrote to Essex again. Ib: No. 176. 142. Cal: pp. 117-118; and " At Morlaix the 17th April, 1598 ". Ib: 176. 144 Cal: p 127.

[4] Letters first published E.E. Vol. IX, pp. 462-469.

[5] Cal: S.P. Spanish. Vol. IV. p. 572

(which may denote any subsequent time up to the 24th of March 1593,) is the date of Hondius's engraved map of Portugal in conjunction with the Genealogical Tree of the Kings and Princes of both Dynasties, *"Genealogia Regvm Portvgalliae"*— with the portrait of "Antony the present King" set challengingly in the centre of all, as son of the heir apparent Lewis Duke of Beja; Philip King of Castile appearing only in the female line as grandson of King Emmanuel.[1] Although *"Antonio el Pretensor"* would be the correct official manner to describe him were we writing in Spanish, the point in regard to Queen Elizabeth's policy is that he remained in her eyes a rightful Sovereign.[2] Wherefore references in her name to "this unfortunate King," and to his "goodness, magnanimity and other conspicuous royal virtues" should no longer be ignored.[3]

In the beginning of 1592 when the Sieur Duplessis, after his unsuccessful appeal for reinforcements, had been storm-bound in Dover, he received a letter in Italian and a "discourse" from the King of Portugal, which he considered sufficiently important to embody in his Memoirs with his reply.[4] Antonio's argument was that as King Henry had been but "coldly" assisted in France even by some of his own religion, and was hampered by lack of money to pay his troops, it might be doubted whether his war could be brought to a victorious conclusion upon the present lines. Would it not be better for the French King to change the mode of procedure, and "according to the example of many great Captains, ancient and modern, go and attack the Spaniard, author of all these troubles, in his own house" after first dislodging him from Portugal? There ensues a description of that Kingdom, and of landing places in the north: the best being in the province of "Entre Duero et Minho, . . . mountainous but very fertile, watered with many great rivers, and thus easy to guard; rich in produce and traffic, having six good harbours; full of a people more warlike than any others, sworn foes to the Castilian," and "very affectionate" to Antonio. Going into particulars as to how, and with what numbers of Horse and Foot, a war against Spain could be conducted from Portugal, he suggests that troops might be raised first in England and the Low Countries, and then in France. All expenses to be refunded by himself within two years, if he were re-established.[5]

Duplessis, answering in Italian,[6] thanks the King of Portugal for the letter with which he had honoured him, and for the Discourse to be shown to the King of France, and signs himself *"Di sua Maesta fidelissimo & affettionatissimo."* His letter is as respectful as if Antonio had been seated securely on the throne. But the time was most inopportune; for as King Henry could not raise sufficient troops to capture Rouen, he certainly could not attack the Spaniards in Portugal.

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[1] E E Vol. VIII p 1 [2] Harl. 296 f. 203.

[3] Hitherto every English modern historian appears to have fallen into the error of assuming that the Queen treated Antonio not as a "brother Sovereign," but as a pretender

[4] Tome II 1625 pp 187-8 *"Lettre de Dom Antonio Roi de Portugal à M du Plessis."*

[5] *"Sommaire du Discours envoie par le Roi de Portugal a M du Plessis pour estre communiqué au Roi"* Op cit pp. 188-191.

[6] Dated *"A 13 di Gennaro in Dovra vecchio stilo"* (which 13 seems to be a misprint) p. 191.

When Antonio made his appeal he must still have been hoping that the ruler of Morocco, Muley Hamet, would advance the promised Moorish gold, in accord with which agreement Dom Cristovam (as we have seen) had been sent to Barbary as a "gage" prior to the expedition of Drake and Norris to Portugal. But as time dragged on, and the Moor neither provided the gold nor would allow Dom Cristovam to embark for England, and Queen Elizabeth's remonstrations had no effect, the only course left for her was to invoke the authority of Muley Hamet's overlord, Murad, Sultan of Turkey.

On the 7th February 1592, Matheo Zane, Venetian Ambassador had contrived to procure a "copy of a letter sent by the Grand Signior to the Queen of England dated Constantinople, 30th January 1592" which he forwarded to the Doge and Senate:[1]

"Queen Elizabeth, thrice glorious and thrice resplendent, first among the followers of Jesus, and reconciler of the differences between the Nazarenes: heir of the everlasting blessedness and glory of the Kingdom of England.

"After wishing all success to your operations, by these presents, We inform you that your letters have been handed to the happy and blessed Porte, the home of Princes, the seat of justice. They tell Us that for the affection and loyalty which you bear to Our happy and blessed person, you have continued the war against the King of Spain; and that with the consent of Don Antonio, King of Portugal, you have subdued many of the Spanish possessions after various feats of arms, and the spilling of your subjects' blood and your own treasure for the benefit solely of this our happy Porte.

"And further, you inform us that the said Don Antonio asked assistance from the Prince of Fez, and, as a hostage, has left his son in the hands of that Sovereign. To please the King of Spain the Prince of Fez has not only refused to help Don Antonio, but has actually kept his son, and refused to give him up. Don Antonio applied for assistance to us; and the Prince of Fez, to gratify the King of Spain, has arrested all your subjects who were trading in his country. All this Our profound and prudent intelligence has grasped, and to meet your wishes we have sent express orders to the Prince of Fez that he is to consign Don Antonio's son to Our Sublime Porte, and to set your subjects at liberty, giving them freedom to trade. You may rest assured that the Prince of Fez, on receipt of these orders, will obey. As soon as Don Antonio's son reaches Porte We will, with your knowledge, come to a fitting resolution about him

"Further, the King of Poland having violated the treaties between us, war was declared on him. His country was put to fire and sword, and ruined. He sent Ambassadors to sue for peace which was refused. But your Ambassador here resident has in your name expressed your great desire that peace should be granted to the King of Poland; therefore to satisfy you, We have yielded to your Ambassador's request. You must, accordingly write and urge him to a full, faithful, and sincere observance of this treaty.

"Further, as you have requested permission for the export of corn into France, We have given orders to the Begliebeyes of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli in Barbary to take the necessary steps, although by Imperial decree the export of corn is forbidden.

"Be assured that as long as you observe the peace with Us, each day will give new proofs of Our affection. Your ships and their merchandise shall come and go freely, and be treated with friendship. Inform Us of all your designs, thoughts, desires; for your friends shall be treated by Us as you wish. Your ships and merchandise shall never be molested."

[1] Cal. S.P. Venice, Vol. IX, pp. 7-8 In Italian, cipher deciphered.

Two days later, the Venetian Ambassador in Spain, Tomaso Contarini, was informing the Doge and Senate,

"A Sicilian, a Capuchin, has written to the King offering to make certain engines of war, which shall destroy the enemy's fleet and his army, horse and foot alike; with this instrument he promises to destroy the Queen of England's fleet and to capture her kingdom.

"Some Portuguese, returned from England, report that Drake has been restored to favour, and will be placed in command of a fleet to harry the Indies."[1]

The Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople contrived also to procure a copy of the Sultan's letter to the King of France.[2]

"To the thrice glorious and Resplendent Prince, higher than all great Princes, follower of Jesus, goal and end of all the differences among the Nazarenes, sweetest fountain of splendour and honour, Henry, Emperor and heir of the eternal blessedness of the noble kingdom of France to whom all come in supplication:

"After the exchange of mutual offers of eternal friendship and thrice holy peace, We inform you that your letters have reached Our hands, and from them We learn your friendly disposition and your perfect benevolence towards Our Porte.

"After the previous assassination of your predecessor you, as nearest to the throne, have been elected King;[3] and desiring to maintain the ancient alliance made by many previous Kings, you found it very necessary to send an Ambassador for the confirmation and renewal of the treaty. But being occupied in war against the Spanish the Ambassador whom you appointed was mortally wounded in fight, and you found it necessary to defer the choice of another. You further ask for help for *Don Antonio, King of Portugal, unjustly driven from his throne by the King of Spain*. This, and all that your letters contain, we have understood.

"We inform you that Don Antonio sought help from the Prince of Fez, and sent his son as hostage. The Prince has kept Don Antonio's son and refused all help. We have ordered the Prince to send the son of Don Antonio to Our Porte at once; when he arrives he will be treated with all honour, and he and you shall be fully satisfied, provided that you maintain the ancient alliance with the Porte and send Us your Ambassadors. Your ships, subjects, and merchants shall enjoy perfect liberty to come, to stay, and to return. Moreover the English Ambassador, who is also your Ambassador, has asked permission for you to export grain and horses."

The letter ends in the same manner as that to Queen Elizabeth, making the desired concession.

We have repeatedly been taught that "the poor Portuguese Pretender" ceased to count in European politics after his return, with Drake and Norris, baffled in 1589. But let us see in what terms Lord Burghley thought it suitable for the Queen of England to refer to Antonio in her dealings with the Grand Turk nearly four years later. Accustomed as we are to our vast British Empire, we must remind ourselves that while addressing the Sultan with such bland condescension, Queen Elizabeth ruled in England and Wales a population not exceeding six millions,[4] and

[1] Cal. S.P. Venice, p. 9. Italian; partly cipher deciphered.
[2] Ibid, pp 12-13. "Given at our Imperial Residence the 28th of January 1592"
[3] Error. The Monarchy of France was not elective but hereditary
[4] Or less after epidemics of the plague, one of which took place in 1593 E.E. ante, p. 159

though nominally Sovereign of Ireland she had actually to keep up an intermittent war to maintain her authority in that "Espaniolated" island. Furthermore, she did not possess any seaports except in England, Wales, Ireland, and the Channel Isles. As to Colonies, Sir Humphrey Gilbert's annexation of Newfoundland in her name had not yet led to the planting of a settlement, his death having disheartened his followers. And though Virginia is sometimes imagined today as if it had been wealthy and glorious, Raleigh's handful of settlers, poor and miserable, were not as yet any source of strength to the old country. Sultan Murad III, on the other hand, was the one Monarch in the world who disputed with the King of Spain the Sovereignty of the Mediterranean, rivalled King Philip's Navy, and aspired to control the commerce of Europe with the near East. In communication with this high and mighty potentate, we should note how Queen Elizabeth is represented as affecting to believe that the Sultan's courtesies to her Allies had been vouchsafed as a compliment to herself; likewise how, with a skilled penstroke the Pope and all the Catholic Princes are disposed of, and Her Majesty triumphantly enthroned above them:

"Elizabeth by the clemency of the Very High and Very Potent Creator and Unique Ruler of the world, Queen of England, France and Ireland, very powerful, . . . . invincible Defendress of the True Faith against the Idolators who falsely profess the name of Christ,

"To the august and invincible Emperor, Sultan Murad Cham, Very Potent Lord . . . of the Ottoman Kingdom, sole and Sovereign Monarch of the Empire of the East, greeting

"Very August and Invincible Emperor. We have sent, long ago, Our letters to your Imperial Majesty, by which we have recommended to your Sublime and High Majesty the cause of the Serene King of Portugal Dom Antonio, cruelly despoiled of his Kingdom by the Spaniard, and we have at the same time asked for letters from your Grandeur addressing the King of Morocco, Muley Hamet, by which he was admonished and warned by you to do, . . . as he had promised to the King Dom Antonio, or that he would send back his son whom he has with him. The effect of Our recommendations has proved that Our letters were agreeable to your Sublime Majesty. . . ."

The Sultan is then thanked by the Queen for his singular benefits accorded at her behest to her dear brothers the Kings of France and Poland. The memory of such graciousness shall never fall into oblivion; for ever will she honour and revere this proof of good affection:

And as "there is nothing more fitting for great and powerful Monarchs than to succour and favour afflicted princes as much as they can and their powers permit, We have constantly taken and embraced the cause of this very good King the true inheritor of the Kingdom of Portugal . ." The equity and justice of his cause being "worthy of Our Royal Benevolence, We refused him nothing in the way of aid and comfort. But as he has signified to Us that he has sent one of his servants to Constantinople to perform some business which if carried to a satisfactory end will serve well towards the recovery of his Kingdom," it is necessary also to be assured that by the favour of the Sublime Sultan this servant of King Antonio will obtain what is desired.

*"For all which your Majesty will do at Our prayer and supplication in favour of the said Serene King, will be not only agreeable to him, but also to Us on his account.*

"May God . . . . the Great Creator of Heaven and Earth long guard your Majesty.

"Given in Our Royal City of London, the eleventh day of April, in the Year of Our Lord 1593 and of Our reign the 35.

ELIZABETH R."[1]

In estimating the audacity of this manner of negotiating let us remember that though the Austrians had beaten the Grand Turk back from Vienna, his enormous Empire still extended from Algiers to Jerusalem, and included Tripoli, Alexandria, Cairo and all Egypt: his sway reaching also across Wallachia, Transylvania, and Moldavia to the Crimea, and through Hungary, Anatolia, Armenia, and Mesopotamia to the edge of the Persian Gulf. Except for Spain, Italy, Tunis and Sicily,—also Malta which Solyman in 1565 had failed to capture,—the Sultan dominated the Mediterranean. Moreover all lands surrounding the Black Sea, excluding only Circassia, were his. In his old age Solyman the Magnificent had disgraced himself by murdering his valiant and loyal eldest son, Mustapha; influenced thereto by the slave girl Roxalana whom he had raised to the position of Queen. Her son, a degenerate and a sot, was the Sultan Selim whose fleet Nemesis in the person of Don John of Austria smote and scattered at Lepanto. But though the Turkish Empire which had risen to its greatest dominion under Solyman was to decline after his day, that decline was so gradual, and his successors still appeared to enjoy such enormous wealth and power, that the Turk was to remain the plague of Christendom until 1816.[2]

Grandson of Solyman and son of Selim, Murad III was a "regal, large, handsome and hearty" personage, as described by a contemporary: "very fond of jewels and precious stones, whereof he always wore a considerable number of inestimable value . . . He was bright and jovial, . . . a warrior by nature: but he always made war by means of his Captains. He warred against Persia many years, and conquered the greater part thereof, whilst remaining in his palace:" which abstention from taking the field was not out of cowardice but policy; and was justified by success. Delighting in literature, he "read the ancient history of all the peoples and nations

[1] *Lettre Que la Royne d'Angleterre a escrite au grand Turc a fin de semondre (sic) le Roy des Marroques de tenir la promesse qu'il avait faite au Roy Dom Antome ou bien luy renvoyerait son fils le seigneur Don Christoph lequel estoit allé en Barbarie pour cet affaire."*

"Superscription" *Au très auguste et invictissime Empereur Sultan Murad Cham Seigneur tres puissant de Royaume d'Ottoman, et Monarque sur tous seul et soverain de l'Empire d'Orient"* (B M 1195 a 9. pp 322-326)

In Cal. S.P. Venice, Vol VIII, (1894) the Venetian Ambassadors in Spain report many rumours as to Antonio's and Queen Elizabeth's dealings with Oriental potentates, but these tales are more elaborate than accurate, and so it is preferred here to treat of the matter at first hand Antonio's experience as a captive to the Moors in 1578 seems, however, not to have been disagreeable; for according to the Portuguese H de Mendoça, *"Jornada de Africa,"* Lib· seg: cap: v (ed: 1785, pp. 98-99) Antonio wearing the Cross of the Order of Christ was assumed to be an "arch-priest", and it was supposed that unless he returned to his ecclesiastical duties as Prior of Crato "the Pope would abandon him", so he would have no means of paying his ransom of 2000 Crusados He therefore was "brought straight to Arzilla" and set free to return to Portugal. But (we may add) there must have been some delay; for in Lisbon he was at first believed to have fallen with King Sebastian on the fatal 4th of August.

[2] When Admiral Lord Exmouth defeated the Dey of Algiers, and sent Vice-Admiral Sir Charles Vinicombe Penrose ashore to insist upon the freeing of all the Chrstian slaves, including Spaniards.

of the world. He caused some to be translated into the Turkish language, and was particularly fond of poetry, which he wrote marvellously well . . . He was most interested in hearing about all the Princes of his time, about their wars, truces, and all that concerned them." Amassing "much treasure, more than all the other Ottaman Princes put together," he nevertheless, "gave liberally" to "the many wives that he rejoiced in," and to his enormous family of children.

Architecture was one of his pleasures: new "baths and fountains, porticos and loggias and gardens" being added by him to his Palace at Constantinople, decorated with gilding and royal magnificence. "He enjoyed music greatly, both singing and every kind of instrumental music; liked novelty" and was "sanguine about all things he undertook." He was so rich that his twelve years of war with Persia did not appear to be a drain on his resources; and being an absolute autocrat he could follow all "objects on which his wishes were intent." He "began always with extreme measures, and never contented himself with a middle course."[1]

Had Burghley allowed his Sovereign to take a mild tone to Sultan Murad she might have supplicated in vain to the end of her days: but a stately manner of expression had the desired effect. Muley Hamet was pledged secretly to Spain never to provide Antonio with the promised money; but on the Sultan bringing pressure to bear, Dom Cristovam was sent back to England: which deliverance from captivity he and his father both recognised as due to "the power and beneficence of the Serene Queen." Thus, when England had a vigorous statesman at the helm, the feminine ruler of half an island could successfully negotiate with the chief Eastern Despot, who would have treated her as less than the dust had it not been for the reputation which Burghley's unwavering policy, backed by a race of daring martial seamen, had built for her consistently throughout four and thirty years.[2]

[1] "*The byrth, lyfe, qualities, conditions . . of . . . Sultan Murad*," as "*effectually penned in Italian*" by a "*curious Jew*" Forwarded by Edward Barton, Ambassador at Constantinople, 12 Feb 1594-5. See also Lord Burghley in "*The Estate of Turkey in 1594 reported by Salomone Usebebe a Jew in Constantinople.*" Italian MS. issued in facsimile with translation by H G Rosedale, D.D. "*Queen Elizabeth and the Levant Company*". 1904 E E Vol IX, App· pp. 180; 254

[2] Burghley being what he was, it was an advantage to England to have one great Minister dominating the Council, instead of frequent changes of government, by which Ministers new to their work have scarcely time to learn their respective tasks before they are liable to be displaced in favour of others of a different party But had Burghley been the "Polonius" of modern literary fiction, the results upon England of his forty years in power would have been ruinous; or rather had he been a Polonius he would hardly have been able to support the burden of office for forty months, much less forty years.

## *APPENDIX A.*

## "ANTONIO, THE PRESENT KING OF PORTUGAL," 1592.

## "GENEALOGIA REGVM PORTVGALLIAE" accompanying HONDIUS'S DATED MAP OF PORTUGAL, 1592.

### *Letterpress now first translated from the Latin.*

The now general belief that after returning from Portugal with Drake and Norris, Dom Antonio ceased to be of any account, has arisen first from trusting the word of a traitor who in July of that year was exulting over his own treachery Secondly from underestimating Antonio's capacity for perseverance. Thirdly from long neglect of Burghley's papers in the Lansdowne MSS, and of some in our State Papers Portugal which are not yet calendared or numbered. Further, all commentators have hitherto overlooked a volume in the British Museum, Cotton MSS Nero B.I., into which is bound a single printed sheet with the map by Hondius and the genealogy, both first reproduced in "*Elizabethan England*", Volume VIII. As Hondius was a special protégé of Burghley and of Essex,—the first of whom in 1579 had foreseen the approaching Spanish annexation of Portugal and the second of whom spent seven thousand pounds out of his private purse towards Drake's and Norris's efforts to restore Antonio,—this genealogy, with Dom Antonio's picture in the centre as 18th King of Portugal, and Philip II in a corner as "King of Castile," is in accord with the official attitude of England. Never hitherto put into English the Latin statement explaining the Genealogical Tree will bring home to us the position held by Dom Antonio in the eyes of the rulers of England, France, and the Low Countries, from the time of his first visits to France and England in 1581 until his death in 1595 The point for us is not whether he was of legitimate birth,—which the present Duke of Alba thinks most unlikely,[1]—but that Queen Elizabeth, Henry III of France, Henry IV, and Prince Maurice of Nassau, all chose so to regard him. The assertion of his descent and actions being printed in Latin in 1592 shows the intention to address a European audience [2]

"You have, fair reader, in this genealogical tree, all the Kings and Princes of Portugal, from whom came the Most Serene Antonio, the present King of Portugal, grandson of King Emanuel and of Maria his wife, son of . . . Ludovicus, Heir apparent of Portugal: And also certain Kings and Queens who originated from them. Amongst others you will find Edward, Infante of Portugal, son of the said King Emanuel, amongst whose heirs were Catherine Duchess of Bragança his youngest daughter, and Raimuntius son of his eldest daughter, whose name was Maria, wife of Alexander of Parma, with his aforesaid grandson Antonio, . . and also together with Philip King of Castile, grandson of Emanuel through his daughter Isabel, and the rest who were claimants on the death of Henry the Cardinal late King of Portugal, son of the said Emanuel.

"While the above [personages] were disputing for the Kingdom of Portugal, this very Philip, King of Castile, first corrupted the Lusitanians with bribes of money, and promises, and then invaded Portugal by force of arms Whereupon the Portuguese people, after the occupation of the town of Elvas and the cities of Campo Major and Olivença by Philip, united with one voice and acclaimed (as they had the right) the fore-mentioned Antonio King of Portugal, in the city of

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[1] E.E. Vol. III. p. 198. n.1.

[2] This was the more necessary because there had recently been published a Spanish description of the conquest of the Azores: "*Cinco Libros de Antonio de Herrera de la Historia de Portugal, y conquista de las Islas de los Açores, en los años de 1582 y 1583. Dirigida a don Luys Carraja de la Marra Principe de Stillano. Con privilegio En Madrid, En casa Pedro Madrigal, Año de 1591. Vendese en casa de Iuan de Montoya, librero.*" E.E. Vol. VIII, p. 451.

Santarem: who though being immediately received with great joy by the people, with sincerest applause throughout the whole realm, is [nevertheless] driven out by craft and treacherous arts from his kingdom on October the 22nd, 1580, four months and three days after he had begun to reign[1] We have added in this tree some Kings and Princes that we might manifest to the whole world the splendour of Alfonso King of Portugal, first of his blood.[2] Farewell."

This is signed "Joseph Texerius, Portuguese: Order of Preachers in Theology, public orator of his Majesty the most serene King of Portugal, and also of Henry III, King of France of pious memory."[3] Had it been issued in 1581, while the Azores still held out against Spain, it would be less remarkable But its publication twelve years after King Antonio's defeat at Alcántara, and three years after his disappointment in 1589, enhances its importance: showing that three years before his death his cause was still regarded as a factor in "the balance of Europe."

Both in 1589, the year of the expedition of Drake and Norris to Portugal, and in 1592, while Sir Roger Williams was in France commanding the English forces, new editions appeared of the skilful narrative first printed in 1585 to defend King Philip and depreciate "Antonio Prior of Crato": *"Dell' Unione del Regno di Portogallo all' corona di Castiglia Istoria del Signor Jeronimo de Franchi Conestaggio,"* now believed to have been the pseudonym of the Portuguese João de Silva, Count of Portalegre[4] The dates of publication and republication of 16th century political works are always significant, but have not been sufficiently noticed. The wars afford the key to nearly every problem during the Elizabethan era; and neglect of that fact has caused many points of interest in relation to contemporary matter to be overlooked; as for instance that it was in 1585, when the first edition was published of *"Dell' unione del Regno di Portogallo" etc.*, that there appeared *"The Explanation"* of the *"Right and Title"* of Anthony King of Portugal, translated in London just before Lord Leicester embarked for the Low Country War,[5] and it was in 1592, the date of the third edition *"Dell' unione"* that the counterblast was produced in the shape of the *"Genealogia Regum Portugalliae"* with the portrait of Antonio as 18th King.

Spanish references to Antonio's miserable poverty, and Mendoza's scorn for his "folly" in having chosen a course which led him to destitution—when by compounding in 1580 with Spain he could have been rich and comfortable,—have too long blinded many who, while ready to belittle the military and maritime greatness of Spain and to underestimate the ability and power of King Philip, are nevertheless apt to accept as "evidence" such gossiping anecdotes as our ancestors used bluntly to describe as "a packe of lyes" The variable nature of Don Bernardino de Mendoza's allegations, he often being obliged to contradict to King Philip one week what he had written the last, should have served as a warning But Mendoza's gossip against Dom Antonio as printed in the Calendars of Spanish State Papers, has been more echoed than analyzed; while first-hand indications of Antonio's character, from his own letters, have remained buried until now; as likewise his dealings with Lord Burghley.

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[1] The time is here reckoned from when he disbanded his little army in the North. But he remained concealed in Portugal until the spring of 1581. E E Vol. IV, pp. 31-32; 90-91.

[2] Alfonso I, victor of Ourique, first Christian King of Portugal. Elected King on the battle field.

[3] "... Frier Ioseph Texere, a Portugal, of the order of the Friers preachers," was described, in 1597 as "a personage greatlie renowned in all Europe, and knowne of all the Princes of Christendome ... especiallie in France; where the chiefest and greatest personages of the realme ... do love and gladly entertaine him, for his honest conversation ... he being a man the most accomplished in the knowledge of histories, and in the genealogies of great personages, of any living at this day ... exquisitely seene and practised in histories ... expert in matters of State ..." *"A Treatise Paraenetical."* 1598. p. 73.

Not to be confounded with Felix Teixeira, author of *"Allagacoes de direito da causa da successao destos reinos por parte de senhora doña Catherina filha do i[n]fante dom Duarte ..."* Folio, Almerin, 1580. (B M. C. 32. a. 37).

[4] E.E. Vol. IV, pp 45-46. Two copies each of these later editions are in the B.M. 1589, Genoa, Nos. 1060, c. 3, and 281, c. 23; and 1592 Venice, Nos. 1323, a.2, and 281, b.31.

[5] E.E. Vol. IV, pp. 24-25; 39-44.

## *PASQUALE CICOGNA, DOGE OF VENICE, 1585-1595.*

*Ascribed to Tintoretto.*

*Now first published from the original in possession of Mrs. Fowler.*

Size, 4 feet 6 inches × 3 feet 6 inches; in original frame.

Formerly in the collection of the 3rd Lord Berwick who had been British Representative at the Courts of Sardinia in 1807-24, and Naples in 1824-30 At the sale of his collection at Red Rise House, Andover, Hants, in 1843, this picture was purchased by John Meggot Elwes of Bossington House, Stockbridge, Hampshire, the grandfather of the present owner

No original or copy has been discovered in Venice, and there is no portrait of this Doge in the Civic Museum among the portraits of the Doges. Mrs Fowler presented a photograph to the Witt Library in London, but otherwise this remarkable work of art is as unknown in England as in Italy.

There is, however, a different portrait, also ascribed to Tintoretto, which was bought in 1845 by the Duke of Wellington for £210 from a dealer who had purchased it for £30 from another dealer The Doge is three-quarters figure, gorgeously dressed, "sitting on a red throne, at the top of the back of which, at each corner, is a gold ornament consisting of a unicorn rampant, with his forelegs resting on an escutcheon." The Doge holds a pair of gloves

*A Descriptive & Historical Catalogue of the Collection of Pictures and Sculpture at Apsley House, London By Evelyn [Duchess of] Wellington London,* 1901 Vol I. p 155

Tintoretto born at Venice in 1519, died 31st May 1594 As a portrait painter he ranks next to Titian in whose studio he worked when young



*APPENDIX B.*

# News from Constantinople *1594-5*

*as published but misapprehended in 1904.*

**"To the most illustrious amongst all Christian Princes and the most chaste among the women of the world, Arbitress of the actions of the followers of the Nazarene, and most serene Queen of England, full of honour and vertue," etc., etc.**

*The Viceroy of Constantinople to Queen Elizabeth:* announcing the death of Sultan Murad III.

*"Queen Elizabeth and the Levant Company."* By H. G. Rosedale, M.A., D.D., 1904. p. 57.

**"To the most splendid, most glorious and most resplendent Elizabeth, Queen above all Rulers who follow Jesus, most wise arbitress of all the affairs of the Nazarene race, most Serene and most gracious, shadow in heat, fountain and mirror of Virtue, most sweet lady and Heiress of the bliss and glory of the renowned realm of England . . . by the grace of God . . . seated as it were upon the throne of King Solomon . . . with such loving-kindness . . . that your Majesty shall send unto my Sublime Porte some person . . . to confirm by the renewal of treaties the good-will until this time preserved with your Majesty."**

*"The Grand Senior" Sultan Mahomed III, to Her Majesty.* 1594-5. P.R.O. First published and translated by H. G. Rosedale, op. cit. pp. 58-61.

# NEWS FROM CONSTANTINOPLE 1594-5.

## *"No Common Report of the Vulgar Sort."*

In the Museum of the Record Office (Case K. No. 110) is a letter in Turkish from the Sultan, in 1583, to Queen Elizabeth apostrophising her as "refulgent with splendour and glory, most sapient Princess of the magnanimous followers of Jesus, most serene Controller of all the affairs and business of the people and family of Nazarenes," &c, &c., promising that William "Harrabroun" [Harborn] shall enjoy the same privileges as the French Ambassador [1] When Murad III died in January, 1594-5, a report on his life and qualities "penned in Italian" by a "curious Jew" was sent home by the then English Ambassador, Edward Barton; and described by him as a "labour consonant to the truth, and framed by no common report of the vulgar sorte but by advice of divers of authority." In 1904 a complete facsimile was published under title of "*Queen Elizabeth and the Levant Company,*"[2] the editor's preface stating that when, during "researches" into the history of "the early relations between this country and the Turkish Empire," he found Saloman's MS, it "greatly surprised" him, "owing to its curious want of connection with most of the despatches. . . . ." Though for an Ambassador to enclose a newsletter treating of the death of the Potentate to whom he had been accredited is hardly "surprising," and the "connection" seems obvious, Dr. Rosedale "came to the conclusion" that he was "face to face" with evidence

> "that the year 1595 was one of the few occasions in the history of England when a piece of 'doctored' or spurious historical literature was used to influence the action of an English Sovereign and her Privy Council. So curious a circumstance seemed . . . . eminently germane to the interests of the Royal Society of Literature;" and the Society published his book thereon.[3]

Saloman, who is elsewhere described as a Portuguese Jew of "good credit at Constantinople," has been elevated in this handsome volume to an importance denied to many more eminent persons.[4] Giving to his Italian MS the sub-title of "*A Diplomatic and Literary Episode,*" Dr. Rosedale, apostrophising

> "the entire uniqueness of the appearance of such a document among state papers,"[5] asks "why at a time when commercial enterprise dominated men's minds to an almost unparalleled

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[1] S P Foreign Royal Letters, 61; No. 3.

[2] Described as "*A Diplomatic and Literary Episode of the Establishment of our Trade with Turkey. Edited with twenty-six facsimile Illustrations of Manuscripts and other Illustrations of Manuscripts and other Interesting Plates, from Manuscripts in His Majesty's Public Record Office, the Manuscript Department of the British Museum, and the Archives of Venice, etc By the Rev H. G. Rosedale, M A , D D , F R S L. . . London . . . Oxford University Press . . 1904*" Beautifully printed and reproduced with arms of the Levant Co: on the cover. No source given for "rare engraving of Queen Elizabeth," (which seems not to be an engraving but from an unfinished pencil sketch), nor is any origin named for the other portraits

[3] pp. v-vi

[4] But the editor was not aware that there are in the P R O. uncalendared letters from this same Jew to one of Queen Elizabeth's physicians. E E. Vol IX, p 254

[5] p. 77.

extent and when history counted for nothing, an account of the character of the dead Sultan" and accession of the next "should be considered of public interest."[1]

But Ambassadors' enclosures were not for the "public" but for the Queen and Privy Council, and there was nothing any more out of routine in sending home such a report in 1594-5 than there had been in 1571 when letters were received by the Queen announcing the overthrow of Sultan Selim's fleet at Lepanto. Dr. Rosedale's statement that commerce dominated men's minds to an "almost unparalleled" extent, implies complete oblivion of the wars. Considering the Jew's description of Sultan Murad as having "read the ancient history of the peoples and nations of the world," and as "most interested in hearing about all the Princes of his time, about their wars, truces, and all that concerned them,"[2] the editorial assertion that it was a time "when history counted for nothing" is the more incongruous. The study of history was universal among high personages, and Queen Elizabeth's interest therein had been acclaimed in particular by Henry Savile in 1591.[3]

Dr. Rosedale's interpretation of Saloman's description of the late Sultan as a "carefully prepared document" intended by Barton to allure the Queen to look on the new Sultan as "noble and honorable," is the less comprehensible in that it ends with two "*Sonnetti*" in which Saloman, who had commended the late Sultan Murad's skill in composing verses, laments in rhyme the cruelty of Murad's successor. Edward Barton is described by Dr. Rosedale as "guileless." But a guileless individual would have been of no use to deal with the wily Grand Turk. Barton would have been more than guileless, he would have been crazy, had he expected to win the Queen's admiration for the new Sultan by such particulars as the following (pp. 27—29):

> "That night" after the Sultan Murad's funeral in St Sophia "the King Sultan Mehemet sent for his 19 brothers . . . , they were brought to kiss his hand . . . . the eldest of them was eleven. Their King brother told them not to fear . . . . directly they had kissed his hand" they were "dexterously strangled with handkerchiefs . . . . a terrible and cruel thing, but it is the custom . . . ."[4]
>
> "These innocent princes . . . . were laid in cypress coffins . . . . and shown to the King dead. . . . , Directly after these poor princes, who people say possessed great beauty, had been buried, the people waited at the gate to witness the departure from the Seraglio of their mothers and all the other women of the [late] King . . . . they were taken to the Eschi Seraglio. . . . . There they can weep as much as they like for their dead sons, a thing forbidden at the other Grand Seraglio under penalty of capital punishment. . . . ."

To this account of the horrible way Mahomet III celebrated his accession to the throne of his father, is added the statement that he ordered the late Sultan's posthumously-born children to be drowned. In comment on this "custom dire," the two sonnets describe the

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[1] p. 35. [2] p. 22. [3] E E Vol IX. pp. 39, 346-347.

[4] The present historian must point out that these events were likewise reported to the other Powers of Europe by their representatives. "The new Sultan seems to be a resolute man and terrible," wrote Marco Venier, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate: "The moment he arrived at the Seraglio he went to look at his father's corpse; then his nineteen brothers were brought before him, one by one. They say that the eldest, a most beautiful lad and of excellent parts, beloved by all, when he kissed the Sultan's hand exclaimed 'My lord and brother, now to be as my father, let not my days be ended thus in my tender age;' the Sultan tore his beard with every sign of grief, but answered never a word. They were all strangled, all the nineteen."
Cal: S.P. Venice, Vol. IX, (1897) p. 153.

"keen distress" of the mothers, denied even the relief of tears so long as they remained under the roof of their children's murderer. Not seeming to realise the indignation of the Elizabethans against "paynim" cruelties, and not knowing of Queen Elizabeth's letter to the previous Sultan Murad,—and that she had successfully admonished Murad to be firm with his vassal Muley Moluc,—Dr. Rosedale remarks,

> "In studying this document . . . . one is compelled to ask 'what could have been the peculiar interest attaching to it at the time?' As a literary product it shows no extraordinary merit. The composition is quaint; but it is not striking," etc., etc. (p. 35).

Elizabethans would not have seen anything "quaint" in a report of such tragical events, but they would have thought it exceedingly "striking" for the Turk to summon his little brothers to kiss his hand prior to his having them all strangled. As Barton's letter enclosing the report explains that it is not hearsay but by authority and "consonant to the truth," the editor in 1904 should not have treated it as a mere "literary episode." Finding mysteries where none exist, and being perplexed by what needs little explanation, are, however, not unusual results of trying to estimate Elizabethan politics without regard for the main issues.

Saying (p. 78) that he "cannot but assume that this scrap of curious and interesting literature was one of the levers in the complex political machinery employed," Dr. Rosedale leaves "the further elucidation of the problem . . . . in the hands of those who are more expert politicians, and are better acquainted with ancient political methods, . . . ."

While the letter on the death of one Sultan and accession of another is thus elevated into a "problem," the epistle of Queen Elizabeth to the Sultan on the matter of King Antonio's efforts against Spain, has been entirely overlooked,—English diplomacy being reduced by Dr. Rosedale to a sole mercantile affair. But as Queen Elizabeth in 1595 had been ten years at open war with King Philip, all political and commercial considerations were necessarily weighed by her Majesty's Ministers in relation to this central fact; and any attempt to portray Elizabethan commerce or Elizabethan diplomacy must inevitably fall short of reality when ignoring the crucial struggle upon which all other "problems" turned.[1]

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[1] As the Venetian Republic was constantly concerned to hold its own despite the Grand Turk, the Calendars of State Papers of Venice, ed. Horatio F. Brown, Vols VIII and IX, 1894, 1897, contain many references to the alleged English dealings with the Sultans; the editor giving also a list of the Grand Viziers and the dates on which each was killed or deposed, or when (though seldom) dying a natural death. Mr Brown compared with the Venetian Archives the English despatches of Barton and Lello; "Without knowledge of these it would have been difficult to unravel the complicated skein of diplomatic intrigue;" and he deplores that "Barton rarely, and Lello never, is mentioned in the Calendar of State Papers Domestic, in spite of the eminent services which both were rendering. (Vol. IX, p xxxi)" Though "the Archives of Venice" are mentioned on Dr Rosedale's title page, at the time of editing the above quoted work he does not seem to have consulted the Venetian Calendars, or to have been aware of the diplomatic activities of Queen Elizabeth's representatives at Constantinople. But in a later publication he refers to Harborn, Lello, Barton and Pindar and their dealings with the Grand Turk, during the reign of James I especially; and draws upon Venetian despatches (but always without mention of the Calendars) in his "*The Spanish Match in the Light of Recent Works, and the Consideration of a Private MS relating thereunto.*" London, 1908. Vol. IX of "*The Sette of Odd Volumes*" (251 copies only).

*APPENDIX C.*

## THE OLIGARCHY OF VENICE.

When the Doge Nicholas Duponta died of old age in 1585, there had been considerable controversy as to the election of his successor. Pasquale Cicogna was chosen because he did not belong to any of the political factions, none of which could endure for its opposites to prevail. Also, as he was of the "new nobility" to elect him was regarded as a means of humiliating those of more exalted origin. But the term "new" is relative, for it had been in 1381 that his ancestor Marco Cicogna, of humble birth, had been promoted to patrician status, after he had fitted out a warship at his own expense and devoted himself and his fortune to the service of Venice.[1] During the ten years that Cicogna was Doge, the Venetians enjoyed a period of peace, while for Spain, England, France, and the Netherlands the main question was how to sustain the wars[2]

Cicogna was conspicuous for his Catholic piety[3] When in 1589 Henry III of Navarre inherited the Crown of France as Henry IV, the French Ambassador to Venice representing a Huguenot Monarch was not invited to any religious ceremony. Nevertheless Henry handled the diplomatic situation so tactfully that the Venetian Senate began lending him money, considerably before he declared his conversion to the Church of Rome. When the King married as his second wife Maria de Medici, daughter of the Duke of Florence, his name was inscribed in the "Golden Book of Venice," and he and his posterity "were admitted to the rank of nobles" of that paradoxical Republic.[4]

"Venice kept her agents in every capital of the small Italian states and at the Court of every Sovereign in Europe," and received "reports from Russia, Turkey, Italy, Spain, France, England,

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[1] In "*The Venetian Republic Its Rise, its Growth, and its Fall 421-1797*," by W. Carew Hazlitt, Vol. II (1900) p. 249, it is stated that Pasquale Cicogna gave umbrage "by his frugality in scattering largesse among the crowd as he was carried in the chair round the Piazza" No authority appears for the assertion; and it is admitted (p. 349) that his administration "was distinguished by many architectural improvements and embellishments; the ducal palace, the public library, and the Mint were brought nearer to completion," and the Rialto Bridge, the foundation stone of which had been laid on 31 May, 1585, was in 1587-8 carried across the Grand Canal. In Hazlitt's book, the battle of Lepanto (pp. 192-193) is disposed of in a few paragraphs; Don John of Austria is most unjustly termed "overbearing and headstrong" and described merely as commanding "the Spanish Forces," whereas he was Captain General of the Holy League: i.e Supreme Commander of the Allied Navies E.E. Vol. II, pp. 77-97.

For many particulars as to Venetian politics and warfare see "*A History of Cyprus By Sir George Hill, K.C.B., F.B.A. Volume III, The Frankish Period 1432-1571 Cambridge at the University Press 1948*" This contains a contemporary sketch map elucidating the fall of Famagusta, which map was not known to the present historian when treating of that calamity

[2] The decade during which Cicogna was Doge 1585-1595, is covered by Volumes V to IX of this present History.

[3] "Pasquale Cicogna, procurator, uomo di molta prudenza e pietà," &c.
"*Storia Documentata di Venezia, di S. Romanin, Socio del Veneto Atenco e dell' Academia di Padova.*"

Venezia, 1857. Tomo VI, p. 396, *Capitulo Nono* (which deals also with the conditions in France under Henry III; the wars of religion; the tragedy of Mary Queen of Scots; the accession of Henry IV; the intended conquest of England by Philip II, "*La sua invincibile armada totalmente distrutta,*" and the sequence of the events, up to and beyond the peace of Vervins [1598] between France and Spain.)

[4] "*Histoire de la Republique de Venise par P. Daru de l'Académie Française,*" &c., Paris, 1853.

Holland, Germany, Switzerland, Denmark," and "was served by agents of varying rank" &c [1] The despatches and discourses of these agents are of extraordinary interest and variety.

The rise and decline of this unique oligarchy are set forth in a series of brilliant and discriminating "*Studies*" by Horatio F. Brown, who selected and edited with ardent zeal the material for the English Calendars of Venetian State Papers. But he mentions Pasquale Cicogna only once. And though giving a full account of the (reluctant) dealing of Venice with Oliver Cromwell, he seldom quotes Venetian commentaries upon Queen Elizabeth, these being, as he remarks, mostly at second hand via the Ambassadors to Spain and France. (The present History will include the visit of a Venetian envoy to England in 1596, and again in 1602-3, E.E. Volumes X and XII, such direct impressions by astute observers being of very different value from the hearsay news transmitted to the Doge and Senate from their representatives in Paris or Madrid.)

Though relationships between the English Monarchy and the Venetian republic had been friendly in mediæval and early Tudor times, Queen Elizabeth's Protestantism displeased the Venetians who, while frequently and boldly resisting the temporal power of the Popes, nevertheless remained theologically obedient to Rome

In 1571 the Doge Aloysius Mocenigo had personally communicated to the English Queen the news of the victory over the Turks at Lepanto,—"having always known your great affection towards our Republic."[2] Nevertheless the Venetian envoys were habitually instructed "to oppose in every way the recognition of both English and Dutch Ambassadors, and to act with their colleagues, the Imperial and the French Ambassadors, to whom the advent of the English and Dutch was equally repugnant But by 1592 [one of them] Lorenzo Bernardo had to report that 'the Queen of England has been, and for some time, in high esteem as a sea power. This was recognised when she broke the forces of Spain by the valour of Drake partly but chiefly by the aid of the elements'"[3]

Emphasising the added importance of Elizabeth as the undaunted adversary of Spain, Bernardo indignantly continued that the English ambassador "is constantly employing evil offices to the injury of Christendom,"[4] meaning by "Christendom" exclusively the Catholic Church. But, as we have seen, Queen Elizabeth declined to support Moslem powers against Christian Princes, even such of the latter as were her open and declared foes [5]

In the English Calendars of State Papers of Venice the despatches are headed with the name of the Ambassador or envoy, but only as being addressed "To the Doge and Senate" without naming the succession of Doges. At the time of the Spanish capture of Calais in 1596 the Doge was Marin Grimani Successor in 1595 to Pasquale Cicogna, and especially favoured by the Pope, Grimani outlasted Queen Elizabeth. After his death (26th December, 1605,) the next Doge was Leonardo Donato, previously Ambassador to Rome

Glorious when "wedded to the Sea," Venice declined first in prestige and then in power when the thirst for material wealth was no longer combined with an impassioned patriotism, and when jealousy against the martial nobility led to over-taxation, entailing impoverishment and decline in power of the great patrician families. Even previously

> "The fall of Constantinople [1453] and the advent of the Turk as a Mediterranean power robbed Venice of her undisputed supremacy in the Levant and exposed her to long and exhausting wars, which ended with the loss of two commanding points along her trade routes, Cyprus and

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[1] Horatio F. Brown, "*Studies in the History of Venice*" (1907) Vol. II, p. 1.

[2] Letter first published E.E Vol. II, p. 91, and notes 1 and 2, from original in S.P. Foreign, CCXX, 1350.

[3] Brown. An early exaggeration of the importance of the storm. See E.E. Vol. VII, p. 279, note 2.

[4] Brown, op. cit. Vol. II, pp. 35-36. Brown does not appear to have known of Mocenigo's letter to Q. Elizabeth.

[5] E E. Vol. III, p. 110.

Crete.[1] The discoverey of the Cape passage altered the trade route of the world and threw it out of the Mediterranean into the [Atlantic] ocean.[2] But in Elizabeth's day "the English secured their capitulations at Constantinople in 1583, through the ambassador Harborn, and the powerful Levant Company was soon trading vigorously in the East."

The gradual wane of sea power and commerce led to a change in the nature of the people of all ranks. As a Venetian subsequently exclaimed, "Our ancestors were brave, fierce, impatient of injuries, quick to strike, prone to fight. Now we are of a milder mind, long-suffering, shy of a blow, shrinking from war."[3] But, Venetian galleys in 1571 having taken conspicuous part in the battle of Lepanto, the prestige of Venice in Elizabethan eyes was not yet diminished, as we shall see from the Queen's affability to the envoy presented at her Court by Essex in 1596.[4] Venice is mentioned in Shakespearian drama oftener than any other Italian city except Rome.[5]

> "It is not to be supposed," says Brown, "that Shakespeare gave any special thought or study to Venice or to the Venetians; the knowledge which he possessed was picked up by his attentive ear, and stored in his memory; it was quickened and made living by his poet's imagination until it grew sufficient to allow him to picture correctly the pomp and splendour of the Venetian state; the spritelness and tenderness of Venetian women, the gaiety of the young Venetian noble; the deep persistent hatred of the Venetian Jew, the devilish cunning of Venetian Iago, with enough of local colour in the Rialto, the gondola, the ferry boat from Padua, the Doge in Court, the Senate in Council, to make us feel that though he 'was never out of England, it's as if he saw it all'."[6]

The wane of Venetian importance was not apparent to casual visitors, in that the outward magnificence and pageantry were not only maintained but increased, and the less power allowed to the Doge the more impressive the ceremony with which he was surrounded. Brown refers to "the race for distinction in wealth and splendour" as shattering "the poorer noble families;" and as they decayed there was "a corresponding decay among the artisans. Commerce and shipbuilding steadily declined. The number of pauper and foundling children increased so rapidly that the government was compelled to make provision for their support."[7]

It is outside the area of the present History to follow the fortunes and misfortunes of Venice to the end, beyond to say that the decline bore out what Sutcliffe wrote in 1593 in general terms as to the rise or fall of nations turning upon possession or loss of sea power[8].

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[1] Cyprus having been a Kingdom, the Venetian Republic had claimed to rank with Kings in matters ambassadorial and diplomatic, though the manner in which the Republic had taken Cyprus from the Queen Catherine Cornaro was so discreditable that the loss of that island to the Turks seemed like a Nemesis. For particulars see Vols II and III of Sir George Hill's "*History of Cyprus*," Cambridge, 1948.

[2] Brown, Vol. I, pp 351-352 [3] Vol. II. Op. cit

[4] As already said, in an era when all publications had to procure a Crown license, the foreign matter selected for translation has political as well as literary interest. In 1599 J. Windet issued "*The Commonwealth and Government of Venice*" by Cardinal G. Contareno, Translated by L. Lewknor. Small 8vo. Dedicatory verses by Edmund Spenser; presumably among the last he ever wrote. In 1612 G. Eld and W Stansby published in folio in 2 volumes "*The Generall Historie of Venice*," translated by W. Shute from the French of T. de Fougasse. With maps and portraits.

[5] This was first pointed out by Brown, op cit. Vol. II, pp 159-180. He gives references in this order. (p. 160) Rome, "just under four hundred,"

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Venice | 51 | Florence | 23 |
| Naples | 34 | Padua | 23 |
| Milan | 25 | Verona | 20. |

[6] Critics who ascribe Shakespearian drama not to William Shakespeare but to the Earl of Oxford, lay emphasis upon Oxford's Italian tour as a source of inspiration. But that controversy being based on modern conjecture is not here relevant

[7] Op. cit. Vol. II, pp. 258-259.

[8] There is not any account of the wars, nor any list of the Doges in "*La Vie Privée a Venise depuis les premiers temps jusqu'à la chute de la Republique par P. G Molmenti Ouvrage couronné par l'Institut royal des sciences, des lettres et des arts de Venise, Venise Librarie ancienne et moderne*

*Ferdinand Ongaria . 1882.*" [Translated from Italian.] Though divided into four epochs, Origin; Mediæval; Splendour; and Decadence, the causes that govern the events are not comprehensible when none of the eminent men appear except in relation to art, pageantry and municipal affairs. The battle of Lepanto is not even mentioned. Nothing is shown of the relations of Venice with the other Powers of Europe The "private life" of a people cannot be adequately understood when the large issues are eliminated. Very superior is "*Venice*" by Alethea Wiel [The Hon. Alethea Lawley], Story of the Nations Series Venetian Diplomacy, Finance, Constitution, Press Censorship, and relations with Turkey, are also depicted in "*Studies in the History of Venice*," 2 vols., (Murray) by Horatio F. Brown, who in reissuing some of these Studies in 1907 entirely rewrote two in which he found his previous estimates imperfect in the light of MSS discovered later. His work being largely based "on documents in the archives and libraries of Venice . . . not hitherto used by historians," is of great interest and charm in such themes as he selects. But he does not give the history of the Venetian Navy, and only touches incidentally upon the battle of Lepanto, though relating the adverse results of the loss of Cyprus.

Eight Doges contemporary with Queen Elizabeth were

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 82nd | Lorenzo Priuli, | elected 1556 |
| 83rd | Girolamo Priuli, | 1559. |
| 84th | Pietro Loredano, | 1567 |
| 85th | Alvise [Aloysius] Mocenigo | 1570. |
| 86th | Sebastiano Venier, | 1577 |
| 87th | Nicolo da Ponte, | 1578. |
| 88th | Pasquale Cicogna, | 1585 |
| 89th | Marin Grimani, | 1595 |

Brown, "*Venice An Historical Sketch of the Republic*," 2nd edition, enlarged, with Bibliography and maps, 1895. p. xv

The first Doge was elected A D. 697, the last (120th) in 1789, only to be overthrown by Napoleon Bonaparte who, while promising to "liberate" the Venetians, actually gave the death blow to that ancient and erstwhile proud Republic.

It should be noted that Brown's "*Venice*" &c., and "*Studies in the History of Venice*" are not different editions of the same work but that one work supplements the other The student should avail himself of both; as well as of Brown's Venetian Calendars

In 1612 there had been issued in London "*The Generall Historie of the Magnificent State of Venice From the First Foundation thereof until this present Englished by W Shute*," with a map and numerous portraits. It was dedicated to William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, and Philip, Earl of Montgomery ("the Incomparable paire of Brethren" now chiefly remembered as having received the dedication of the first Shakespeare folio) This work is not mentioned by Brown

PART VII.

"The causes that govern the events."

CHAPTER 5

"A DELECTABLE VARIETY OF MATTER."

SECTION 4

# "As he thinks best for the Service."

*(The encounter of Richard Hawkins with Don Beltrán de Castro, 1594).*

**"If His Majesty ordered that no enemy who entered these Seas was to be taken alive, I never heard of such an order. But even if I had, I am of opinion that a Commander is at liberty to act as he thinks best for the Service."**

*Don Beltrán de Castro to the Council of State.* Estado 840, Simancas. Calendar S.P. Spanish, ed: Hume, Vol. IV (1899) E.E. p. 200.

**"I have felt much satisfaction on receiving the news of the success which Don Beltrán de Castro obtained over the English General Ricardo [Achines] . . . . as well because his designs were frustrated as that from this time the enemy will hesitate to undertake similar enterprises from dread of loss."**

*King Philip II to his Viceroy of Peru, the Marqués de Cañete, 17th December 1595.* E.E. p. 199.

**" de clara gente,**
**Mozo, gallardo, prospero, valiante,**
**De proceder hidalgo en cuante hacoia,**
**. . . . .**
**Afable, generoso, noble, humano."**
**[of illustrious stock,**
**Young, gallant, successful, courageous,**
**A patrician in every act;**
**. . . . . .**
**Affable, generous, noble, humane.]**

*Pedro de Oña, describing Hawkins, in 'Arauco domado', Lima, 1594.*

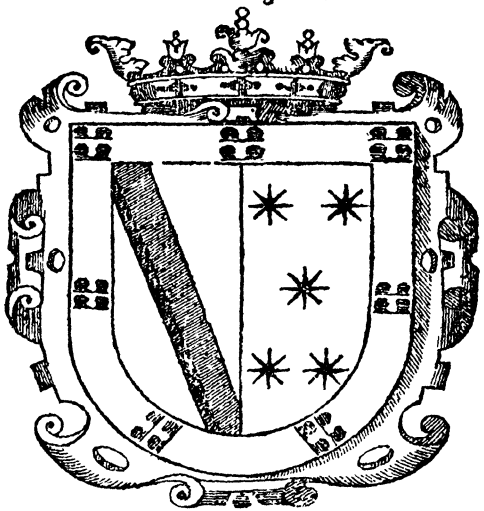
**"The General was a principal gentleman of the ancient nobility of Spain . . . . He received me with great courtesy and compassion . . . And doubtless, as true courage, valour, and resolution is requisite in a General in time of battle, so humanity, mildness and courtesy after victory."**

*The Observations of Sir Richard Hawkins Knight, in his Voiage into the South Sea. Anno Domini, 1593 (94).* London 1622.

# HECHOS
# DE DON GARCIA
## HVRTADO DE MENDOZA,
Quarto Marques de Cañete.

*A DON FRANCISCO DE ROXAS y*
*Sandoual, Duque de Lerma, Marques de Denia, &c.*

POR EL DOCTOR CHRISTOVAL
Suarez de Figueroa.



*EN MADRID*, En la Imprenta Real.

Año M. DC. XIII.

By courtesy of Messrs. Maggs Bros.

Title page of record of the deeds of King Philip's Viceroy of Peru: published in 1613; but not until now compared with letters from Don Beltrán de Castro, Richard Hawkins, and others, affording the first complete revelation of the special circumstances

PART VII.

"The causes that govern the events."

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"A DELECTABLE VARIETY OF MATTER."

SECTION 4

# "As he thinks best for the Service."

*(The encounter of Richard Hawkins with Don Beltrán de Castro, 1594).*

THE year 1594 was memorable in England for the unmasking of a conspiracy in which certain of King Philip's Ministers of State were alleged by Burghley to have been implicated. But before we enter the labyrinthine mazes of civilian intrigue let us turn to one of the most dramatic episodes of *buena guerra,* in which chivalry and courtesy were conspicuous. "The more famous the vanquished the more honour to the victor," said Cervantes: *Tanto el vencidor es mas honrado, cuento mas el vencido es reputando;* and many of the finest tributes to English valour and to Spanish dignity and discipline come from opponents who fought each other with uncompromising determination but without rancour.

As in 1588 not so much as a pinnace had been lost by Queen Elizabeth, it was natural that the victorious encounter of Don Beltrán with Hawkins gave rise in Spain at the time to pamphlets and poems galore, and was woven into *La Dragontea* of Lope de Vega in 1598 while Hawkins was still a prisoner. But as Lope's poetic fervour at times carried him away, we will now take the circumstances from the words of the two principal actors.

It was "with the counsels, consent and help" of his father, Sir John, that Richard Hawkins resolved upon a voyage "to the Islands of Japan, the Phillipinas, and Moluccas, the Kingdom of China and East Indies, by the way of the Straits of Magellan, and the South Sea." He intended, as he explains, to make a perfect survey of all those parts, "with their longitudes and lattitudes; the lying of their coasts; their headlands; their ports, and bays, their cities, towns, and peoples; their

manner of government," and to ascertain "the commodities which the countries yielded" and what they lacked.[1]

Captain Hawkins caused a ship to be specially built for this expedition. She was "pleasing to the eye, profitable for stowage, good of sail, and well-conditioned. The day of her launching being appointed, the Lady Hawkins (my mother-in-law) craved the naming of the ship." She elected to call her "The Repentence." On being asked "to declare the reason" for such "an uncouth name," her only answer was that "Repentence was the safest ship in which to embark for Heaven."[2]

> "The *Repentence* being put in perfection and riding at Deptford, the Queen's Majesty passing by her, to her palace of Greenwich, commanded her bargemen to row round about her; and viewing her from port to stern, misliked nothing but her name, and said that she would christen her anew, and that henceforth she should be called the *Daintie;* which name she brooked as well for her proportion and grace as for the many happy voyages she made in her Majesty's service. . . ."

Though the expedition to Japan and China came under discussion soon after the defeat of the Great Armada, it was not until the 8th of April 1593 that Richard Hawkins took leave of his father and rowed down the river to Barking, to go aboard his ship and set forth on what was fated to be a very ill-starred venture. Obstacles and delays ensued; but he relates how, with the help of his "good friends, and excessive charge (which none can easily believe but those which have proved it)" he was ready towards the end of May to set sail from Plymouth in the *Daintie,* with the *Fancie* and the *Hawke.* But a tempest damaged his ships and drove them back into port: which mischances "troubled and grieved but nothing daunted" him; "common experience" teaching that "all honourable enterprises are accompanied with difficulties and dangers."

"And so once again in God's name, I brought my ships out into the Sound,

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[1] Spelling modernised from *The Observations of Sir Richard Hawkins, Knight, in his voiage into the South Sea, Anno Domini 1593,* London, 1622 (He was knighted by James I) As all quotations of Hawkins' own words in this section are from his "*Observations*" it is not necessary to footnote every extract. His narrative is interspersed with many technical reflections, and illustrative anecdotes; but since steam has replaced sail, some of these comments are not so valuable for us as for our ancestors. The aim therefore now is to extract points of lasting interest

[2] "Mother-in-law" is Elizabethan English for stepmother. She was Margaret, daughter of Charles Vaughan, Esqre, of Hengest, by his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Sir James Baskerville of Eardisley Castle, Co. Hereford. Lady Hawkins in 1594 attended the funeral of her aunt Katherine, widow of Sir Henry Gates. Lady Hawkins was a woman of the Bedchamber to Queen Elizabeth.

Richard Hawkins was the only child of Sir John Hawkins by his first wife Katherine, daughter of Benjamin Gonson, Esqre, of Sebright Hall, Great Badow, near Chelmsford He and his father William Gonson before him were successively Treasurers of the Royal Navy, in the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth In 1573 Benjamin Gonson resigned in favour of John Hawkins who was Treasurer of the Royal Navy from then up to his death in 1595. The Will of the first Lady Hawkins—Katherine Gonson—is dated 22nd June, 1591, and was proved at Rochester 16th October the same year There are many legacies, including "To Judith Hawkins, wife of Richard Hawkins, my ring with the table diamante which Sir Nicholas Parker gave me."

Will printed in extenso by Mary W. S Hawkins, *Plymouth Armada Heroes,* issued to subscribers (1888), pp 71-72.

the wind being easterly; and began to take my leave of my friends; and of my dearest friend, my second self; whose unfeigned tears had wrought me into irresolution," had it not been for the hope "the better to serve my God, my Prince, and Country" by this action than by staying at home.[1]

So, in a "voluntary banishment" from all that he "loved and esteemed in this life," Hawkins gathered his Company aboard—not without difficulty, as they were dispersed about the town in taverns. They "set sail on the 12th of June 1593, about three of the clock in the afternoon," plying windward near the shore

"to give my farewell to the inhabitants of the town, whereof the most part were gathered together upon the Hoe, to show their grateful correspondency to the love and zeal which I, my father and our predecessors have ever borne to that place as to our natural and mother town. At first with my noise of trumpets, after with my waits, and then with my other music, and lastly with the artillery of my ships, I made the best signification I could of a kind farewell."

With the first part of the voyage—up to when in December he set his course for the Straits of "Magalianes" [Magellan]—we need not be concerned, except in so far as a statement in his "*Observations*" is usually held to mean that he was the discoverer of the Falkland Islands: "The land, for that it was discovered in the reign of Queen Elizabeth my Sovereign Lady and Mistress, and a Maiden Queen, and at my cost and adventure, in a perpetual memory of her chastity and remembrance of my adventure I gave it the name of Hawkins Maiden Land."[2]

"Many miseries" were endured, including epidemics of illness, the desertion of the *Fancie,* and the need to sacrifice the *Hawke;* so that by the time the *Daintie* approached the coast of Chile, with her crew reduced by sickness, she was in no case to desire an encounter with the might and majesty of Spain. But, as Hawkins related, the people of Chile "by sea and land" had warned the Marqués de Cañete, Viceroy of Peru, resident in Lima, of "our being on the Coast," so the Viceroy sent out a force to intercept the intruders; and "about the middle of May, at break of day we had sight of each other."

It was of set purpose—we now turn to the Spanish side of the story,—that the Viceroy of Peru

"nominated Don Beltrán de Castro y de la Cueva as Commander of the expedition; a son of the Count of Lemos, and his own brother-in-law. Don Beltrán was an officer of distinguished talent, and capacity equal to the greatest undertakings; as was proved

[1] My second self: his wife Judith Hele. For the descendants of this marriage see *Plymouth Armada Heroes,* pp. 161-176. Only one child, Judith, born at Deptford, 7th November, 1592, was in existence when Hawkins set sail. The other three daughters and his two sons were born after his return from captivity. All are mentioned in his Will, dated 16th April, 1622, and proved 13th June, 1622 by his widow who was his sole executrix. Published in *Plymouth Armada Heroes,* pp 139-140; and p 141, the Will of Judith Lady Hawkins, who survived until January 1629 30.

[2] In *A voyage to the South-Sea and along the coasts of Chili and Peru, in the years 1712-14. Particularly describing the Genius and Constitution of the Inhabitants, as well Indian as Spaniards,* &c, &c from the French of Amélé François Frezier, his English edition, London, 1717, it is alleged that "these Islands are certainly the same which Sir Richard Hawkins discovered in 1593": a statement quoted later when Spain and France disputed England's claim to the Falkland Islands.

by his former services. He was at Milan in the days when that province was governed with so much ability by his uncle Don Gabriel de la Cueva, Duke of Albuquerque.[1] Knowing his talent, the Duke appointed him, when only twenty-two years of age, to the Command of an army which was sent by order of His Majesty to take Final.

" The selection of Don Beltrán, by the Viceroy, as General of the expedition was approved by all, and he was not long before his deeds justified the appointment . . . He completed the fitting out with marvellous rapidity, so that in the course of eight days all was ready. . . . The Viceroy was of opinion that of the two kinds of war, the offensive is always better than the defensive."[2]

Younger son of Don Pedro Fernández de Castro, 6th Count of Lemos (by his wife Doña Leonor de la Cueva, daughter of the Duke and Duchess of Albuquerque) Don Beltrán was a Knight of the Order of Alcántara, Gentleman-Steward to the King, and Captain-General of the men-at-arms of the Guards of Castile. Born the same year that King Philip's forces had defeated the French by aid of English troops,[3] he was about thirty-seven at the time of the encounter with Hawkins.[4] No particulars of Don Beltrán's career have been found among the records of the Knights of Alcántara; but in 1594 many popular pens in Spain were exercised in jubilation over his victory, to which exploit the more importance was attached in that defeats of English naval Captains at sea were of exceedingly rare occurrence.[5]

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[1] Note by Markham in *The Hawkins Voyages* (Hakluyt Society, 1878) "Don Beltrán's mother, the Countess of Lemos, was Doña Leonora de la Cueva, a daughter of Don Beltrán' de la Cueva, third Duke of Albuquerque, and sister of Francisco, the fourth Duke. The wife of the fourth Duke was Constance de Leyva, daughter of Antonio de Leyva, Prince of Asculi, Governor General of Milan, and Captain-General of Italy"

[2] " the assailant finds himself prepared, and provided with everything necessary for the encounter, while he who waits to be attacked is generally unready . . ."
*Hechos de Don Garcia Hvrtado de Mendoza, Quarto Marqués de Cañete &c &c, por el Doctor Christoval Suarez de Figueroa* Madrid, 1613. Lib V. Trans: Markham, *The Hawkins Voyages,* p. 340. Markham (p xxix) remarks that "Hawkins wrote from memory many years after the event; while Suarez de Figueroa, although he was not an actor in the scenes he describes, had the great advantage of having at his disposal all the official and other documents," &c But we may add, it is evident that Suarez de Figueroa had not consulted Don Beltrán, for he refers throughout to the English Captain as a *corsario,* for which designation Don Beltrán severely rebuked the Spanish Council of State, as we shall see.

[3] At St Quentin. E E. Vol. I, pp. 93-105

[4] Efforts have again been made, but in vain, to discover a portrait of Don Beltrán None is known even to the Duke of Alba who descends from Don Beltrán's elder brother the 7th Count of Lemos.
In 1501 Dom Dionis de Portugal, younger son of the Duke of Bragança, married Beatriz de Castro Osorio, whose daughter Isabel married her cousin the 5th Duke of Bragança. The eldest son of Dom Dionis was 4th Count of Lemos and 1st Marquis of Sarria. The eldest son of the 1st Marquis married Leonor de la Cueva, daughter of the 3rd Duke of Albuquerque; and their second son was Don Beltrán de Castro. His sister Teresa married the Marquis of Cañete, Viceroy of Peru. Don Beltrán's nephew Fernando de Castro married Leonor de Portugal, 4th Countess of Gelves; their daughter Catalina married the 5th Duke of Veragua, head of the house of Columbus (Colón); and Doña Catalina's great-granddaughter Catalina Ventura Colón de Portugal married in 1716 James Fitz-James Stuart, 2nd Duke of Berwick; and transmitted to her son the 3rd Duke of Berwick the ancient title of Lemos; which is now borne as 24th Count by the 10th Duke of Berwick, 17th Duke of Alba (who was Spanish Ambassador to England in 1939-45)
Pedigrees in *Arboles Genealogicos de las casas de Berwick, Alba y agregadas,* Madrid, 1927.

[5] So far as the present writer has been able to ascertain, this was only the second occasion on which an English ship fell into Spanish hands during the reign of Philip II (the other being the *Revenge*). In 1595 a small bark called the *Francis* was captured. E.E. Vol. IX, p. 549, note 4.

The triumphant Spaniards did not attempt to underestimate the valour and distinction of the vanquished. Except for the incongruous epithet *pirata,* it would hardly be possible for any warrior to receive a handsomer tribute than Pedro de Oña paid at the time to the English adversary: "Thus, Richard, was the audacious pirate called, and Hawkins his surname: of illustrious stock; young, gallant, successful, courageous; a patrician in every act;[1] and according to moral philosophy—setting on one side what his law allows" [that is, in spite of being a heretic,] "affable, generous, noble, humane; not cruel, nor harsh, nor tyrannical."[2]

Returning now to Hawkins' narrative, we will catch it up where he first came in sight of the foe: "We presently put ourselves in the best order we could to fight . . . and prayers were made unto the Lord God. . . . About nine of the clock the breeze began to blow and we to stand off into the sea . . . As the sun began to mount aloft, the wind arose, which, together with the rolling sea that ever breaketh upon this coast," caused heavy weather, under stress of which the enemy's flagship's mainmast was snapped asunder, so that he began to lay astern. The Spanish Vice-Admiral next split her mainsail, and the Rear-Admiral cracked her mainyard.[3]

By this time the night was coming on, and it seemed as if the English might get away and continue their voyage. Before the moon rose, Hawkins actually managed to "escape between the Admiral and the Vice-Admiral" of the foe: and by daybreak "we were clear of all our enemies, and so shaped our course along the coast for the bay of Atacamas, where we proposed to trim our pinnace, and to renew our wood and water, and so to depart upon our voyage with all possible speed."

Before it was possible to carry out this intention, they were pursued anew by Don Beltrán; he having double the ordnance, and about ten men to every one man under Hawkins: "In all we were but threescore and fifteen, men and boys, when we began to fight, and our enemies thirteen hundred men and boys, little more or less," and those of the best in Peru.

Escape being impossible, and Hawkins deeming surrender undignified, the battle began at once and was vigorously sustained: "The fight continued so hot on both sides that the artillery and muskets never ceased playing." The foe, "towards the

[1] This contradicts *pirata,* for a pirate is an outlaw who loses all privileges. See *De Jure Belli,* E.E. Vol VIII, p. 183.

[2] "Azi Richarte el audaz pirata deoia:
Y Aquinaz per blason de clara gente,
Mozo, gallardo, prospero, valiente,
De proceder hidalgo en cuante hacoia,
Y aca, segun moral filosofia,
Dejando lo que alla su ley consiente,
Afable, generoso, noble, humano,
No cruado, riguroso ni tirano."
*Arauco domada,* Lima, 1594. Canto xviii. Now first translated

[3] Recollect that these terms are used to describe the ships.

evening, determined the third time to lay us aboard," (i.e. come alongside) "with resolution to take us or to hazard all."

At first it appeared as if the skilful gunnery of the English might still enable them to cut their way through; but the tide of battle turned when Hawkins, as related, "received six wounds; one of them in the neck very perilous; another through the arm, perishing the bone and cutting the sinew close to the armpit; the others not so dangerous."[1] Then the shipmaster was seriously injured, and another valuable officer killed outright. "The Spaniards with their great ordnance lay continually playing upon us;" and now and then "invited us to surrender ourselves *a buena guerra.*"

Hawkins though so severely wounded, and faint from loss of blood, rebuked his officers and men for advising acceptance of the offer: "Is the cause you fight for unjust?" he asked. "Is the honour and love of your Prince and country buried in the dust?" A valiant death should be preferred to a slavish life: "the one sustaining the honour of our nation, of our predecessors and of our society; the other ignominious to ourselves and reproachful to our nation. . . . Came we into the South to put out flags of truce? And left we our pleasant England, with all her contentments, . . . to avail ourselves of white rags?"

Thus admonished, the Captain replied he would put into execution whatever Hawkins might be pleased to command. And the crew concurred. In accomplishment of this promise and determination they persevered, "sustaining the fight all that night, with the day and night following, and the third day after. In which time the enemy never left us day or night," except every morning an hour before daybreak "he edged a little from us to breathe;" which time of respite "we employed in repairing our sails and tackle and in stopping our leaks," &c.

Influenced by the precedent of Sir Richard Grenville's last fight in the *Revenge*, Hawkins had intended to hold out to the last. But his wounds, and the desperate state to which his small force was reduced, caused him to harken when the adversary again repeated the offer of an "honourable composition."

> "All this second day, and the third day and night, our Captain and Company sustained the fight, notwithstanding the disadvantage where they fought: the enemy being ever to windward, and we to leeward, their shot much damnifying us, and ours little annoying them. . . . The third day, in the afternoon,—which was the 22nd of June 1594, according to our computation,[2] . . . our sails being torn, our masts

[1] Suarez de Figueroa (1613), in his *Hechos de Don Garcia . Marqués de Cañete,* states that "during the action the vessels came alongside each other, and were so close that the gallant Hawkins finally seized the Royal Standard of Spain by means of a bowline knot which he threw over it But the attempt failed, as Diego de Avila, Juan Manrique, de Reinalte, Velasquez, and others came to the rescue, and defended it valourously. The Englishman paid for his audacity by two wounds, one in the neck and the other in the arm, both received from gunshots."

Cit. Mary W. S Hawkins, *Plymouth Armada Heroes,* 1888, p. 129

[2] Ten days behind the Continental Calendar as altered by Pope Gregory XIII in 1582; the 5th October then being changed to 15th, and so on.

all perished, our pumps rent and shot to pieces, and our ship with fourteen shot under water and seven or eight foot of water in hold; many of our men being slain, and the most part of them which remained sore hurt, . . . and the enemy offering still to receive us *a buena guerra,*" Hawkins bade "Juan Gomez de Pineda, a Spanish pilot which was our prisoner," go to the enemy and state that if he "give us his word and oath as the General of the King, and some pledge for confirmation, to receive us *a buena guerra,* and to give us our lives and liberty and present passage into our own country, that we would surrender ourselves and ship into his hands." Were the terms otherwise, every man would die fighting.

Don Beltrán greeted the messenger very courteously, "and swore by God Almighty," and "by the habit of Alcántara" of which he was a Knight, (in token whereof he wore in his breast a green cross which is the ensign of the Order), that he would give us our lives with good entreaty and send us as speedily as he could unto our own country. In confirmation whereof he took off his glove and sent it to me as a pledge.

"With this message Juan Gomes returned, and the Spaniards entered and took possession of our ship, everyone crying *Buena guerra! Buena guerra! Hoy por mi, mañana por ti.*"[1]

There follows one of the most remarkable tributes ever paid by an Englishman to a foe: doubly significant when we consider that it was written not on the spur of the moment but after many years of languishing in Spanish prisons, Don Beltrán's promises not having been confirmed by the Crown. During all the long ordeal never did Hawkins doubt the honesty and honour of his captor. But it was not until the end of the 19th century that Don Beltrán's side of the case became accessible. All the more should we recognise the justice and discrimination of Hawkins in his estimate:

"A principal gentleman of the ancient nobility of Spain, and brother to the Conde de Lemos," Don Beltrán, apprehending that some "insolency might be offered unto me in my ship by the common soldiers," sent Captain Pedro Alvares de Pulgar "to take care of me," and "bring me unto his ship": which was "accomplished with great humanity and courtesy;" Don Beltrán "despising the bars of gold which were shared before his face when he might alone have enjoyed if he would; and truly he was, as after I found, a true Captain, a man worthy of any charge, and of the noblest conditions that I have known in any Spaniard. . . ."

His "courtesy and compassion" were such that his prisoner was "accommodated in his own cabin, where he sought to come and comfort me the best he could." He was as considerate to "all our hurt men, six and thirty at least. And doubtless as true

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1 "To-day for me, tomorrow for thee." Suarez de Figueroa describes the ship as "400 tons, most beautiful in all her parts She carried for arms on the stern a negress with gilt ornaments" [should be "a demi-Moor, *proper,* bound and captive, with annulets upon his arms and in his ears, *or,* the Hawkins crest, augmentation."] As the *Daintie* had been badly damaged in the fight, her captors put the repairs in hand at once.

Mary W. S. Hawkins, *Plymouth Armada Heroes,* p. 129.

250 tons was the English computation. The apparent disparity between the English and Spanish tonnage is because the Spaniards had a different method of reckoning

courage, valour and resolution is requisite in a General in the time of battle, so humanity, mildness and courtesy after victory."

It was usual for English Privy Councillors and others of official rank to be good linguists; but Hawkins "had not the Spanish tongue" and so conversed in Latin and French, "together with a little smattering" of Portuguese.

"Through the noble proceedings of Don Beltrán with us, and his particular care towards me in curing and comforting me, I began to gather heart and hope of life and health."[1] Some of the Spaniards remonstrated with Don Beltrán "that we were Lutherans" with whom it was not necessary to keep faith. But some declared "we had fought as good soldiers and therefore deserved good quarter; others nicknamed us with the name of *corsarios* or pirates."

Against this latter imputation Hawkins, wounded and vanquished as he was, protested strongly:

"A pirate or corsario is he which in time of peace or truce spoileth or robbeth those which have peace or truce with them. But the English have neither peace nor truce with Spain, but war. . . . Besides Spain broke the peace with England and not England with Spain. . . . Moreover pirates are those who range the seas without licence from their Prince;" outlaws who when caught are "punished more severely by their own lords than when they fall into the hands of strangers." The repression of pirates is notoriously more severe in England "in time of peace than in any of the Kingdoms of Christendom."

The English seamen, having license either from the Crown "or from others thereunto authorised, cannot in any sense be comprehended under the name of pirates."

Don Beltrán assented; and he disdained to profit personally by his victory. Instead of fixing a heavy ransom for Hawkins—as Peter Strozzi had done for Lord Grey of Wilton at Guisnes in 1558,[2]—he asked only a brace of greyhounds for himself and for his brother: "And this I swear to you" he said, "by the habit of Alcántara: provided always that the King my master leave you to my disposal, as of right you belong to me."[3]

We shall soon come to the discovery by Essex that an alien refugee, trusted and pensioned by Queen Elizabeth, had for many years been betraying to Spain the plans and projects of England. But Hawkins, having no suspicion of any such

[1] So well were the prisoners treated "that of all our wounded men not one died that was alive after our surrendering," though many of them had "eight, ten or twelve wounds," and some of them more Hawkins had his own surgeons, whom he was allowed to employ; he declares "they were expert in their art" Previously in *Stratioticos* (2nd ed: 1590, Book iii, cap. iv, pp. 86-87) Thomas Digges had specified that any surgeon employed with the fighting forces must be "very skilled in his art," and "careful, honest, and loving to the souldiers he hath in cure."

[2] E.E. Vol. I, p. 118.

[3] Hawkins explains that among Spaniards "if there be an absolute General, the tenth of all is due to him and *he is to take choice of the best.*" Don Beltrán did not keep for himself what he took, but presented Hawkin's ship and artillery to the King (*Observations*, Sec LXV). The Spanish Laws of War had been translated by Thomas Digges, in *Stratioticos*, and (p. 295) he had stated that "the taken General is the taker's prisoner, and him may he ransom at his own pleasure" (subject to the King's approval). E.E. ante, p. 125.

treachery, was astonished when Don Beltrán showed him "a letter from the King his master" to the Viceroy of Peru, "wherein he gave him particular relation" of the intended voyage of the English Captain; "of the ships, their burden, their munition, the number of men which I had in them, as perfectly as if he had seen all with his own eyes."

Don Beltrán remarked, "Hereby may you discern whether the King my master have friends in England, and good and speedy advice of all that passeth." Hawkins, embarrassed, replied that King Philip had plenty of "gold and silver, which worketh this and more strange effects," but added that his intended voyage had been no secret in England.

Don Beltrán gave him permission to write to the Queen and to Sir John Hawkins, or to any one with whom he wished to communicate, leaving the letters open; and promised "he would send some of them in the King's packet; others he would entrust to his uncle Don Rodrigo de Castro, Cardinal and Archbishop of Seville, and to other friends of his; not making any doubt but that they would be speedily [delivered] in England." Hawkins's wounds were too disabling to allow of his writing with his own hand, but he dictated to one of his servants a letter for his father.

The "*Daintie*" on becoming Spanish property was re-named the "Visitation" having been surrendered "in the day on which they celebrate the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary." Hawkins's narrative takes us only thus far; his intended Observations on the natives of Peru, the voyage to Spain, his captivity in Peru, Terceira, Seville, and Madrid, being "left to a second part of this discourse, if God gives life and convenient place and rest" for the task. But Part II was never written; so we will now turn again to the Spanish aspects of the case. On the 20th of January following, the Viceroy, the Marqués de Cañete, sent the King an account of the fight, to which Philip did not reply until the 17th of December:

> "I have felt much satisfaction on receiving the news of the success which Don Beltrán de Castro obtained over the English General Ricardo . . . The event is of great importance, as well because his designs were frustrated as that from this time the enemy will hesitate to undertake similar enterprises, from dread of loss.
>
> As regards the punishment of the General and of the others who were captured, . . . you inform me that they have been claimed by the Inquisition, but that as you had no instructions from me as to their disposal you have put off compliance with the requisition of the Holy Office and the delivering of the General to the 'auto.' You understood that he is a person of quality. In this matter I desire that justice may be done conformably to the quality of the person."[1]

Prisoners of war, if of "quality," were ransomed; and as King Philip does not

[1] Translated from *Hechos de Don Garcia . . . Marqués de Cañete Por el Doctor Christoval Suarez de Figueroa. Madrid*, 1613, lib V App· to *The Hawkins Voyages*, 1878; ed: Markham, pp. 347-349

call Hawkins "the pirate" but *"the English General,"* the sequel is the more unaccountable. For instead of Hawkins being sent back to England as Don Beltrán had promised, he lingered year after year in captivity: protesting by letter to the Spanish Council of State, to the King himself, and to Queen Elizabeth; also to some of her Privy Council.

Not until the end of the 19th century was it revealed to the outer world how strongly Don Beltrán had expressed himself in defence of his English prisoner. In 1599 King Philip III ordered the Council to reconsider the case; whereupon Don Beltrán was required to send "a sworn affidavit of the instruction he received from the Viceroy of Peru, and an account of exactly what passed when he captured the corsair Hawkins." The Council reminded him that "The King's orders were that no enemy should be allowed to live" in those Southern Seas. To this De Castro replied,[1]

"The only order I received from the Viceroy when I left Callao, in chase of this Englishman, was, if my memory serves me, that I was to effect the capture with all care, and do my best to come up with him, which, by the grace of God, I did.

"As to what passed when I had caught him, I may make the following statement: From Thursday, at four in the afternoon, when I first attacked him, we continued fighting all that evening and night, as well as all Friday and Friday night. On Saturday, well into the day, I found my flagship very much damaged, most of the crew were killed, and the mainmast shot away; my own ship being also in a very critical condition, many of my spars being carried away or injured, and my ship pierced and full of water.

"Thinking it unwise to risk further, I ordered the offer to be made to Hawkins of fair terms of war if he would surrender,—in order to suspend the fighting, as I was as likely to sink as he was; and I was content to have got hold of him at any rate. He accepted the offer, and I think my course was the wisest one, under the circumstances, in His Majesty's interests. Shortly before he surrendered, I learned that he had ordered two men to stand by with lighted torches, to set fire to the powder magazine if we boarded him. But although one of our shot carried away both of the men, there were others who would have taken their places.

"If His Majesty ordered that no enemy who entered these seas was to be taken alive, I never heard of such an order. But even if I had, I am of opinion that a Commander is at liberty to act as he thinks best for the service; . . . and I believe I acted wisely in doing as I did . . .

*"Your Lordship calls Richard Hawkins a corsair He was not so, a corsair, as I understand it, is one who makes war on his own account upon those with whom his Sovereign is at peace, without any authority from his Sovereign. But Hawkins bore a patent from the Queen of England (which I still have in my possession) ordering him to do all the damage he could to our King and his allies. This being the case, and war*

[1] 3 Nov: 1600. Estado 840. Simancas. *Calendar, State Papers, Spanish.* ed: Martin Hume, Vol. IV, 1587-1603. (1899) pp. 671-672.

*having existed between the countries for so long, I do not think that Don Richard merits the name that you apply to him."*

Far from being offended or resentful, the Council informed the King that they approved of Don Beltrán's action, and agreed that Hawkins was not a pirate but a prisoner who surrendered on terms of *buena guerra,* and who consequently should be ransomed.

As soon as Hawkins had sufficiently recovered from his wounds he had been interrogated formally by Don Beltrán, in July 1594, as to his aims and objects.[1] He answered in English and Latin, " through the interpretation of Thomas Ande [query Andrew] an Englishman," taking his oath " upon the sign of the Cross " that he would speak accurately.

Giving his age as " thirty four more or less " (*poco mas o menas,*) and stating his parentage,[2] he said he had sailed on the 22nd of June [12th, English Style] the previous year from Plymouth, *" por General del galeon que se dico la Linda en lengua de Castilla."* He had set out with three ships: one was of 100 tons and carried forty fighting men and seven or eight pieces of iron ordnance; another of 60 tons with bronze cannon and twenty-four men. Asked for particulars as to his flagship, he stated it at 250 tons, with a hundred men, and of ordnance 14 of iron and 6 of bronze. Asked what was the object of his voyage, he replied boldly that he set sail with the Queen's Commission; and that he had hoped to gain compensation for losses suffered long ago by his father Sir John Hawkins in New Spain in the port of San Juan de Ulloa at the hands of the Viceroy Don Martín Henriquez,[3] and also for subsequent losses of his own.

Asked whether he had further orders from the Queen, he replied that in appointing him to command these ships she bade him do all possible damage to the property of King Philip's subjects.[4] Questioned as to the Queen's intentions against Spain, he replied that a week after his departure from Plymouth he had heard that the Earl of Cumberland (rendered in Spanish as *el Conde de Coperlan*) was to sail from London by the Queen's orders with five ships, two being Her Majesty's and three or four belonging to private owners, the commission being to cruise off the Spanish coast. The Queen's ships might be from six to seven hundred tons, the others about three hundred; and the forces on board sixteen hundred men, " rather more than less."[5]

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[1] Deposition: *en presencia de mi Pedro de Bobeda Escrivano de Camara de la Real Audiencia y Chancelleria de Crimea de la Ciuda de los Reyes de Pirú, &c. Confeson del General Richarte Aquines Ingles, la qual le fué tomada por el Señor General Don Beltrán de Castro General de esta Mer del Sur." Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla Sección Patronato 265, Ramo N 54* Unknown to any previous English writer upon Hawkins From here onwards the Spanish evidence is from MSS which are unpublished even in Spain

[2] His mother's name, Katharine Gonson, is rendered by the Spanish clerk as " Catalina *Yvinzu.*"

[3] E E Vol. I, p. 281-304.

[4] *le manda va hiciese todo el dañ que pudiese a las haciendas de lo vassallos de Su Majestad*

[5] See No: 6 of Cumberland's Voyages; E E Vol VIII, in table facing p 204.

Asked was he aware that ships were being prepared from parts of France to invade these Southern Seas, he replied he heard that two had sailed from La Rochelle with such a purpose, but he had no precise information.

Questioned as to "a Spaniard living in England according to the Protestant creed of that nation, or some other new-fangled religion," he answered he knew of no such person . . ."

Interrogations followed as to what he saw and did from the time he left Plymouth until his capture by Don Beltrán. He said that the first place he sighted was the island of Madeira, but he did not land there. He next made for the Canary Isles, but neither he nor any of his men disembarked. He set his course for the Guinea coast, but did not go ashore. Thence he proceeded to reconnoitre the Isle of Santa Ana; but when he passed between that island and the mainland to provision his crew, they were nearly all ill. From thence he proceeded to the Grand Canary; and on his way he met a vessel of about ten tons belonging to a Portuguese, coming from Pernambuco, making for Rio de la Plata . . . Three days after leaving the Grand Canary he encountered a ship of fifty tons making for Angola, laden with flour, rice, and water. He took some of the flour, but gave back the remainder, also the ship, to the master. Asked what other land he had touched before reaching the Straits and what befel him, he answered he did not put in at any land previous to the Straits, nor had he any adventures beyond what he had mentioned.

Asked what did he do with the two ships accompanying his flagship, he replied that both came with him as far as the isle of Santa Ana. The reason they did not follow his flag further was that some of the crew had died, wherefore he was obliged to burn the vessel of 100 tons, after transhipping what remained of the crew; and that a violent storm arose in which his smaller ship was driven apart from him, and he knew nothing of its subsequent fate. (We may observe that for the honour of England he refrained from revealing that he regarded the crew of this smaller vessel as having deliberately deserted him).

"After this he set a direct course so as to pass through the Straits." On the 24th of January he began the passage, and took "one and a half months to reach the Southern Seas, during which time he was not continuously under sail, but halted for about a week to take in water and firewood, and to hunt some birds for salting: and also he had to repair his ship."

Asked what was the first harbour he touched on the Chilean coast, he replied "The island of La Mocha, where the Indians gave him birds and sheep for money. They took him and his for Spaniards, and used him kindly."

At Valparaiso on the coast of Chile he met four ships: one under Pedro Paz; a second under Cariaga; a third under the Licentiate Juan de Morales; the fourth under Juan de Contreras; also one more which had just arrived and was sailing into port; this last belonged to Alonso Pérez Buono. "The first three he ransomed for some 3,000 pieces of gold. To that of Alonso Pérez Buono he returned the gold

and silver intact but constrained the said Buono to accompany him as pilot till he should reach the port of Ciudad de Truxillo." [We may remember that *piloto* in Spanish meant navigating officer, and even in English the word "pilot" then had a more extended significance than at a later date.]

On further interrogation Hawkins stated that after sailing from Valparaiso he made for Coquimbo (in Chile) where he spent a night, leaving early next day; and not meeting anything except two small craft, one a frigate (*fragata*) of Antonio Suarez, the other belonging to a resident of the port of Araquipo. The former he gave back to the master, with its contents intact, except some fish he required to victual his men. The other ship he would have returned, but its master fled ashore, and would not parley; so he took the vessel with him as a sloop (*por lancha*).

Asked what happened to him after this, he replied that having reached the neighbourhood of Cañete on Trinity Sunday and passed six of His Majesty's ships said to be under command of Don Beltrán de Castro—whom he conjectured to be in pursuit of him,—he had "no time to touch at the aforesaid port." But, he was asked, supposing he had put in at Cañete, what would he have done? He answered, he would have seized all the silver and gold he could find, and have held the ships to ransom. Questioned whether he captured any ships after passing the coast from Lima, he replied that near Puerto Bermego he took one said to belong to the Governor Alvaro de Abeadaña. In it he found neither gold nor silver; but only honey, sugar, preserves, and wheat. From this he helped himself only to a little; but he carried off the pilot and quartermaster as far as the Isle of Wolves (*Isla de Lobos*), and there he burnt the ship. He did not put in at the Island because he feared that the Spanish squadron near Cañete might be on his track. When he was in the vicinity of Payta he sighted a ship, and being apprehensive that Don Beltrán's fleet might pursue and capture him, he did not go to Guayaquil.

Asked what he was doing in Atacamas Bay when he met Don Beltrán's flagship, he stated he was on the look out to see whether any craft from Panama or New Spain might pass by. On the 24th of June at 8 at night or thereabouts, a ship passed a league from his flagship; and though it was to leeward of him it sailed so well that it escaped him, and his sloop. Although the latter succeeded in boarding it and asked it to heave to, it defended itself with what arms it possessed, mainly stones, and went its way.[1] When he was discovered by Don Beltrán it was the evening of the last Thursday of this June, and he was considering weighing anchor and continuing his voyage towards New Spain and the Californias; his intention being to cruise along the whole of the coast of New Spain taking what prizes he could, and making for the Ladrones, the Molluccas, and the Moros Isles, where he hoped to find treasure; and he next meant to return home.

Asked how many Flemings he had aboard his ships, and whether they were

[1] *que amainase pero con las Armas que tuvo que heran piedras se degeadio y fué su camino y viage* ("Boarding" meant coming alongside.)

voluntary or pressed men, he replied he had seven Flemings who all followed him of their own free will. The same question was asked as to a Portuguese serving under him.

Could he have completed his voyage and reached home, had he any intention of returning with a stronger naval force? To this he said No; unless the Queen of England ordered him so to do. Further interrogated, he explained that it was the heavy weather that drove him to take refuge in the Straits.

"After the above statement on board the flagship, thirteenth of July of the same year" (1594) Hawkins was questioned as to his earlier experiences. "He says the first time he sailed from England might be some 13 or 14 years ago," but that as for damaging the dominions or subjects of the King of Spain, such attacks by Englishmen began only after the two nations were at war. His first martial service was "at Santo Domingo under Francis Drake by order of the Queen; and that he (Richard Hawkins) then sailed in command of a ship belonging to his father John Hawkins. After he then returned to England, his father was commissioned by the Queen with orders to do what injury he could to the Spanish seaboard. He had then accompanied his father. When the Queen sent John Hawkins forth with twelve ships some 30 to 50 leagues off the Cape he (Richard) captured a 400 ton ship coming from Portugal: the Captain whereof was one Diego Pérez de Bao."

It may be observed that in all this there is no rough word on either side: the martial etiquette being as precise as the etiquette of Courts. Though mendacity sometimes intruded into matters of diplomacy and peace, the dignity of war was maintained both by Englishmen and Spaniards.[1]

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[1] The collotyped Spanish documents ensuing will be new to all English readers; but it is regretted that no portrait of either of the gallant opponents can be found. In *Plymouth Armada Heroes* issued to subscribers, Plymouth, 1888, p 137, Miss Hawkins stated,

"There is only one portrait of Sir Richard Hawkins known to be in existence It was formerly in the possession of the Lords North, at Kirtling in Cambridgeshire, and on the dismantling of the house, in 1802, it was sold. In 1824 it came into the hands of Mr Bryant, whose brother sold it in 1866 to R S. Hawkins, Esqre, of 18 Norham Gardens, Oxford, but at present living in New Zealand, whither he removed the picture It is . . . on panel, kitcat size, . . . in armour, with small head, dark brown hair and yellowish beard, and a hand resting on a helmet. The face bears a striking resemblance to that of the ivory basso-relievo of Sir John Hawkins" (and we might add, to the miniature of John Hawkins, E E. Vol II, plate 14, and to the 1591 portrait, E.E. Vol. IX, plate 23) "Above the shoulder of the figure are reeds, a rock, and waves; and the following motto:

*Undis arundo vires reparat coedensque foventur*
*funditus at rupes en scopulosa ruit."*

The motto and background are not discernible in the reproduction given by Miss Hawkins (facing her p. 115) which appears to be from an imperfect photograph of a painting in poor condition, though perhaps originally vivid; only the penetrating and wide-apart eyes look out at the spectator in a lifelike manner.

*APPENDIX A*

# THE CAPTURE OF RICHARD HAWKINS.

## *Spanish Bibliographical Notes.*

The importance attached in Spain to the defeat and capture of "Don Ricardo Achines" may be inferred from numerous contemporary publications.

(1) *Alegacion por Ricardo Aquines ingles pidiendo la libertad en el pletto que tenia con el fiscal de S M Impreso 2 hojas Real Academia de la Historia Colección de Jesuitas, tomo C(4) V fol 44.*
(Statement made by the Englishman Richard Hawkins demanding his liberty in the lawsuit he was engaged in with the Attorney General Printed on 2 sheets)

(2) *Relación de lo sucedido desde el dia 17 de Mayo de 1594 que el Marqués de Cañete tuvo aviso de haber embocado por esta Mar del Sur Richarte Aquines etc Publicada en Lima en 1594 Citada por Don Cesáreo Fernández Duro, "Armada Española", tomo III, p 99.*
(Narrative of what happened from May 17, 1594 onwards, when the Marquis of Cañete was informed that Richard Hawkins had passed through the Straits and entered this Southern Sea, etc Published at Lima in 1594. Quoted by Don Cesareo Fernández Duro, *"Armada Española"*, Vol. III, p. 99)

(3) *Relación de como se derroto en el Mar del sur el pirata Ingles Richarte Aquines año 1594 Biblioteca Nacional MS, p 93 (or 33?) p 203.*
(Narrative of the defeat of the English pirate Richard Hawkins in the Southern Sea in the year 1594).[1]

(4) *Treslado de vna carta de Ricardo Hauquines escrita en el Puerto de Perico en 6 de Agosto de 1594 para embiar a su padre Jhoa Auquines a Londres. Traduzida de lengua inglesa a la nuestra e enviada del dicho puesto al Cardenal de Sevilla D Rodrigo de Castro Publicada con notas por Don Marcos Gimenez de la Espada"*
(Transcript of a letter by Richard Hawkins written at the Port of Perico on August 6th, 1594, to be sent to his father John Hawkins at London Translated from the English tongue into ours and sent from that port to the Cardinal of Seville Don Rodrigo de Castro. Published with footnotes by Don Marcas Gimenez de la Espada.)[2]

(5) *Victoria naval . que consiguio contra los ingleses en el Golfo de la Gorgona Don Beltrán de Castro. Biblioteca Nacional M S. (M 1)*
(Naval victory achieved against the English in the Gulf of la Gorgona by Don Beltrán de Castro)

(6) *Confesion del general ingles Ricardo Aquines que le fue tomada em 1º de Julio 1594, de la navegacion que hizo. Coleccion Navarrete, tomo XXVI, Depº Hidrografico de Marina*
(Confessions from the English General Richard Hawkins taken on July 1, 1594, of the voyage he accomplished.)

Reference to Don Beltrán and the fight is made not only by Pedro de Oña in his poem *Arauco domada*, Lima 1594,—already quoted—but also by Luis Antonio Oviedo y Herrera, Conde de la Granja, in

[1] For Don Beltrán's objection to his prisoner being called a pirate see E.E. ante, pp 200-201

[2] There is not any copy of this in Cal. S.P Spanish (Simancas), nor in S P. Spain for 1594; nor apparently in the Hist: MSS. Comm· Rep· on Hatfield MSS, nor in the class Catalogue B.M MSS Single Letters. But B M. Cat: gives *Treslado de una carta de R Hauquines escrita en la puerto de Perico, en seys de Agosto, de 1594 años para embiar a su padre . . . traduzida de lengua Inglese en lengua Castellana* 8vo (C 32 a.22) presumably a different edition of the above This is queried in the Catalogue as "Seville ? 1595"

Canto X of the *Vida de Santa Rosa de Lima*, Madrid, 1711. And, as we have seen, by Suarez de Figueroa in *Hechos de Don Garcia Marqués de Cañete, Madrid*, 1613, 1614

Antonio de Herrera in *Tercera parte de la Historia general del Mundo* describes the voyage and combat.

In the *Museo Naval* Memorial Edition of *La Dragontea* of Lope de Vega, 1935, Vol. II, *Documentos*, pp 118-145, is printed a *Relación* in the heading of which Richard Hawkins is termed *pirata*, though in the text his Commission from the Queen is mentioned, p. 141: *Por la confesión que al General se le tomó, declara ser cristiano bautizado, hijo de Juan de Aquines, y de Catalina Grinzu, naturales de Londres y Plemua, gente noble de quien en Inglaterra se ha hecho y se hace mucho caudal Partió de Inglaterra con licencia y patente de la Reina*, &c. Furthermore, p 146, in *confesión del General Ingles Richarte Aquines* this *patente y licencia de la Reina Isabel* is emphasised. But unfortunately Don Beltrán's own statement is not included among the selected *Documentos*, and the editor in his Introduction repeatedly alludes to Hawkins as *pirata;* not realising that this term is no more applicable to Hawkins than to Don Beltrán.[1]

[1] In Canto II, in reference to the final expedition of Sir Francis Drake *por general de la mar; y a Juan Achines de la tierra* Lope de Vega treats also of *la jornada que su hijo Ricardo intentó a la mar del Sur por el Estrecho de Magallanes*

Canto III is headed *Pasa Ricardo el estrecho. Roba a Chile Envia el Virrey del Perú en su seguimiento a don Beltrán de Castro: pelea con él, y vércele, llevándole preso a Lima*, &c., &c.

Canto IV, *Llegan a Londres las nuevas de la prisión de Ricardo*, &c., &c.

## *"BUENA GUERRA": STATEMENT OF DON BELTRAN DE CASTRO*

### *As to His Combat with "Don Ricardo Aquines."*

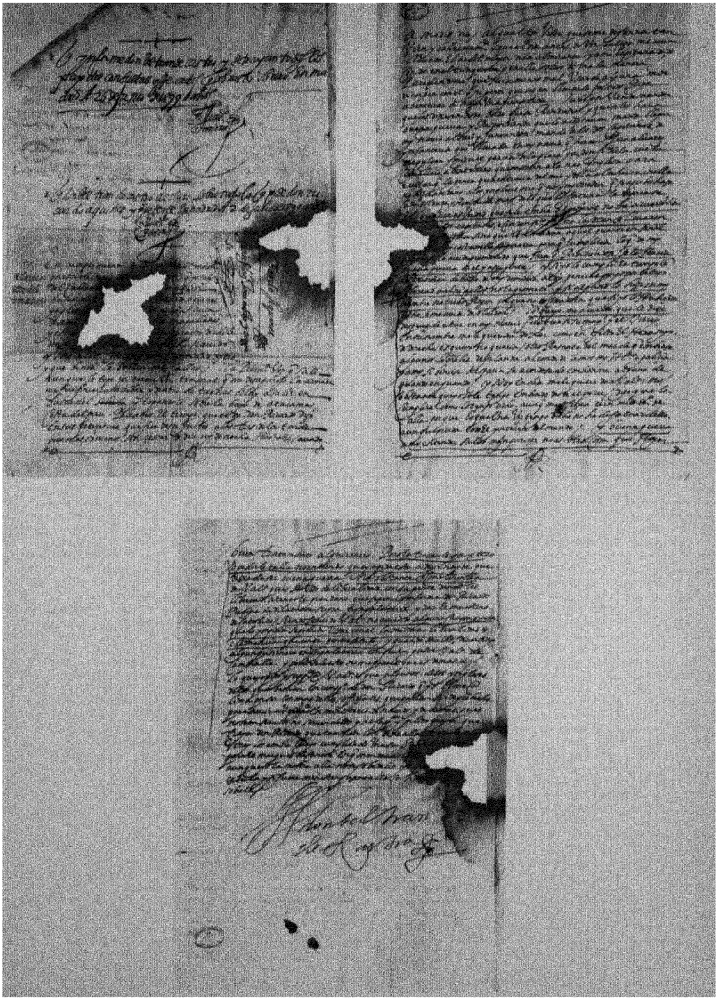
*Now first reproduced from the orginal in the Archivo de Indias at Seville. by courtesy of the Director of the Real Academia de la Historia de España* (See Appendix B. p 207)

Headed *Que informe Don Beltran de Castro y se trayan todos los papeles consultas y recados que sobresto ubiere. En Madrid a 26 de Junio de 1599 años. El licenciado Santandres. Que Don Beltran de Castro declare sobre todo lo que pide Don Ricardo de Aquines y pretende. En Madrid a 2 de Julio de 1599 El Licenciado Santandres Richardo Aquines Juntese lo que toca a esto y tragase*

Though portions are defaced by fire, the main points remain legible, and are to the following effect: That in the year 1594 Don Beltrán set sail from Callao in search of Richard Hawkins [whose intended voyage to the Southern Seas was known in advance in Spain]. The Spanish ships were scattered by a storm; but, when the weather permitted, Don Beltrán returned to the quest, and encountered Hawkins in the bay of Atacamas on the coast of Peru. "We fought during the time the said Don Ricardo asserts in his petitions namely from Thursday at three in the afternoon, more or less, without ceasing day or night, until Saturday at 12 noon (*a medio dia*)"; by which time Hawkins was in no fit state to continue the struggle Don Beltrán then sent him his glove as a token that if he surrendered he would be treated according to the etiquette of chivalrous warfare

Don Beltrán informed Hawkins that (subject to the approval of His Majesty and the Viceroy), he would not ask any ransom other than a brace of Irish greyhounds for himself and his brother the Conde de Lemos in Galicia In honourable warfare a prisoner should be well treated, and Don Beltrán repeated that Hawkins ought to be exchanged for some Spanish captive in England

The statements made by Hawkins in his *Observations* 28 years after the events, can now be confirmed from Don Beltrán's testimony in 1599 (See also Plate 14).



*APPENDIX B.*

## STATEMENT OF DON BELTRAN DE CASTRO.

*Que informe Don Beltran de Castro ye se trayan todos los papeles consultas y recados que sobresto ubiere. En Madrid a 26 de Junio de 1599 años.*

*El Licenciado Santandres. &c.*

"Que Don Beltran de Castro declare sobre todo lo que pide Don Ricardo de Aquines y pretende. En Madrid a 2 de Julio de 1599 años El Licenciado Santandres. Ricardo Aquines. Juntese lo que toca a esto y traygase (The dots represent the burnt portions)

### DECLARACION DE DON BELTRAN DE CASTRO.

En cumplimiento de lo que V.A. me manda por este decreto digo . . . que yo saly del Callao a . . . . de 94. En busca del . . . . Ricardo Aquines yngles . . . . nueba auia de semb . . . el de Magallanes y estad . . Balparaiso de Chile donde . . . . . ocho nauios y uno dellos con alguna cantidad de oro y que benia la buelta del Callao La primera vez que sali aunque le tope por darme un temporal que me desaparejo la armada me fue fuerza arribar y dentro de tres dias bolvy a salir en busca del y topandole sobre la baya de Atacamas costa del Peru, peleamos el tiempo que el dicho Don Ricardo dice en sus peticiones que fue desde jueves a las tres de la tarde poco mas o menos, syn cesar de dia ni de noche hasta el sabado a medio dia al qual tiempo visto que se me defendia tan vien y balerosamente y que el dia antes de un balazo me habia llevado el arbol mayor de la Almiranta y a mi Capitana dado con dos en el trinquete y en ella otros de mala manera pareciendome que hera menos mal usar de alguna misericordia con el y su gente que no por llevarlo por todo rigor abenturar a hacer una gran perdida ube por bien de mandar que les dixesen desde bordo que se rindiesen y que se les haria buena guerra y respondiendo que lo aceptavan mande llegar mi navio al suyo y juntandose mande a los dos Capitanes de Infanteria que llevaba en my nauio que heran Pero Alvarez del Pulgar y Miguel Garcia de la Plata y a Don Francisco de la Cueba Caballero abenturero que pasasen a la nao yngleşa para evitar que la gente que entraua del mio y de la Almiranta en ella no hiciesen daño a los yngleses pero que no ympidiesen que se aprovechase cada soldado y hombre de mas de lo que la fortuna le deparase. El guante es verdad que se le enbie al General no me acuerdo bien [si f]ue con los capitanes o con Don Francisco, pero la orden que llevaron . . . [no] fue otra sino que le enuiaua aquel guante en señal usso y costumbre de guerra pero que cumpliria lo que de my parte se le auia prometido *que hera que rindiendose se le haria buena guerra a el y a su gente,* y si yo lo cumpli el tiempo que estubieron debaxo de my dominio al dicho general pongo por testigo *Libertad a el ni a ellos no la prometi y si alguno lo hizo en my nombre no tubo razon porque no es cosa esta que si yo lo hubiera dicho se me auia de olvidar. Lo que yo me acuerdo, que le dixe* despues de estar en mi navio fue que si su Magestad y el Virrey en su nombre me le querian dexar como en efecto el hera myo de derecho, es que yo no queria otro rescate del mas de que enbiase algunos lebreles de Yrlanda al Conde de Lemos my hermano a Galicia y a my si biniese a Españas se acordase de embiarme alguno de quando en quando y si oy en dia me le quiere dar V.A no obstante que yo se le tengo embiado desde el Peru, digo que lo cumplire como lo tengo dicho, aunque me ofrezca cien mill ducados de talla, porque lo que una vez tengo dicho no he de faltar dello, aunque pierda todo el ynteres del mundo. *Y buena guerra a mi entender saluo mejor parecer no es ostra cosa que hazer buen trata miento al prisionero. Pero el trocarle por otro o pedirle talla no entiendo que ympida esto a dezir nayde que dexa de ser buena guerra no* obstante que con licencia de V.A. pues se usso de liberalidad con su gente dandoles libertad atento el gran daño que segun ynforma Don Ricardo rescibe de dilatarse su yda a Yngalaterra y dar el muestras de catolico.

Siendo servido V.A. no habiendo alguna causa graue que lo impida se podria ussar con el la misma liberalidad y clemencia que con su gente se tubo y cuando mucho sauer si hay algun prisionero en Yngalaterra con quien guste V.A. de cambialle y pedirsele esto no me parece que es demasia. Lo que yo pido y suplico a V.A. es que algunos de los yngleses de los que benian en compañia de Don Ricardo que yo lleue a Lima por ser los mas dellos oficiales que podian ser de provecho para seruir a V.A. en ministerio de nauios y de armas pues no se an seruido ny siruen dellos y al Capitan Piloto mayor que traya Don Ricardo que tambien los dexe alla, mande al Virrey los embie luego cumpliendo una su Real cedula que . . . para el Marques de Cañete en que mandaua lo h . . . aunque yo la mostre alla no se obedecio y agu . . . cedula y si fuere menester presentalla se hara ba . . . sobre la Don Beltran de Castro. Rubrica."

PART VII.

"The causes that govern the events."

CHAPTER 5.

"A DELECTABLE VARIETY OF MATTER."

SECTION 5.

# "Manifold Miseries."

*(The captivity of Richard Hawkins).*

**"Most mighty and gracious Queen. The manifold miseries and grievous calamity endured in this my long imprisonment [if] among Turks and Moors would ere this have moved compassion . . ."**

*Richard Hawkins to Queen Elizabeth. 1598.* Original. Hatfield MSS. 177. 36. Cal. Vol. VIII, pp. 209-213. E.E. p. 211.

**"I, Richard Hawkins, gentleman of England, declare that my prolonged and unjust captivity is well known to your Highness; and as it is unfair that while my case is under consideration I should suffer any aggravation beyond confinement in the common gaol, I beg and pray of your Highness to order for me to be relieved of my fetters."**

*Hawkins to the King of Spain, 3rd of March, 1599.* Now first published and translated from his petition in the Spanish Archives. E.E. p. 218.

**"And considering Aquines [Hawkins] was a distinguished officer and navigator and had fought with great courage, it would seem suitable to entertain him honourably," etc. . . . .**

**"In England they behave very well to Spanish gentlemen whom they capture."**

*The Cardinal de Guevara; Don Juan de Idiaquez; the Conde de Miranda, and others of the Council, to King Philip III;* 11th of November, 1600. Ibid.

**[Don Beltrán had represented that] "Hawkins having his Sovereign's Commission in open war, they could not class him as a pirate" [y que llevanto patente de su Reyna y estando la guerra rota, no se puede nombre de Pirata].**

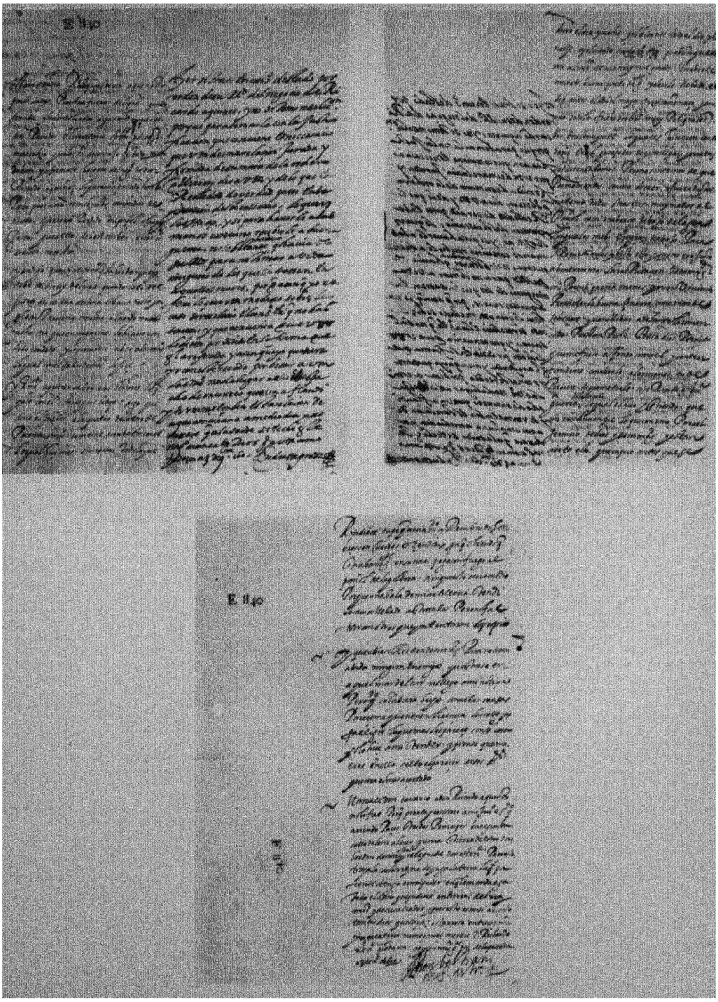
*The same to the same. Ibid.*

# *NOT A CORSARIO*

*Further Statement in which the honour of Hawkins is again defended by his captor Don Beltrán de Castro, 3rd November, 1600. (Estado 1140).*

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Although the report by Don Beltrán de Castro in 1599 of his encounter with Hawkins in 1594 (Plate 13) might seem to us sufficient, the King and Council demanded a yet further testimony. This is now published in hope of terminating for ever the still popular delusion that Queen Elizabeth's Naval Officers were "Corsarios". See Sec. 5, Appendix A, pp. 222-223. Appendix B, pp 224-226.



PART VII.

"The causes that govern the events."

CHAPTER 5.

## "A DELECTABLE VARIETY OF MATTER."

SECTION 5.

# "Manifold Miseries."

*(The captivity of Richard Hawkins).*[1]

FROM prison in Seville, the 12th of June, 1598, Hawkins wrote appealing to the Queen; but how soon his letter reached England and whether it was ever put before Her Majesty there is nothing to indicate. It is not in the Public Record Office but at Hatfield House.[2] Says the postscript, "If this by any means should come to the knowledge of the Spaniard or spy, nothing would be able to redeem my life. Therefore I humbly crave that Your Majesty will grant me the favour that only the Earl of Essex and Sir Robert Cecil may have the sight thereof." Compressed into less than two pages closely written, it relates not so much to Hawkins' own misfortunes as to the condition of Spain. To take the most outstanding points:

"Most mighty and gracious Queen

The manifold miseries and grievous calamity endured in this my long imprisonment, [if] among Turks and Moors, would ere this have moved compassion." Spaniards, "in their pride disdaining all others, and of opinion they were born to command," could receive "if your Highness strike while the iron is hot" a stern rebuff to their haughty spirit. In the interests of "Christendom" England should dispute their domination and reduce their power. The reasons this would be feasible are that the King of Spain's army is dispersed "in sustaining Naples and Sicily and Milan, with forces in Barbary [and] in maintaining the war with Flanders and England, in peopling and providing defence for

[1] Though when first arranged, the sequel to Hawkins's capture was scheduled to appear under the dates of the correspondence (1598-'99-1600, &c.) so many other matters will need to be considered during those eventful years that it seems best to deviate from strict chronological order and continue the story now. Transcripts have been procured from the *Archivo general de Indias,* at Seville, and from Simancas, by courtesy of the Director of the *Real Academia de la Historia,* and with the aid of his archivist Señor Don Julián Paz. It is not clear whether the Spanish letters written for Hawkins were dated *stilo novo* (Continental method) or *stilo nostro* (10 days earlier) which style Hawkins presumably uses in his holograph letters in English But nothing vital turns on the exact day of the month in this case. The Spanish matter, hitherto unknown in England, is believed to be unpublished even in Spain. The English letters of Hawkins during his captivity (though recorded in the Hatfield Calendar) may be new to all readers in Spain, and to many in England.

[2] MS. 177.36. Cal: Vol. VIII, pp. 209-213.

the East and West Indies, with their Kingdoms and islands adjacent." But "England hath no employment of men of importance" except against Spain, "nor cause to divide her forces."

The relative area of England and the vast Spanish Empire considered, it is typical that even after four years' imprisonment and while at the mercy of King Philip, Hawkins dared to assert that "England is not inferior to Spain in anything but circuit; and in many [things] superior, as in people, in victual, in munition, in shipping and unity."

This claim to unity takes no count of the disaffection of the English Catholics. The assertion of superiority in "people" might make us forget that the total population of England and Wales was less than that of London and suburbs today. Hawkins from prison pleaded the case for England with characteristic vigour,—though, as we shall subsequently see, he was yet to admonish his countrymen to appreciate and emulate the Spanish discipline by sea, and to eulogise the fine qualities of the best sort of Spanish noblemen.

"Spain cannot victual an army, no, nor sustain itself, without the help of France, England, the East Countries and other parts." On this matter he goes into details; and then asserts: "For shipping, I appeal to the Spaniards themselves, who yield that the Navy of England is the most puissant in the world," as had been shown to the Spaniards' cost; the English Navy being able, without aid of any other, on all occasions "to defend and offend at pleasure."

As Hawkins had been outnumbered and defeated by Don Beltrán, that he, even in captivity, could so far rise above his personal miseries as to take this tone is one of many indications of the spirit which enabled Elizabethan England to survive all adverse vicissitudes. He goes on to mention that as Spanish ships are sometimes manned by Englishmen [presumably Catholics though he does not say so], and by Flemings, and as the Army includes "Walloon, Almaine and Italian soldiers," such mixed nationalities "cannot but breed confusion, disorder and emulation":

> "Of all which England hath no need, and consequently, being one nation, and fighting in one cause, and that their own, cannot but begin, continue, and end all their actions with concord and unity, the principal cause of all good success in great and important actions. Besides this, Spain is peopled of a mixed nation of Moors, Turks, Jews, and negroes, and that in such sort that if a foreign enemy should enter the country they have cause to fear more their domestic enemies than him that entereth publishing [proclaiming] war. . . ."
>
> Secondly "that Kingdom is thought to be the richest which can best live in plenty without the help of others, which Spain can worst do of all Christendom, as the impediments of their trades, caused through Your Majesty, hath manifested."

He maintained that though the treasure of the Indies is reputed to amount to many millions per annum, the millions are not pounds but *pesos,* value four and sixpence each; and that the taxation is so heavy that "if the true riches of a Prince is in the love of his subjects,[1] and they be rich, I may boldly say that none is so poor as the King of Spain;" there being many complaints against the inroads made on

[1] As the Emperor Charles had admonished King Philip it should be. E.E. Vol. VII, pp. 1-5.

their possessions: "For it was wont to be a thing ordinary to find merchants and men of trades to be worth a hundred, two hundred thousand pounds, yea, and a million. Now hardly is found a man that may be reputed of certainty worth five thousand pounds . . ."

"Now to the end of the war, which is principally to be regarded," Hawkins compliments the Queen on having won the greatest reputation of any Monarch in the world, for having dared to stand up to the proud King "and to press and oppress him in such sort that he should beg for peace . . ." [Actually Philip II on his death bed, a few weeks later, was to admonish his son to carry on the war; and we shall see in 1598 Essex's pungent remarks in that connection].

Hawkins declared to the Queen that it would be a great achievement if "by your Highness's help the French King is settled in his Kingdom in peace, the States of Flanders sustain themselves . . ." and so forth.

> "That the war of England with Spain hath been profitable, no man can with reason gainsay. And how many millions we have taken from the Spaniard, is a thing notorious:" while the "gains for England, I think it not difficult to prove. And first, our shipping, victual, munition and men we buy not nor hire from France, Germany, and other parts." Moreover what pay and reward English soldiers and mariners receive "they spend it in England." Private persons may lose [Hawkins refrains from emphasising his own losses] but in general the war "hath enriched us exceedingly: . . ." What Spanish "cities, towns, islands, contracts and shipping have been sacked, spoiled and taken by us" it was needless to recapitulate.

As the Queen's "grandfather of famous memory" was the "first discoverer of the main of the West Indies" [the reference is to the Cabots in Henry VII's day,] Hawkins argues therefore that England is justified in dispossessing King Philip "of the principal fountain of his treasures." Asking pardon for such boldness, he affirms

> "that in true zeal and love to your Majesty's service Marcus Curtius to his country did not exceed me. In what degree I have sought to maintain the same, this bearer, Captain Burgon, for the time we have been together, is able to make known: which, with the faithful and loyal service of my dear father, may buy at your Majesty's hands the relief for me and my company which all distressed do ordinarily find: that if the peace be concluded, I and my company may be remembered; and if the war be continued, we may not be utterly forgotten; for excepting your Majesty's favour free us, we are like to end our days in perpetual imprisonment."

Previously, Hawkins had written to Essex:[1]

> "Right Honourable my singular good Lord, my duty most humble wise remembered.
>
> From the Tercera and in diverse occasions I have written to your honour, on whom dependeth the hope of restoration of my liberty, and what good in times past I have possessed, as of all distressed and afflicted in and of our Country, which being the fruits of true honour and nobility cannot but receive due reward both of God and men. And seeing the poor cannot by other means recompense your honorable favors, but with love, service and prayers to Him that is father of all, and hath bound Himself of free grace and mercy for his children to pay all their debts, my sincere service, love and prayers

[1] Spelling modernised from Hatfield MS. S. 199. 56. (Holograph. 1 page.) Only a brief abstract in Calendar XIV, p. 57. Letter now printed fully for the first time.

shall be all employed according to the obligation wherein I am bound. And my dycessed[1] wife, child and friends, being contained within the same, will according to duty do the like. Your honour may be pleased to procure me some prisoner that may free me,[2] which with a word of your mouth unto her Majesty I assure my self will be obtained: which will be no great pay for my many years service without pay or recompense, as the Lord Admiral and sea books can witness; and to all the followers of ye wars for ye part is not unknown: which is the only block[3] that presenteth it self to the King and detaineth him from signing my liberty.

My honorable good Lord, how ready my father, uncle and myself have been to the utmost of our power to show to your Lordship and your noble father the love we have borne in all occasions, I know cannot be forgotten; for which I humbly beseech your honour to favour me with your large power. I experimented counsel to my dycessed wife what course she may take for my best remedy.

Pardon my boldness I beseech you and vouchsafe to remember him that will not forget to pray continually to the Almighty to bring you to the highest degree of honour both in this life and in the ever-during. And so I most humbly take my leave, from the common gaol in Seville the first of April 1598.

Your Lordships most humbly to command ever

RICHARD HAWKINS."

"To the Right honorable my syngular good Lord the Lord Robart Erle of Essex, give these."

[Whether "these" reached Essex there is nothing to indicate.]

In August Hawkins appealed direct to the King of Spain recapitulating the circumstances in which he had surrendered. But as Philip II was then in the throes of his mortal illness we may doubt whether this and the following letter would have been read by him. As Hawkins knew no Spanish at the time of his capture, but talked a blend of French, Latin, and Portuguese, as he does not in his retrospective *Observations* (1622) make any reference to having learnt Castilian during his captivity, it would seem as if he must have depended upon some compassionate Spaniard to help him by writing the protests which now for the first time are brought forward and translated into English:

"Your Sacred, Catholic, and Royal Majesty.

I, Don Richard Hawkins, in affliction and tribulation, faced with the prospect of complete ruin, although your Catholic Majesty with your accustomed clemency gave orders under your hand and seal that I should be set at liberty more than two years ago, and that I hold evidence attested by Spaniards that I surrendered on honourable terms on the word of Don Beltrán de Castro, he, then in command of Your Catholic Majesty's fleet, promising me and my companions humane treatment and our freedom in confirmation of which he sent me his glove as a pledge,[4] yet now four years have gone by, in hard, onerous and expensive captivity, and it is a matter of common knowledge that unless

[1] "Dycessed" means "diseased," which in Elizabethan English denotes not ill but uneasy, ill at ease.

[2] An exchange of prisoners.

[3] "blok" misprinted "blot" in the Calendar epitome. Vol. XIV, p. 57.

[4] *que tengo prouado con testigos españoles que me rendi a buena guerra, y sobre la palabra de Don Beltran de Castro General que era de la Real Armada de Vuestra Catolica Magestad que dieri a mi, y a mi gente, buen tratamiento, y libertad: y para confirmacion que lo auia de complir me embio su guante suyo por prenda.*

I can be in England within a very few days, my inheritance is on the verge of being lost.[1] In consideration whereof, and bearing in mind that it is within Your Majesty's power to restore or utterly destroy this family that hath ever been so devoted to the service of your Royal Majesty, I beg and humbly beseech that, for love of God, you will be pleased to show the clemency and Christianity for which your Majesty is so renowned, to right my wrongs; and when they are thus righted, I, my wife and sons will devote our lives to your Royal Majesty's service, and pray God every day to grant your Catholic Majesty eternal glory. May Our Lord, as He alone can, guard the Royal Person of your Catholic Majesty.

"From Seville, from a prison cell in the common gaol where I am incarcerated: this 10th day of August of 1598."

Signed "Don Ricardo Aqines" we may conclude this was written for him by a Spanish scribe;[2] and that Hawkins had not mastered the language of his captors sufficiently to realise all that was being said in his name. Not only the profession of devotion to King Philip, and the terms in which it is phrased are essentially Spanish, but if writing in person Hawkins would certainly not have referred to his "sons" (*hijos*) for they were not born until after his return to England. One daughter was the total of his family when he set sail in 1593 for the Southern Seas.[3]

A further communication to the King, dated from Madrid, in Hawkins' name, calls for attention:[4]

"Señor. I, Don Richard Hawkins, affirm that when I arrived a prisoner at this Court, I was told Your Majesty had given orders to right the wrongs of all who might have urgent griefs to lay at your royal feet: So may Heaven grant through the prayers of your many servants that you may have long life to administer justice and mercy, by the grace of God.

"Of all people in this realm I have the worst grievance: indeed never, I think, was there a gentleman who suffered more injuries at the hands of so mighty a Monarch and none who has earned the name of being so gracious and equitable a judge.

"My father, while favourable to Your Majesty's service, having lost over a million and a half in that ill-starred treacherous affair at San Juan de Lua[5]—the rest of his fortune in two other ships confiscated at San Lucar,—never in his life, whether before or after the war, attempted to seek redress for himself, and only very reluctantly consented to the decision that I should undertake this voyage, in constant hope that I might arrive at a time when your Majesty must notice his wrongs and make reparation. If there be throughout Your Majesty's dominions a single person who can fairly bring against my father or myself any genuine claim, I will make it good a hundred per cent, and so far as my means fall short I will give my life.

"The justice of my case has been proved, and that by rights my liberty should be restored to me; yet I am held prisoner like the worst of criminals; and by now I have been unjustly detained more than four years: in consideration of which I beseech Your

[1] According to his father's Will. E E. Vol. IX, p. 558. But though the MS. says *muy pocos dias*, he could not have reached England in a few days, and presumably meant "soon."

[2] This may be inferred from it being (up to the concluding benediction) one long panegyric of King Philip.

[3] Of the above quoted Spanish letter there is another draft or copy, with slight verbal variations, with similar reference to his "sons." But compare with his holograph letter to Essex (1st April, 1598, Hatfield MS. 199. 56) in which he mentions his "wyfe, *chyld*, and friends."

[4] Headed *Villete de rricardo aquines Escrito de la carcel desta corte a su magestad.* (fº. 15).

[5] E.E. Vol. I, pp. 281-304.

Majesty to be pleased to give order that justice and satisfaction be rendered to me by setting me free in time for me to turn my freedom to account. Whereby not only will I hold myself satisfied, and your Majesty's conscience cleared, but will ever remain bound to lay down my life in Your Royal Majesty's service, to which end I will do anything proper and feasible. I implore your Majesty, in the name of God, to allow no further delay, as that would mean ruin to me, seeing that I have no more than two months left in which to save my inheritance: a fact widely known."

Here again is a reference to the terms of his father's Will. After further protest, Hawkins (or whoever writes the letter for him) concludes,

". . . if your Majesty will not do me justice, I will plead with the Tribunal of God, the just Judge and final Court of Appeal, for the justice that I cannot attain here: And the same is my prayer as to any who may hinder this memorial from reaching your Majesty's eyes; or any who having it in his power does not carry out its terms in your Majesty's name. May Our Lord have in His keeping the most Catholic person of Your Majesty and inspire in you such true counsel as He alone can.

From the prison of the town of Madrid, 29th of August, 1598."

King Philip was then very near his own time of appearing before "the Tribunal of God;" and again we should realise how improbable it is that he ever saw these letters. The next is yet more piteous.

"I Don Ricardo Aquines, state that by your orders I was transferred from the city of Seville to the prison in this town where I now am; and whether in consequence of the journey, or for whatever cause Our Lord pleases, I have for the last week or thereabouts suffered from a continuous fever, with bloody fluxes on four occasions. and owing to my fetters I suffer much hardship, nor could I get the remedial treatment necessary: and all the while I can get no sleep nor any rest: Wherefore I beg and pray Your Highness to order my shackles to be removed, for though I might ask to be allotted a private house for a prison, I am as yet unable to move: to move me might be fatal. . . ."

This is accompanied by an "Attestation of the physicians":

"In the town of Madrid, 4th Sepember, 1598, in presence of me the Registrar, now writing: Dr. Alvarez de Pérez, physician to His Majesty, and examiner, together with Dr Villareal, physician to the gaol here, by a sworn declaration made out in due form, testify that they have visited and are visiting Don Ricardo Aquines, an Englishman incarcerated in the common gaol of this town. He had and still has a continuous fever, and a pain in the left side, together with a number of diseases and ailments with such serious attendant evils that it will be surprising if he recovers. . . ." [Various medical details.] "The shackles, and the foul smell of the prison are a heavy drawback; and owing to these fetters the sufferer cannot move about in bed, nor can effectual remedies be applied because he is unable in his chains to turn over in bed, and can only lie on his back. . ."[1]

In consequence of this statement, the fetters were ordered to be taken off; but only for twelve days; and on condition that "a trustworthy person is appointed to

[1] fo. 21. Vo. A third physician, Dr Bermejo, signed a confirmation of the above statement, and further, "the licentiate Balthasar de Leon, physician to the town prison," testified on oath in the presence of the Registrar, Gaspar de Quixado, that the diagnosis was correct and that it was "very necessary and urgent to remove the fetters" lest the dangerous illness end fatally for lack of proper treatment. There is also (fo 22) a letter from Hawkins saying that he is "at death's door," and again he implores to be released from his fetters

keep guard over him.[1] Contrary to expectation of the doctors, Hawkins rallied; as we see from the application of one Diego de Rebolledo, who for nineteen days had charge of him: "Now, since this Englishman has recovered from his illness, the Governor of the Gaol has transferred him to the prison and it is no longer necessary to keep him under observation, I beg your Highness to discharge me from my wardenship and that I may be paid the sum due to me . . . seeing that, as is common knowledge, there can be no question but that this Don Richard has no means of paying."[2]

The reason for the fetters and the special guard appears through a letter of Hawkins to Essex "From Seville the first of August 1598."

> " . . A few days past, very desperate of my liberty" and despairing of justice, "I contrived with one Captain Borgen, my fellow prisoner, to break prison, . . . in that manner which all Seville wondered at," being of opinion "that he which had wrought that feat deserved to have his liberty given him. We were to go out at the roof of the prison at midnight," and get down by a rope, which was "so small and the prison so high" that in sliding down "I fell more than four fathoms, whereon the Captain Borgen being dismayed durst not follow me, thinking me to be dead in the street But the powerful hand of God sustained me. . . ."

Though stunned for a while, Hawkins on coming to himself realised he was not injured; so he began first to walk and then to run, "as your Lordship may imagine, never looking behind me till I was outside the gates of the city, guided by a servant of mine which waited for me in the street." But the "hue and cry, which they call Hermandad, was made . . . and large reward promised to him that could discover me."

Hiding in a vineyard Hawkins hoped to evade pursuit; but at noon came the owners or keepers of the vineyard and asked awkward questions; so Hawkins and his servant thought it urgent to get away. Some "Moriscoes or Mulattos" whom they encountered asked "if we were those who had broken prison at Seville" for whom four men on horseback were asking. Hawkins replied he had seen such men that morning near Seville. Again he hoped to baffle pursuit. But some horsemen descrying the fugitives shouted "Here they be." Whereupon Hawkins and his servant took to their heels, through vineyards and olive gardens, "till we had run ourselves out of breath." Hawkins then hid himself in an olive tree, and his servant in a bramble bush. Till sunset the pursuers "went round about us, seeking us; more than five hundred men," and under the very tree in which Hawkins was concealed there "passed footmen and horsemen" several times. The fugitives would not have been discovered, had it not been that

> "by chance they found my man and handled him with some rigour: who, being a white-livered fellow, brought them to the tree where I was; and they, with their pieces levelled, threatened to kill me if I came not down." And thus "I fell into the hands of thieves, for they took from me all I had but the clothes on my back, and what grieved me most,

[1] Signed by the Notary Registrar, in presence "of me Miguel de Yranco de Castile Luis Valdes." Endorsed "5th September 1598." On the 5th September one Diego de Rebolledo is appointed from Monday 7th September at 13 reales per diem to keep watch over the prisoner.

[2] fo. 23. *pues es notorio y sin duda qual dicho don rricardo no tiene bienes de que poderme pagar . . .*

a rapier and dagger dedicated to your Lordship many months before. They returned me to Seville into the hands of the Contratacion, who held me prisoner in a dungeon in the common gaol, with fetters day and night, and in that necessity and misery which words cannot paint. I rest without hope except your Honour be a mediator to her Majesty to succour me," and "many more my poor countrymen which endure that what cannot be imagined. . . ."

Their plight was the more exasperating in contrast to the leniency with which Spanish prisoners of war were treated in England; eating at "noblemen's tables" and living in "aldermen's houses; while we perish in the common gaol, who are as good or better men than they."

"When we complain, they answer us that we dare not use them otherwise," and that the Mother of God protects the Spaniards. "Your Lordship shall do a great charity to relieve us"; the maintenance being only twelve ounces of bread a day; and that so often "detained" that the captives had been reduced to kill and eat "the dogs that come into the prison." "In four years and more they the Spaniards never gave me one ryal [real] to sustain me; and now they have not only taken from me the money which by friendship I had procured, to be repaid by my wife upon exchange, but my apparel and what I had, saving only the clothes on my back. . . .

"My poverty is well known to your Lordship; I have no hope of freedom but in the Queen and yourself. I have by divers ways written unto Her Majesty; at this time I cannot. I pray you therefore to excuse me and to have in mind the afflictions of the rest of your servitors here in prison who make daily prayers for you."

This in Hawkins' own hand is now at Hatfield House.[1] We may wonder whether it only arrived in England after Essex had been appointed Lord Lieutenant General for Ireland. Neither this letter nor the one to the Queen seem to have produced any result.

There is no date on "the humble petition of Judith the wife of Richard Hawkins gentleman prisoner in Spain," pleading with the Queen to command that Lady Hawkins disburse the money left by Sir John Hawkins for his son's ransom. But it is answered by "Dame Margaret Hawkins, widow," standing upon the time limit specified by Sir John, and complaining that his resources had already been depleted heavily by his contribution to the costs of Richard's expedition.[2]

In September 1598, Philip II passed away, and Philip III reigned in his stead; but still Hawkins was held captive. On the 3rd of March 1599, a further appeal was made on his behalf in Spanish:

"I, Richard Hawkins, a gentleman of England, declare that my prolonged and unjust captivity is well known to your Highness; and as it is unfair that while my case is under consideration I should suffer any aggravation beyond confinement in the common gaol, I beg and pray of your Highness to order for me to be relieved of my fetters: and if necessary I will pledge my faith to remain in my present prison on parole. . . ."

Apparently this had no effect; for the next document endorsed "Madrid, 2nd June, 1599" protests anew: that

[1] 1½ pp. MS 177 71. Cal: Vol. VIII, pp 287-291.

[2] Hatfield MSS Cal. Vol. VIII, pp. 557-559. Though Lady Hawkins not being Richard's mother but his stepmother may to some extent account for her attitude, we may wonder why Sir John Hawkins worded his will in such terms as to make it to her interest that Richard should remain a prisoner.

"Don Richard Hawkins an English gentleman . . , has been undergoing great hardships in prison after having surrendered on terms of *buena guerra*": and that he is in wretched health; and "having no less than four fellow captives in his cell he cannot receive proper medical treatment." So he begs to be transferred to a private house until his health improves; after which he is alleged to be willing to "return to prison if the King and Council so direct."

On the 26th of June 1599, Don Beltrán de Castro addressed the Council on behalf of Hawkins. There followed a further appeal of "Don Ricardo Hawkins a captive English gentleman" who "affirms that Your Highness and the Royal Council of State have had his case under examination" for some while, and he entreats that in view of all he suffers and has endured during his protracted captivity he may at last be set free. This is endorsed "Let the official reporter get together the documents on the case as ordered. Madrid 31 of January 1600." On the 3rd of November 1600 Don Beltrán was called upon to repeat his former statement, which was again confirmed by the Council on November the 11th.[1] This was Don Beltrán's last effort on behalf of his captive, for death overtook him on the 28th of January while Hawkins was still a prisoner.

After many more delays, the release of Hawkins was ultimately brought about by another nobleman, also of great hereditary and personal renown: namely the Count of Miranda, who urged upon the Council that the violation of promises made to Hawkins was so detrimental to Spanish honour that Englishmen in future could not be blamed if they hesitated to accept offers of capitulation.[2] A letter to that effect was sent to Philip III from the Council. The intervention of Miranda, who was Captain General of Catalonia, Viceroy of Naples (ultimately President of the Royal Council of Castile, and of the Council of State and War,) procured in the end for

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[1] The long delays are the more remarkable in that over twenty years earlier (1574) Cerdan de Tallada had dedicated to King Philip his *Vista de la carcel, y de los presos, enqual tratan largamenta sus edas*, &c., &c, reporting on prison conditions and urging humane treatment of persons arrested for debt and other minor offences, also advising that there should be adequate council for the defence of the accused. Tallada's survey had been made in 1568 by order of the King

Palau's *Manual*, Vol. II, p. 136.

[2] Sir Clements Markham editing *The Hawkins Voyages*, p. xxxiv adds: "The Count of Miranda was Don Diego Lopez de Zúñiga, 2nd son of the Count of Placencia and Ledesma He was a great military leader in the days of Juan II and Enrique IV . . Don Pedro, the 2nd Count of Miranda, served in the Granada war, and Don Francisco the third was Viceroy of Navarre under Charles V, and a Knight of the Golden Fleece. He married Maria Henriquez de Cardenas, and was succeeded by Francisco 4th Count of Miranda . . . His son Don Pedro died at Madrid in 1572, . . . . leaving three daughters. Maria, the eldest, was Countess of Miranda in her own right, and married her uncle Juan . . ." (titles and offices as above) "who insisted upon the liberation of Richard Hawkins."

Even Camden had heard of this nobleman's action:

*Verum visum Hispanis, ad deterrendum ne alii in Australe mare penetrarent, hanc severitatem adhibere, donec Comes Miranda Concilii Preses pronunciaret, illum dimittendum, eo quod in rebus bellicis promissa à Regiis Ducibus deliberate sub conditione facta, sint servanda, alias neminem deditionem unquam facturum*

*Annalium rerum Anglicarum . . . regnante Elizabetha* (ed · Hearne, 1717) pp 682-683

To Miranda's other titles, Philip III added that of Duke of Peñaranda. [The latter title is familiar in England, where in our time the Duke of Peñaranda often used to play polo at Ranelagh and at Hurlingham. His tragic fate in 1936 was much deplored by English sportsmen and by all English friends of Spain].

Hawkins the liberty which Don Beltrán had thought to grant him from the first.

On the 30th June, 1602, Hawkins, still a prisoner in Madrid, had written to Sir Robert Cecil praying him to appeal direct to the Queen; because Lady Hawkins

> "will not give the money allotted by my father for my ransom until I come into England, though it is notorious that if I had credit for a less sum I could compound for my ransom. The agent for the Cadiz prisoners in England offered it to me on security for 12,000 crowns, but I could not do it; and the old King's death following, she [Lady Hawkins] enjoys not only what was given by my father for my ransom, but the portion my father bequeathed me. He intended £3,000 for my ransom, . . . Do you defend the orphan, and help me, my wife and child, . . . I have written a letter to my dread Sovereign which I beg may come into her hands."[1]

On the 17th of January following, (1602-3), John Chamberlain sent word from London to Sir Ralph Winwood in Paris, that the Court had been flourishing "more than ordinary" at Christmas, that the Irish rebels were coming in daily to surrender and that "young Hawkins" had returned "by exchange or ransom" from Spain.[2]

It does not appear that the Queen gave him any compensation or reward for all that he had suffered. His tardy Knighthood was to come from the hand of her successor.[3]

Hawkins survived into England's "declining times" upholding his country's honour as long as he lived. His last act was to write his *Observations*[4] in the hope that other seamen might learn from his experiences. Politically and theologically no man could have been more antagonistic to Spain. But the personage whom he held up to posterity as the most perfect example of "true nobilitie" was his captor Don Beltrán de Castro. And while expressing scorn and grief for the ill-disciplined conduct of some of his own crew, his every reference to Don Beltrán is in a tone of hearty admiration. Between the Spanish victor and his wounded prisoner there had been born at first sight a personal sympathy leading to frank interchange of comment upon a contest in which both leaders had shown conspicuous valour. Such were the fraternal amenities possible in the days when war was *ultima ratio regum*, and a fair fight between warriors; instead of a hideous "totalitarian" competition, involving entire nations and both sexes, pursued to "unconditional surrender," in a manner which would have astounded the exponents of *buena guerra*.

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[1] S P D Eliz: CCLXXXIV No. 54 Cal: Vol. VI, p 212 It would appear from this that not twelve thousand pounds (as believed by Miss Hawkins, *Plymouth Armada Heroes*, 1888, p. 131) but twelve thousand crowns was the sum fixed, i e. about £3,000, but it would be equal to at least £12,000 of the money of 1888.

[2] S.P.D. Eliz: Vol. CCLXXXVII. No. 7. Cal: Vol, VI, p 283.

[3] Metcalfe's *Book of Knights* (1885) p. 145. The compliment was the less in that this gallant man of action was one of a batch of over four hundred knights dubbed at Whitehall, 23rd July, 1603 "before the Coronation of the King"

[4] *The Observations of Sir Richard Hawkins Knight, in his Voiage into the South Sea Anno Domini 1593*

*Per varios Casus, Artem Experientia fecit.*
*Exemplo monstrante viam Manil. li.i*

*London Printed by I D. for Iohn Iaggard, and to be sold at his shop at the Hand and Starre in Fleete-streete neere the Temple Gate. 1622.* E E. App: C. pp. 227-228.

We may fittingly conclude with what Don Beltrán himself wrote in his will:[1] After directing that his funeral service should be performed in the Church of San Sebastian in Madrid, and his body buried in the monastery of San Francisco at Cuellar at the door of the sacristy leading to the main chapel, he asked that his tombstone should be inscribed *Don Beltrán de Castro y de La Cueva y asi aqui sepultado, suplica a todos los que pudieren le encomienden a Dios su alma:* ("Don Beltrán de Castro and La Cueva lies here interred, and supplicates all who may to commend his soul to God"): And then, after consultation with his confessor, and at the discretion of his executors, "should it not be wordly vanity—for I do but wish to set a good example to the sons I leave,—mention shall be made of the year in which I was Captain General, . . . and how by the favour of God and His Blessed Mother, I was the first to capture ships from Englishmen in the Southern Sea."[2]

[1] Information from the present (24th) Count of Lemos (17th Duke of Alba)

[2] *Si no fuere vanidad del mundo, que yo no lo hago sino por dar buen ejemplo a los hijos que dejo, se pondra el año que fui Capitan General en la toma des Estado del Final y como fui el primero que, con el favor Dios y de su Madre benedeta, tome navios de ingleses en la Mar del Sur.*

His sons were Don Juan de Castro; Don Francisco de Castro, (who lived with Don Beltrán's brother Juan de Castro, Archbishop of Taranto); and Don Beltrán de Castro.

## *APPENDIX A.*

## "NOT A CORSARIO"

### THE EVIDENCE OF DON BELTRAN DE CASTRO IN FAVOUR OF RICHARD HAWKINS

The testimony published in 1899 by Martin Hume in the English Calendar of *State Papers, Spanish, Simancas, Vol. IV,* pp. 671-672, dated 1600, 3rd of November, was given by him as "Estado 840." A statement of that date now reproduced from a document at Simancas —signed by Don Beltrán de Castro—E.E., plate 14, is numbered "E.1140"; but appears to be the same in substance. (The letter in the margin from Andres de Prada is not quoted by Hume).

"Ayer se trato en Consejo destado por orden de S.M. del negocio de Ricardo aquines, y no se tomo resolucion porque para tomarla con la justificacion que conuiene es necessario que v.m. de una relacion jurada y firmada de su mano de la orden que el Virrey dio a v.m. y de lo que en realidad de verdad passo en la prision deste cossario, lo que v.m. le offrecio y si para hauerle a las manos conuino recibirle a buena guerra, no obstante la orden que habia de S.M. para no tomar a vida ninguno de los que entrasen en aquellos mares, porque aunque yo retuui lo que v.m. me dixo sobreste caso se resoluio el Consejo en que no bastaua y que conuenia, que v.m. lo diesse por escrito en la toma que esta referida y aunque yo quisiera yr con este recado, por besar a v.m. las manos no da lugar a ello el despacho de un correo que va a Flandes y si v.m. me embia esta relacion de aqui a manana a mediodia procurare que a la tarde se eche este negocio a un lado.

Dios guarde a v.m. como yo deseo. A 3 de Noviembre 1600.

ANDRES DE PRADA.

Esta manana recibi este papeld V.M. a que no respondi luego por estar fuera de la possada cuando se me dio y haciendolo aora, digo Señor, que los dias passados el secretario Francisco Ydiazquez me escribio que los Señores del Consejo destado, mandaban ynformase hacerca del negocio de Don Ricardo Aquines lo que auia passado. Hicelo, pero pues aora se me buelbe a mandar de nuevo por haberse perdido mi papel o causas justas que a ello deben mober a esos Señores debe ser necesario.

Y asi digo, quanto a lo primero, que la horden que yo llebe del Birrey del Piru quando sali del puerto del Callao de Lima en bussca deste yngles me pareceme si no me acuerdo mal no fue otra que encargarme lo hiciese con todo cuidado y le procurase, aber a las manos lo qual, con el fabor de Dios lo hice.

Y en quanto a querer saber esos Señores lo que pase con el desde que le tope digo, que desde el jueves a las cuatro de la tarde, poco mas o menos, comence a combatir con el, lo qual hicimos sin cesar todo lo que duro el dia y noche y el biernes todo el dia y la noche y el sabado hasta medio dia que bisto que a mia Almiranta tenia muy mal parada por

haberle muerto buena parte de gente y haberle llevado el dia antes el arbol mayor de un canonazo y a mi nao dadole, fuera de otros muy peligrosos, dos en el trinquete, los quales hicieron tanto dano en el que a poder de gimielgas y rreatas le stentabamos, pero no sin temor, de que por momentos se auia de caer. Fuera destos, me tenia dados otros tres muy malos al panol cassi una braca debajo del agua, los quales, me vi en gran trabajo para remediarlos y bisto esta y que no era justo abenturar mas la rreputacion de S.M. me parecio que era menos ynconveniente prometerle buena guerra como mande se hiciese, que no llebar adelante lo comencado, pues tan presto podia Dios permitir que me fuese a fondo como el y contentandome con aberle a las manos tube por bien de prometerle, si se rendia, buena guerra de hacersela, lo qual el hico y entiendo que mi resolucion, fue la que convino para el servicio de Dios y de S.M. y es tan cierto esto que un poco antes que se Rindiese[1] supe que auia mandado apercibir dos hombres con cuerdas enzendidas para que, en biendo que entraba mi gente en su nao, pegasen fuego al panol de la polvora, aunque esto se remedio, porque una bala de mi artilleria entendi los auia llevado a emtrabos pero no faltaran otros que yntentaran lo propio.

Y que ubiese orden de S.M. para no tomar a vida ningun enemigo que entrase en aquel mar del sur no llego a mi noticia, pero quando lo hubiera hecho, a nuebas causas pareceme que tienen licencia las cabezas para elegir lo que mas les parece conveniente como yo lo hice a mi entender y pienso que no erre en ello salbo el paracer desor Señores que sera el mas acertado.

*Llamale v.m cossario a Don Ricardo Aquines,*[2] *no lo fue, porque pirata y cossario a mi juicio es quando habiendo paces entre dos Principes ba algun basallo del otro a hacer guerra en tierra del otro sin horden de su rrey, al tal se le puede dar este nombre, Pero este trayala de la reyna de Yngalaterra, la qual patente tengo en mi poder en que le manda aga todo el dano que pudiere en tierras del Rey nuestro señor, y de sus aliados y pues esto es ansi, abiendo tantos dias que la paz esta rrota entre Espana y Yngalaterra, no me parece merece Don Ricardo este nombre que de da v m. a quien nuestro Señor guarde etc.*[3]

De la possada a 3 de Noviembre de 1600. Don Beltrán de Castro (Rubrica).

There followed in November of the same year a further consultation *del de Yndias sobre lo de Ricardo Aquines, Yngles,* protesting anew that Hawkins most certainly was not a pirate, as he held the Commission of his Sovereign; wherefore to set him at liberty would be an action worthy of His Majesty. As this sums up the previous evidence, we will proceed to consider it.

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[1] The third of the pages now reproduced in collotype begins at " Rindiese " &c.

[2] This to Philip III. King Philip II had not so termed Hawkins, but had called him " the English General." E.E. p. 199 ante.

[3] Italic added by the present writer; for his statements that as Hawkins held his Sovereign's Commission, he was not a pirate, is the point missed by many English landsmen in our time, they presumably not realising that to call a seaman a pirate is as deadly an insult as it would be to call a statesman a bandit.

*APPENDIX B*

## THE COUNCIL OF STATE TO PHILIP III ON "THE CASE OF RICARDO AQUINES."[1]

On the 11th of November 1600, the facts as to Hawkins were repeated to Philip III by his Council, represented by the Cardinal de Guevara, Don Juan de Idiaquez, Father Gaspar de Córdoba, the Conde de Miranda, and the Conde de Chinchon. Although this letter is in part a repetition of the facts we have seen in Don Beltrán's own report, it is too important to be omitted.[2] It should terminate for ever both in England and Spain the fashionable fallacy that Elizabethan maritime heroes were corsairs.

"Sire

In compliance with what Your Majesty was good enough to put before the Council, including a report from the Indies, and having understood what it contains, it was ordered that Don Beltrán de Castro should furnish a report signed with his name, as to the case of Richard Hawkins; to enable us with full knowledge of the facts to consult Your Majesty. It appears from the information given that the Marqués de Cañete ordered him [Don Beltrán] with the two ships, *Capitana* and *Almiranta*, that he should seek out the said Richard Hawkins and capture him; and that from Thursday at four in the afternoon when he found him, he fought him until Saturday following at midday: when he saw that he had not been able to reduce him in all this time.[3] Many were killed and the mainmast of the *Almiranta* destroyed by a cannon shot, and five other shots in very dangerous places were received by the *Capitana*, three of them in the sails, and one a fathom under the water, and two in the fore-mast, which caused so much damage that one might say it was torn to pieces, and though it stood upright there was fear that any moment it might fall. It was not right then to risk the reputation of the Royal Majesty, and it appeared less inconvenient to offer terms of honourable war than carry on the action, in that she [the *Capitana*] might soon, if God permitted, go to the bottom, as also the adversary. So contenting himself with the prospect of having him [Hawkins] in his hands, he [Don Beltrán] promised to treat him honourably if he would surrender.[4] According to that promise he capitulated, and it was understood that

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[1] Now first published and translated from the General Archives at Simancas. *Secretaria de Estado, No· 840 fº. 91. En la carpeta. De Officio. Ynglaterra Ynchesa vna consulta del de Yndias sobre lo de Ricardo Aquines Yngles.*" &c., &c.

[2] The document being in extremely long sentences almost devoid of punctuation, it is convenient to add punctuation in the translation, which, where the original is involved, has now been slightly compressed.

[3] *Que no le hauia pódido rendir en todo esta tiempo.*

[4] *Yy contentando con hauerle a las manos le prometio si se rindia de hazale buena guerra*

this was for the good of the Service; for had not such terms been offered to him, he had men ready to blow up the ship.

On Don Beltrán's men going on board the ship it was found that Hawkins had a Commission from the Queen of England to do all the damage that he could.[1] There had never reached [Don Beltrán] the order not to spare the lives of any who should be captured in those seas. Having seen what Don Beltrán de Castro said and reported on this matter, it appeared to the President of the Orders that as the word given to the said Richard Hawkins was not expressly in the King's name, Your Majesty is not pledged to anything except your own Royal will." But despite Don Beltrán not having executed " the order of the King our Lord now in glory, who had commanded that any adversary was to die who was taken near the Canary Isles," it would appear desirable to accord grace and mercy to Hawkins.

What follows is involved and prolix, to the effect that though Don Beltrán in one sense acted wrongly in promising liberty, nevertheless that promise procured the surrender of Hawkins—who otherwise would have fought to the last,—and so Don Beltrán saved both the English ship and his own *Capitana*. Therefore far from Don Beltrán's mercy being detrimental to the Royal interests, it had been " the contrary:"

" And considering Hawkins was a distinguished officer and seaman and had fought with great courage it would seem suitable to entertain him honourably and transfer him from the prison where he now is to a fortress where he can live in comfort and decency, as the English treat their gentlemen prisoners. *In England they behave very well to Spanish gentlemen whom they capture;* and as many more of ours may fall into their hands, it would be a bad example to the English if Hawkins were ill-treated."

We may here add that as Hawkins then in November 1600 had been a prisoner since June 1594, despite Don Beltrán's pledge, the " bad example " had already been given. But the matter was put gently to the King:

" The Counts of Chinchon, Miranda, and Mayalde, the Cardinal of Guevara, and Father Gaspar of Córdoba considered that as Don Beltrán de Castro was in the position of a delegate of the Viceroy, who represented the Royal Person, and further considering that Hawkins had a Commission from the Queen of England to do what damage he could, Don Beltrán had acted wisely in offering to receive him honourably if he surrendered. Don Beltrán had done this in good faith, for Hawkins having his Sovereign's Commission in open war they could not class him as a pirate [2]

" Considering also that those who might have to deal in similar cases should have authority to do as might seem best in the interests of the Service, and as Don Beltrán declared that he had received no instruction that His Majesty had ordered all captives taken in the Indian Seas to be slain," he had acted correctly, in that " in honourable war (*buena guerra*) it is usual for terms of capitulation to include setting at liberty in exchange for a ransom proportionate to the quality and means of the persons."

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[1] *Que levada Patente de la Reyna de Ynglaterra para hazar todo el dano que pudiesse.*

[2] *y que llevanto Patente de su Reyna y estando la guerra dota no se puede nombre de pirata.*

In view of the possibility of peace with England, His Majesty is requested to fix a sum for Hawkins' ransom, sufficient to satisfy the "providers of Cadiz." It is repeated in conclusion that Hawkins should be "taken to a fortress and well treated." From this we would see—even if we had not Hawkins' own letters,—that he had not been allowed the privileges due to a prisoner of war. Despite the foregoing protest of the Council, one of Hawkins' letters shows him in 1602 not yet released.

The most remarkable feature in all this is that despite many years of suffering in Spanish prisons, Hawkins never doubted the good faith of Don Beltrán. He would have had much excuse for supposing the offer of liberty a base stratagem with which to trick him into surrender. But he instinctively realised that it was not Don Beltrán who had broken his word, but the Crown which had omitted to confirm it; and further, as he plainly stated, he was aware that his step-mother was keeping back the money assigned by his father for his ransom. Either way, he entirely acquitted Don Beltrán, whom he remembered to the end of his days with gratitude and admiration.[1]

[1] In contrast to the amenities of Don Beltrán and Hawkins, we notice that in *The Second World War*, Vol. III, chapter X, (*Daily Telegraph*, 6 February, 1950), Mr Churchill states that "In the sombre wars of modern democracy chivalry finds no place. Dull butcheries on a gigantic scale and mass effects overwhelm all detached sentiment." The reference is not to actions afloat but to operations ashore. Nevertheless this is a lamentable decline from the etiquette of *buena guerra*, when wars were "the last argument of Kings," and when (though a man arraigned for High Treason was not allowed counsel for defence, and death was the penalty for theft), a high standard of courtesy between Christian opponents in war was considered obligatory.

# *HOLOGRAPH LETTER OF RICHARD HAWKINS*

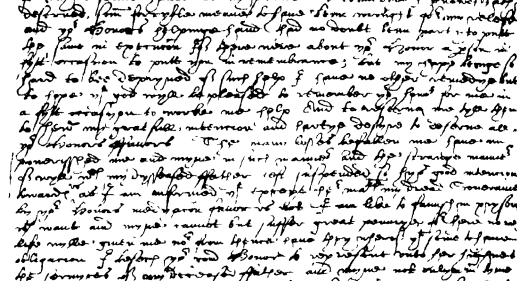
## *to Sir Robert Cecil, from prison in Madrid, 20 May 1602.*

*Now first reproduced from the original at Hatfield House MS. 182. 30.*
*With line by line transscript.*

Ryght Honorable my dutye in most Humble wyse remem:
bred &c. By diuerse wayes I have benn informed of the Hono·
rable desyre you shew in all occasyons to further my libertye wch
I wyll be euer redye to deserue wth all thankefullnes and seruyce
as longe as I haue breath / my long imprysonment and sufferinge
for my constant zeale to my prince and countrye I knowe hath
deserued, som forcyble meanes to haue benn wrought for my relese
and yor Honors helpinge hand had no doubt benn party to putt
the same in execucon If there were about yor Honor a pson in fytt
occasyon to putt you in remembrance, but my hope beinge so
hard to bee depryued of such help I haue no other remedye but
to hope yt god wyll be pleased to remember yor honor for me in
a fytt occasyon to worke me help. And to reserue me tyll then
to shewe my gratfull intencion and hartye desyre to deserue all
yor Honors ffauors. The many losses befallen me haue im:
pouerisshed me and myne in such manner, And the strange manner
of wyll wch my dysseased ffather left, suspended so hys good intencion
toward us as I am informed yt except her matie my dread Soueraine
by yor Honors medyac'on fauor us not I am like to famish in pryson
of want and myne cannot but suffer great penurye for here no re
life wilbe giuen me nor from thence haue they wherof yt seme to haue
obligacion. I beseech yor good Honor to represent vnto her highnes
the seruyces of my deceased ffather, and myne not onlye in tyme
of my libertye, but principallye in tyme of thys my imprysonment
wch wthout vauntinge I maye instyle saye haue deserued not onlv of
her matie but of nobles and countrye as much as any subiect that
hath traueled forren parte wherof testymony suffycient are many
of my countrymen yt cann yf they list manifest the same vnto yor honor
and my seuen yeares vniust imprysonment principally caused there:
by I am intreated wth excedinge rygor and the like ys used wth all
or countrymen in generall, placed in the comon Jayle amongst va.
gammunds thefes and roges, but in England there ys dwfference of
psons and entreatye: wch ys the honor of or nacon and dyshonor to
ther I beseech yor Honor to contynue towards me yor powerfull
fauor for ye fynishinge of works begonn And I and myne shall
praye vnto the God Almightye for yor increase in all temporall and
Spirytuall happines, from the Carcel de la Villa in Madrid
the 20th of Maye 1602.

yor Honors euer most humbly bounden
RICHARD HAWKYNS

*(15) E. M Tenison's "Elizabethan England" VII 5. 5.*



*APPENDIX C.*

## "DISCIPLINE, PATIENCE, AND JUSTICE."

### *The Observations of Sir Richard Hawkins, 1622.*[1]

The main facts of the encounter between Don Beltrán de Castro and Captain Hawkins, proclaimed in Spain in 1594, were apparently not published in England until 1622, when Hawkins dedicated his *Observations* "To the most Illustrious and most Excellent Prince Charles, Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornewall, Earle of Chester, etc."

"Amongst other neglects prejudiciall to this state, many heroyque acts of our nation have been buried and forgotten," an oblivion the more to be regretted, as thus "succeeding ages have been deprived of the fruits which might have been gathered out of their experience, had they been committed to record. To avoid this neglect, and for the good of my country, I have thought it my duty to publish the observations of my South Sea Voyage. . . ."

As these *Observations* of Sir Richard Hawkins are easily accessible, it is strange that in England in our own day we have been taught to depreciate the Spanish Navy, to the discipline of which our countryman in 1622 paid such ample tribute. Even after having endured many years of captivity in Spain it did not occur to Hawkins to revenge himself by misrepresenting or maligning the adversary. Although in 1598 Lope de Vega in *La Dragontea* had called him *pirata*, and his father the same, he ignored these insults and wrote of Spanish seamen in the light of what he had personally witnessed of their methods.

His own crews in 1593-94 in the "Daintie" and the "Fancie" do not seem to have been of the best quality. Inclined as they were to be impatient and wish to turn back during the early phase of the voyage, it required much firmness on his part to keep them to their task; and, even so, the "Fancie" ultimately deserted him; so he (as we have seen) was left to face Don Beltrán de Castro with one ship alone.

"In this point of discipline," wrote Hawkins, "the Spaniards do far surpass us; for whosoever forsaketh his fleet, or his Commander, is not only severely punished but deprived also of all charge or government for ever after. This in our country is many times neglected; for that there is none to follow the cause, the principals being dead with grief, or drowned

[1] *The Observations of Sir Richard Hawkins, Knight, in his Voiage into the South Sea, Anno Domini 1593 London Printed by I D for Iohn Iaggard, and are to be sold at his shop at the Hand and Starre in Fleet-street, neere the Temple Gate, 1622* Twice reprinted by the Hakluyt Society, first in a separate volume, 1847, and in 1878 included in *The Hawkins Voyages*, the latter being the more adequately edited The editor of the 1847 volume erroneously stated that "many of the early voyages to South America were "buccaneering" and that Drake after his "most memorable" expedition endured the mortification of being considered "little better than a pirate," and it "required all the honours conferred on him by Queen Elizabeth to set him right in public opinion" (For the facts see E E Vol. IV, pp 101-114.) Among editorial remarks in 1847 is a note that "After the defeat of the Spanish Armada Lord Charles Howard of Effingham was created Earl of Nottingham." But Charles, Lord Howard of Effingham was not created Earl of Nottingham until nine years after the defeat of the Armada (See E E Vol. X under date 1597) The editorial notes in 1878 by Markham are much more informative than those of 1847 (See E.E Vol IX, ante p 219).

The Argonaut Press in 1933 issued a new edition of the *Observations of Sir Richard Hawkins* edited by James A. Williamson 475 numbered copies. Cambridge University Press.

in the gulf of poverty, and so not able to wade through with the burden of that suit, which in Spain is prosecuted by the King's Attorney or fiscal, or at least by a Judge appointed for determining that cause purposely.

"Yea, I cannot attribute the good success the Spaniard hath in his voyages and peoplings, to any extraordinary virtue more in him than in any other man, were not *discipline, patience and justice far superior*. For in valour, experience, and travail, he surpasseth us not; in shipping, preparation, and plenty of victuals, he cometh not near us; in paying and rewarding our people, no nation did go beyond us. But God, Who is a just and bountiful rewarder, . . . doubtless in recompense of their endurance, resolution, and subjection to commandment, bestoweth upon them the blessing due. . . ."[1]

On other matters also, Hawkins' *Observations* are conspicuous for the sense of justice prompting him to render praise wherever he felt praise to be deserved:

"In this point of steerage, the Spaniards and Portugalls do exceed all that I have seen, I mean for their care, which is chiefest in navigation. And I wish in this, and all their works of discipline, we should follow their examples. . . .

"In every ship of moment, upon the half deck or quarterdeck they have a chair or seat; out of which whilst they navigate, the pilot or his adjutant (which are the same officers which in our ships we term the master and his mates) never depart, day or night, from the sight of the Compass; and have another before them, whereby they see what they do, and are ever witnesses of the good or bad steerage of all men that take the helm. This I have seen neglected in our best ships, yet nothing more necessary to be reformed."[2]

We have observed how Hakluyt, ten years after the defeat of the Armada, was still recommending Spanish text books to our Lord High Admiral.[3] And here is Sir Richard Hawkins, thirty-four years after that event, also rendering strict justice to the foe. The scorn for 16th century Spain which is the modern English fashion seems to have arisen from disregard of all such testimonies as would have prevented the mistake. We need not assume that the habitual misrepresentation of Spain by our 19th and 20th century "authorities" has been deliberate; it seems to be the consequence of following each other, instead of looking through the eyes of personages mainly concerned, whose first-hand experience, combined with strict regard for veracity, made them careful of what they set on paper for the enlightment of posterity.[4]

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[1] Op. cit. Section XXX. [2] Op cit. Section XXII. [3] E.E. Vol. VII, pp. 405-412.

[4] We may notice the contrast between Sir Richard Hawkins who was not embittered by his misfortunes, but wrote with admirable self-restraint, and Sir Arthur Gorges and Sir William Monson whose depreciations of certain great deeds still mislead all who trust in them Unhappily the tendency has been to pay more attention to Gorges' and Monson's slanders than to Hawkins' truths. (See E E. Vol. IV, pp. 199-212; and Vol. VIII, pp. 201-203, for correction of some of the most serious misstatements).

# THE OBSERVATIONS OF SIR RICHARD HAVVKINS KNIGHT, IN HIS VOIAGE INTO THE South Sea.

Anno Domini 1593.

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*Per varios Casus, & Artem Experientia fecit, Exemplo monstrante viam.*—Manil. li. 1.



LONDON
Printed by *I D.* for IOHN IAGGARD, and are to be sold at his shop at the Hand and Scatre in Fleete-streete, neere the *Temple Gate* 1622.

(Reproduced by courtesy of Messrs Maggs Bros.)

## CONCERNING FERDINANDO, EARL OF DERBY.

We must now return to matters in England. Five days before Michaelmas 1593, there died in the north of England Henry Stanley, 4th Earl of Derby, K.G., P.C., Lieutenant of Cheshire and Lancashire. Forty years earlier, he, as Lord Strange, when heir to the Earldom, had signed the Letters Patent by which Edward VI settled the succession to the Crown upon Lady Jane Grey. But his father, Edward, 3rd Earl, had been absent from the Court at that time; so when "Jane the Queen" fell, after nine days, the head of the family was not implicated.

Lord High Steward for Queen Mary's Coronation, he was one of the Commissioners for the trial of Lady Jane. Sent to meet Philip of Spain when he landed at Southampton in July 1554, Derby, who during Edward VI's reign had promoted the interests of the Church of England, reverted under Philip and Mary to the Catholic faith. His family motto *Sans changer* appears ironical; for on Queen Elizabeth's accession, he again adapted himself to circumstances, and so was not deprived either of his Privy Councillorship or his Lieutenancy of the two shires where his chief possessions lay. In the autumn of 1572 his stately funeral took place at Ormskirk; and he was succeeded by his son Henry aforesaid, who enjoyed the Earldom for twenty-one years. The main events in the 4th Earl's career were an embassy to France in 1585-6 to carry the Garter insignia to King Henry III; a royal command to be among Commissioners for the enquiry into the case of Queen Mary of Scots, October 1586; a trip to Ostend as a Peace Commissioner in 1587-8; and in 1589 the office of Lord High Steward, on the 14th of April, for the arraignment of Philip Howard, Earl of Surrey, 20th Earl of Arundel, Premier Earl of England. Arundel's was a nature as unworldly as Derby's was the reverse. For the sake of "a matter of conscience" in 1585, and onwards, Arundel, as we have seen, held every material advantage as dust in the balance against what he proclaimed to be his duty to the Church of Rome: "Wonderful it is how much he lost" [for his principles], as his first biographer exclaimed. But his character was incomprehensible to the Lord High Steward appointed to pronounce the fatal sentence.

These circumstances considered, we would hardly have expected English Catholics abroad to look either to Derby or his son for the restoration of the Pope's supremacy in England. But in Spain Sir William Stanley (who in 1587 had surrendered Deventer to the Spaniards), in 1593 encouraged Cardinal Allen to send secret emissaries from Rome to England on the perilous undertaking of soliciting Ferdinando Lord Strange, son and heir to the Earl of Derby, to accept "a sanctified crown" in prospect,—and undertake the overthrow of Elizabeth. The proposals were to the son because the royal blood came through his mother Lady Margaret Clifford, daughter of Henry 2nd Earl of Cumberland by his first wife Lady Eleanor Brandon who had been a co-heiress of Charles Duke of Suffolk, by Mary, former Queen of France, sister of Henry VIII.

Ferdinando, great-great-grandson of Henry VII, seems to have had no ambition to hazard his Earldom to win a hypothetical throne; and though a secret messenger alleged him to have assented to the propositions, his own assurance is that he declined them. Whatsoever he may

have said to the men who had come to him at the risk of their lives, he at once revealed to the Queen the offer he had received; which under Statute law and his oath of allegiance he was obliged to do, or else be held accessory to the conspiracy if discovered.

Cardinal Allen had not been able to dominate the minds of his countrymen in 1588 when admonishing them to offer their swords to Philip of Spain.[1] The answer to his advice having been the defeat of the Armada, it is surprising that he, an Englishman of considerable scholastic intellect, even after he had lived long out of England could believe that the country would accept a Stanley as King. Unless evidence to the contrary lurks hidden and unsuspected, there is no reason to suppose that Lord Derby was even momentarily tempted by the proposal. He had been ten years old at the time of the Northern Rising, and thirteen when the Duke of Norfolk and Thomas Percy 7th Earl of Northumberland had been beheaded. As his father was in favour of the execution of the Queen of Scots in 1586-7, and of the condemnation of the Earl of Arundel in 1589, Ferdinando of Derby was a most improbable Catholic conspirator. Though obedience to the famous Bull and Declaration of Pius V had led many an English Catholic to martyrdom, unless Derby had been burning with zeal for the Pope, or bitterly incensed against the reigning Monarch, there was no adequate motive to impel him to commit High Treason. On his succession to the Earldom in 1593, his sole disappointment was that after thirteen years of marriage, and three children, he had still no son. His wife Alice, daughter of Sir John Spencer of Althorpe, was the "brave and noble Ladie" to whom her kinsman Edmund Spenser dedicated "The Teares of the Muses":—"Your excellent beautie, your vertuous behaviour, and your noble match with the most honourable Lord, the very Patterne of right Nobilitie," were apostrophised by Spenser when thanking her for "particular bounties" arising from "some private bandes of affinitie, which it hath pleased your Ladyship to acknowledge."[2] The poem thus offered is a protest by Calliope, Urania, and the other Muses against "ugly Barbarism".

> "Image of hellish horrour, Ignorance,
> Borne in the bosoms of the black abysse,
> . . . . . begot amisse
> By yawning Sloth, on his own mother Night."

If we were to take this literally we would conclude England to have been in a woeful plight. "Whilst Ignorance the Muses doth oppresse," degenerate poets

> "To the vulgar sort now pipe and sing,
> And make them merry with their fooleries:
> They cheerly chaunt, and rymes at random fling.
> . . . . .

[1] *An Admonition to the Nobilty and People of England* E E. Vol. VII. pp. 237-242.

[2] "Of which whenas I found my selfe in no part woorthie, I devised this last slender meanes, both to intimate my humble affection to your Ladiship, and also to make the same universallie known to the world; that by honouring you they might know me, and by knowing me they might honour you . . . Your La: humbly ever Ed. Sp." *The Teares of the Muses By Ed. Sp London, Imprinted for William Ponsonbie dwelling in Paules Churchyard at the signe of the Bishops head. 1591.* No. 2 in *Complaints of the Worlds Vanitie,* issued by Ponsonbie with a preface, "The Printer to the Gentle Reader".

They feed the eares of fooles with flattery:
And good men blame, and losels magnify.
. . . . .
The schooles they fill with fond new fangleness,
And sway in Court with pride and rashness rude;
'Mongst simple shepherds they do boast their skill,
And say their music matcheth Phoebus' quill."

Not knowing the date at which Spenser first wrote thus, we will not attempt to locate the offenders. But by the time it was in print in 1591 Spenser himself was recognised as a leading poet; wherefore the grief of the Sacred Nine, and their rebukes to mortals, had ceased to be appropriate. Nor does there seem to have been solid ground for Calliope's reproach:—

"They all corrupted through the rust of time,
. . . . .
Or through ignoble sloth, or sinfull crime,
That doth degenerate the noble race:
. . . . .
Ne do they care to have the auncestrie
Of th' old Heroes memorizde anew;
Ne do they care that late posteritie
Should know their names or speak their praises dew."

But to return to matters of State. While certain of the English refugees abroad were being encouraged to consider the possibility of a Stanley Dynasty,—and names of other English peers were also bandied about as possible rivals or supporters,—a very different and much more complicated plot had been in process. Its threads were woven between Spain, Antwerp, and the English Court, the deviser and instrument in England being an alien peculiarly trusted by the Queen. In November 1593 Essex suspected something amiss, though it was not until February following that he was able to make "clear as the noonday" the sources of danger. While his attention was chiefly concentrated upon this question, he heard from some of his servants that they had incurred rebukes at Lathom from the bailiff of Lord Derby.

Essex then wrote to Derby. His letter is missing; but we infer its contents from Derby's answer. Because of a false rumour afterwards circulated as to political causes of antagonism between these two, we should notice the actual dispute has nothing to do with politics. "I have received your Lordship's letter," says Derby, "and though I may fail in the true knowledge of some words, I do not fail in the understanding of the matter." The difficulty of reading Essex's hand was enhanced by his having written "out of your bed,"

"laid there of a lameness got from your honourable labours, wherein had the fitness of my fortune sorted with my desires I had accompanied you. . . .[1] I perceive your Lordship finds

[1] As this is in December 1593, and Essex had returned in January 1592 (n.s.) from the French campaign, in which, except camp fever, his only physical ill had been that he was "dangerously scarred with a piece of artillery", the above words suggest some accident in 1593; possibly in riding to inspect the coast defences. Essex himself elsewhere refers to being "lame" and temporarily disabled.

by some of your Lordship's servants in these parts that I have of late showed some dislike of some of them, which they seem to be sorry for, and I think it but a seeming; willing[1] by your means to recover my favour, which hardly by any means they can; and yet, if by any, by yours before any . . ."

There follow complaints against some of Essex's men for "hunting and hawking" in Derby's chases at Lathom. "Your Lordship doth no less at Wanstead than keep your pleasures to yourself;[2] the Earl of Leicester when he lived, did so at Kenelworth, the Lord Chancellor at Homeby."[3]

Derby refused to allow three elderly knights to hear the explanation of the offenders,[4]— "fugitives from my house, who follow you for no love but to be borne out against me, . . . men so badly humoured, so basely nurtured, and so vilely conditioned, as being false to my ancestors, . . . cannot be true to you." Some of these had been servants of Henry late Earl of Derby, and had chosen subsequently to follow Essex, possibly in "martial causes," for Essex refers to them as having been with him for a long time, and one as previously serving Lord Leicester.

"But," says Derby, ". . . as you love me, whose love" is "ten times more valuable than such undergrooms' service, favour them not; . . . it were better they were buried than that any jar should grow between us. . . . I doubt not but you will answer the love I bear you and . . . make no equal account between them and me. Your Lordship's faithful and affectionate loving friend and cousin

FR. DERBY.

From my house at Lathom, December 19th, 1593."[5]

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[1] i e they wishing, etc

[2] Wanstead Place in Essex. Leicester had settled it upon his 2nd wife, Essex's mother, from whom Essex used to rent it, as his unpublished accounts show: "To the right honourable the Countesse of Leicester & Sr Xpofer Blunte knight for the halfe yeares rent of Wanstead due at Micha[elm]as as 1593. £110."

Unpublished Longleat Devereux MS. Vol. III. f. 77

[3] The late Lord Chancellor, Sir Christopher Hatton, at Holmby [or Holdenby] House, Northants

[4] It would seem that Derby's annoyance against these servants arose not from direct knowledge but from statements made by his bailiff; so Essex suggested as more suitable judges Sir John Savage (knighted 1546), Sir Randall Brereton (knighted 1577); Sir Edward Phitton (Fitton) knighted by Sir Henry Sidney in Ireland in 1566, the year of Essex's birth Derby recapitulates their names when declining to deal with them

[5] Talbot MS. Vol. H. f. 609. Lodge "illustrations" 1838 Vol II pp. 447-449. The cousinship (not explained by Lodge) is through Anne, widow of John Lord FitzWalter wife of the 2nd Earl of Derby. She was sister of George Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon, whose daughter Lady Dorothy had been Essex's grandmother.

The whole effusion (3 pp) seems much ado about a trifle; but Lodge (who first published it) adds, "This young nobleman's character had passed entirely unnoticed. His letter abounds with good sense, high spirit, and sweetness of temper."

Derby was not young; he was eight years older than Essex. As we do not know all facts of the dispute, we cannot tell whether there was good sense or not on his side. His peremptory refusal of Essex's request about the three knights hardly denotes "sweetness of temper". But Lodge continues, "An untimely death . . . undoubtedly defrauded him of a conspicuous situation in the history of his country". And while rebuking Essex for "impetuous temper", Lodge appears not to have realised that it was Essex—not Derby—who for actual service had at that time "a conspicuous situation in the history of his country".

In the *Catalogue of the First Special Exhibition of National Portraits, London*, 1866 (p 51)

"My hand is bad when it is at the best," replies Essex, "and therefore when I wrote it in pain and disease I could not but put you in pain to read it. My first letter was written to show how unwillingly I would have any in my service that should deserve your disfavour; . . . but I see they are not to be reconciled to your favour, . . . therefore I will leave you to your own way. . . . You call them fugitives from your house: I know not why it is not lawful for any gentleman born a free man to make his own choice of his master or why your Lordship should think in that point to have more privilege than all men else. . . . You say they follow me but to be borne out against you (wherein I see no ground for your opinion) . . . as I love you, you say I must not favour them. They now are and have been a good while mine; if I keep them I must in their good cause defend them, and if I discharge them I must see more fault in them than I see yet. . . .

If your Lordship give no more cause of unkindness by being jealous of me, or bitter against my friends and servants, . . . I shall be ever as I professed, . . .

Your Lordship's affectionate cousin and friend

ESSEX."

"Hampton Court, January 17, 1593"[4][1]

How this dispute terminated we know not. But as to the large concerns, not the Crown of England but an early and mysterious death was soon to be the fate of Derby. The suddenness of his collapse and his agonised expressions during delirium gave rise to a rumour that he was either "bewitched" or poisoned.

Though Derby apparently did not consent to join any plot, a double conspiracy was flourishing none the less; and we shall soon have occasion to investigate the dealings of a foreign pensioner, who while purporting to be the Queen's devoted servant had been systematically betraying her to the Ministers of the King of Spain.

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among pictures lent by the then Earl of Derby is 289. Ferdinando Stanley, 5th Earl of Derby K.G. ". . . . during the alarm of the Spanish invasion [he] was Mayor of Liverpool, being then Lord Strange, and raised a large force of horsemen." He "died by witchcraft, as was said, perhaps by poison, 16 April, 1594 . . . . celebrated by Spenser under the name of Amyntas"

The portrait is described as "bust, open lace-edged collar, black doublet. Canvas 23 x 38 inches," but nothing said as to the colouring of the subject himself

No 288 of the same exhibition was a portrait of his wife Alice, 6th daughter of Sir John Spencer of Althorpe; supposed to be the "Amaryllis" of Spenser's eulogy. "Reddish hair, small black head-dress, large ruff; sleeves and stomacher covered with lace; feather fan in left hand; date 1598, aged 42. Panel, 30 x 25"

There is a reference, in "Polimanteia," 1595, to "The late worthie Earle of Darbie," and to his son and successor Ferdinando, also deceased; described as a "worthie object of everlasting mourning for the sacred Muses." Several pages of mediocre verses ascribed to him are printed in Horace Walpole's *Royal and Noble Authors,* Park's ed: 1806. Vol. II, pp. 46-51.

[1] Talbot MS. H f. 633. Date misprinted 1595 by Lodge, op. cit. p. 451 Before 1595 Lord Derby was dead.

# "With Truth and Loyalty."

*(The high code of honour for Elizabethan Servants).*

**"Be wyse, ready, and well advysed**
**for tyme tryeth thy troth."**

*Hugh Rhodes of the Kinges Chappell. Instructions For the wayting Servaunt, in "The Boke of Nurture,"* 1577. First issued circa 1550(?).

**"He that doth the ravens feed,**
**Yea, providently caters for the sparrow,**
**Be comfort to my age . . . . . .**
**I'll do the service of a younger man**
**In all your business . . . . . .**
**Master, go on, and I will follow thee**
**To the last gasp with truth and loyalty."**

Shakespeare, *As you like it,* Act II. Sc. 3.

**"I would rather lose with him than gain with his opposites."**

*Henry Cuffe, in regard to the Earl of Essex, 1599.* E.E. Vol. XI.

## "WITH TRUTH AND LOYALTY"

### *The high code of honour for Elizabethan servants.*

There are few more touching scenes in Shakespearian drama than where, in *As you like it,* young Orlando realises the bitter antagonism felt against him by his elder brother, and finds in his father's faithful servant the affection denied him by his nearest kindred. Says old Adam,

> "O sweet Master
> Why are you vertuous, why do people love you?
> And wherefore are you gentle, strong and valiant?
> . . . . .
> Your praise is come too swiftly home before you
> Know you not, Master, to some kind of men
> Their graces serve them but as enemies?
> . . . . .
> O what a world is this, when what is comely
> Envenoms him that bears it . . . . Your brother . .
> Hath heard your praises, and this night he means
> To burn the lodging where you use to lie,
> And you within it: if he fail of that
> He will have other means to cut you off"

When Adam offers the penniless Orlando "five hundred crowns, the thrifty hire I saved under your father," Orlando's exclamation,

> "O good old man, how well in thee appears
> The constant service of the antique world, . .
> Thou art not for the fashion of these times,"

reminds us that this was written at the end of the century, for the earlier code for a good servant towards his master differed little in essentials, though much in degree, from the attitude obligatory upon a nobleman to his Sovereign; and in "The Boke of Nurture" it is assumed that pride should be taken in the deft performance of what are now deemed menial offices:

> "In the morning, if it be cold, make a fyre" in the master's bedchamber, "and have readye cleane water, bring him his pettycoate warme, with his doubtlet, and all his apparell cleane brusht, and his shoes made cleane, and help to arraye him, trusse his poyntes, stryke up his Hosen, and see all things cleanlye aboute him; give him good attendance This doing, with dilygence, God will preferre you to honour and good fortune"[1]

Recently an objection was made against a writer who described an obscure Elizabethan from Cheshire, as "a servant of the Earl of Essex." A descendant protested that his ancestor was not a "menial" but a gentleman of coat-armour. But in Queen Elizabeth's time the word "servant" had an extensive application. Lord Leicester's list of faithful "servants" begins with his brother-in-law, and extends to humble persons whose names would have perished but for his commendation of their

[1] *The boke of Nurture, or Schoole of good manners for men Servants, and Children, with Stans puer ad mensam. Newly corrected, being necessary for all youth and children. Imprinted at London in Fleete streete, beneath the Conduite, at the Signe of S. Iohn Euangelist, by H. Iackson. 1577.* (Reprint 1867)

merits.[1] And in the dispute between Derby and Essex, whereas Derby calls some of Essex's servants "basely nurtured" and "vilely-conditioned", Essex in referring to them as "my friends and servants" adds that they are "gentlemen born."[2]

By the Household Book of Rules drawn up by the second Lord Montague of Cowdray, we can see how Elizabethan servants received protection and frequently pensions. Honest service as a means to prosperity on earth and felicity in Heaven had been described by Hugh Rhodes, a Devonshire man, in the latter part of the reign of Henry VIII:

"If ye will be a Serving man, with attendance doe begin.
Fyrst serve God, then the worlde, and ever flye from sinne
. . .
Be not slothfull for it is the governour of vyce,
Nor be envyous to any for then ye be not wyse.
. . . . . .
In case thou be advaunced, friend, and plaste in high degree,
Be lyberall and gentle found, beloved thou shalt be
. . . . . .
Be wyse, ready, and well advysed, for tyme tryeth thy troth,
In case thou be not faythfull found thou doest thy master no worship nor thyself honesty.
. . . . . .
Chaunge not often thy servyce, for it sheweth a seruante to[o] light,
He careth for no man, no man for him,
. . . . . .
A plyaunt seruant gets favour to his great advantage,
Promoted shall he be in offyce or fee, easilier to lyve in age
Vse honest pastyme, talke or syng or some Instrument vse.
Though they be thy betters, to hear thee they will not refuse."[3]

"Change not often thy service" was taken literally by many,—as appears from numerous unpublished MSS; Lord Leicester testifies to a number of his servants having remained with him from their youth and his own up to the time of his writing, when he was close on fifty;[4] and his bequests to them were accompanied with such affectionate praises as will account for the devotion felt towards him by Robert Laneham, whose description of his kindness and generosity has been often reprinted, but usually with editorial protests,—according to an unfortunate habit of taking Leicester retrospectively from Froude and Creighton, who certainly did not always

"First thynk, then speake; and then do all things with discretion,"

but often coined epigrams at random, and presented their own conjectures as historical facts.

The "wayting Servaunt" was advised by Hugh Rhodes to "prayse good men still, blame evill men," and be "joyous and glad" if dispraised by ill-doers whose liking would have been a reproach. "Evill men" he remarks, "take great paynes to buy Hell" at more cost "than good men win Heaven."[5]

"My friend, when thou art put in trust be true in word and deed," says Rhodes: for even

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[1] His hitherto unknown holog: Will; 1581-2. E E. Vol V. plate 12, facing p. 140.

[2] E.E. ante p. 234.

[3] That it was a welcome accomplishment in servants to play the lute or glittern we know from the children in Christ's Hospital being trained in music in order that they thereby should be more qualified for service in great houses.

[4] E.E. Vol. V, plate 12, facing p. 140.

[5] In the Earl of Ashburnham's collection, now broken up, there used to be an edition "Imprinted at London . . . by Thomas Easte. 1568," with title the same as in 1577, and then "Hereunto is annexed our Lords Prayer, our beliefe and the X Commandments with godly graces, to be sayd at the table before and after Meate Very vtile and necessary for all youth to learne."

"a little falsehood is a great shame." Virtue can dignify the humblest, but Nobility without virtue is but an empty name

> "If thou be come of noble stocke and gentle courteous plant,
> Thy Condicions and behauyour will show thee, I warrant,
> . . . . . .
> Love thou vertue, and hate all vyse, see that no time thou waste.
> . . . . . .
> All men be known by the workes they use and go aboute:
> A stedfast mans word ye never need for to suspect nor doubt.
> . . . . . .
> Report no slander
> . . . . . .
> Good deeds and wisdom shal thee get in tyme authoritye
> . . . . . .
> Delight to read Godly bookes, and marke the meaning well,
> Thereof comes vertue, knowledge, pure wisdom, sweete counsell"

To all of this the "Servaunt" could aspire, and earn increasing responsibility. With trust comes honour, and so in serving his own master he does credit to his race and calling and is received as "his Countrie's friend"[1]

Although the usurper Henry VII had deliberately legislated to undermine the power of the great nobles,—after having previously persuaded some of them to support him against Richard III, their prestige was not easily broken by Act of Parliament.[2] The hereditary devotion of "simple" persons to the descendants of those with whom their forebears had dwelt happily in service, continued into the reign of Elizabeth, as various household books still in possession of their descendants show. Among unpublished Devereux MSS. many letters addressed "to the right honourable and noble Peere the Earle of Essex" from servants, or would-be servants, carry us swiftly into the midst of conditions under which men were seldom long out of employment, for if they could gain "testimony of fitness" places were found for them in one or other of the great houses. To be a nobleman's servant and wear his "cloth", and his badge in silver, was a position carrying with it privileges as well as duties. "The humble petition of August Jennings" will serve as a sample of many other applications to Essex [3]

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[1] In *The New Mediæval Library*, No: IV, London and New York, 1908, Rhodes—as representing the 16th century—is included in *The Babies' Book: Mediæval Manners for the Young: Done into Modern English from Dr Furnivall's texts By Edith Rickert.* With an excellent Introduction, pp. xi-xxxv. She refers to editions of 1550(?) 1568, and 1577, and to Furnivall having mentioned others of 1551 and 1586. She does not include Rhodes' verses, her object being to depict chiefly the training of children. Having rightly emphasised the dignity of service under the code of Chivalry, after describing the manner in which boys were sent to the houses of noblemen to be educated, and held it no indignity to wear the livery of their patron, she adds, "Indeed under the system of entail this was, in time of peace, the only possible livelihood for a gentleman's younger son, unless he had a special aptitude for law or the Church. Debarred from all trade he could only offer his services to some great man . . . ." &c. &c. This would apply in Germany but not in England. King Alfred the Great had decreed that merchant seamen achieving voyages for the honour of England could be raised to the rank of Thane; and the present writer possesses a heraldic work in which it is specified that "a gentleman's son becoming an apprentice doth not forfeit his gentility." In large territorial families the younger sons frequently became merchant seamen or Turkey merchants. In Queen Elizabeth's day the "Merchant Adventurers" were a patriotic and dignified factor in our national life Gresham, Harborn, Barton, and other leading men in the City enjoyed a deserved prestige. The two latter were employed by the Crown as Ambassadors; the former built the Royal Exchange (EE. Vol. I, pp 186-187).

[2] For Henry VII's repressive measures for reducing the pomp of the nobility see *The Statutes of Henry VII in exact facsimile from the very rare original printed by Caxton in 1489* Ed: J. Rae. London, 1869.

[3] Spelling modernised from unpublished Longleat Devereux MSS. Vol. II, ff. 309-310.

"Right honorable.

In all humility I submit my self and refer my suit to your good Lordship, as one that of mere zeal and goodwill do endeavour to show my self (as duty bindeth me) during my life to honor and serve your good Lordship In regard that my late father and grandfather were of long continuance servants and retainers to your Honour's most noble progenitors, and in regard that your Lordship's late father of noble memory, and one Sir James Baskerville, Knight, did vouchsafe to be witnesses at my Christening and to give me my name (August) according to the month wherein I was born: I now presume to beg of your good Lordship your Honour's lawful favour and countenance that I may wear your cloth. not intending to be any charge to your Lordship, but being a young man, a citizen of London, my desire is to be accompted a wellwiller and follower to your good Lordship as my father was Wherein I shall be most bounden to you, to show my self in all service thankful to your Honour, and shall daily pray for the continuance and increase of the same, and for the long life, health and prosperity of your good Lordship whom God bless for ever.

Your Lordship's most humble in all service to be commanded

AUGUST JENNINGS."

This was passed on by Gelly Meyrick, Steward and Comptroller of the Household, with the brief summary, "His father and grandfather served your Lordship's ancestors; your father christened him. He desireth to wear your Lordship's cloth." Under which is written, "If anybody that knows him will give testimony of his fitness, I will receive him. ESSEX."[1]

As Essex was noted as a "loving master," the competition to "wear his cloth" can easily be understood. But it was his extraordinary destiny that a servant to whom he and Lady Essex had shown particular kindness was in the end among the deadliest instruments for his destruction[2]

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[1] Undated; but as it is signed "Essex," not "R Essex" which was his earlier way, it may be conjectured as between 1594 and 1598.

Among the Essex accounts are various sums for badges and cognaisances:

"16 Ap[ri]lis I^tm to Pinarts for cognizances. £3.
19 Ap^lis Itm to Pinartes for 17 cognizances. £8. 10."

Longleat Devereux MS. Vol. III. ff. 96^b, 97, under "Debts payed".

[2] In E.E Vol V (1936) pp xxv-xxvi reference was made to a work which has since been re-issued in a "Fourth Edition Corrected Enlarged and Rewritten:" viz. *The American Language. An Enquiry into the development of English in the United States By H. L Mencken. 1941. Alfred A. Knopf New York.* In this elaborate and cosmopolitan work there are some misunderstandings of England and the English: for example, p. 228: "A movement against the use of the ignominious word servant is visible" &c. But we may add that as high credit attaches to the word servant from the Scriptural promise that to mortals who perform their duty nobly, the Almighty will say, "Well done, thou good and faithful servant," any objection to that word as "ignominious" is a sign of aloofness from the Bible and from history

## "TEMPERATE, COURTEOUS, AFFABLE."

### *A household servant's view of Lord Burghley, from 1573 to 1598.*[1]

Whereas King Philip assumed that as the Lord High Treasurer was advancing in years his energy would decline, Don Pedro de Valdés, while a prisoner on parole in England, realised from personal observation that Burghley was still by far the most powerful of the Privy Councillors.

The saying that "no man is a hero to his valet" was coined by a superficial wit, who cannot have read the life of the Chevalier Bayard by the "loyal serviteur"[2] or the description of Lord Burghley by one of his household servants:

> "He was never seen to be angry; most patient in hearing, and ready in despatching; . . . so courteous and affable as no man went from him discontented or discouraged. . . ." If obliged to reject a request, his manner was such that he did not hurt the feelings of the disappointed one.
>
> "Besides all business in Council or other weighty causes, and such as were answered by word of mouth, there was not a day in a term when he received not three-score, four-score, or an hundred petitions, which he commonly read that night and gave every one an answer himself the next morning."
>
> "His labour and care were so incessant and his study so great as in cases of necessity he could neither eat, sleep, nor rest till his business could be finished. I never saw him idle, . . ."

Yet he never had the air of being in a hurry; and no matter how heavy his anxieties, his demeanour to guests was as if he had "nothing else to do" but to converse with them. He saw his children chiefly at meals; and was devotedly attached to them.

> "He entirely loved learning and learned men, whom he ever held in reverence and regard, ever using his credit and authority" to assist and relieve them.[3] He himself knew more than they did; "one might learn more in one hour's hearing him than [by] a month's reading." His recreation was chiefly in his books. . . Books were so pleasing to him as when he got liberty to go into his house" if he noticed "a book worth the opening, he would rather lose his riding than his reading, and yet riding in his garden-walks on his little mule was his disport.[4] But so soon as he came in he fell to his reading again, or else to despatching business."

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[1] Source, and further quotation, E.E. Vol. X.

[2] *La tres joyeuse plaisante & recreative hystoire composée par le loyal serviteur des faiz gestes triumphes et prouesses du bon chevalier sans paour et sans reproche le gentil seigneur Bayart*, &c. &c. Paris, 1527.

[3] In 1593 Thomas Dannett dedicated to Lord Burghley *The description of the Low Countreys and of the Provinces thereof, gathered in epitome out of the Historie of Ludovico Guichardini. Imprinted at London by Peter Shore for Thomas Church.* Dannett described Burghley as "under her most excellent Majesty" the bulwark of England. This identical book is at Hatfield House.

[4] See E.E. Vol. III, plate 9 (2nd facing p. 44) for his picture riding his mule.

Sometimes he watched others play bowls or practise archery, but did not join in the game himself. History and heraldry were his " delight," and his memory was so retentive that he " carried in his head " the precedents that others laboriously set out to seek. Long experience, great wit, and precise recollection were joined in " one concent."[1] Moreover his topographical exactitude was unfailing: " What province, country, city, or notable place in England could he not describe?" He remembered every particular of " pasture, river, haven, or park, sometimes better than those who dwelt there."

" He knew and had seen all manner of treaties with all nations; he knew the course and kinds of all Embassages, . . . the state of all countries, the nature of all Princes, their friends, foes, alliances, matches, . . . policies and practices." And by such knowledge he was often able to foresee and avert troubles.

Though he had many friends, he had no favourites. No man influenced him, says this servant who had observed him daily during five and twenty years. Nor did age and ill-health diminish his mental alertness, or mar his appearance:

> " He was of visage very well favoured," and even in his last years his complexion was as good as " most fair women's. I think there were few that knew him but will say he was one of the sweetest," handsomest and " most well-mannered old men that hath been seen, . . gentle temperate, merry, courteous, affable, . . . neither pompous nor proud; . . . ever most charitable to the poor," whom he relieved privately in their own homes.

A nature less like Shakespeare's Polonius it would be difficult to imagine; and if William Shakespeare was one of Lord Leicester's " players " who acted both at the Court and at Leicester House, it is doubly inconceivable that he could have meant to depict the Lord High Treasurer as the " wretched rash intruding fool " whom Hamlet slew with a rapier, and for whose death that Prince of Denmark showed neither regret nor remorse.[2]

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[1] " Concent," musical term for harmony.

[2] Act III Sc. 4 Having assumed the invisible eavesdropper to be the usurper Claudius, and thrust at him with his rapier, Hamlet " lifts up the arras; and discovers Polonius—dead."

> " Thou wretched rash intruding fool, farewell!
> I took thee for thy better! Take thy fortune.
> Thou find'st to be too busy is some danger."

Of all Hamlet's bitterly disdainful utterances, this is one of the most withering; more scornful even than when he had alluded to Polonius as " that great baby " (Act II. Sc: 2). Yet Simpson's assertion, in *The Politics of Shakespeare's Historical Plays*, that Burghley was the original of Polonius has been solemnly revived again and again in essays and lectures, though its absurdity should be obvious. Not content with giving new life to that fantastic assertion, an imitator of Simpson has added that Burghley was also the " original " of Shylock, and Falstaff!

## "ILL MERITED LUCK."

*Some literary fallacies.*

In Richard Simpson's discourses on *The Political use of the Stage in the Shakespearian Era,* and *The Politics of Shakespeare's Historical Plays,*[1] that critic's detestation of Queen Elizabeth impelled him to take his ideas from *Leicester's Commonwealth,* 1641; and from *The Caecilian Republic:* anonymous attacks upon Elizabeth and her Councillors.[2] His acceptance of the outrageous allegations as to Leicester,—and his repetition of the crazy tale that Burghley supplied the material for the most grotesque of libels upon Queen Elizabeth,—are typical of Simpson's method, or lack of method.[3]

There are also misapprehensions about Essex, whom Simpson eulogised, while abominating Burghley. He never so far investigated the labours of either as to discover how much of their work from 1590 onwards was done in conjunction. Quoting Lodge's drama, *The Wounds of Civil War,* Simpson asserts that Sylla, "the younker who calls the old man 'grey beard,'" is Robert Earl of Essex: to "prove" which he solemnly quotes such lines as these:

> "Forsooth the younger citizens will rule,
> The old men's heads are dull and addle now,
> And in elections youth will bear the sway."[4]

But Essex from first to last expressed himself with particular courtesy to his elders, as we see from his early letters to Burghley,[5] and will notice on later occasions.[6]

"Since Burghley's ill conduct of the Spanish war in 1588," says Simpson (p. 393), "when, as Mr Motley shows, his parsimony, but for ill-merited luck, had exposed the empire to ruin, . . . the old minister had been the butt of many a satirist, and his foibles were the subject of many writings now extant. His stinginess to poets, like Spenser; his hostility to the stage; his own wealth, and his economical management; his habit of starving wars, and leaving Generals without the means of reaping the full benefit of their victories; his universal interference, and his inflated and affected Euphuism, made him unpopular with all but his own flatterers; but his power secured him plenty of these; and it is only by studying him in his own remains, and in what is said of him by his enemies, that we can understand how Corambis or Polonius could come to be the stage representatives of the old politician, who had a ridiculous side, like most other men; though historians (except Mr Motley) have been loth to believe it, much more to express it."

Although there is not a single footnote reference to enable the student to find any authority or ground for such a formidable array of accusations, this paragraph has exercised

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[1] *New Shakespeare Society's Transactions,* 1874, Nos. IX and X.

[2] Where he saw *The Caecilian Republic* he did not say: and it has been enquired for in vain at B.M., Bodleian, Cambridge, and other public libraries; as also at Hatfield, Welbeck, Gorhambury, etc.

[3] See E.E. Vol. V. pp. 139-169.

[4] Op: cit: p. 392. [5] E.E. Vol. III, pp. 54, 56, 60; Vol. V, pp. 126-133.

[6] The Bishop of Cuzco and other Spanish ecclesiastics in virtue of their grey hairs were treated by him with special consideration at the sack of Cadiz. E.E. Vol. X.

a disproportionate influence ever since 1874, when it was first published,—infecting many minds with the assumption that for forty years Queen Elizabeth kept in office a Minister so contemptible that the salvation of England was due either to "ill-merited luck," or to Her Majesty's genius.

As to Burghley's "ill conduct of the Spanish war" and his "parsimony," Motley and Simpson and their followers not only ignored the Treasury accounts, and the Muster Rolls, but did not ascertain that the Lord Treasurer, extra to all his other services, raised a troop of Horse at his own expense during the Armada crisis;[1] and that, both on previous and subsequent occasions, far from behaving with injustice to the Generals, he was courageous enough to defend them to the Queen against her unreasonable criticisms.

Complaints of Burghley's "stinginess to poets like Spenser" have echoed and re-echoed, but are groundless.[2] Of the numerous dedications to him of works of history, cosmography, divinity, heraldry, &c., &c., thanking him for his patronage and "gentleness," not one word is vouchsafed by Simpson; and of Burghley's "inflated and affected Euphuism" Simpson could give no examples, because the Lord Treasurer's style in his Parliamentary speeches and official writings is noticeable chiefly for absence of ornament. If so busy a statesman had leisure to read such a "toy" as "Euphues," it had never any effect upon his manner. His reputation was that of a concise and convincing orator.[3]

Up to within a few days of his death we shall find Lord Burghley piloting the Ship of State with his accustomed skill.[4]

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[1] Discovered by the present writer: in Royal MS. 18 CXXI. E E. Vol. VII, p. 366.

[2] E E. Vol. IX, pp 45-47.

[3] Turn to *The Compleat Gentleman, Fashioning him absolute in the most necessary and commendable qualities concerning Mind or Bodie that may be required in a Noble Gentleman, By Henry Peacham, Mr. of Arts, Sometime of Trinity Coll: Cambridge . . . . Anno 1622. Imprinted at London for Francis Constable* . . . "Of stile in speaking and writing," Peacham declares

"Speech is the character of a man and the interpreter of his mind . . . . Let your stile therefore be furnished with solid matter, and compact of the best choice and most familiar words, taking heed of speaking or writing such words as men shall rather admire than understand . . . In speaking, rather lay down your words one by one, than poure them out together, . . . . Sir Nicholas Bacon, . . . a most eloquent man, and of as sound learning and wisdome as England bred in any ages, *with the old Lord, William, Burghley, Lord Treasurer of England, have above others herein been admired and commended in their publique speeches in the Parliament house and Starre Chamber, . . . for nothing drawes out attention more than good matter eloquently digested, and uttered with a gracefull, cleere and distinct pronunciation.*"

[4] The attitude of Simpson is the more incongruous in that Horace Walpole in his *Royal and Noble Authors,* devoted considerable attention to "Lord Burghleigh," and in the edition of 1806, Vol. II, p. 60, Park added from "British Poets," Vol. IV, p. 753, an epitaph on Burghley by Ben Jonson, presented to Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury:

Jonson apostrophises the late Lord High Treasurer as

"The grave, the wise, the great, the good,
What is there more that can ennoble blood
The orphan's pillar, the true subject's shield,
The poor's full store-house, and just servant's field.
The only faithfull watchman of the realm,
That in all tempests never quit the helm;
But showed unshaken in his deeds and name,
And laboured in the work, not for the fame;
That still was good for goodness sake, nor thought
Upon reward, till the reward him sought."

PART VII.

"The causes that govern the events."

CHAPTER 5.

"A DELECTABLE VARIETY OF MATTER."

SECTION 6.

# "In the forefront against all who either threatened or assaulted her."

*(Essex's discovery of "a dangerous and desperate treason," 1594).*

**"This gallant young Earl of Essex, created, as it seems, for action, . . . never put his Sovereign to stand between her people and his errors; but here and abroad placed his body in the forefront against all who either threatened or assaulted her."**

*Sir Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke, "The Life of the Renowned Sir Philip Sidney."*

**"I have discovered a most dangerous and desperate treason. The point of conspiracy was Her Majesty's death."**

*Robert Earl of Essex, to Anthony Bacon.* Orig: holog: Lambeth (Tenison) MSS. Bacon Papers. No. 653, 171.

**". . . a Portugall borne, her Majesties sworne Servant and Phisitian for her Majesties Household; a Man not onlie greatly favoured of her Majestie, but of most of the Lords of Counsell and greatest Persons in Courte, . . . he most wickedly did undertake a most haynous Purpose and Resolution, to take away the Life of her most gracious Majesty by Poison . . ."**

*"An Account of Dr. Lopez Treason," January 1593-4 in "A Collection of State Papers . . . left by William Cecill Lord Burghley . . . London. MDCCLIX,"* pp. 669-675.

**[López] "who long since became, as you know, Our subject, and was drawn into service nearest about Us, as having made him physician to Our household, and giving him continual access unto Our person."**

*Queen Elizabeth to King Antonio, 27 February 1593-4. Uncalendared State Papers Foreign.* First published E.E. p 270.

**"The last of February, Rodericke Loppez a Portingale . . . . was arraigned in the Guildhall of London, found guilty, and had judgment as of high treason . . ."**

*"The Annals of England . . . untill this present yeere 1600 by John Stow citizen of London,"* p. 1274. (B.M. No. 9503. E.E. 17).

*SIR WILLIAM CECIL, 1st BARON BURGHLEY, K.G.*

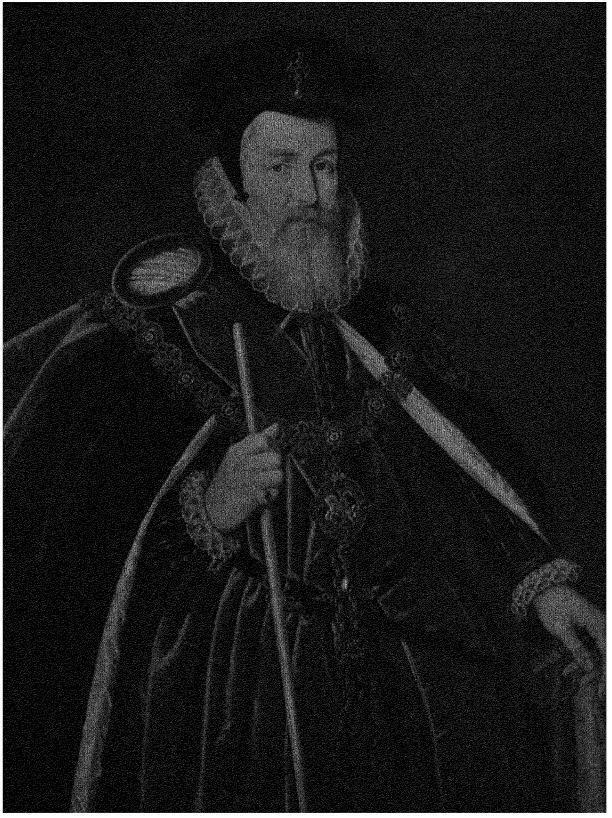
*Lord High Treasurer of England, in robes as a Knight of the Garter.*

*From the original on panel, by Mark Gheeraedts, now in the National Portrait Gallery.*

*Formerly in possession of Sir Henry Earle Bulwer, G.C.B., 1st and last Lord Dalling, brother of Sir Edward Bulwer-Lytton, 1st Lord Lytton*

Lady Dalling's mother was a daughter of James Cecil, 1st Marquess of Salisbury, but it is not known whether the picture came through her by inheritance. There can, however, be no doubt that this one on panel is the original, and the one on canvas at Hatfield House a replica from which some of the vitality has escaped

Eyes, greyish-blue, keen and penetrating. Robes, deep garnet colour Hand on sword-hilt, possibly as a reminder that Lord Burghley as William Cecil had fought in the battle of Musselburgh (Pinkie Cleugh)—as noted in his hand in a Calendar now at Hatfield, *militabat in bello Musselboro' in Scotia*. E.E Vol I, p 166.



PART VII.

"The causes that govern the events."

CHAPTER 5.

"A DELECTABLE VARIETY OF MATTER."

SECTION 6

# "In the forefront against all who either threatened or assaulted her."

*(Essex's discovery of "a dangerous and desperate treason," 1594).*

WHEN, in the House of Commons,[1] alluding to the "mighty forces" of the Spaniards, Sir William Unton declared that "they trust more to their treasons than to their forces," he spoke without suspicion that a member of the Queen's household had been keeping up a secret correspondence with some of King Philip's Ministers for a long period of years. The Privy Councillors not only were habitually on guard against possible plots "to murder the Queenes Majestie," but also took many precautions to prevent any private information going out of the country such as might be of use to King Philip. None the less, he obtained a peculiarly intimate knowledge of English concerns; as we learn from a letter of Essex "To the right honourable my very good Lord the Lord Cobham, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports," which has hitherto escaped notice, possibly because, although calendared in the Report upon the MSS. at Hatfield House, it is omitted from the index[2].

"My very good Lord.

I have imparted unto Her Majesty your great care of this service, witnessed[3] as well by my Lord Admiral's letters as by the effects themselves. I do assure your Lordship Her Majesty doth very graciously accept it. Your Lordship's servant shall have allowance for his charges, and when that the Portugal letters are deciphered and translated, and the party examined, your Lordship shall be advertised of as much as I know. In the meantime I do assure your Lordship that this practice, which we have met withal, was taken in time; for the King of Portugal's two sons had been carried into Spain out of hand.[4]

[1] Parliament of 1592-3. S.P.D.E. CCLXIV, 91.

[2] It has been re-examined at Hatfield by the present writer, from MS. 170. 1, Holograph, endorsed "Nov: 1593 Earle of Essex to my Lord." In Cal: Vol. IV, p. 409 it is printed without address, beginning, ending or endorsement, and with an error of one word; but otherwise correctly.

[3] misrendered in Cal: as "intressed."

[4] i.e. would have been, but for the discovery.

Besides, we have discovered that the King of Spain had as good a standing intelligence sent back into Spain and into the Low Countries as he could desire. There are divers engaged in it, they write not only of all matters of State, but of the private affection of every Councillor to every matter that is in hand, and I doubt not but we shall discover most notable practices, which as yet are not found.

I do wish your Lordship all happiness and do assure your Lordship I am your Lordship's most assured friend to do you service.

Windsor. 6 November. ESSEX"

To their amazement, Burghley and Essex found that one of the worst offenders was "her Majesties sworne Servant, and physician for her Majesties Household; a Man not onlie greatly favoured of her Majesty but of most of the Lords of the Counsell and greatest Persons in Court."[1] Still more astounded was the Queen herself, when informed that Dr López had "for many years" been in the pay of Spain, while pretending ardent devotion to her and to the exiled King of Portugal.

By means of intercepted letters to and from "certain choise Persons picked out by [Dr. López] himself" to be his fellow conspirators, it was revealed that this doctor had been selling to Spanish agents "*the Secrets of this Estate, both of her Majesty's Forces and Meanes of Defence, and those Occasions he thought fittest for the King to take Advantage by, to annoy her Majesty* . . . He ceased not there," but at the persuasion of another traitor he undertook to poison the Queen who had honoured him "with Princely favour, Rewards, and Good Opinion."[2]

This Court physician, though offering to poison the Queen, would not undertake it until he exacted the promise of fifty thousand crowns reward; an enormous sum when we consider that the Gentlemen of the Guard of Henry III of France had been expected to live at the Court of France on six hundred crowns a year. Haggling over the price caused a delay; and some letters of the doctor's accomplices, intercepted "by the good and discreet Order of a noble Personage," led to the discovery of this "traffique." The whole network was little by little unrolled, and at last "manifestly and plainly laid open," through the initiative and persistence of the "noble Personage" aforesaid: namely Essex. "*I have discovered a most dangerous and desperate treason,*" he wrote to Anthony Bacon: *The point of the conspiracy was Her Majesty's death: the executioner should have been Dr Lopez: the manner poison. This I have so followed as I will make it appear as clear as the noonday.*"[3]

(Seldom has any Privy Councillor conveyed so much in so short a paragraph.

[1] "An account of Dr Lopez treason," in *A Collection of State Papers . . . left by William Cecil, Lord Burghley,* ed: Murdin. 1759.

[2] *State Papers, Murdin* (1759) p 669, headed "*An Account of Dr Lopez Treason.*" Re-examined in 1928 from original Hatfield MS. Vol. 139, (a) ff. 29-36, and (b) ff. 37-40[a] The orig: MS is in a secretary's hand, has no heading, and no endorsement, except "Readde" Words are underlined in pencil here and there, and there are a few corrections, and insertions, one on f. 40[a] is in Lord Burghley's hand

[3] Holograph No date. Addressed "To my assured good friend Mr Ant. Bacon at Gorramberry." Signed "Yr most assured and affectionate friend Essex." ("R. Essex," a signature he had discarded, is added in a different hand). Lambeth (Tenison) MSS Bacon Papers 653. 171. Damp-stained and faint, Printed by Birch, *Elizabeth* (1754), Vol. I, p 152 Original re-examined by F M T

But though Burghley's subsequent references also make plain how it was thanks to Essex that one of the most elaborate of conspiracies failed of its purpose, a modern man of letters by turning López into the central figure—and forgetting the Spanish King, the great war, and all the main issues,—entirely misconceived the case.)

Essex states in the same letter to Anthony Bacon that he has been " so tired with examinations " that he has " scarce leisure to eat: " but though this has long been in print it is commonly now ascribed to " petulance," instead of to the startling nature of the conspiracy which these examinations brought to light. As Burghley relates, on López being " restrained, examined and confronted," and " the like diligence used " in relation to his accomplices, though they thought

> " they had so surely knit the knot of these treasons as it could not be in any ways undone, . . . a noble and steady hand having gotten once one end, it was never left until every little Fold was undone, and the whole Length, Breadth, and Depths of the Treason laid quite and plainly open."
>
> " It would make a long and unpleasant Discourse, . . . to set downe all the Confessions, Examinations, Depositions, Declarations, Messages, Letters, Tickets, Tokens, Conferences, Plots and Practices, taken, discovered and intercepted . . . by the dilligent Care of these honourable Personages that dealt in this Cause, and the good handling of it by her Majesty's learned Councell, . . . "

What in the end led to the conspiracy being " authentically, fully, and demonstrably proved " was that some other matter discovered of the machinations of one Ferrera, a refugee in England, and one Emmanuel Luis abroad, pieced together with the correspondence of the traitor in the Royal Household, made the whole plot intelligible.

Though the Privy Council Records for 1594 are missing, the examinations to which Essex refers are in the Record Office in MS., with Burghley's notes thereon. As this (in common with other foreign-financed attempts on the Queen's life) was frustrated, it might have sufficed for us to pass from Burghley's statement, and Essex's brief note, to the trial at the Guildhall, the report of the evidence as annotated by the Lord Treasurer,[1] the execution of Dr López and his associates, as described by a citizen who was in London at the time,[2] and the subsequent printed challenge from England to the King of Spain, asserting the complicity of his Ministers, Stephen Ibarra, Christopher de Moura and others,—were it not that an extraordinary misunderstanding arose in the nineteenth century, lived into the twentieth, and lifted López into undeserved renown as of " Shakespearian interest." As an instance of how the minor figures in Elizabethan history can be distorted when the major issues are forgotten, this delusion calls for analysis. Let us turn to Sir Sidney Lee's *Life of William Shakespeare*, the edition of 1925,[3] in which the reader is referred to Lee's own early article on *The Original of Shylock*, published in 1880.[4]

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[1] S.P. Dom: Eliz: CCXLVII. No. 103. (in Calendar misprinted as No. 105). f. 221.
[2] Stow's *Annals*, p. 1274. (B.M. No. 9503, ee. 17).
[3] B.M. No. 2300. d. 13.
[4] *Gentleman's Magazine*, February, 1880, pp 185-200.

"Deeper investigation . . . into the domestic history of the sixteenth century," states Lee, "will prove how sadly the history of the Jews in England needs further elucidation. Armed with arguments derived from examination of State Papers, chiefly of the reign of Elizabeth, we are prepared to meet objectors. . . ."

"Doubtless," he declares, "the popular interest aroused by the trial in February 1594 and the execution in June of the Queen's Jewish physician Roderigo Lopez incited Shakespeare to a subtler study of Jewish character than had been essayed before. . . . That a Christian named Antonio should be the cause of the ruin alike of the greatest Jew in Elizabethan England and of the greatest Jew of the Elizabethan drama is a confirmation of the theory that Lopez was the begetter of Shylock."[1]

Coincidence of a similar Christian name is a slender foundation upon which to build a theory, introduced by the word "Doubtless." And as there are not any Elizabethan references given for the López case in *The Life of William Shakespeare* we seek "elucidation" in the article on *The Original of Shylock*, and are there referred vaguely to "State Papers 1591-94 passim" for the dealings of the Queen's "Jew" physician with "*Don Antonio, Antonio Perez . . . known popularly as King Antonio.*"

But Antonio Pérez was never known as "King Antonio." If Sir Sidney Lee had consulted the State Papers he could not have launched this antithesis between "a Christian named Antonio" and "the greatest Jew in Elizabethan England." The State Papers make clear that López was not a professed Jew, but "a false Christian."[2] Nor would a reader of the State Papers have confounded Señor Don Antonio Pérez, the Spanish ex-minister, with Dom Antonio known "popularly as King Antonio," the exiled King of Portugal, whom Queen Elizabeth refused to give up to King Philip and on whose behalf she countenanced the expedition of Drake and Norris to Lisbon in 1589.

Our public, academic and otherwise, trusted Sir Sidney Lee on the strength of his claim to be "armed" with "State Papers;" not realising that this can only have amounted to a few perfunctory glances at the "Domestic" Calendar. The Statutes of the Realm had not been consulted by Lee, or by any of the subsequent exponents of the López-Shylock hypothesis. By Statute, 1st Elizabeth 1558-9, it was made obligatory upon all in her Household to take an oath acknowledging her as Head of the Church; so a professed Jew could no more have been her Court physician than a professed Roman Catholic. For Lee and others to have forgotten this fact is the more surprising because the legal disability of Jews to hold office under the Crown was maintained up to within the memory of some of our grandparents.

We have seen that in March of 1579-80 Topclyffe was writing to the Earl of Shrewsbury such Portuguese news as he had heard in London from "one Lopez," an

[1] *Life* &c. pp. 133-134.

[2] "Loppez himself confessed that he is a Jew, but the said Loppez was Christened, though now by proof in his [blank] a false Christian." Statement in a clerk's hand, supplemented by Sir Edward Coke: endorsed "Loppez Conviction of Treason against the Q. Ma$^{ty}$." S.P. Dom. Eliz. CCXLVIII.

"honest" and "zealous" person, physician to the Earl of Leicester;[1] and that the earliest letter of López pleading on behalf of Dom Antonio, addressed *Al Ill^mo^ e Ex^mo^ S^r^ il Conte de Lecester . . . a la Cort,* was dated from Secretary Walsingham's house of Barn Elms on the 19th of August the same year. Dr López was then most fervent in his appeal for assistance for *Il Re di porto gallo;* and in 1581 his offers of service to King Antonio were profuse.[2] These, and all his letters are in Italian, which with his native Portuguese seems to have made up his store of languages. None of those epistles were known to Sir Sidney Lee; who having published his *Original of Shylock* in 1880, did not subsequently test or revise his theory. In the numerous editions of his *Life of William Shakespeare,* this same tale as to López, Pérez, and Shylock is repeated, with footnote reference only to Lee's own article: thereby implying that nothing had come to light to put that article out of date.[3]

Not only did Lee omit to consult our unpublished State Papers Foreign, but he neglected easily accessible diplomatic correspondence in printed Domestic Calendars. He also did not ascertain from the Exchequer Warrant Books, of which there is one for each year, the date of Dr López being promoted to the Queen's household. He represents the "Jewish physician" as still in the Earl of Leicester's service four years after López had been appointed one of Her Majesty's physicians. The hitherto unread Royal Letters Patent, *De Concessione officii cum annuitate pro Rogero Lopio* October the 23rd, 1581, we will now examine. This document is of interest for the date and for the wording; by which we see that it must have lifted away from López all anxiety as to his future. His appointment was not merely "during Her Majesty's pleasure" but "for the term of his natural life," the Queen binding her "heirs and successors" to pay him the same fifty pounds a year as she by Patent assured to him.[4] He therefore had the less excuse for selling himself to her foes. For although fifty pounds per annum for life does not now seem an impressive income for a Court physician, we should remind ourselves that the Master of the Horse, Essex, received as his official yearly salary, £66:13:4,—the same as Leicester when Master of the

[1] E.E. Vol. IV, p. 117.

[2] Unpublished Cotton MS.; E.E. Vol. IV, pp. 117-118

[3] The only alteration is that in the later issues Pérez is no longer called "King," the mistake having been pointed out by Arthur Bullen of the Shakespeare Head Press at Stratford-on-Avon.

[4] Deleting a few repetitions, Patent Roll 23rd Eliz: Pt. 11 (now first published) runs as follows:

*"Regina . . . Sciatis quod Nos de gracia nostra speciale* (etc. etc. usual form) *Necnon in consideracione acceptabilis seruicij et obsequij nobis antehac factorum et imposterum impendendorum per dilectum subditum nostrum Rogerum Loptum artis medicine Doctorem Dedimus et concessimus . dicto Rogero Lopio officium siue locum medici nostri et hospicij nostri heredum et successorum nostrorum quiquidem locus ratione mortis Julij Borgantij in manibus . . . . nostris exstitit Habendum . . . dictum officium; . . . . prefato Rogero Lopio durante vita sua naturali Et insuper damus . dicto Rogero Lopio pro exercitio dicti officii vadium et feodorum 50 librarum . . . per Annum habenda . . a tempore mortis predicti Julij Borgancij de Thesauro nostro . . . ad quatuor anni terminos . . unacum omnibus aliis proficuis commoditatibus et advantagiis dicto officio debitis et consuetis in tam amplis modo et forma prout prefatus Julius Borgancius nuper defunctus aut prefatus cum quidem (blank) Bentley olim dictum officium habens . . . tempore preclarissimi patris nostri Regis Henrici octavi habuit . . . Teste Regina apud Westmosterium vicissimo tercio die Octobris per breue privat sigillo"*

Horse before him,—and this merely "during pleasure" of the Sovereign; and that the Principal Secretary of State, Sir Francis Walsingham, whose labours were incessant, was remunerated only by an annual payment of one hundred pounds.

The appointment of López in place of Dr Julio "lately deceased," was partly due to his supposed zeal for King Antonio, from whom he received a reflected prestige. Elizabethan correspondence of courtiers from 1580 up to 1595 so abounds in reference to "King Anthony" and his affairs, that Sir Sidney Lee's mistake of confounding him with Antonio Pérez would have been impossible to any man who had followed the political developments from sources other than certain modern publications remarkable for omissions of fact and exuberance of theory. History for Sir Sidney Lee and some of his followers was but a fringe upon the garments of Literature. They therefore did not acquire the A.B.C. of historical research, namely the art of understanding where to look for first-hand contemporary information, by which to check and control such later hypotheses as can be formulated in a moment, and put on paper in half an hour, but may lead the public astray for centuries.

The over-emphasis now universally laid upon the Jewish ancestry of Dr López could never have become the basis for an elaborate misconception had any critic remembered a circumstance which no Elizabethan would have forgotten: namely that when King Ferdinand and Queen Isabel united the Crowns of Aragón and Castile, some twenty thousand Jewish families fled from Spain to Portugal to escape the Inquisition, which was not set up in Portugal until later date. Let us take the particulars from a widely circulated history, current at the time when López, from the Court of Queen Elizabeth, was treacherously sending secret information to the Spanish Sovereign from whose ancestors his ancestors had fled. There are eight copies of this *Istoria* in the British Museum; ranging from the first and second editions printed at Genoa and Venice respectively in 1585 and 1589, to an issue in the year of Queen Elizabeth's death. And as the English translation in 1600 was dedicated to Shakespeare's patron the 3rd Earl of Southampton, its information should not have been overlooked by Sir Sidney Lee the biographer of Shakespeare. After describing the enterprises of the Portuguese dynasty of Avis in navigation and exploration, and referring to Lisbon as next to Paris the most populous city in Europe, the narrator remarks upon one of the chief reasons for the increase of population: namely that when the Jews fled from Spain, into Portugal, in each of the twenty thousand families there were "ten persons at the least." So it was not at first contemplated that they should remain to overrun Portugal. The arrangement was that within a specified time King John should provide shipping to transport them elsewhere. But when the date drew near for their embarkation, many were "unwilling to depart." According to the edict in Spain, the Jews had been offered the choice whether to submit to baptism or forfeit all their goods. Those who disdained the first alternative and resolved not to endure the second had taken refuge on Lusitanian soil. But had the King of Portugal continued to allow vast numbers of Jews to stay indefinitely in Portugal, his Christian subjects would have rebelled.

A compromise was therefore effected; and under the name of " New Christians " a number of refugees remained.

This outline gives no adequate idea of the distressing circumstances of the Jews, or the official treachery of which they were victims, for the particulars of which we will presently consult a Jewish chronicler.[1] A Christian bishop also deplored the harsh manner in which these refugees were treated.[2] The *Istoria,* however, written nearly ninety years after the events, entirely omits any reference to cruelty or compulsion, and remarks merely " And although according to reasons of State this manner of peopling was not good, being of a nation different in blood and law, the which multiplying might cause an important division, being many in number, yet it brought great profit to the crown."[3]

That the Lisbon mob rose in fury in 1506 and massacred nearly two thousand of the settlers is either forgotten or suppressed in the *Istoria,* when it is related that they were allowed to take Portuguese surnames, and that in some instances they became " allied for money " with " Noblemen of the Country " and after a couple of generations became " undistinguished " from Portuguese. Of such " New Christian " descent was Dr López. Baptized a Catholic, López become nominally Protestant when he received an appointment at the Court of Queen Elizabeth. In Portugal the Jews who were ill-treated in the fashion deplored by Bishop Osorio were not of López' day but of his grandparent's generation. The penalty suffered at last by López in England was not for religion but for crime. And Lord Burghley saw no point in mentioning in any public statement the Hebrew blood of the criminal, because there was nothing unusual in any " Portingale " of middling or lesser station being of Jewish descent. Sir Edward Coke, in confidential notes on the evidence, recorded that López was of Jewish ancestry, and kin to one Saloman " a Jew of good credit " at Constantinople. But that this Jew in Turkey was in any way cognisant of the horrible intentions of " the worshipp[ll] and excellent S[r], Docto[r] Ruy Lopez chieff phisician to the Queenes ma[tie] of England in London " as he called

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[1] *Consolacam as Tribulacoens de Israel, by Samuel Usque Ferrara,* 1533. B.M ed: printed at Amsterdam: No. 701. a. 41. Dialogue III. 26 and 27 (See also Damião de Goes, *Cronica del Rey Dom Emmanuel"* 1566)

[2] Bishop Osorio (writing of the decree A D 1497), in *De Rebus Emanuelis.* 1571. (B M 812. 1.6; and 678. h. 5.)

A history of the Jews in Portugal was published at Coimbra, 1895, and 1928. *Os Judeos em Portugal,* by J Mendes dos Remedios. Vol II treats of Jews under the Inquisition, the New Christians and general pardon, from the reign of Emmanuel to Henry the Cardinal; Portuguese Jews under the Spanish rule; Intermarriage of Jews and Christians; Position of Portuguese Jews from the founding of the Bragança dynasty (1640) to the abolition of the Inquisition in 1821

[3] *The Historie of the Vnnting of the Kingdome of Portugall to the Crowne of Castill* 1600. p 6 English ed: B M (No: 593. c. 7) Translation of *Dell' unione del Regno di Portogallo alla corona di Castiglia, istoria del Sig: Jeronimo de Franchi Conestaggio* (most likely the pseudonym of João de Silva, Conde de Portalegre). Genoa. 1585. (B.M. 1060. c 2.) and seven other copies of various editions. *L'unton du royaume* etc. etc Besançon, 1596 (B M 1195 a. 5 and two other editions) See F.E. Vol. IV, pp. 45-46.

him, nothing in Salomán's letters gives any pretext for assuming.[1] When in regard to the corruptibility of another acquaintance, he remarks "This Senior is in extreme necessity, and phillip with his pistletts will or can make of very abstinent Fryers Perfect Ruffians,"[2] he can hardly have suspected that the "excelent" López was an even worse "Ruffian" than the "Senior" he despised.

Despite kinship to this Jew "of good credit," that López himself, having been "christened,"[3] was not theologically a Jew, must be emphasised; for the word Jew denoted not nationality but creed. His deception of King Antonio, and his secret dealings with Spain, appear the more preposterous in that Antonio had been popular in Portugal with the "New Christians," upon whose fear lest the Spanish Inquisition be introduced into Portugal Edward Wotton had expatiated to Walsingham in 1579.[4]

A note by Gabriel Harvey on the Jewish ancestry of López may have served to mislead our modern men of letters, when even such a solid fact as the arrival of twenty thousand families of Jews in Portugal can be forgotten. Harvey's marginal jotting manifestly belongs to the period while López was in favour at Court; between October 1581, and the beginning of 1594 when the astounding discovery was made by Essex that the doctor had been selling secret intelligence to Spain. There is reason to infer that Richard Hawkins may have owed his capture to particulars forwarded by López to Don Bernardino de Mendoza.

It is time to recognize that the treachery of López was deliberate, systematic, and long sustained. Nothing could be more unconsciously ironical than for Shakespeare's biographer to have elevated to the rank of a "Shakespearian" tragic *hero* an individual as ruthless and as cold-blooded as Shakespeare's most subtle villain Iago. Let us now see Gabriel Harvey's note:

> "Doctor Lopus, the Queenes physitian, is descended of Jewes: but *himself A Christian and Portugall.* He is none of the learnedest or expertest Physicians in y^e^ Court: but one that maketh as great account of himself as the best: and by a kind of

[1] P.R.O. In Uncalendered S.P. Spain, Vol. IV (no notation) "Translation of two letters from Don Salomán to Dr Lopez." Salomán's directing his letter to Dr López as Chief Physician was a mistake; he was one of several The Queen's Chief Physician received £100 a year, the same as her Principal Secretary of State; the lesser physicians were paid £50 per annum.

In Horatio F Brown's *Studies in Venetian History,* 2nd ed: 1907, Vol. II, p 17—in an essay on "Venetian diplomacy at the Sublime Porte during the Sixteenth Century,"—when treating of Murad III, "Salomán his Jew doctor" is mentioned as intermediary between the Venetian Ambassador and the Sultan. See also E.E. Vol. IX, p 253 He seems to be the same "Salomone the Jewish Man" who at Constantinople signs himself in Feb: 1594-5 the *antico e obligatiss^mo^ Seruitore* of *il Sig^r^ Edwardo Barton, dignissmo Ambass^a^ della Ser^ma^ Regine D'Inghilterra, presso il gran Sig^r^ padrone mio oss^mo^* at the head of an account in Italian of the life and death of the late Sultan Murad &c, published in Dr Rosedale's *Queen Elizabeth and the Levant Company,* 1904. Vide E.E. Vol. IX, pp 180-182.

[2] Letter dated "In Constantina the 25 of August 1593." Uncalendared S P S. IV.

[3] S.P.D Eliz. CCXLVIII 16.

[4] E.E. Vol. III, p. 193

Jewish practise, hath growen to much Wealth, and sum reputation: aswell as y^e^ Queen herself as with sum of y^e^ greatest Lordes and Laydes . . . "[1]

That the reward demanded by the Doctor was fifty thousand crowns we have on the authority of Burghley; who elsewhere shows that sum as then equal to fifteen thousand pounds sterling.[2] The official account of the crime of López was published in November, 1594, under the title of *A Trve Report of Svndry Horrible Conspiracies of late time detected* . . .[3] explaining how López meant to administer the poison and disappear before it took effect. Public disgust against him in 1594 was not because of his alien origin, but because he had undertaken murder when his profession was healing.

"His trial and execution," says Sir Sidney Lee, "evoked a marked display of anti-Semitism on the part of the London populace." But therein Lee is doubly mistaken; for not only were the populace kept in order under Elizabeth Regina, but López died, as he had lived, a nominal Christian.

"Armed" with "State Papers" and challenging objectors, Lee asserted that though "Spanish agents offered Lopez a bribe to poison Antonio and the Queen, the evidence that he assented to the murderous proposal is incomplete." On the contrary, the evidence was produced at the arraignment, which was "very publique in the city of London."[4] The examinations had previously been conducted in the Tower, by the Earl of Essex, Sir Edward Coke, Sir Robert Cecil and others; and were all submitted to Lord Burghley. Had Sir Sidney Lee consulted State Papers he could hardly have missed seeing "*A Collection of the Circumstances and particular proofs of the treason as the same were set forth in the evidence to the Jury.*"[5]

The trial on the 28th of February was at the Guildhall by special Commission, composed of such Privy Councillors as the Lord High Admiral (Howard of Effing-

[1] MS in Harvey's copy of George Meier's *In Iudaeorum Medicastrorum calumnias et homicidia, pro Christianis pia exhortatio· Ex Theologorum et Jure consultorum Decretis, MDLXX* (B M C. 60 h 18). But a 17th century reference to López as a Jew, not noticed by any of the advocates of the Shylock theory, occurs in *The Life of the Right Honorable Lady Anne Countesse of Arundell and Surrey, Foundresse of the English College of the Society of Jesus in Gant*, edited by the Duke of Norfolk, from the MS (1857). "An Indian maid being taken prisoner at sea, and sold for a slave to Dr Lopez a Physitian then dwelling in London," is described as likely to have received "damage to her soul in her master's house where she saw the Jewish ceremonies practised," &c, from which she was rescued by the Countess of Arundel.

But as this *Life* was not finished until a few months after the death of the Countess, who lived till 1630,—and as the description of López is merely that he was "put to death for something intended, *as was said*, against the person of Queen Elizabeth,"—a very inadequate summary of a case tried publicly at the Guildhall,—and as there are in the same volume several manifest lapses of memory in regard to Elizabethan facts, it is hardly "evidence" as to the religion of López; whose post of physician to the Queen from October 1581 certainly committed him ostensibly to Protestantism.

[2] It was in 1582 (*State Papers*, ed: Murdin, 1759, p. 781) that Burghley had noted 50,000 crowns as equal to £15,000; and even allowing for possible slight fluctuations in values by 1593-4, the suggested bribe was enormous. This easily ascertainable figure being omitted by Sir Sidney Lee has caused the transaction to be regarded as either vague or trivial.

[3] London 1594 (B M 599. 6. 5). E.E. plate 18.

[4] *A True Report* etc. 1594

[5] S.P. Dom: Eliz: Vol. CCXLVIII. No. 16.

ham), the Master of the Horse (Essex), the Chancellor of Oxford (Buckhurst); aided by the Lord Mayor of London, and other representative officials.[1] It was not a "Christian called Antonio," as Lee asserted, who was responsible for the fate of López; but this special Commission.

Not only is Lee's attempted parallel of López and Shylock utterly untenable,—not least because Shylock, a Jew usurer, laboured under open disadvantages, whereas López a Christian had been heaped with royal favours,—but the present method of acting *The Merchant of Venice* with Shylock instead of Antonio as the central figure, is an innovation. The Elizabethans were not burning with "anti-Semitic" passion; but they had an abhorrence of all usurers, as we see in a typical publication, by Miles Mosse, *The Arraignment and Conviction of Usurie. That is, The iniquitie, and unlawfulnes of usurie, displayed in Sixe Sermons, preached at Saint Edmunds Burie in Suffolke, upon Proverb 28. 8. At London: Printed by the widdow Orwin, for Thomas Man, 1595.* Mosse argued that usury is "manifestly forbidden" in the Scriptures, and he gives "divers causes" why it should not be "practised by a Christian." Shylock could never have been in Elizabethan eyes "greatest" or great. Their heroes were martial and noble. The popularity of "Joshua, Captain General of Israel,"—whom patriotic divines and others delighted to hold up as a suitable example to Essex,—the interest taken in the victory over Goliath won by "David King of Israel," the exploits of "Judas Maccabaeus, a valiant Commander," outlasted the Elizabethan era. The same "R.B." [Robert Burton] who produced one of the most popular of chapbooks, *The English Hero: Or Sir Francis Drake Revived,* also related the story of the three most martial Hebrews, ranking them fourth, fifth and sixth among *The Nine Worthies of the World:* "Three whereof were Gentiles," Hector, Alexander the Great and Julius Caesar; "Three Jews" as aforesaid, and "Three Christians," King Arthur, Charlemagne, and Godfrey de Bouillon. In this book of *The Nine Worthies,* reprinted as late as 1727, the Hebrew heroes are depicted with admiration as warm as is accorded to Caesar or Charlemagne.[2]

When ascribing "anti-Semitism" to the populace, Sir Sidney Lee forgot that the most vigorous enemy of Christendom was then the Turk. Against the might of the Sultans, who aimed at world domination, Christianity was conducting a prolonged struggle. How terrible a Turkish conqueror could be had been shown at the sack of Famagusta.[3]. Many an Englishman languished in Turkish dungeons. But except for Marlowe's *Jew of Malta,* and Shakespeare's Shylock, both based on mediæval tradition, and in both of which the sinister figures are usurers, Jews in Elizabethan literature were not historically significant.

[1] Burghley's Chronolog: Notes: Hatfield MS. No 333. Cal Vol. XIII. Addenda. pp. 506-508.

[2] "Who can see the Sun and not remember Joshua and the great commerce that this valorous Captain had with the King of Stars?" *The History of the Nine Worthies of the World: Three whereof were Gentiles . . . Three Jews . . . Three Christians . . . Being an Account of their glorious Lives, worthy Actions, renowned Victories, and Deaths . . . By Robert Burton . . . London. Printed for A Bettesworth at the Red Lyon and J. Batley at the Dove in Paternoster Row. 1727.* (p. 83).

[3] For which see Sir George Hill's *History of Cyprus* Vol III Cambridge 1948.

As to Marlowe's *Jew of Malta,* this play was put forward in 1894 by the Reverend Arthur Dimock—to whom Sir Sidney Lee referred us for instruction,—as a further instance of the effect of the López trial upon Elizabethan literary genius. But on the unlikeness between the López case and Christopher Marlowe's play it is not necessary to expatiate; for as Marlowe was murdered at Deptford in June 1593 he could not have founded his drama on a conspiracy not discovered until January 1594 (n.s.) seven months after his death!

Though Shakespeare and Marlowe depicted grim Jewish usurers, an ardent interest in ancient Hebrew history is shown in such works as Hugh Broughton's *Concent of Scripture* dedicated to the Queen. Moreover in offering Lord Leicester a translation of the Sermons of Calvin, Arthur Golding had daringly asserted that

> "There is no difference of the Jews or Gentile, Greeks or Barbarous, learned or unlearned . . . before God, but that whosoever serveth him faithfully and unfeinedly, the same is accepted of hym as hys deare childe, notwithstanding that hee seeme not to be within the boundes of the visible Church."[1]

Golding, author of a rendering of the Psalms of David, was patronised by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and had been selected by Sir Philip Sidney to complete the translation of Duplessis' *De la Vérité de la Religion Chrestienne.*[2] His views whether of life or literature, divinity, politics, or poetry, may therefore be taken as typical of the English Protestant culture of his day, both courtly and academic. Furthermore, the Huguenot Philippe de Mornay, Sieur Duplessis, dealt gently with Jews. Although whether in the French, English or Latin versions of *De la Vérité de la Religion Chrestienne,* he describes himself on the title page as vindicating Christianity "against Atheists, Epicures, Paynims, Iewes, Mahumatists, and other Infidels," he nevertheless argued that

> "Both the Jew and the Christian have one common principle and ground, which is the Old Testament . . . both the Gentile and the Jew have one common nature which furnisheth them both with one common Philosophie . . . that there is one God which governeth all things, that he is Good, and no author of Evill: That he is wise and doth not anything in vaine. Also that man is borne to be immortall."[3]

Theological hatreds have usually some political driving force: and a glance at the world-map showing Spain's vast dominions as contrasted with Queen Elizabeth's small "Empire" will help us to realise why her Protestant subjects abhorred King Philip. But there was then no danger to England from Jews as such: and for "anti-Semitic" feeling of any depth or intensity in England we must go back to before

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[1] *Sermons of Maister Iohn Calum vpon the Booke of Iob Translated out of French by Arthur Golding . . . 1579* 1st ed: B.M. No. 3165 F 10. Dedication repeated in later editions.

[2] . . . *The Trewnesse of Christian Religion.* 1587 E.E. Vol. VII, pp. 145-156. The 2nd edition was issued in 1592, 2 years before the trial of López.

[3] Op. cit. "The Preface to the Reader" (Sig. B 4, verso).

1290.[1] In 1594 Sir Robert Cecil, on the day of the trial at the Guildhall, sent a private letter to Windebank about "ye vile Jew." The vileness consisted not in his ancestry but his treachery, that while treated by the Queen with especial favour he was secretly planning her destruction.[2]

There being little known as to Shakespeare's life in London, Lee amplified the biography with matters with which William Shakespeare was not concerned. This might have been helpful had those events been treated in the Elizabethan spirit; but adapted to fit fantastic fancies, based on disregard of law and politics, they have led the public further and further away from history as well as from the principles exemplified in the works of Shakespeare.[3] No reader of the historical plays can fail to see that patriotism was an ardent emotion as well as a deliberate principle. Losing sight of the fact that England was at war with Spain, Lee postulated López as a "great" influence upon the mind of Shakespeare: on the strength of which the Doctor has been made a centre of interest, his criminal intentions relegated to the background, and the whole case distorted. When Sir Sidney Lee's statements and the facts are brought together, his Shylock-López theory collapses once and for all.

We must again recall what Lee overlooked: how ten years earlier, in 1584, the Spanish Ambassador, Don Bernardino de Mendoza, when detected in a plot

[1] When King Edward I passed a Statute withdrawing the right of domicile from the Jews

[3] Cecil's words (from S P D Eliz CCXLVII No. 97) are quoted in *English Historical Review* 1894, Vol X, p 466, to support Lee's theory. But in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, Vol VII, p 173, it is stated that "In the Old Testament the term 'Jew' appears to be applied to adherents of the worship of YHWH (Jehovah) as conducted at Jerusalem after the exile." And Ibid: Vol IV, p. 218, Jews were defined by the Rabbinical Conference held at Pittsburgh, 16—18th November, 1885, as "no longer a nation but a religious community."

As there are Jews of very many different nations, the word Jew, according to Jewish reckoning, is not a matter of blood but of creed. So it is extraordinary that Sir Sidney Lee (originally Solomon Lazarus Levi) himself a Jew, could have tried to turn a cold-blooded Christian traitor into a "greatest Jew,"—and apparently see nothing incongruous or ironical in elevating into a heroic martyr the most ungrateful of refugees It is equally extraordinary that no Jewish scholar, not even Sir Israel Gollancz, examined the evidence; and that the present writer is the first to make clear that the "Semitic question" had nothing to do with López. Had he been acting as a Jewish champion and revenging wrongs personal or otherwise, he would certainly not have wished the success of Spain, the country which from Ferdinand and Isabel's day treated the Jews with the utmost severity López was not standing for any principle, Jewish or otherwise.

On 4th May 1594 Tomaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador to Spain wrote to the Doge and Senate "By letters from London, of March 11, It is clear that the conspiracy of the Portuguese doctor had its origin in Spain. He was promised fifty thousand crowns. The bills of exchange, and their bearer a Portuguese, are in the hands of the Queen. Two Irish are accused of becoming parties to the Plot." *Cal· S.P. Venice*, Vol. IX (1897), p. 128. Observe that the doctor is correctly described as "Portuguese" From the Queen's own letter, we shall see that it was López who made the overtures to Spain, and was the first deviser of the plot.

[3] It is characteristic that references in Lee's *Life of William Shakespeare* are not given to Elizabethan MSS for information on the López case, but to modern briefs for the Shylock notion: Lee's own article, *The Original of Shylock, Gentleman's Magazine*, Feb: 1880; his article in D.N.B. and one by Dr H. Graetz, *Shylock in den Sagen in den Dramen und in de Geschichte, Krotoschin*, 1880, New Shakespeare Soc· Trans: 1887-92, Pt. II, pp 158-92, also *The Conspiracy of Dr Lopez* by the Rev. Arthur Dimock in *English Historical Review* (1894, IX, p 440 seq) are held up as exhaustive, though actually they all ignore the chief materials.

against England, had been commanded by the Queen to leave this country; whereon diplomatic relations between England and Spain were broken off; which crisis had called into being the famous "Instrument for the preservation of Her Majesty's Royal Person:" representative men of all ranks taking a solemn oath to protect the Queen against her enemies whether at home or abroad.[1] In this—in which the secret dealings of Spain were met by a spirited public declaration of English loyalty to the Sovereign,—the prime movers had been Leicester and Burghley. It was therefore appropriate that in 1594, Leicester's stepson, who had also been Burghley's ward, was the discoverer of the renewed conspiracy.

We should notice that on 29th December 1585, King Philip had written to Mendoza as to English news, that the danger of sending reports in writing "*may be got over by couching all information in mercantile language, which may be used as a cipher to signify anything agreed upon.*"[2] This system remained unsuspected by Queen Elizabeth's Ministers, and undetected until its exposure by Essex early in 1594.

Projects for the Queen's assassination had been numerous; and among the State Papers (calendared in the volume Sir Sidney Lee mentioned but could not have read) there is an unpublished letter in French endorsed "Intercepted and deciphered June 1592. Entent to kill the Q by poyson and otherwise." It is addressed "A son Altesse;" and the writer boasts of having "done so well" as to "gain a servant of the Queen's household" who had undertaken for an adequate reward, to dispose of Her Majesty.[3] But López was not yet suspected: and when his "dealings" with the Spanish King's Secretary in Brussels were discovered by Essex, the Queen at first could hardly believe that her Portuguese doctor could have been so treacherous.

Burghley took care no rumour penetrated to the outer world until the matter had been all "unfolded," and until he was prepared to allege that the "setters-on" of López were some Ministers of King Philip. Lee's assertion that the evidence was "incomplete" as to the guilt of López is the less accountable in that Burghley's

[1] E E. Vol. V, pp. 206-207.

[2] Paris Arch: K 1448. 36. Cal: S P S. Vol. III, p 553. This requires emphasis; for according to a lecture delivered at the London University in 1937, and reported in the *Jewish Chronicle*, Dr López, Antonio de Veiga (called "Veigo" by the lecturer) and other Portuguese settlers in London, though nominally Christian, were performing Jewish rites in secret. It was not clear what was the authority for this assertion; but the lecturer described them as "*merchants" who helped the English in traffic with "belligerent" Spain. He was apparently not aware that the mercantile terms used in the letters of López and the others were part of a cipher code.* He apologised for attempting to add to Sir Sidney Lee's "researches." But Lee made no researches as to this matter, and remained unaware of the letters of López or of any of the first-hand evidence. The idea that Sir Sidney Lee possessed encyclopædic knowledge seems to be still prevalent; but in 16th century history and politics he relied upon English 19th century standard works, with the result that his Elizabethan biographies in the D N.B. call not merely for correction but should be completely reconstructed

For actual researches into the identity of "the merchant" (Dr Lopéz) see E E. Vol. VII (1940), pp. 191-196.

[3] "Nous n'attendons que commodité pour jouer nostre personage . . Cependant avons si bien faict qu'avons gaigné un domestique de la maison de la Reyne nous a promis que moyennant dix mil escuz empoisonerat la royne, nous y avons faict delivrer mil escuz et nous sommes oblige du reste . . . le roy d'espaigne luy donera diz mil livres de rente" etc. etc. Orig: S.P. Dom: Eliz: CCXLII. No. 69.

statement that there never was so cunning a treason *"so thoroughly, clearly and wonderfully discovered, so plainly, manifestly and evidently laid open, so authentically, fully, and demonstrably proved"* had been in print since 1759.[1] Moreover, the official "Report" on the evidence had been published in November 1594, five months after the execution of López. Issued by "Charles Yetzwert" (as Lord Burghley spells the name) to whom a Privilege had been granted "for printing all Books of the Common Law,"[2] it can now be read in the British Museum. The MS. matter upon which that "Report" was based is accessible in the Public Record Office, and is so exceedingly voluminous that the trouble has not been lack but excess of elaborate detail to be mastered, and coordinated with relevant MSS. at Hatfield House.

Let us take from this wealth of State Papers one of the first which Sir Sidney Lee should have consulted: the *Trew Reporte of the detestable Treasons Comitted by Dr Lopez.* The narrative is a secretarial script, but the revisions are in the hand of Burghley.[3] Had Lee even glanced at this MS., he must have abandoned his fancy that the condemnation of López was on insufficient evidence, or caused by "anti-Semitic" prejudice. In Lee's rendering of the case—and in numerous later versions accepting his hypothesis,—Spain is a shadow, Essex an erratic trifler, Burghley forgotten; and López metamorphosed into a Jewish religious martyr. But the point of the MS. official report, and the subsequent Elizabethan published matter, is that the vilest form of treachery has been "committed by Doctor Loppez a Phisician attending uppon the person of the Quene's Matie, whom he by Corrupcion, for a some of money promised to be paid to him by the K. of Spaine, did fully agree and undertake to have destroied by poison." The words "and undertake" were added by the Lord Treasurer; and the main theme of the discourse is the methods employed.[4] Touches of grim irony appear; as for instance that the secret code phrase for murdering the Queen was *"to procure the treaties of peace . . . to be renewed."*

[1] In *A Collection of State Papers relating to Affairs of State in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, From the Year 1571 to 1596 Transcribed from Original Papers and other Authentic Memorials never before published, left by William Cecill, and Reposited in the Library at Hatfield House. By William Murdin B.D. . . . London Printed by William Bowyer in White-fryers.* MDCCLIX. p. 673 et seq

[2] March 25, 1594. The Lord Treasurer's Chronological Notes *State Papers* ed: Murdin, p. 803

[3] Dr Thomas Tenison in his *Baconiana,* 1679, p 67, conjectured Bacon to be the writer of *A true Report of the Treason of Dr Roderigo Lopez (A Spaniard, and a Physician attending upon the Person of the Queen), who was in confederacy with certain Spanish Agents, and hired by the King of Spain, to poyson her Majesty* But López was "a Portugall," not a Spaniard; and we now see from the Cecil MSS that Burghley himself decided what was to be said in the Report. There is nothing at Hatfield to suggest that the pen of Bacon was employed.

[4] Orig. S P. Dom. Eliz· CCXLVII. No 103. f 221. (Calendared wrongly as No. 105 Cal: S.P. Dom 1591-94, p. 461, but corrected to 103 in P R.O Calendar) Endorsed (f. 227b) "Doctor Lopez attaynted 28 Febr 1593 Eman. Louys } 14 Mart" Stefano Ferrara }

It is an official account of the proceedings 1593-4 Lord Burghley's revisions either are to shorten the account, or in parts to add such details as that "Louys" had confessed the truth of the charges after they had been put to him by two notaries and an interpreter. (Folio 223b). A *Further Declaration* of the proceedings is the part briefly epitomised in the Calendar; now examined for E.E. from the MS.

One of the conspirators not only admitted this in writing but publicly declared the same at his arraignment.[1] This kind of " peace " became a byword. Four years later, when King Philip was affecting to desire termination of hostilities, Essex protested that when the adversaries " charge us . . . with failing to agree to peace " they should be reminded of " Emmanuel Louis the Portingale, their messenger," who brought López and Stephano Ferrara assurance of reward if the " devilish conspiracy against the life of our precious Sovereign should take effect." Essex then recalled how at the arraignment at the Guildhall the culprits " confessed at the Bar that *in their cipher or jargon when they wrote of peace they intended the death and murder of her Majesty.*"[2]

This must have been unknown to Sir Sidney Lee when he denied that López had ever " assented " to the assassination plot; and when in his reference to " a bribe " he left the amount unstated, and gave the impression that no precise evidence was available and that López had been condemned because of England's theological prejudices. But when prejudice appears in the official MSS. and printed matter it is not against Jews as such, but against Jesuits; for the clash was not, as in *The Merchant of Venice*, between Jew and Christian, but between the Catholic King of Spain and the Protestant Queen of England:

> " By this Report maie be seene," runs the MS, after setting forth many details, " how justlie Loppez, Stephen Ferrara, and Eman. Louys are Condemned. . . . Hereunto might be added, to shewe the aboundance of God's favor to her matie, and Contrariwise the aboundance of the mallice of her Maties ennemies, that even about the time of the Conspiracy of this most horrible treason there were severall persons, some English, some Irish, corrupted with money . . . to enterprise the quenes death. Of wch nomber dyvers are taken, and some condemned; and some spared because they have with great sorrowe confessed their attempts, and detested their Setters on, . . ."[3]

There had been some delay over the execution. " Her Majesty misconceiveth the course requisite," wrote Lord Buckhurst and Sir John Fortescue to Sir Robert Cecil " from Buckhurst House the 18th April 1594," adding that " the people " had " expected the execution," and that the day appointed had been " tomorrow at 9 of the clock." On the same day Sir Michael Blount wrote to Cecil " From the Tower,"

> " Yesterday about three of the clock in the afternoon I received from Mr Attorney General a warrant for to deliver Dr Lopez, Stephen Ferrara and Louis the Portuguese to the Sheriffs of London to be executed to-morrow; but since your Honour doth signify that Her Majesty will have the execution stayed, till I hear further of Her Highness pleasure thence, I will stay the prisoners accordingly."[4]

On the 25th of April, Blount, as Lieutenant of the Tower, was writing again to Sir Robert Cecil and Sir Thomas Heneage:[5]

> " I have received your Honour's letters of this 24th of April, where you declare Her Majesty's pleasure, that although I do receive warrant to deliver Dr Lopez to be executed,

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[1] " . . . meaning by the said peace the destroying of the Queene by poison as Emmaual Louys hath by writing under his owne hande declared the meaning of the wordes . . . to be." f. 223b MS. cit. ante.

[2] S.P. Dom. Eliz. Vol. CCXLVII No. 103, f. 223b.

[3] f. 226. MS. cit. [4] Hatfield MS. Cal: Vol. IV, pp. 512-513 [5] Ibid. p. 515.

notwithstanding I shall not deliver him. . . . but your Honour doth not command me to make stay of the other two Portuguese, Ferrara and Emmanuel Louis. If it please your Honour that I may understand Her Highness's pleasure for these two other Portuguese, otherwise I know not what to do if the warrant be for them all three, as it was before."

John Stow the chronicler, who was living in London at the time, in his record of the execution, 7th of June, telling how "Rodericke Loppez" and "two other Portingales" were conveyed from the Tower of London by the Lieutenant of the Tower, "unto the olde swan, and from thence by water to Westminster," (and so on), has not one word to say about "Anti-Semitic" riots, or any violent demonstration whatsoever; nor is López described as a Jew in Stow's "Annales," but "a Portingale (as it was saide)."[1]

> ". . . in all the Course of his Examinations he would always, with detestable Othes, Execrations and Curses, denye many Things, damninge himselfe to the lowest Pit of Hell if there were any such Matter; and almost with the same Breathe, seeing manyfest Proofs, confessed ytt presently: and, profanely thinking to show his affection to her Majesty, he did affirm, to the great Offence of the Herers, that he loveth her Majesty better than he loved God."[2]

Long after the event, this was distorted by Camden in the following manner: "Lopez affirming that he had loved the Queen as he loved Jesus Christ, which from a man of the Jewish profession was heard not without laughter."[3] But in 1594 no man saw cause for laughter in the situation. In Camden's "Annals" the garbled story of "Roderigo Lopez of the Jewish sect, the Queen's physician for her household" may be what misled Lee into forgetfulness of the impossibility of any member of the "Jewish sect" holding a Court appointment under Queen Elizabeth (or under any other British Sovereign after 1290, until in the 19th century after much debate, the prohibition was abolished). But Camden did not elevate López to the rank of a hero; and it was only under the delusion that López was a persecuted Jew, instead of a treacherous Christian, that Lee represented the Doctor as done to death by "anti-Semitic" prejudice. This mistake is the more incongruous because modern England has been one of the countries least harsh towards Jews: as Sir Sidney Lee, himself a Jew, enjoying an English knighthood and scholastic honours, had every reason to know. But when once a critic gains a reputation, so little analytical are we English that Lee's López-Shylock theory, first published in 1880, and reprinted many times, became a literary article of faith. It reappeared in 1922 even in the Taylorian lecture at Oxford:—

> "The incentive to write The Merchant of Venice," said the lecturer, "was provided by the anti-semitic wave that followed the sensational case of the court physician Roderigo Lopez a Portuguese Jew, . . . though nominally a Christian, who was suspected of attempting

[1] *The Annales of England Faithfully collected out of the most Authentucall Authors, Records, and other Monuments of Antiquitie lately corrected, encreased, and continued, from the first inhabitation until this present yeere 1600 by John Stow citizen of London. Imprinted at London by Ralfe Newbery* (Published on or before December 25, 1600), pp. 1274 and 1278. B.M 9503. ee. 17.

[2] *A Collection of State Papers . . . left by William Cecill, Lord Burghley . . . London . . . MDCCLIX.* Report on López case, pp. 673-674.

[3] *Annals,* ed. 1635. pp. 430-431. (First published in Latin, 1615).

to poison Queen Elizabeth. Political bias and religious prejudice amply confirming this suspicion, the unhappy man was hanged at Tyburn, where he had the additional misfortune of earning the derision of the mob by protesting that 'he loved the queen as well as he loved Jesus Christ.' . . .

"Roderigo Lopez had served as interpreter to Antonio Perez, . . . Perez had been brought to England by Lord Essex, and utilised to counter Spanish influences, and the court physician was suspected of conspiring to poison Perez as well as the Queen as part of a Spanish intrigue."[1]

Thus—misled by Lee—repeated one of our most learned and respected scholars. But we have now seen that there was no "anti-semitic wave," and that López was not "suspected" but trusted until after many years his treachery was discovered. As to the plot of 1593-4, "convicted" would be the correct term; not "suspected." Camden's "Jesus Christ" story does not relate to a "mob" at Tyburn, but to the trial in the Guildhall. It is in any case a misquotation on Camden's part; for the reference, as related by Lord Burghley, we must repeat, was to "God;" not "Christ." It was not Antonio Pérez but King Antonio of Portugal whom López was convicted of having intended to poison. Nor could López have "acted as interpreter" to Pérez. On coming to this country the doctor did not know English, nor any tongue other than his native Portuguese, except Italian, in which language his letters to Englishmen are written. And after some sixteen years in England he still does not seem to have learnt English.[2] But most of Her Majesty's Ministers spoke and wrote French, Latin, Italian and Spanish; and seldom employed interpreters.[3]

Essex, whom Sir Sidney Lee pictured as requiring López the "accomplished linguist" to enable him to understand Pérez, needed no such aid, for Essex knew Spanish,—which López did not. Antonio Pérez usually wrote to Essex either in Spanish or Latin. It was an age when English Councillors of State prided themselves on following the example of the Queen, who not only could make extempore Latin orations when she visited the Universities but also was able to converse in the language of his own country with nearly every foreigner who came to her Court.[4]

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[1] *Shakespeare and Spain.* Oxford At the Clarendon Press. 1922. pp. 8-9

[2] As to the date at which Dr López first came to England: S P Dom· Eliz: CXXIV. No 38 orig· is a memo (unpublished) endorsed "18 June 1578 Mr D. Lopez for 20[li] due to Mr Spinola by Mr H Howard." (This seems to be addressed to Burghley "Yt may please yor good L to remember the humble suyte of Dr Lopes, in the behalf of Mr Spinola, for a debt of XX[li] due by Mr Henry Howard." No. 49 is a list of Howard's creditors "not paid any thyng at all," including "D Lopes Benedict Spinola £20 'lent money'" Endorsed "27 June 1578." No 33 is a similar list, in which "D. Lopes" has been written over Spinola's name. "Mr Henry Howard" may be the 4th Duke of Norfolk's brother; afterwards restored to his former rank as Lord Henry Howard Benedict Spinola was a protégé of Lord Leicester.

[3] Vide Giordano Bruno's experience in 1583-85 of the linguistic attainments of the English courtiers E.E. Vol. V, pp. 241-247.

[4] The standard of culture expected of personages in official positions under the various Crowns was then (and long remained) high Even at a later date, François de Callières could admonish Frenchmen that "Everyone who enters the profession of diplomacy should know the German, Italian, and Spanish languages, as well as the Latin, ignorance of which would be a disgrace and a shame to any public man, for it is the common language of Christendom."

*The Practice of Diplomacy:* an English rendering *De la manière de négocier avec les Souverains.* Introduction by A. F. Whyte London, 1919. p 50

The notion that López was sacrificed to "political bias and religious prejudice" should be discarded for ever: unless it is "political bias" for the law to punish servants of the Sovereign who are secretly in league with the foreign enemy in time of war, and unless it is "religious prejudice" to object to an intended murder. As even Thomas 4th Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshal of England, had perished on the scaffold, twenty-two years before, for having given ear to the subtle blandishments of the Queen's adversaries,—though he protested he never intended harm to Her Majesty's person, and in June 1571, when he was executed, England and Spain were not yet at war,—it was the more unreasonable of Lee to treat as a martyr Dr López who was hanged for having undertaken to poison two monarchs, Antonio the elected King of his native country, and Elizabeth Queen of the country which had given him refuge and an official appointment with a pension for life.

The condemnation of López and his associates, after their many betrayals of information acquired by being trusted at the Court, is not a sentence to which exception can be taken either morally or legally. Nor had it anything to do with racial prejudice; English sympathy with the "Portingales" being such that the discovery of treason in a Portuguese was a shock,—especially to the numerous great personages who had favoured López and had striven to alleviate the distress he professed to suffer for the sorrows of his country.

That Sir Sidney Lee did not refer his readers to Stow's contemporary Annals, or to Lord Burghley's MS. report, or to the printed official pamphlet, or to Murdin's "Collection" from the Hatfield MS., or to "State Papers Foreign," or to the correspondence of Essex, or indeed to any of the essential material from which to derive particulars of the case,—that he gave instead in *The Original of Shylock* his own conjectures,—shows the biographer of Shakespeare so carried away by what seemed to him a tempting hypothesis, that he lost sight not only of the historical facts but even of the character of the drama he was endeavouring to interpret. For Sir Sidney Lee to wish to discover Shakespeare as especially interested in Jews, may have been natural: but the most vehement "anti-Semite" could not have been more unkind to the Jews than to hold up (as Lee did) as the "greatest Jew" in the England of Elizabeth such a scoundrel as López.[1]

The publication in print of the charge that King Philip had countenanced the assassination plots against Queen Elizabeth did not take place until warning had been given. A letter was sent by the Privy Council to Richardot, an officer of the Archduke Ernest, King Philip's Governor of the Netherlands.[2] It is more incisively

[1] That López was of Jewish ancestry—despite Camden's harping on this fact,—made little impression and is not even mentioned in *A Discourse concerning the original of the Powder-Plot, Together with . . . the Conspiracies against Queen Elizabeth . . . London, 1674,* wherein López is described with others, as having attempted "to raise rebellion, poison or assassinate the Queen," incited thereto by "the King of Spain's Ministers of State, not without the privitie and consent" of the King himself. There is not a word about "anti-Semitic" feeling.

[2] Endorsed "20 October 1591. M. to Sr Richardott." Draft 1½ pp. Hatfield MSS 28. 102; Cal. V. (1894). In extenso pp. 12-13

worded than the Queen's epistle despatched at the same time to the Archduke himself. The responsibility of the Spanish King's Ministers in the Netherlands for condoning a crime which had only been frustrated at the last moment, and that they would not have dared to take such steps without the King's concurrence, was expressed in words available in print this last half century, but escaping the notice of Sir Sidney Lee.

> ". . . without some extraordinary course taken by the King for his clearing," [declares the Privy Council, 20th of October, 1594], "there will be left upon him a most notorious . . . imputation in the judgment of the whole world: of which, for the honour she beareth to a King's estate, her Majesty . . . could wish he could clearly discharge himself. . . . There will appear manifest proofs directly convicting . . . divers of the King's principal Councillors . . . of horrible attempts . . . against the life of an anointed Prince."

The particulars were printed the following month (November 1594) in a book entitled *A True Report of Sundry Horrible Conspiracies of late time detected, to have (by Barbarous murders) taken away the life of the Queenes most excellent Maiestie; whom Almighty God hath miraculously conserved against the treacheries of her Rebelles, and the violences of her most puissant Enemies*,[1] published to

> "informe the world sufficiently of these actions, . . . how to judge of the Queene of England to be most barbarouslie wronged, and of the King of Spain to be condemned before God and man if he shall not upon information hereof acquit himself of the imputation . . . by due punishment of his Councillors: . . . which if he shal not performe, no person can blame hir Maiestie if shee shall take some other course . . ."

Stephen Ibarra, Gonzalo de Gómez, and others in high places, even the King's Principal Secretary "Cristoforo Mora" [Cristobal de Moura, Count and Marquis of Castel Rodrigo] are accused by name of countenancing the crime, and are bidden to defend themselves if they can.

The late Sir Julian Corbett's notion of Burghley as timid, mediocre, pacific and unenterprising, and of Essex as marred by "levity of purpose,"[2] would have been altered could he have known how Essex and Burghley conducted the López case. That it was Burghley who was responsible for this charging of the Spanish King's Ministers as the "setters on" of López is clear; for at Hatfield House is a memorandum partly in Burghley's hand, with instructions "First how far forth the King of Spain may be avowed to have been author or privy to the conspiracy for the poisoning of the Queen's Majesty."[3] Then follows a list of the confessions, letters, and intercepted letters, letters of credit, and so forth; as selected for publication. The printed *True Report* thereon founded, explains that Her Majesty for

[1] "November. At London. Printed by Charles Yetwirt Esqre." (B.M. No. 599. b 5) E.E. plate 18.
[2] *The Successors of Drake*, 1900.
[3] Hatfield MS. 28. 41. Undated, 1 p. Headed "To be expressed how these matters following are to be avowed." Cal: V, pp. 54-55 E.E. plate 17

some while had refrained from issuing any details, except in so far as the trial of the conspirators had been "very publique." The reason for delaying publication of the evidence in book form had been that the Queen was "expecting long ere this time to have heard of something done by the said King for the avoiding of so foul a blot on his name."

In the margin of the British Museum copy, this paragraph is marked "*Nota,*" in an Elizabethan hand; and in the same hand on the title page it is stated *this b[ook] was never answered to my knowledge.*"[1]

Unpublished MSS. in the Record Office give details of a vast plot with which the assassination project was interwoven. "Despairing to conquer by cannon" King Philip now endeavoured "by crowns," that is by bribery, to carry out "traitrous Complottes and dangerous attempts against her Maties sacred person and her Realmes . . . not for anie offence or Cawse ministered on her parte," but for her protecting and maintaining her dominions and subjects against the ambition and mallice of Spaine."[2]

From King Philip's point of view this was reason enough. His methods, however, were criticised in plain terms by Burghley, whose business it was to help to circumvent them.[3] Since the defeat of the Spanish Armada, His Majesty had tried various means of reducing England. In 1593-4 the plan was *non belligerentes ferro,* but in place of open war to "put in practice at once three devilish attempts:"

"1 to burn the Navy:

2 to seduce the chief Nobility into rebellion:

3 to murder the Queen either by violence or poison."

For the third, "the miscreant perjured murdering traitor and Jewish doctor hath been provided." Thus it is worded in one of the MS. drafts; but the printed report omits any reference to the ancestry of López.

No. 1 of the above projects, (to burn the Queen's Navy) was not fated to be accomplished. No. 2 ("to seduce the chief Nobility into rebellion") remained one of King Philip's hopes, and we have Essex's word that the King subsequently offered him great advantage if he would desist from opposition to Spain, which overtures

[1] Op. cit pp. 6, 7 B.M. No. 599 b 5 A long (unpublished) MS note in Latin and English is squeezed on the title page. Part of it has been trimmed away in rebinding the book. But it seems to be the comment of someone who had been connected with the case,

"*fabricius volust nec vinci auro nec vincere veneno* . . . this I urged against Lopes being then soll . . . The Lo treasorer Bu . . . thought best to rely principally uppon confessions of the delin . . . without any inference Arguments and this b . . . was never answered to my knowledg an . this is the best kind . . . publication."

This "best kind" of "publication," devoid (by Lord Burghley's order) of "inference Arguments," contains not one word about Jews. (Title page E E. plate 18).

[2] *A Collection of the Circumstances and particular proofs of the treasons as the same were sett forth in evidence to the Jury* (López Trial) In a clerk's hand, S.P. Dom: Eliz: CCXLVII, No. 102. calendared but not published.

[3] *A Collection* etc. (as supra) S.P.D. Eliz. CCXLVII, No. 102.

incited him to yet more resolute exertion to defend the honour and safety of England. Concerning the third point in the plot, though López failed, there were to be others willing to enter into similar projects for Queen Elizabeth's destruction. (We will deal with them in a later volume.)

Meanwhile, in connection with the Queen's unwillingness to believe that during a long period of years she could have been deceived by López, it seems characteristic that she at first was angry with Essex for accusing an official whom she had been accustomed to favour. *Her own letters, however, reveal that she was quickly convinced. Her reason for postponing the execution was certainly not any doubt as to the justice of the sentence. The delay (as she herself shows) was in the hope that King Philip would clear himself of complicity, and for the same reason the publication of the official pamphlet was deferred.*

Less than seven years later, there will be occasion to contrast with this delay her haste in bringing Essex to the scaffold. Sentenced to death on the 19th of February 1600-1, it was "Her Majesty's Will and pleasure that the head of the said Earl be cut off" on the 20th, on Tower Green,—Essex having protested that though willing to die, he thought it would be more to the advantage of the Kingdom if he could live to continue his services against the mighty adversary. But it was precisely this which the "Espaniolated faction" at the English Court were determined to prevent, as we shall see in the last Act of this tragic drama.[1]

[1] Actually after signing the death-warrant on the 20th, there was a delay of the execution until the 25th. The explanation—hitherto unknown—will be given in E.E Vol. XI.

## *LORD BURGHLEY'S HOLOGRAPH NOTE*

### *as to method of announcing discovery of the López conspiracy.*

*Now reproduced (with line by line transcript) from the original at Hatfield House*

*" To be exp$^{a}$/sed how these mathers*
*followyng ar to be avowed*
*first how farr forth y$^{e}$ k. of Spayn may be avowed to*
*have been author or prvt to y$^{e}$ Conspyracy for ye poysoning*
*of ye Q Mat$^{ty}$ by whose confessiõs the same hath*
*bene detected*
*The lyk[e] to be Gathered for chargyng of ye Conte fuentes &$^{c}$*
*etyfano*
*ye secretary ybarra*
*Christoforo Moro* *Emanuel ādrada*
*Gonzalo de Gomes pedro Cariera* *Jho de palaci$^{o}$*
*lykwisse y$^{e}$ proves wold be Collected, whereby D. Lopez*
*de Guma*
*stefano de ferera Emanuell leus Tinocho war*
*co(n)vic(t)ed of treason*

Thinges to be had [From here to end in a secretary's hand]

The confessions of { Emanoel Louys / of Ferera de Gama / Doctor Lopez } { signed w$^{t}$ their handes.

The lres of { Conde de Fuentes / of Ibarra } sent by Em Louys
Chrst de Moro
Gonçalo Gomez — The lre written by Andrada to Bern. Mendoca intercepted when Andrada was committed in England.

The lres of credit or billes of exchange, frõ Gonçalo de Gomez to Pedro Carera, and Ihon de Pallacio.

Remember to distinguish the several practises by their difference of tymes wherein they were don "

That Lord Burghley dared to challenge Spanish ministers of State as responsible for the conspiracy of López was entirely unknown to Sir Sidney Lee, whose various assertions in 1880 (never corrected until now) are answered from the direct evidence. For the official pamphlet on this case, published in 1594 (also unknown to Lee), see E.E plate 18 For Spanish statement, E E pp 280-281

To be excepted owr those mentions
followyng or to be answered

First how farre forth y^t knowl^e may be answ^d by
Henri late author or devise of y^e Conspiracy for y^e murthe
of y^e D. Guise by wright confessions. The same doth
y^e late Author

The Bill to be preferred for chardgyng of y^e Guise worker &
Secretary Cycero
Christofero Moro Emanuele Arimā
Gonzalo de Gomez pedro Carriera Gio de palacio

Letters to y^e persons will be directed, whereby D. Lopez
Stefano de Gama
Stefano de Gama & mr Rowe Lewis Piscatore war
corrected of treason

RATCLIFFE ROSE
LIBRARY

Tonge to be had
The confessions of Emanuel Lopez
Stefano de Gama Examyned in Newgate
Dr Lopez
The Lres of Conde de Fuentes Given by Sir Longe
Gio Maria
Christ de Moro
Gonsalo Gomez
The Lres written by Antonio to the Marchio examyned w^ch he hath confessed to be his owne
The Lres of credit or bills of Exchange for Conde de Gomez
Stefe Lopez and Gonsalo Gallarte

Remember to have y^e Lres & other proofes by w^ch Affonsus of Spayne
is knowen by his owne hand

*

*TITLE PAGE OF OFFICIAL PAMPHLET, 1594.*

*With contemporary MS. note in Latin and English.*

*Now first reproduced from the original in the British Museum. No. 599. b. 5.*

Described, ante, E L pp. 265



*

# A TRVE REPORT

OF SVNDRY HORRIBLE Conſpiracies of late time detected to haue (by Barbarous murders) taken away the life of the *Queenes moſt excellent Maieſtie*; whom Almighty God hath miraculouſly conſerued againſt the treacheries of her Rebelles, and the violences of her moſt puiſſant Enemies.



Nouember.

AT LONDON
Printed by Charles Yetſweirt Eſq.
1594.

CHAPTER 5. SECTION 6—*continued.*

# "The murder which he had offered."

*Queen Elizabeth's hitherto unknown letters on the López case.*

Of all ironies in the career of "the poor distressed exiled King" as Essex called Dom Antonio, it seems most remarkable that he, who was safely concealed eight months in Portugal in 1580 with a price on his head—when many people knew his place of hiding but would not reveal it,—was betrayed not once but over and over again by Portuguese refugees in England.

The exact circumstances in which Queen Elizabeth in 1594 forbade him to return to her realm have long lain buried in our Uncalendared State Papers Foreign. The letters, prolix and complicated, make clear that what so disgusted the Queen was to find how the criminals were persons who had been favoured because introduced by King Antonio and regarded as devoted patriots.

*She plainly states that the murder plot was originated by López, and by him "offered" to the adversary.* We may notice that whereas in her letter to Sir Robert Sidney it is specified that all the Portuguese conspirators were drawn from among Dom Antonio's servants, the printed pamphlet (E.E. plate 18) issued the following November under Burghley's superintendence, even while alluding to a plot to murder the King of Portugal and referring to the conspirators in England as "Portingales" in the pay of Spain, refrained from divulging to the outer world that the accomplices of Dr López were in Antonio's household.

Endorsed in Lord Burghley's hand "To ye K. of Port. cop. of her Ma^tie l[ett]re in french 27 Februar 1593," this communication begins in the approved manner of one Sovereign to another, "Monsieur mon bon frère." In English there is a "Draught of a l[ett]re from her Ma^tie to the King of Port. 1593-4," wherein words and phrases are struck through, and others interlineated, as if taken down from the Queen's own lips. The wording becomes involved towards the middle, as if more thoughts and feelings crowded upon her than she could concentrate into words. It is written in one long breathless paragraph. Taken in conjunction with her letter on the same theme to Sir Robert Sidney, it now appears that Antonio had received warning of a plot against his own life; and that on searching into this, he at the "seaside" when embarking for the United Provinces, sent to the Queen certain letters which made links in the chain of evidence. Her Majesty, though beginning with good wishes for his health and welfare, rebukes him for delaying information which would have been of more value at an earlier date. (Antonio's answer is not found; and we may remember that in 1591, during the French campaign, Essex had

been obliged to point out how the Queen did not sufficiently allow for the time taken in transit of letters.)

"My very good Brother. We have written to Our servant Sidney," [this when translated is made more ceremonious, "notre seruant Le Sieur de Sidney,"] "of some things concerning yourself, wherein we desire you to give him credit as to Ourself." Then is interlineated in brackets "(not thinking good to trouble you with all particulars in Our own letter)."

"Although We are very glad to hear that since your many dangers at sea you have so well passed over all other difficulties in the journey, being one of whose health and well-doing We shall ever be careful to understand, yet are We now sorry to have no more pleasant subject to write of at this time" (altered from "than this which follows"): "Whereby you shall so well understand the danger We have been in through the practice of divers of your own subjects;" altered to "own nation;" both struck through, and changed to "*especially of one who long since became (as you know) Our Subject, and was drawn into service nearest about Us as having made him physician to Our household, and giving him continual access unto Our person.*

"And though of all this matter we doubt not but you heard before your departure, sufficient testimony to make you assured of his treasonable practices,"[1]—"by the letter intercepted at Windsor" is crossed out,—"yet" [altered from "although"] "We must confess that the long suppressing of"—altered to "that our small suspicion of him to have been in any way a dealer herein,—until by those letters that you sent from the seaside we saw it made manifest (being opened to us) many weeks after the same had come to your hands,—did leave Us to as much danger as any Prince's life could stand in: Seeing he [López] knew both the party to be in prison with whom he had principally dealt, and was at liberty and in as good favour with Us as before, even many days after he knew the other person himself was arrived: by whom he had so long expected the price of Our blood, which now was brought for his encouragemnt and assurance to go on with his purpose."

[As we have seen that Dr López was not suspected, until after a variety of intercepted letters brought together had revealed the other conspirators as relying upon an accomplice near the Queen's person, the foregoing becomes intelligible: though which of the letters were those which Dom Antonio himself had forwarded is not specified.]

"But this" [her own danger], "We do but touch by the way, as a thing whereof We know you will have sense for the goodwill you bear Us."

She adds that she is "resolved for Our own particular to leave the revenge to the Highest, Who knows our innocence" of even so much as having "imagined the taking away of life by practice" [treachery] "from the meanest of God's creatures. And therefore have we thought good at this time to inform you by Our servant Sidney of your own danger: not to be avoided except you shall take such course for your abode as may make stay of these continual machinations for taking away your life: whom We do wish all safety and contentment, as you shall know by any good offices"—changed to "all good offices"—"which We can perform, without so apparent exposing Ourselves to Our own destruction: as from Our servant more at large you shall perceive: to whom we refer you for Our firm resolution in all things concerning you: And so We pray"——
(The customary concluding compliments are not included in the draft).[2]

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[1] Vide E. of Essex to Lord Cobham. Windsor. 6 Nov. 1593. E.E. ante pp. 247-248.

[2] Nor in the French copy, which ends . . . *demeurions exposés au hasard de n(ost)re ruine propre comme plus à plain vous dire n^re seruite^r Auquel nous vous remettons pour entendre nre ferme resolucon en toutez choses qui vous touchent*

What was the Queen's "firm resolution" Antonio could not know until he had seen her Governor of Flushing. So we must now read the "cop[y] of her Ma^tie^s lettre to Sr Robert Sidney concerning the K. of Port[ingale]." Though called thus in the endorsement it is not a copy but a draft, showing many alterations: some to tone down and others to clarify the phrasing; to put the startling details as gently as possible out of consideration for Dom Antonio's "quality" and pity for his "afflictions."

> "We have written to the Portingall to give you credit in all such things as you shall deal with him in, being a matter of no small consequence to Ourselves, as more hereafter you shall understand: the life of a Prince having never been sought by so dangerous and unsuspected practices, as now by voluntary confession of all the parties that have been actors in it doth appear, the hour of performance being near at hand if our good God had not miraculously prevented the same."

["Voluntary confession" means that the accused confessed without torture. "Miraculous" may seem hardly a suitable word, in that the discovery of the plot was not due to any supernatural agency but to the vigilance of Essex.]

The Queen tells Sir Robert that "to the King himself" she has only "glanced at" his negligence "in a matter of that weight to Us," though he had been "as busy in discovery of that which concerned himself, as in that wherein Our imminent danger was included he was too remiss." She sends Sir Robert a copy "of Our own letter" to King Antonio, to show how much, or rather how little, she has made known to him. Both to Antonio, and in her statements to be passed on to him through Sidney, the self-restraint is remarkable when contrasted with her furious letters to Leicester in 1585-6 and to Essex in 1589 and 1591. We have seen the "tempest" of her "humours" breaking upon her intimates; for her "unkind dealing" was apt to be most vehement against those who served her best. But when she had narrowly escaped death by "dangerous and desperate treason," as Essex called it, and she had the utmost cause for anger against López and others who misused her trust for their hideous ends, her tone is calmly regal:

> "You shall therefore let him know," she instructs Sir Robert Sidney for his dealing with King Antonio, "that We have entered into consideration of the former courses holden since we received him into Our protection:" and it hath been "discovered that the concourse of such as have pretended occasion of repairing unto him out of Spain and Portugal (with colour of doing him service) hath been the only means of laying open to the King of Spain's ministers divers actions"—altered from "all the actions"—"begun in this realm; and they have also been instruments of many practices," such as "to burn Our ships, with other devices and stratagems. . . ."

In consideration for Antonio, she had not liked to "offer him discourtesy" by denying access to her Court to persons who he "did daily recommend to Us." And it was solely for his "contentation" she had "given liberty to our Treasurer of England, and other our principal ministers, *to suffer all such Portugueses to go in and out at all ports, and at all times, as by Diego Botellio and Dr Lopez should be recommended unto them:*"

> "Which course though We have often been sued unto by Our best servants to forbid, yea and have heard the complaints of divers of Our own subjects, who repined (as far as

they durst) at such a liberty to be granted to persons living under our greatest enemy (divers poor merchants of Ours having had their goods confiscated in Spain and Portugal, their ships and bodies taken by intelligencies and devices derived from them) *yet such hath been Our care never to deal but tenderly with a person of his quality and affliction, as rather than We would seem by any over-curiosity to hinder him of any means to recover his right, by any offers or means whatsoever, We have omitted that necessary caution, and have almost wittingly been instruments of Our own perdition.*

"Wherein you may assure him, if nothing but Our particular interest were included, and that the interest of so many thousands of good subjects did not beg it at Our hands, We are so resolved to contemn" and disdain "whatsoever our enemies practise towards us" that "We are least troubled for Ourselves, whom we submit to God's ordinance to suffer to be done with the work of His hands what best pleaseth Him."

Antonio is to be told how the confirmation Dr López demanded "by the writing of Estephano Ferera" was secured for him and "arrived with Emanuel Loys" [Luis] he "being another of the King's servants:" and this reassurance was "*an order signed by an officer of the King of Spain, directed to a Commissary of his finances, authorising him to pay such sums of money as the doctor should have appointed him, for reward of that murder which he had offered to the King of Spain to do against our person.*"

Hitherto it has been assumed that the Queen doubted the reality of the conspiracy up to the date in June 1594 when she signed the death-warrants. But this letter to her Governor of Flushing, 27th of February, 1593-4, now demonstrates that however astonished she was at first when Essex told her of the treason he had discovered, she did not long remain unconvinced of the nature and extent of the plot. She relates that "giving Us a syrup" was the method agreed upon: which syrup the Doctor "was forthwith" to administer "upon receipt of further assurance from Spain." This poison scheme was "*first offered to the King of Spain by Andrada*[1] *from the doctor," and then "contrived by letters of Ferera sent to Emmanuel Luis and to the Conde Fuentes by Gomes d'Ayala," all of whom were King Antonio's own servants.*

Further, Stephano Ferera, even after he was in prison, had sent a message by Pedro Ferera to Caldera, these last also the King's servants: which matter was "smothered and sought to be suppressed by Furtado; and was too long undiscovered"—altered to "and not so soon discovered" [i.e. revealed] "by Don Cristofero himself, when he knew it to be the true point of the conspiracy."

[What Antonio's feelings must have been when his son Christopher was accused of carelessness as to Queen Elizabeth's safety, it needs no insight to divine.] The conspiracy had "run on so far" and had been so cunningly contrived that nothing became apparent against the doctor "until the very hour almost that the thing" was to have been accomplished. Emanuel Luis, one of the other chief instruments, having brought reassurances for López from Spain, had been in England eight days "before he was so much as called in question."

[1] Manoel de Andrada, whose name first appears in 1585-6 in a list of Antonio's household (S.P. Portugal, II. 20), E.E. Vol. VII, p. 203, and note 7. And Cal: S.P Spanish, Vol. IV, p. 369.

Sir Robert Sidney, after relating all this to Dom Antonio is to "let the King consider whether this rabble of his servants, with all other of their appendants, ought not to be suspicious to Ourself and Our country: seeing We do discover that *discontentment and treachery possessed the whole numbers of these Portugueses whom We (for his sake only) have protected in our Realm.*"

On consideration this must have appeared too sweeping; for she adds "*excepting haply some one or two, who with more loyalty follow his fortune.*"

". . . We find from the beginning all his counsels have been betrayed, his parties there" [in Portugal] "most of them discovered: *his own sons alienated from him.*" These last three words are crossed out, and "*here seduced*" substituted: which statement must have been far more appalling to Antonio than the words ensuing,—"his own destruction offered and undertaken," for this personal risk he had faced frequently since 1580.

". . . We do perceive the King of Spain hath been so much the more exasperated against him" [King Antonio] "for that he" [Philip] "conceived his abode here was for no other purpose than still to draw from Us aid and means to offend him whom—though for Our own part We shall never be afraid to make known how little we care for him and how We scorn all his barbarous attempts whatsoever, having confounded him in his most triumphant and invincible action as he took it,—yet for the satisfaction of all Our servants and subjects who groan under the feelings of this continual danger which to Us and them daily multiplies here" ["by the resort or abode of such people hither" is crossed out], King Antonio would do well not to return: "and for his own security (who shall ever be dear unto Us) We do will you in any wise to move him to forbear to come hither."

She wished him to "remain there," in the Low Countries, "where he now is also welcome" [the words "also welcome" being interpolated,] where he "shall be less shot at *than if he lived here where We cannot suffer any belonging to him to remain.*"

This sentence of exile from England, or rather, this private request that he should "forbear" coming back,—even though softened by the assurance that he would "ever be dear unto Us," must have been a heavy blow. The Queen, as if she anticipated an appeal against her decision, concludes, "And therefore we require you to let him know this our full resolution, from which We may not be drawn;" though he is to be assured "withall that he shall never want all arguments of Our true kindness and care of his person and estate;" the word "all" being interlineated.

Antonio's side of the correspondence is missing, though he wrote more than once to her in reply. On the 17th of October, 1594, he dates from Paris an affectionate note to "Ecc[l] Sig[re] Conte d'Ecces"[1] from which it is plain that he was relying upon Essex to prevent Queen Elizabeth from becoming hostile to him. He thinks that the King of France would help him more generously were not His Majesty beset by many difficulties in his own Kingdom.

What Essex wrote we shall yet see; but first should consider Queen Elizabeth's further letter to Antonio, *Car[mo] n[ro] fr[at]ello*, docketed "*November 1594. Copie to*

[1] Hatfield MSS. No. 132. 127. E.E. plate 19

*the Kinge of Portugal from her Ma^tie in Italian.*" With this is a draft in English, much altered and corrected.[1] It reads, like the others, as if taken down from the Queen's own lips.

"We have received two or three letters from you since your departing hence," she begins to her "dearest Brother:" "which we confess were very welcome unto Us." The draft changes to a memo in the third person.

"Our word to be as firm and forceable as any thing under any Seale, and so shall continue the same, having been so kept and performed to inferior persons, much more it must and shall be to a Prince of his rank."

"And in that he desireth Her Majesty's good opinion of him" the answer is that "in much she never had otherwise of him, no not though some things were not disclosed so timely by him unto her." This same reproach as in her earlier letter is followed by a sentence much interlineated, and then crossed out. At last she decides to say that although she might have expected earlier intelligence from him, "nevertheless she construeth" his delay to have been in hope of "more good" to her; "and so she accompts of it: And desireth him (and in like manner) to be assured of her Majesty's good judgment and opinion of him, and that he will likewise hold the like good opinion of her, as of that Princess whose word he shall prove to be as firm and forcible as the word of any Prince under Seal:" which promises [not defined] she confirms "at this time unto him by her own hand."

As to her detention of his sons Dom Emmanuel and Dom Cristopher in England, from multiple crossings out and substitutions the draft is scarcely intelligible; but the clear copy in Italian shows "Don Christoforo" as sent with her letter, and "il Principe don Emanuale" as kept by her in England.

"As for this young Prince his son, though she hath been [pleased] to assent to the departing of him, yet she could not yield to the departing of them all, though she embraceth them all with her princely favour and good will. yet to avoid the opinion that might be conceived that her Majesty would abandon them in suffering them all to go, she retaineth the other with her.

"And yet not otherwise than whensoever" King Antonio "shall please to have the other go to him, she will send them . . . the more willingly in respect of the increase of good means the F[rench] K[ing] now hath by his good success in the affairs of his Realm: namely the obedience of his subjects, whereby he may do both him the father and his sons more good than the King was able to do at the time that they went lastly from hence."

(Then in the draft comes a blank, with "Lopes" added in the margin).

"Lastly, as for this Young Prince, her Majesty cannot but give him his due . . . she avoweth he hath governed himself very honorably ever since the departing hence of him the father. And so doth recommend the son unto the loving father; in respect whereof, and of his good towardliness, she hath taken occasion to commit something by word of mouth, which she doubteth not he will deliver as well as one of more years."

This is strikingly different in tone from her previous letter in which she had referred acrimoniously to Antonio's sons. She now remarks that so good a tree may

[1] Spelling modernised from Unpublished and Uncalendared State Papers Portugal. The letter in its final form in Italian, however, and with a French translation, was published by "Dom Cristovam, Prince de Portugal" in 1629 in his *Briefe et Sommaire Description De La Vie et Mort De Dom Antoine Roy de Portugal . A Paris . Avec Privilege du Roy.* (B.M. 1200 b. 25) pp. 102-107, in Italian; and pp 107-112 French translation It has escaped the notice of English writers.

justly be expected to bear " very good fruit : " in which hope she confidently entrusts " this your young son " with her message as aforesaid. To Antonio in conclusion " she wisheth all prosperity and good means as in true meaning one Prince may wish to another."

Essex, writing soon after, tried to comfort Antonio as much as possible without raising illusory hopes. He also gave Dom Christopher a letter to King Henry IV :[1]

" To the Very Christian King :

Sir. Although I would not presume to recommend this young Prince to your Majesty's favour as he deserves, he being the son of such a father, and I the least of an infinite number of your servants, yet I will take this opportunity to present to your Majesty my very faithful and very humble service, praying your Majesty to believe that there is nothing of which he can more freely dispose than the life and all that depends, Sir, upon your Majesty's very humble and very obedient servant

ESSEX."

Essex's tone, *Al Serenissimo Re Don Antonio Re di Portugal,* exiled, defeated, and poverty-stricken, is as respectful as to the King of France then at the height of his triumphs. Although " in very warm and very true words " he had expressed to " your illustrious son, now going into France with this, the love I bear to your Majesty," he wished to add a few lines as a stronger and more complete testimony of the same affection. But " neither words nor letters would be satisfying to my heart " if that affection could be shown in deeds and results. *" If, please God, another time it may be lawful to make proof of my love in some worthy and honourable voyage for your Realm of Portugal, your Majesty should see how willingly I would hazard my life for your honour."* At present, not being free, but " at the command of others," it is necessary for him to solace himself with the hope

" that your Majesty will be content with my sincere good will, which will be always ready to serve you. And so humbly kissing your Majesty's hands, this 19th day of November 1594.

Your Majesty's very affectionate servant

ESSEX."[2]

[1] Unpublished holograph in French used to be at Tregoyd, Brecon, S Wales It is now stated to have perished by fire Here given from a translation communicated by the present Viscount Hereford in 1924 while the letter still existed

[2] Printed in 1607. B M. 1105. a 9 pp. 335-336; 337 Now first translated.

# "WATCHFUL INDUSTRIE AND ZEALOUS CARE"

*Significant tribute to the Earl of Essex, 1595*

In describing "*The Estate of English Fugitives vnder the king of Spaine and his ministers,*" &c.,[1] in reference to the numbers of "Intelligencers and Spies" maintained by King Philip,—and the extent to which he rewards them "according vnto the place or meanes they have" to be of use, "especially if they be entertained in Court, or neare about the person of a Prince,"—the case of "Lopes that damnable physician" is brought forward anew and the sum of "fifteen thousand crowns" is named as his price for the murder of the Queen, could he have accomplished it.

Thanks are given to God for saving the life of the Sovereign whose death would have brought England into "sorrow, desolation, and misery." Never "since the beginning of Her Maiesties glorious reigne" was anything "halfe so dangerous" so narrowly averted: "the manner and memorie whereof is so fresh that the recital of any particularities would be but superfluous.

Onely let vs not forget to be thankfull" not solely to the Almighty but also "vnto that worthie and honorable Lord, by whose watchfull industrie and zealous care of her Maiesties safetie, it was first suspected, and finally, by his wisdome and discreet handling fully discovered, who although hee did before possesse the faithfull loves and vndissembled affections of as many as euer did any of his ranke, yet neuer did hee (although hee hath doone many thinges vertuously and nobly) any thing that wonne him such reputation and applause throughout the whole Realme. All men in general, and euerie man in particular acknowledging to have herein received of him a most singular and peculiar benefit"[2]

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[1] "London, Printed for Iohn Drawater, and are to be solde at his shop in Canon lane neare Powles 1595" Quarto Sig O [pp 62 and verso Pages not numbered]

[2] It would hardly be possible to find a more striking contrast than between this contemporary tribute and the extraordinary misunderstandings arising in 1880, and put forward anew by two 20th century writers; now quoted, pp 286-290, in the hope that in later editions they will substitute the actual Essex of the Elizabethan era for the pseudo-Essex who has usurped the place of the original.

That the above-quoted testimony has up to now escaped notice is the more surprising in that this tract is in the British Museum, Bodleian Library, Cambridge University Library, Marsh Library (Dublin), New York Public Library, and Henry Huntington Library. It appears also in the Library Catalogues of the late Sir Leicester Harmsworth, and of the late W. A. White. The "Short Title Catalogue" (1896) recorded it as first printed by T. Scarlet for John Drawater; and entered to William Ponsonby in the Stationers Register, 23rd January, 26th August, 26th September. It was reissued for the fourth time, "Newly corrected and amended," 1596. The authorship is disputed; Halkett and Lang ascribe it to Thomas Scarlet, giving as authority "Mendham Collection Catalogue, p. 274," but add a note that it is "attributed to Sir Lewis Lewkenor." Under "Lewkenor," the second edition is offered at £20 in Messrs Quaritch's current catalogue (No 680). A.D. 1950.

## *KING ANTONIO TO THE "ECC$^{L}$ SIGR$^{E}$ CONTE D'ECCES" (ESSEX).*

*Paris, 17th October, 1594, from the original in the possession of the Marquess of Salisbury, K.G.*

Hatfield MS 132 127. Not holograph except last line. Apparently the appeal to which Essex's hitherto unnoticed letter of the 19th November 1594 was the reply.

Exc.mo Sig.r Conte d'Ecces.

Non ho scritto a vostra Exc.a per non dargli fastidio, aspettando alcuna buona nuova risolutione circa gli particulari mandai quando hebbi nuova di mio figliolo, assicurandomi che Sua Maestà gli haveria fatto qualche buono partito per suoi meriti, che s'adoperaria da vostra Exc.a come suo maggior padre, ma essendo il re questo Regno Conte Camarlengo, resta ella l'ultima impedimenta d'assistermi per adesso nell'occorrenza de' feudi, quando è possibile, ma l'huomo propone, et Dio dispone, et con tutto mi sia stata di grande affettione et mia Signora Duchessa d'Atri m'accommodava della Sua, che sono circa mille scudi, et di più quei Capitani et conti gentilhuomini che vostra Exc.a mi fece gratia che mi facia questo favore, acciò che pigliassi come debitore, dove il presente Secretario d'ambasciata etc. Cognitore, che sete stato la cagione, di farmi fare questa fortuna, credo d'amandarvi in Sete in breve prestamente la detta contanza, et sodisfarvi quanto di lei, et perchè sono Sig.r Cassiano la supplico a farmi questo favore di farmi avere detti denari, che non mi sia fallito non mi sia fallito, Sig.r mi ha mandato la prego non li voglia diramare, significandoli che porta Orsa, l'anello di smeraldi senza et intaccato, et sia tanto per la cosa, Sig.r mio, Sig.r Cassiano che mi farà questo favore, che la mando un Cavallo in Londra, per andar subito, et Pantigallo in Compagnia d'altri vostri Servitori, che me lo aspettano a quella parte, perchè la Signora Duchessa vostra Sorella, che mi lo aspettano a quella parte, et si ricorda non pretendo altra vista, che per servire Sua Maestà, come debbo, et mettami a vostra Exc.a in sua gratia, e bona.

Exc.mo Sig.r Conte d'Ecces. Prego Iddio per ogni vostro bene, et Contessa. Da Parigi 17 Aprile 1597.

Di Vostra Ecc.a Ser.re

*APPENDIX A.*

## "INNOCENT OF HER HUSBAND'S CRIME."

*Petition of Sara López to the Queen, 1594.*[1]

As the appeal by the widow of Dr López to the mercy of the Sovereign he had intended to poison had been in print since 1892,—and the reply was previously calendared in 1867,—it is the more remarkable that none of Sir Sidney Lee's references to the López case, in the numerous editions of his biography of Shakespeare, contain any reference to the Queen's compassion, or to López having had a wife. To notice her existence would have upset the imagined "parallel" between Shylock and López. The Jew Shylock was a disconsolate widower, whose daughter and ducats had been stolen by an unscrupulous Christian; López was a Christian, enjoying royal favour, with a wife and two sons and three daughters,—one of the sons educated at the expense of the Queen.

In August 1594, Sara López "beseeches pitiful consideration of her afflicted and miserable estate: She the contemned and poor widow of Dr Lopez, utterly confounded and dismayed with the heavy ruin of her late husband, lieth in woful agony and extremity of sickness, utterly despairing the recovery of her former health and strength," unless her "present desolation" is relieved. Describing herself as "the sorrowful mother of five comfortless and distressed children born in the realm (three of them maiden children)" she protests that she and they are "innocent of her husband's crime." So she prays that "she and her poor children may have the lease of their house with her household stuff and such goods and things as have been taken from her during her husband's first imprisonment . . ." Among the losses enumerated is "a parsonage of £30 a year given by the Queen to Anthony, one of her miserable children, for his maintenance at school and learning."

If we remember the enormously greater value of money and also that there were excellent free Grammar Schools to one of which Anthony López could easily have been sent, the Queen's benevolence appears astonishing—for she was paying for him to be educated at Winchester.[2]

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[1] Hatfield MSS. Col: Vol. IV, p. 601. Undated Copy. Dated by editor "1594 Aug."

[2] J. Harmer to Sir R. Cecil. 4 April 1594 Hatfield MSS Cal· Vol IV, p 501.

Antonio López had been admitted to Winchester College as Scholar in 1592, second on the Roll: *Antonius Lopez Scti Barthol: London 10 a[nnorum]Scti Michaelis, preterito admisu eodem die.* (Register of Scholars). This scholarship he forfeited; but was reinstated *a 9° Augusti 1596, viz durante tempore Electionis tunc instantis. Antonius Lopez Scti Barthol London 14 a[nnorum]festo Michaelis preterito: admissus 13° Augusti,* followed by other boys aged ten and thirteen. It is supposed these boys belong to the election for 1595-6, (not that of 1596-7 which was held on 15th August 1596). Kirby, in his *Winchester Scholars* pp. 155-157, mistook the name Lopez for "Leper," and read St. Bartholomew as "St Bride." But in *The Wykehamist,* No 306, Nov. 1894, C W. Holgate drew attention to Anthony López having been at Winchester; and, in Ibid. No. 309, February 1895, he pointed out the misreading of "Leper" for "Lopez" and "St Bride" for "St Bartholomew."

An " Inventory of plate, jewels, licences, debts, and household stuffs of Dr Lopes and the names of those in whose possession they are," fills two and a half pages; and the widow " prays redress and restitution," she and her children being otherwise " destitute and forsaken."

The Hatfield MSS. are now so arranged that it is sometimes not possible to decide which originally were taken from Essex when his papers were confiscated in 1600-1, and which were Burghley's. But the contemporary copy of the petition being at Hatfield, we can reasonably infer that it was either Burghley or Essex who put the matter before the Queen, with recommendation to mercy.

Under English Statute law the widow and children of a subject condemned for high treason were plunged into destitution. Such were the straits to which Anne Countess of Arundel had been reduced, when her husband's lands and revenues were confiscated, that she had been obliged to sue for relief out of her own estates. We have seen also how Queen Elizabeth expected debts to the Crown, even of her most loyal servants, to be paid to the uttermost; and we may recollect her " hard dealing " to Sir Francis Walsingham over the debts of Sir Philip Sidney, her ruthlessness to Leicester's widow, her conduct to both Earls of Essex, to Lord Willoughby d'Eresby, and to Sir William Pelham, and many another whose devotion to herself was tireless and unchanging. But whereas the mere mention of Leicester's wife had been wont to offend her, and she also disliked to remember that Essex was a married man and father of a family, it was Her Majesty's will and pleasure to show herself magnanimous to the dependents of the treacherous alien.

There is no further reference to the case among the Hatfield MSS.; but the Calendar of State Papers Domestic shows that a grant was made by the Crown—6th March, 1594[5], to Sara widow of Dr. López. As the document is brief,[1] let us seek the uncalendared and hitherto unknown Patent Roll (37th Elizabeth, pt. 18, m. 14). Given under the Privy Seal, it was enrolled without the customary fee. After reciting how a messuage called " Mount Joyes Inn " with a garden and stable adjoining, in the parish of St. Katherine Colman, had come by " conveyances " to Roger López lately attainted of High Treason,[2] the Patent declares that " at the humble petition of Sara Lopes, widow, late wife of the said Roger Lopez, and for the relief and maintenance of the said Sara and of such children as she hath by the said Roger Lopez," her state having " become miserable by reason of the most detestable and horrible treasons compassed by him, . . . We, moved with pity and commiseration of the miserable estates of the said Sara and her children, of Our special grace " have granted her all the lands of her late husband. " And for the better relief, succour, and maintenance, of the said Sara Lopes " and these children

Her Majesty gives her also all the goods and chattels, movable and unmovable, real and personal forfeited to the Crown by the treason of López; only keeping for herself a jewel set with a diamond and ruby, sent to López by one of the Ministers of State in Spain.

This mercy upon the widow and children of the Portuguese doctor who while living on the Queen's bounty had been systematically selling secret information to Spain in time

[1] Calendared, p. 15, but without particulars.

[2] López is called Roger and Rodrick indiscriminately in Elizabethan English.

of war,—and who perished at last for conspiracy to murder her,—is in marked contrast to the extreme severity of the same Monarch, six years later, towards the widow and children of Essex who had expended his fortune in her service and saved her life by discovering the machinations of López in time to frustrate them.[1]

[1] Sir Sidney Lee did not notice that there was issued, in reference to the conspiracy *An order for Prayer and Thanksgiving (necessary to be used in these dangerous times) for the safetie and preseruation of her Majesty and this realme Set forth by Authoritie. London. Printed by the Deputies of Christopher Barker, Printer to the Queenes most excellent Maiestie. 1594.*

This began with "An admonition to the Reader," as to "the woonderful happie discoueries of so manifolde cruell designments so closely plotted against her innocent life, and so dangerously against her Highnesse Realms and dominions."

Vide Benham's *Liturgies and Occasional Forms of Prayer set forth in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth;* Parker Society, 1847; and *The Prayer Book of Queen Elizabeth,* App. XIV, Edinburgh. John Grant, 1911.

Some years after the events, a tale was set about that "a kinsman of Dr Lopez, a stranger" [i e a foreigner] "tendering a supplication to the Earl of Essex and receiving no comfort back but only bitter words, told a stranger in his company that many years should not pass before my lord himself should find as little favour in as great extremity." (Spelling modernised from Unpublished Eaton Hall MSS of the Duke of Westminster; Vol XX, f. 437).

As this anecdote was not circulated until after Essex's fall, it is of scant value; and when in 1596 the Duc de Bouillon warned Essex that his ruin was intended and "subtly plotted," it was to enemies at the Court at home that he referred; not machinations of "strangers"

The tragic happenings will be unfolded in their sequence; but this much may be said in advance: that while some of Essex's near relatives and "friends" laboured for his downfall, such dealings as were attempted direct with him from Spain were devoid of treachery. And after his kinsfolk and intimates had compassed his ruin, his Spanish opponents continued to respect his memory. During several generations in Spain he remained a hero of legend and drama. E.E. Vol. XI.

*APPENDIX B.*

## "A BAD CHRISTIAN."

### *Hitherto unknown Spanish Retrospect of the López case.*[1]

The foregoing section on the conspiracy of the "Portingale" refugees was written many years before there appeared a new volume of *Documentos inéditos* containing the following private communication to Philip III from his Ambassador the Conde de Gondomar, dated from London 31st of December 1617, nearly twenty-four years after the events:—

> "In a letter of the 1st of September, Your Majesty tells me on behalf of Luis de Silva that he has referred to being married to the daughter of Esteban Ferreira de Gama against whom proceedings were taken for the crime of participation in the rebellion of Don Antonio Prior of Crato, and he was then condemned to death and his property confiscated."[2] But "the sentence was not executed, because he was in this realm of England where he had already rendered service to your Majesty."[3]

Punctuation of the MS is scanty and the next sentence seems involved; but the gist of it is that De Gama undertook to send secretly to Spain such information as might be required. Gondomar goes on to explain that "Manuel Luis, a Portuguese, who came here in the service of Don Antonio, Prior of Crato," went backwards and forwards between London and Flanders, and that the agents of Queen Elizabeth found out his occupation and accused him of dealing underhand "with the Conde de Fuentes, and of intending injury to Queen Elizabeth: For which they put him in prison, and examined him; and with fear of torture, and with great promises which the Earl of 'Exffley' made of the mercy the Queen would extend to him," Manuel Luis declared that he had "orders from the Count of Fuentes to offer Lopez the Portuguese doctor fifty thousand ducats" to poison the Queen.[4]

Esteban Ferreira de Gama is described as having been entirely at the disposal of King Philip.[5] Also as being a Spanish subject. [Presumably this last means regarded in Spain as such since 1580 when Portugal was included in *todas las Españas* after the battle of Alcántara.] De Gama knowing everything *(sabidor de todo)* persuaded Dr López to undertake the murder. But, says the Ambassador, the Conde de Fuentes did not give any such order, nor even think of López in that connection, believing him to be "a friend of

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[1] *Documentos inéditos para la Historia de España publicados por los señores Duque de Alba, Duque de Maura, Conde de Gamazo. Conde de Heredia-Spinola, Marqués de Aledo, Marqués de Vega de Anzo, Duque de Fernan-Núñez. Tomo I Madrid. Tipografia de Archivos, Olózaga 1 1936* pp. 196-198.

[2] See E.E. Vol. VII, p 205, for King Philip's Proclamation against Antonio and his followers.

[3] Meaning, presumably to Philip III's father.

[4] *. . . acusado este Manuel Luis de que trataba con el Conde de Fuentes en daño de la Reyna Isabel por lo qual le pusieron en prisión, examinándole con los temores del tormento y con grandes promesas que el Conde de Exffley ha hiço de mercedes que la Reyna le harta,* &c. No such promises have been found in the official reports of the examinations. "Exffley" is meant for "Essex". As for torture, it was not inflicted on that occasion; but, horrible as it seems, the use of torture to extract confessions —or the threat of it—was then a part of the criminal code all over Europe.

[5] *Esteban Ferreira de Gama estaba reducido de todo punto al servicio del Rey nuestro Señor, que aya gloria,* etc.

the Queen and a bad Christian,"[1] López agreed to De Gama's suggestion; but as to the large sum of money, he maintained it to be already due to him for his previous services [as a spy]. On the conspiracy being discovered López and Manuel Luis were "declared traitors, and condemned to death, both of them, and also Esteban Ferreira de Gama;" and "the sentence was carried out on all three in the year 94."[2] Gondomar describes how they were hanged, drawn, and quartered. There is not a word about "anti-semitic" riots such as were imagined by Sir Sidney Lee; and in this letter of Gondomar there is no reference to any Jew as implicated.

The point of the epistle is that as De Gama's daughter is married to Luis de Silva, if His Majesty vouchsafes to be generous to that couple it is not advisable to word the expression of grace in any such manner as might draw attention to the fate of De Gama. But as his rebellion under Antonio "against the King our Lord now in glory" was counterbalanced by what he intended to have contrived "in England against the life and person of the Queen"—though this Queen was "so bad a woman *(tan mala muger)*" that she would have been quite capable of "a false accusation,"—nevertheless a discreet reticence should be exercised to De Gama's descendants.

Gondomar assumes that "the King our Lord never conceived nor approved such measures" as López and his fellow conspirators devised; and that neither was Fuentes accessory. But, we may wonder why did they not accept Queen Elizabeth's invitation to disown the conspirators?[3] In 1586 King Philip's marginal annotations on Mendoza's letters show him fully cognisant of the murder plot that year; his only adverse comment being that as several people knew of it in advance it was less likely to succeed.[4] The point for us is not so much whether the King and Fuentes were partly responsible in 1594, as that Sir Sidney Lee's portrayal of López as an innocent victim of anti-Semitic prejudice is entirely fanciful. It has all this while, for nearly seventy years, excited pity for one of the most cold-blooded of criminals, who after a long and successful career of secret treachery[5] was at last unmasked and brought to justice.

It is remarkable that Queen Elizabeth, though by nature suspicious, so trusted her alien doctor that when Essex first endeavoured to open her eyes she was shocked, not at López but at Essex. That she soon was convinced can be seen now from her hitherto unknown letters to King Antonio; which, like all other vital evidence in the case, were ignored by Sir Sidney Lee, who claimed to be "armed with State Papers" but who cannot have read attentively even the printed English Calendar, much less quested among unpublished documents,—or he could never have metamorphosed a "bad Christian" into "the greatest Jew in Elizabethan England."[6]

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[1] *ni tubo tal orden ni la dió, y también se entiende que al Doctor López nunca le passó por el pensamiento, porque era amigo de la Reyna y mal cristiano,* &c (meaning, we may infer, that as Court physician in England López, born and bred as a Catholic, was obliged to turn Protestant and accept the Queen instead of the Pope as Head of the Church)

[2] *. . . para que los declarassen por traydores y condenassen a muerte a ambos a dos y al Esteban Ferreira de Gama, como a sabidor y tratador, y assi se exequtó la sentencia en todos tres el año 94,* &c.

[3] Ante, E.E. Vol. IX, pp 265; 267 [4] Cal. S.P S. Simancas; and E.E Vol. VI, pp. 278-290

[5] E.E. Vol. VII, pp. 185-196.

[6] In the prefatory matter to the Calendar, S P. Dom. 1591-94, Vol. III, (1867), p. xii, the editor, Mrs Mary Anne Everett Green, alludes to López as "a Portuguese Jew." But had Sir Sidney Lee examined the documents he could not have failed to discover that Lopez was born and bred and professed as a Christian.

*APPENDIX C*

## THE "NEW CHRISTIANS" IN PORTUGAL.

Ever since 1880, English commentators on the López Case—trustfully following Sir Sidney Lee and believing López a Jew in creed as well as ancestry,—appear to forget the position of the Jews in Portugal and Spain. The woes of the Jews under Gentile rule were eloquently described by one of themselves; but the reasons these "New Christians" were disliked was not solely because of their race, as we may see in J. Lucio Azevedo's *Historia dos Christanos Novos* The subject is treated also in H.M. King Manuel's *Livros Antigos Portuguezes. Early Portuguese Books.*[1] When Affonso Henriques captured Santarem from the Moors there were already Jews settled in Portugal Under that King Affonso and under Affonso III and King Dinez, the Jews enjoyed perfect liberty. They were allowed to own landed property, and did not pay tithes to the Church. This latter exemption was one which (added to their money-making successes) aroused bitter jealousy; and King Sancho II was rebuked by Pope Gregory IX for allowing Jews to be preferred before Christians in many public positions. The popular animus against them "was due in the first place to the difference of race and religion but was aggravated by the usury practised by them in their management of public revenues. . . . *The Church herself,*" says King Manuel, "*had unintentionally given them a monopoly of the money market, by forbidding Christians to take interest.*" Another reason for antagonism to the Jews was that they "were not men to don the arms of a soldier and to risk their lives valiantly and nobly, . . and if there was one who did so" during the long Spanish siege of Lisbon, 1384, "history does not know his name."[2]

When, 6th April, 1385, John, Master of Avis, was acclaimed King of Portugal, after praising the Portuguese defenders of the city he added that the Jews and Moors should not hold public offices henceforth, and must wear their distinctive dress. At the same time he forbade that they be persecuted; and they were so well treated under his rule that the Spanish Jews began emigrating into Portugal. Gradually "the entire control of the nation's wealth was in the hands of a race whose religion, politics, social customs, and interests, were different from those of the Catholic people of Portugal, who called them the *Maranos* (accursed)." As H.M. King Manuel relates, the heavily taxed Christian population increasingly resented the prosperity of the Jews, who "went about dressed in silk and velvet and covered with jewels; they rode superb thoroughbred horses, or beautiful mules of great gentleness and strength." Jews girded themselves with Damascus blades with scabbards studded with precious stones; giving thereby the more offence because martial service was not contributed by them. In their prosperity some fell away from their religion, "and even ceased to observe the Sabbath."[3]

It was stated by the Cortes of 1473 that "the Jews are not good farmers, nor do they turn

[1] Vol. II, 1932 pp 305-379

[2] Mendes des Remedios, pp 202-3, in King Manuel's *Early Portuguese Books*, p. 321.

[3] Vide Kayserling, *The Jewish Encyclopaedia*, Vol. XII, p. 62. (The same authority compiled *Bibliotheca Espanola-Portugueza-Judaica Dictionnaire Bibliographique des auteurs Juifs, de leurs oeuvres Espanols et Portugais et des oeuvres sur et contre Juifs et le Judaisme. Avec un apercu sur la littérature des Juifs Espanols*, 8vo, Strasburg, 1890).

the land to profit, and if they possess lands they get no good from them unless they give them to Christians to plough and dig. . . ."[1]

The "alien merchant" Spanish Jews excited special animosity. But for financial reasons it suited King John II to disregard the petitions he received against them from his native-born subjects. In this matter there was a further protest in the Cortes of 1490.

On March 31, 1492, King Ferdinand and Queen Isabel of Aragón and Castile decreed the expulsion of Jews from Spain. These Jews wished to settle in Portugal. But the Portuguese Jews were dismayed to think of Spanish Jews coming to share their privileges; and the Christians also objected vehemently. King John then proclaimed that alien Jews could enter his realm on payment of a poll-tax, and stay eight months; after which he proposed to provide sufficient shipping to convey them and their possessions to whatsoever country they selected. The late King Manuel computed that not less than 120,000 Spanish Jews, and probably more, arrived then in Portugal. Some 600 of the richest received permission, in exchange for large payments, to become Portuguese subjects.[2] This disorganised the daily life and commerce of a country the population of which was scarcely over one million. Moreover the Jews brought into Portugal deadly pestilence. Bishop Osorio describes the subsequent explosion of hatred against them; and how, "unable to bear the harshness of so many ills," they became Catholics "of necessity rather than faith."[3]

Many went back into Castile. As to those who stayed in Portugal, the King, having undertaken to furnish ships to take them wherever they pleased, sent them only as far as Tangier and Ardzillan, under miserable conditions. The evil policy of compulsory conversion was adopted by him in Portugal; with the result that numbers who from motives of self-preservation became Catholic remained hostile at heart.

Of King John, King Manuel observed "there are many writers whose enthusiasm for Don João II is inspired not by his important services to his country, . . . but by the 'democracy' they attribute to him, though he was the very personification of absolute rule . . . " That he beheaded the Duke of Bragança and stabbed the Duke of Vizeu causes certain modern critics to "award a crown of laurels to the King who caused so much bloodshed among the nobles. . . ." But his oppression of the nobles and his patronage of Jews were equally with a view to obtaining money.[4]

Though King John's successor, King Emmanuel, began by protecting the Jews, he has gone down to posterity as one of their worst oppressors. In the 19th century his severities were ascribed to his passion for his Spanish wife whom he married in 1497 But, as King Manuel pointed out, there was no passion, only policy, in that marriage; and if the introduction of the Inquisition was, as some historians declare, "a democratic measure in the sense that it corresponded with the popular aspirations" as stated by Carlos Melheiros Dias, then, "the expulsion of the Jews by Dom Manuel was even more democratic, as the people clamoured for it."[5] If the King of Portugal had not followed the example of his Spanish neighbours, "the Kingdom of Portugal," says King Manuel, would have become "the Kingdom of the Jews." But expulsion of Jews was not a measure originating in the Peninsula. In 1290 they had been banished from England by King Edward I; in 1306 from France by Philip "le Bel." In Spain

[1] *Documentos illustrativos*, p. 588.
[2] Op. cit. p. 346. [3] *De Rebus Emmanuelis Gestes*, 1571, pp. 10-11
[4] Ibid. p 356. [5] Anatole Leroz Beaulieu; quoted op cit p 369

and Portugal the Kings by their harshness to Jews and Moors intended to save their people from "Semitic and African influences. This explains the rigours of the Inquisition against Jews and New Christians."[1] The Jews, who had been so prosperous, were delivered over to the "hatred, cowardly vengeance, lust, robbery" and fury of the exasperated Portuguese; and the massacre of Jews was only ended by the King using troops and ordering the execution of the friars who had lashed up the Lisbon populace to those outbreaks.

From 1507 until he died in 1521, King Emmanuel protected the "New Christians" who, though attending the Catholic Church, were then still believed to be Jews at heart.[2] Subsequently the Portuguese animus against them was reflected in the plays of Gil Vicente, wherein the Rabbis are represented as calling money "the one good" and also as holding that "he who tells no lies does not come of a good family." But in England, owing to the prohibition by Edward the First being still operative, there had been during more than three centuries no Jewish question. Dr. López from first to last ranked as a "Portingale." The disgust felt against him was because he had so ill-requited English hospitality, which had been extended to him so lavishly as a supposed devoted supporter of the unfortunate King Antonio. The discovery of the Conspiracy quenched the Queen's sympathy for Portugal; but Essex's compassion for "the poor distressed exiled King" remained steadfast to the end.

The clash between Catholics and Protestants was not only on matters of dogma and of politics It turned largely upon all Catholics approving the Inquisition and all Protestants denouncing it Had King Philip succeeded in conquering England, his first step would have been to extend the Inquisition to this island, as he had done to the Netherlands, where it had contributed to provoke the rebellion of the Northern Provinces.[3] Instituted in 1478 to instruct and supervise the dubious Christianity of converted Moors and Jews, the Inquisition had by Philip II's time extended far beyond its original purpose.[4] Had López been, as Sir

[1] Ibid. p. 368, p. 376 (giving many references)

[2] Emmanuel used to be called *el Rey Judio* (the Jewish King) Vide Kayserling, *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, p 154.

[3] Vide *Declaration of Prince William "the Silent,"* E.E Vol. II, pp. 3-4

[4] See E E Vol. II, pp. 124-126. The rules were printed at Granada in 1537. *Cōpilacion de las Instrucciones del officio de la sancta Inquisicion hechas por el muy Reverendo señor fray Tomas de Torquemada Prior del monasterio de sancta cruz de Segouia primero Inquisidor general de los reynos y señorios de España,* etc etc. Torquemada was born at Valladolid, 1420, and died at Avila 1498 The *Catholic Encyclopaedia* states that the Inquisition, established in 1478 "had, despite unjustifiable cruelties, failed of its purpose, chiefly for want of centralisation. In 1483, the Pope appointed Torquemada . . Grand Inquisitor of Castile," and soon afterwards of Aragón. He "directed the entire business of the Inquisition in Spain," and "was empowered to delegate his inquisitional faculties to other Inquisitions of his own choosing" His 28 Articles were first formulated for the General Assembly of Inquisitors, 1484. The enormous power he attained he used most tyrannically. It is for Spanish genealogists to decide if there is any truth in the theory that he was himself of alien oriental descent, and that his persecution of many Spaniards who believed themselves good Christians arose from jealousy of their hereditary prestige. Endless disputes as to motives are possible; but the actions of the Inquisition can be estimated from its own records. And see Juan Antonio Llorente *Historia critica de la Inquisicion de España,* 1817, when the Inquisition still existed in a modified form, and Llorente was its Secretary in Madrid. See E.E. Vol. II, pp. 120-123, for the sentences upon such of Hawkins' men as fell into the hands of the Inquisition in Mexico.

At Valladolid in 1568 were published *Concordia Hechas, y Firmadas entre la jurisdiccion Real, y el Santo Oficio de la Inquisicion"* (1554-68), and subsequently *"Orden que comunmente se guarda en el Santo Oficio de la Inquisicion acera del processar en las causas que en el se tratan conforme a lo que esta proueydo por las instrucciones antiguas y nuevas. Recopilado por Pablo Garcia Secretario del Cosejo de la sãcta General Inquisicion" etc. "Con licẽcia de las senores del supremo Cõsejo de la sãcta General Inquisicion. In Madrid Ano de 1591"*

Sidney Lee fancied, "the greatest Jew," et cetera, he would never have been for very many years in the secret service of Spain, the country which had treated Jews with the utmost severity. Nor would he have turned against Portugal, his native land, where the Inquisition was milder; and against England, where it did not exist and where he had found refuge, favour, and a pension for life.[1] Now that the facts of the case are set forth, it should be manifest that López had neither any personal wrongs to avenge nor any superpersonal racial or theological aims, but was impelled by greed for gold and by a horrible delight in injuring his benefactors. *El hacer bien a villanos es echar agua en la mar,* as Cervantes used to say.[2] The false glamour woven around the treacherous doctor as of "Shakespearian interest" should no longer bewitch any student of literature,—whether Christian, Jewish, or agnostic.[3]

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[1] In the preface to Kayserling's *Biblioteca Española-Portugueza-Judaica, Strasbourg,* 1890, p. x, it is stated that after the Jews were expelled from Spain in 1492, they "se refugiérent en Italie, en France, dans les diverses provinces de la Turquie;" and that "les Pays-Bas et *l'Angleterre,* Hambourg et Vienne accordèrent plus tard asile a ceux qui, persecutés par l'inquisition, quittèrent les pays intolérants." But if any of them came to Elizabethan England it was not openly as Jews. The Statute of Edward I (1290) forbidding Jews to be domiciled in England had not been revoked

Kayserling, p. xvi, alludes by name to various "medecins juifs d'origine espanole ou Portugaise," but Dr López does not figure amongst them The *Biblioteca, &c,* as its title denotes, is mainly literary; it relates chiefly to the 17th and 18th centuries and contains relatively little as to the period we are now considering.

[2] "To do good to base fellows is to throw water into the sea."

[3] The López conspiracy was discovered in 1594, and *The Merchant of Venice* not printed until 1600. This does not prove that it may not have been acted considerably earlier than the publication of the first quarto; but the question of when first written need not concern us, for its utter irrelevance to the López case should henceforth be plain to any normal intelligence.

*APPENDIX D.*

## A FRESH LEASE OF LIFE FOR SIR SIDNEY LEE'S FALLACIES, 1942.

"One error is the mother of a thousand," wrote Sir Philip Sidney. And we may observe the obstinate persistence of tares among the wheat in otherwise carefully prepared works. The two volumes of *The Tragicall History of Christopher Marlowe* by John Bakeless (1942) manifestly represent long and complicated toil.[1] His Bibliography, pp. 299-404, includes so many publications in various tongues that it is the more to be regretted that in regard to the López case he has missed all the vital evidence. Though first co-ordinated in this Volume IX of *Elizabethan England* the material would long previously have been accessible at the British Museum, Public Record Office, and Hatfield House, to anyone who might have cared to check Sir Sidney Lee's assertions.

The ensuing corrigenda are not to be interpreted as lack of appreciation of the labours of Mr Bakeless in what pertains to Marlowe. But as the López errors bear upon large issues it is more than time that all scholars, whether American or English, should cease ascribing to "anti-Semitic prejudice" among the Elizabethan people the disgust which all honest men ought to feel against duplicity and treachery no matter by whom committed.

In his Vol. I, pp. 360-375 Mr Bakeless gives an analysis of *The Jew of Malta,* and though he realises that Marlowe was dead before the López plot was discovered, López none the less looms large. After some preliminary observations—he seemingly not being aware of the law then operative that all Court officials were obliged to take the oath to the Queen as Head of the Church,—Mr Bakeless states (p. 364),

> "In 1586 Lopez reaches the highest point of a British medical career: he becomes Chief physician to the sovereign . ." &c., &c., [As we have seen, he never was Chief physician.] "Lopez, the Portuguese Jew" [the present writer has demonstrated that López was baptised a Christian] "had climbed so high and so fast during his thirty years in England that the sensation of his fall is comprehensible. He made a fatal mistake that other professional men have made since then and let himself become involved in politics." ["Politics" is too gentle a word for the hideous doublefaced conduct of López, who was drawing an annuity from the Sovereign he plotted to poison.] "The Earl of Essex used him to get secret news from Spain. [No evidence exists that Essex ever "used" him at all. It was López who was sending secret information to Spain with which England was at war.] "Then Essex brought to England one Don Antonio Perez, the half Jewish Pretender to the throne of Portugal,—naturally a bitter foe of Philip of Spain," &c., &c. [Here is a renewal of Sir Sidney Lee's telescoping into one person Pérez the Spanish ex-Principal Secretary of State and the crowned and anointed Portuguese King Antonio.]

[1] "Published in Cooperation with the Modern Language Association of America, with the assistance of a grant awarded by the American Council of Learned Societies from a fund provided by the Carnegie Corporation of New York."

. . . "Who could be so useful an interpreter as Dr Lopez, the royal confidant and physician, with his mastery of five languages." [But, as the present writer has shown, Essex did not use interpreters; and López never mastered any language, not even English. His letters to Englishmen are in very bad Italian. It is manifest that Mr Bakeless has never seen those documents.]

"But there were quarrels" [again an echo of Sidney Lee] "and in 1593, the year of Marlowe's death, Lopez committed the unpardonable offence of revealing medical secrets. Waxing merry in company with Don Antonio, Lopez began bitterly to inveigh against the Earl of Essex,[1] telling some secrecies, how he had cured him, and of what diseases, with some other things which did disparage his honour." [But López was not Essex's doctor; nor were Essex's ailments secret.]

"Dr Lopez was more learned than discreet." [A strange euphemism for what if it occurred would have been a disgraceful breach of medical honour.] "What he had said was reported to Essex; and the Earl, then still high in royal favour, set himself to turn the Queen's mind against her Jewish physician, who presently found himself on trial for high treason. The specific charges were intelligence work for Spain and a design to poison the Queen."

[It seems strange that Mr Bakeless, so careful where Marlowe is concerned, does not allow Essex to speak for himself. Still stranger how his introduction to these assertions is that in the matter of López "the criminal records make it all clear." They do, tardily, in the present History,—but to the complete overthrow of Lee's allegations.]

"That Lopez had ever been more than indiscreet is doubtful." [On the contrary the proofs of his treachery were and are overwhelming. Though Mr Bakeless refers in a footnote to Murdin's *State Papers*, &c., he cannot have studied in that folio volume Lord Burghley's detailed report of the elaborate villainy of López.] "But there is no doubt that he had accepted fifty thousand crowns from Spain, and that he had threatened Don Antonio's life. His confessions of other treason, made under torture, he subsequently retracted." [He bargained for 50,000 crowns, but never got them. There was no torture: it is emphasised that the Confessions were voluntary.]

"The Queen was a long time making up her mind, but she signed the death warrant at last, and Lopez was hanged at Tyburn June 7, 1594, a year after Marlowe's death.

"His dying assertion that he loved the Queen as he loved Jesus Christ was received with shouts of laughter from the highly Christian multitude that had come to enjoy the hanging, and the drop fell amid the cry 'He is a Jew.'"

No "shouts of laughter" are recorded at the time. Elizabethan Christians did not find blasphemy amusing; nor was there any public reference to his ancestry, except as "a Portingale." Though Sidney Lee's article *The Origin of Shylock* in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (1880) bears on the face thereof marks of its superficiality and absence of contemporary sources, this and Camden's retrospective *Annals* have been trusted implicitly by Mr. Bakeless. By his including Murdin in the same footnote with Sir Sidney Lee, the casual reader would infer that Burghley's papers supported Lee's tale. On the contrary, had Lee and his followers studied Burghley's statements they never could have sentimentalised over López.

[1] This tale is accepted by Mr Bakeless from Goodman's *Court of King James the First* (ed: John S Brewer) I. 152-153, as if such retrospective gossip were of any value

Mr Bakeless says, "The offender's race had been emphasised at his trial, and the unconscious irony of his last words caught the far from squeamish popular fancy."

As we have seen, the Jewish descent of López was not even mentioned in his trial at the Guildhall. Nor did he refer to "Christ," as Camden retrospectively alleged, but to God. The sensation caused by the case—we must repeat—did not turn upon the doctor's pedigree but on his elaborate treachery and base ingratitude to the Sovereign and Country where for a long period of years he had received most generous hospitality. It is to be hoped that Mr Bakeless will revise those pages of his book from the firsthand information provided by the present writer: also that he will make clear to his students how unsafe it is to take any matter of Elizabethan history from 19th century epitomes. As Harvard was the first University in America to subscribe to *Elizabethan England* Mr Bakeless need have no difficulty in substituting for this farrago of error the undeniable facts as to the "false Christian" Dr López, whom Christians, Jews, and others should henceforth recognise as one of the basest and most cold-blooded knaves in the long and sordid record of criminology.[1]

[1] It is in expectation that Mr Bakeless's Marlowe will go into new editions and remain the standard work (which as to Marlowe summarises fairly the labours of those who went before him), that the foregoing comments are offered If the type of his Volumes has been moulded so that alterations or additions to the text may be impracticable, it is to be hoped he will add an Appendix.

## NOTE: MISUNDERSTANDINGS REVIVED.

In Professor Neale's *Queen Elizabeth*, 12th impression, 1944, pp. 335-336, the references to López call for amendment. Having quoted Essex's words as to discovering "a dangerous and desperate treason," &c., the Professor states that "at first enquiry nothing was discovered to incriminate Lopez:" and then that "Robert Cecil, seizing the chance of discrediting his enemy" [meaning Essex] "hurriedly returned to Court to be first with the news. With some justification Elizabeth concluded that Essex had acted from mere malice, and when he came into her presence, her notable and acute loyalty to her servants surging up, she rounded on him," &c., &c. "He flung from her in anger, . . . and slammed the door behind him.[1] His honour was now involved in the business—a misfortune for the wretched Lopez. Perhaps the man was guilty, perhaps not. . . . He was tried and condemned. It looks as though Elizabeth was still unconvinced of his guilt. Defying his judges and Essex and the angry populace, she ordered the Lieutenant of the Tower to refuse to surrender him to execution. What happened afterwards is a mystery. According to a later story, Essex, by a trick, managed within two months to get Lopez out of the Tower where the Queen's protection covered him, and was thus able to bring him to the scaffold."

To this the answers are that we have now seen Lord Burghley's and the other official testimonies as to the guilt of López; that in 1594 Sir Robert Cecil was not Essex's enemy; that Essex was celebrated for his magnanimity; "malice" being a quality of which he was conspicuously devoid. As for the Queen's "notable and acute loyalty to her servants," we have recognised in her disgrace of William Davison an example of how ruthless she could be even to those who served her most devotedly (E.E. Vol. VII, pp. 28-29).

Essex's "honour" was never in any danger; for Lord Burghley was his principal helper in the unravelling of the plot. An antithesis by Professor Neale between Burghley's wisdom and Essex's rashness shows him not to have noticed Burghley's eulogy of Essex in this connection. (See E E. ante, pp. 248, 249).

As to López "perhaps not" being guilty, on the contrary the evidence of his murderous intention and long sustained treachery is overwhelming; including a testimony from Spain (E.E. Vol. IX, pp. 280-281).

Professor Neale appears unaware of Lord Burghley's statement that never was any conspiracy "so thoroughly, clearly, . . . plainly, and manifestly, laid open, . . . and demonstrably proved." (*State Papers*, E.E., ante, p. 260).

How disgusted the Queen felt when she realised the horrible treachery of López we can learn from her own words after she had been convinced. By the 27th February she grasped the facts.[2] Her delay in signing the death-warrant was not from any lingering uncertainty as to his guilt, but was in the hope that King Philip would disown any share in the conspiracy.

[1] Doors would have been opened and shut by gentlemen ushers.

[2] Vide her letter to King Antonio, discovered by the present writer. E.E. ante, pp. 269-270.

There is no "mystery" about the execution: and as for the fantastic tale that Essex "by a trick" got López out of the Tower, removing him from the Queen's protection and thus bringing him "to the scaffold," neither Essex nor any other Privy Councillor could have brought anyone to the scaffold without the Royal signature to the death warrant. And we have seen that López was conducted publicly to the gallows by the Lieutenant of the Tower with all the usual formalities.

Professor Neale's *Queen Elizabeth* ran through twelve impressions in ten years (1934-1944) and was translated into German,—as well as into Hungarian, Danish, Italian, Norwegian and Swedish. As Hitler during 1939-45 spread in every language vehement accusations to the detriment of the British race, it is unfortunate that the English monograph selected for translation into German and other foreign tongues was one in which the author by too much reliance on 19th and 20th century printed books gave to our enemies, our allies, and neutral countries, such a "modernistic" misinterpretation of the Elizabethan era that foreigners are not to be blamed if they fail to realise the patriotism which inspired Burghley, Hatton, Gilbert, Walsingham, Leicester, Hawkins, Drake, Raleigh, Cumberland, and Essex, who by their combined labours prevented England becoming a province of Spain.

Let us hope Professor Neale will ultimately reconstruct his *Queen Elizabeth*, a task which need involve him in little trouble and no expense,—the essential matter having been gathered together in the present work, direct from the evidence in many tongues, so that all persons concerned, from the Queen downwards, speak for themselves and so can be delivered for ever from misconceptions, whether of their detractors or eulogists.[1]

[1] We read in *The Listener* for October 13, 1949, that Professor Neale "charmed us . . . with his biography of Queen Elizabeth." But no character in that work is presented in a charming fashion,—and rarely are any of the great allowed to speak in their own vigorous words. Further we are informed by *The Listener* that Professor Neale's *Elizabethan House of Commons* (1949) is "merely a sort of prolegomena to a further study portraying the whole constitutional history of the reign," and that "when the trilogy is complete Elizabethan England will stand revealed in a unique way, with Professor Neale as its spokesman and interpreter par excellence."

It is earnestly to be hoped that the interpretation will bear more relationship to the realities than in the López case as above noted.

## "FOR HER MAJESTY'S HONOUR," 1594.

Early in May 1594, a month before the execution of the three "Portingale" conspirators for their plot against the Queen's life, Essex wrote "To the right honorable my very good Lord the L[ord] Keeper of the Great Seal," protesting against an unsuitable appointment.

"My very good Lord.[1]

"I trouble you often for myself and my friends, but the occasion of this letter doth somewhat concern her Majesty's service; and therefore I need the less to excuse myself to your Lordship. That her Majesty being to make choice of a new herald, hath been pleased to name one, and to sign his bill for it, your Lordship knoweth; but whether she have been well informed of the person, or whether yourself know him well or no, I do much doubt; and do think it very meet, for her Majesty's honour and her service, that it be well considered: Which I speak not to hinder the preferment of any man that doth well deserve, but because this party having been burnt in the hand and carrying a notorious mark of reproach, is infamous.[2] I cannot but think it dishonourable to her Majesty's service, that he should have the place, when there are others of sufficient skill, and free from any such ill note, fit to be preferred unto it.

Which reason, as soon as I come to the Court, I mean to present to her Majesty's judgment. And in the meanwhile if your Lordship will be pleased to make stay of the Seal, I persuade myself that your Lordship upon conference will concur with me in opinion, and find it very meet for her Majesty's service.

So I commend your Lordship to God's protection.

From Wanstead the 6 of May, 1594.

At your Lordship's command[men]t

Essex."

No name is mentioned by Essex, but the letter is docketed "My L. of Essex about brokesmouth ye harold."

Astonishing as it seems, a list of "the officers of Arms" docketed "1595" shows as York Herald "Ralph Brokesmouth alias Brooks."[3] A herald with an uncertain surname is a strange anomaly; and yet stranger would it have seemed had it been foretold by the Court Astrologer that in less than seven years Essex would have been executed inside the Tower of London for alleged intent to dethrone and slay the Queen, and that at his trial he would have protested to his peers that the herald who had proclaimed him "traitor" in the City of London was a rogue "burnt in the hand."

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[1] Orig: Unpublished holog: Harl: MS 6996. ff. 144-145. (Spelling now modernised).

[2] Certain kinds of offenders being branded in the hand, and thus marked for life as criminals, was one of the drastic means then taken to discourage crime

[3] Hatfield MS. 37. 6. Cal: Vol. V. (1894) p. 518.

PART VII.

"The causes that govern the events."

CHAPTER 5

"A DELECTABLE VARIETY OF MATTER."

SECTION 7.

# "How to murder the Queens Majesty."

*(Some further conspiracies in 1594).*

**"What I now write is a matter of great moment, . . . There are now in Calais two English, very dangerous men whom her Majesty wishes to have in her hands. . . . Her Majesty desires that you will write and invoke the King's authority to have these two delivered to Milles, who will be sent thither for the purpose."**

*The Earl of Essex. Unpublished letter. French. Undated, but docketed in a later hand "To some high ecclesiastic 1594."* E.E. p. 296.

**". . . an other like conspiracie secondly concluded at Brussels, how to murder the Queenes Maiestie."**

*"A True Report" &c. November, 1594.* pp. 15-16.

**". . . . Cullen was persuaded . . . . that he might with safe conscience kill the greatest enemy to the King of Spain . . he came to England for that purpose . ." As also did Richard Hesketh, who had devised "by what means insurrection might be stirred here in this realm," and how "this realm might be by open hostility invaded, . . . and to persuade the Lord Strange to take the diadem and crown upon him . . . to depose her Majesty."**

*MS. endorsed by Lord Burghley "1594, a report of the treasons of Patrick Cullen and Rich: Hesketh. 35 Eliz:"* Hatfield MS. 29. 74.

# "FALSELY CHARGED," 1594.

As Queen Elizabeth was to be persuaded in 1600-1 that Essex from his earliest days of office had plotted to undermine her authority and usurp her Crown, it behoves us to notice that the rumour first arose at the time when the Earl of Derby had been approached with an actual message from abroad adjuring him so to conspire. A letter in reference to the Essex allegation being imperfectly calendared, we should note the original from one Hugh Owen to Thomas Phelippes, a person employed by Burghley, and sometimes by Essex, in secret service:

"I have been sundry ways informed that I remain accused (but most falsely), by some that of late have been executed and others that are yet living (to serve for false accusers of others as well as myself), in which accusations my Lord of Essex should be touched. And for so much as I am given to understand that his Lordship was much moved thereat, finding himself to be falsely charged with that which he never intended, I thought good to signify the truth, so well to justify the said Earl of Essex," &c, &c, as "for justice sake . . . I have made choice to write this to you (upon the little acquaintance we have had) rather than any other, because I understand that you do wholly depend on him withal [and] I have no kind of entrance or acquaintance with any other that belongeth unto him . . . ."[1]

Leaving to Phelippes' judgment whether to show Essex the letter or not, Owen states he was informed that one Hesketh who was "sent to the Earl of Derby," [with treasonable overtures] and "executed some months past," on being asked whether Essex *"would take part with the Earl of Derby or not"*, was alleged to have answered that

"I [Owen] told him how one Robinson should tell me that *the said Earl of Essex meant to have the Crown himself if he could Now Sir, do I swear by God, and take it on my salvation that I never had any such speech with the said Heskett*, or had any kind of conference or talk with him, either touching that point or any part of the matter for the which he was condemned and executed."

Owen repeats that never in his life did he discuss with Hesketh anything "that could be of importance either with or against the state of England". And this he swears.

"One John Daniell, an Irishman, and his companion called Hugh Call of the same country, have informed some of Her Majesty's Council that Sir William Stanley and I, with others, sent them into England to kill the Queen, and paid them money for that purpose. To this I say, and swear as afore by God, that it is mere false. I never talked with either of them about any such matter; . . nor did I know that they were gone to England until my return from Rome, which was three or four days before the Christmas following . . . ."

Reiterating that this tale by Daniell is fabricated, Owen "thought good to write unto you only for the first point, for that it touched my Lord of Essex." He then provided a list of persons he believed to be coming from abroad to try and kill the Queen. Their renewed conspiracies "how to murder the Queen's Majesty" we shall now proceed to consider; bearing in mind that Essex, the discoverer of the López Conspiracy, was ultimately to be broken by the Sovereign he had done so much to save.

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[1] S P. Dom: Eliz: CCXLVIII. no: 53. Spelling now modernised, and some repetitions omitted.

PART VII.

"The causes that govern the events."

CHAPTER 5

"A DELECTABLE VARIETY OF MATTER."

SECTION 7.

# "How to murder the Queens Majesty."

*(Some further conspiracies in 1594).*

DURING 1594, when for Essex the main event was his discovery of the "Portingale treason," he was frequently approached by distressed English Catholics, to one of whom, Anthony Standen, he was particularly gracious, sending him home in his own coach. That his personal kindnesses to individual Catholics was ultimately to be twisted against him into an alleged secret alliance with "the Pope and the Jesuits" to overthrow the Sovereign, is one of the tragic ironies to which his merciful disposition laid him open. But on the 1st of January 1593-4 there was no shadow of coming disaster; Standen wrote to Anthony Bacon that when he was at the play and dancing on Twelfth Night,—"the Earl of Essex having committed to him the placing and entertaining of certain Germans," the Queen was seated "on a high throne richly adorned, and as beautiful to my old sight ever I saw her;[1] and next to her chair the Earl, with whom she often devised in sweet and favourable manner."

Essex was at that time in process of the investigations which led to the discovery of the López conspiracy. And it was only a few weeks after the treacherous Doctor and his associates had been executed at Tyburn that Essex unearthed

> "an other like conspiracie secondly concluded at Brussels, how to murder the Queenes Maiesty, whereof Stephano Ibarro the Secretary was a principal Author procuring the same to be done by certain Englishmen. . . . The names of the said persons are Edmund Yorke and Richard Williams, . . . now prisoners in the Tower. . . . And a third person of their company, one Yong," whose task was to have been "to kill some principal and great Councillor."

Thus the official report. The matter ensuing deals with the rewards alleged to have been promised by Spaniards to Yorke had he been successful. (He must not be confounded with a blameless officer of the same name, nor Richard Williams with another Richard Williams whose regard for Essex we shall see embodied in elegiac

[1] Birch, *Queen Eliz:* Vol. E, p 146. And see E.E. Vol. IX, plate 1, the Queen's portrait.

verse). The project had been aided and abetted by "sundry of her Majesties subjects that are known manifest rebels and fugitives," living on pensions from the King of Spain: namely "William Stanley" (his knighthood purposely omitted, that title being forfeit),—"one Holt, . . . Hugh Owen, Doctor Gifford," and others specified; Gifford professing "divinity" but "contrary to all divinity" using "great persuasions to Yorke and Williams" to murder the Queen.[1]

> "These three persons Yorke, Williams, and Yong, determined at their coming into England to put themselves into service of certain noblemen of the Queen's Council attending on her person in the Court, whereby to have free accesse to the Court, and every of them to seek their opportunities to attempt the enterprise against her Majesty's person . . . And for that purpose, Yorke coming to Callice [Calais] made means to one of the Lords of her Majesties Council to have a passport . . ."

This Privy Councillor was Essex. The assassins arranged to pose as poor and distressed, stranded unwillingly in foreign parts; and Essex's compassion was to be worked upon to send them passports. Up to this point they succeeded; and incidentally Richard Williams—cousin of the Throckmortons, and also of Roland Yorke who had betrayed the Zutphen forts,—was much offended at having his name noted down by Essex in the passport as "one Williams;" which he regarded as offensively unceremonious.[2] In 1591 Williams had enlisted under Essex in France, whence he deserted to the enemy, having joined only in order to learn more about the Queen's General, with a view to deceiving him afterwards. An unpublished letter of Essex among the Tregoyd-Devereux MSS, dated 5th July, and annotated as "To some high ecclesiastic 1594," seems to bear upon the discovery of the second plot found out that summer:[3]

> "What I now write is a matter of great moment, which must be communicated to you alone. There are now in Calais two English, very dangerous men whom Her Majesty wishes to have in her hands; for through them important matters may be discovered. But it is certain that the Governor Monsieur Vidassin has received such letters in their favour that he will not deliver them up except by compulsion. Her Majesty desires that you will write and invoke the King's authority to have those two delivered to Milles, who will be sent thither for the purpose; or at least that the two may be cast into prison and well guarded until Her Majesty can send to demand them of the King.
>
> I very humbly kiss your hands, and am your very humble son and servant
>
> ESSEX."

Essex, writing to Thomas Phelippes, alludes to "an other" who is important

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[1] *A True Report*. pp. 16, 17, 20. This is Dr Gifford upon whose gossip Dr Conyers Read in his *Principal Secretary Walsingham and the Policy of Queen Elizabeth*, 1925, based some of his ideas of the relations of Walsingham, Leicester, and Essex: also other matters in which Gifford was a most unsafe guide. See E.E. Vol. VIII, pp. 167-171.

[2] S P. Dom: Eliz: Vol. CCXLIX, No. 114. Declaration of Hen: Young, 24 Aug: 1594. Epitomised briefly in Cal: S P. Eliz: 1591-94, p. 550. A different Richard Williams, of lower position but higher character, will appear later.

[3] French. Holograph. This has perished by fire at Tregoyd, since the ensuing translation was provided in 1924 by The Hon· Mrs Devereux, subsequently Viscountess Hereford.

for the "credit he hath gotton with Father Holt, Owen, and Fitzherbert," one who may unmask their practices.[1] The interrogations of the captured conspirators took place in August in the Tower, before Essex and Lord Cobham; subsequently before Sir Michael Blount, Lieutenant of the Tower, the Attorney-General Coke, and others of the legal profession including Francis Bacon. These examinations continued until the end of September. Some of the conspirators used very acrimonious language about Lord Burghley.[2] One of them, Cullen, owned that he himself had been summoned to confer with Sir William Stanley[3] *"by what means her Majesty might be brought to death and final destruction."* The gist of his admission was that he was persuaded "that he might with safe conscience kill the greatest enemy to the King of Spain . . . And that he came to England for that purpose the first day of November . . ." There had already been deeply involved in the same project, a certain Richard Hesketh, who at Brussels had devised with Stanley *"by what means rebellion and insurrection might be stirred here in this realm," and also how "this realm might be by open hostility invaded, . . . and by what means Ferdinando, the Lord Strange (afterwards the Earl of Derby,) and other of her Highness' subjects might be withdrawn from their natural obedience to her Majesty . . . and to persuade the said Lord Strange to take the diadem and crown upon him, . . . to depose her Majesty."*

Hesketh directed "certain letters to Cardinal Allen" which he sent from Brussels to Rome, on the last day of March in the 35th year of Her Majesty's reign. And by direction and encouragement of the said Cardinal", and of Sir William Stanley, he came to England to endeavour to win Lord Strange by promising he should be King. It was arranged that for this purpose the conspirators "would bring with them a hallowed crown, . . . and that Lord Strange at his Coronation should take an oath to restore and maintain the Catholic religion, otherwise he should be no lawful King but should be deposed . . ."[4]

As there were other peers of near kin to the Queen, who might be formidable rivals, Hesketh had been bidden to "persuade Lord Strange rather to take the crown upon him before the death of her Majesty than after, to prevent competition. . . ." He explained he had related all this "to the said Lord Strange . . ." and persuaded him "to undertake the same."[5] During that same month of September, Strange had succeeded his father as 5th Earl of Derby. Though it was not Derby but Hesketh who paid the immediate price for Sir William Stanley's frustrated plot,

[1] S P. Dom: Eliz: CCXLVI. No. 60. Undated holograph

[2] Burghley's foes were Spain's pensioners: and Spain's pensioners included men of "name" In S P Dom: Eliz: CCL. No. 11 (7½ pp) is a *Catalogue of the rebels and fugitives in the Low Countries,* many of whom received pensions from Spain as spies, or served in the Spanish Army under Stanley. On the Spanish pension list were Stanley and the Earl of Westmorland; Lord Dacre, also Charles Paget. (Briefly calendared. S.P.D. Eliz: 1591-94. Vol III, pp. 558-559).

[3] The betrayer of Deventer in 1587. E.E. Vol VI, pp. 355-376; 379-380.

[4] 4th September. Hatfield MS. 29.74. 2½ pp. endorsed by Lord Burghley "1594; a report on the treasons of Patrick Cullen and Rich: Hesketh, a° 35 Eliz·" Cal: IV 1894 pp 58-59

[5] Ibid: But Strange disclosed the plot. See F E. pp 230-231.

Derby survived this episode only seven months. On the 24th of April 1594 the Privy Council held an enquiry into the circumstances of his death, suspecting "poyson or witchcraft or some violent means."[1]

> On Thursday night the 4th of April he "cried suddenly in his sleep, started out of his bed," and "sought his Lady, whom he thought in a dream to be dead. On Friday, in his chamber at Knowsley, about six o'clock at night, there appeared a man, tall, as he thought, who twice crossed him swiftly, and when he came to the place where he saw him, he fell sick. The same night he dreamed that he was stabbed to the heart, and wounded in many other places. . . He himself in all time of his sickness cried that he was bewitched. He fell into a trance twice, not able to stir head, hand, or foot. . . . In the end he cried out against witches, . . . reposing his only hope of salvation upon the merits of his Blessed Saviour."[2]

By Tuesday the 9th his sufferings ended. Physicians (not very convincingly) attributed this collapse of a vigorous man of 33 to "long and over-violent exercise, . . . in the Easter week." The remedies they gave him were "Bezoar stone and unicorn's horn."[3] It was disputed whether or no he was done to death in revenge for his disclosures of the plot. But concerning the plot itself there need be no doubt. Though the majority of "Popish Recusants" in England may have been unaware of what was being devised by a group abroad, the attempts organised by Sir William Stanley and his associates in King Philip's service effectually prevented any relaxation of the Penal Laws at home. If we are astonished to find it testified that Fathers Holt and Gifford failed to rebuke the intending destroyers of Queen Elizabeth, and that Cardinal Allen also was consulted, we should look back to the Bull and Declaration of 1569-70 pronouncing that no Catholics were to accept Elizabeth "the pretended Queen of England" or join her "heretical adherents." This Bull affords the explanation: as also Cardinal Allen's *Admonition* in 1588, bidding Catholics regard Philip II as their Sovereign.

The same month that Dr. López was hanged, June 1594, there was published in Rome under the auspices of Pope Clement VIII, *L'Historia Ecclesiastica della Rivolvzion d'Inghilterra,* a chronicle of the offences of the Tudor monarchs, from the schism of "Arriago VIII" down to the latest enormities of "Lisabetta," minus

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[1] B.M. Add: MS. 11402. App. to printed Vol. XXV of *Acts of the Privy Council* p. 517. The Acts of Council are missing from 26th Aug: 1593 to 1st Oct: 1595, so what was the upshot of the enquiry does not appear.

[2] "Touching the Death of the Earl of Derby . . . Reasons which caused many to suppose his Honour bewitched". Talbot MS. II 713. Lodge's *Illustrations,* 1838. Vol. II. pp 459-462

[3] Belief in Witchcraft was then widespread. Among books dedicated to Essex is *A Treatise against Witchcraft.* The gist of the argument is summarised on the Title page:—"A Dialogue wherein the greatest doubts concerning that sinne, are briefly answered: a Sattanicall operation in the Witchcraft of all times is truly proued the present precious preseruatures against such euils are shewed; very needful to be knowen of all men, but chiefly of the Masters and Fathers of families, that they may learn the best meanes to purge their houses of all vnclean spirits, and wisely to auoid the dreadfull impieties and greate daungers which come by such abominations. Hereunto is also added a short discourse, containing the most certen meanes ordained of God, to discover, expell, and so confound all the Sattanicall inuentions of Witchcraft and Sorcerie," &c. "*Cambridge. Printed by John Legatt, Printer to the Vniversatie of Cambridge. 1590*"

her royal title which the Pope disallowed.[1]

This work was dedicated *All' Illvstrissimo e Reverendissimo Monsignore Signore a Padron mio Ofteruandissimo il Signor Gvglielmo Cardinale Alano,* who six years previously had denounced Queen Elizabeth as "an infamous depraved accursed excommunicate hereticke; the very shame of her sexe, . . -. the chiefe spectacle of sinne and abomination of this our age, and the only poison, calamity and destruction of our noble Church and countrie; a filthy, wicked, and illiberal creature: . . ."[2]

This, published when Dr. Allen was in immediate hope of attaining the Archbishopric of Canterbury on King Philip's Armada and Army achieving the conquest of England, shows how the Queen was regarded by such of her subjects abroad as had transferred their allegiance to Spain.

On the 6/16 October 1594, "the Cardinal of England" died in Rome, and was buried in the cemetery of the English College, with an impressive epitaph: . . . *Card: Angliae qui extorris a patria, perfunctus laboribus diuturnis in orthodoxa religione tuenda . . . scientiae, pietatis, modestiae, integretatis fama et exemplo clarus, ac pius omnibus charus . . .*[3] Nevertheless his ideas were exceedingly unpopular with the larger numbers of his countrymen; his desire to present England to Philip of Spain, and his defence of Stanley's betrayal of Deventer, being incomprehensible to them.[4]

As to the second plot in 1594, two of the high personages near the Queen were to have been done away with, namely Essex and Burghley. The result of the examinations is embodied in *"A Discourse showing the secret practices of the King of Spain"* against the Queen's person and estate. It consists of fifteen and a half pages of MS corrected in the hand of Burghley.[5] The gist of it is that though there are diversities of judgments regarding the actions of the King of Spain and the Queen of England,—friends and enemies on either side "feeding the world with divers reports,"—the conspiracies by López and his accomplices, and by "Yorke and his company," treacherously to take away the Queen's life, are all of alien origin. A

[1] . . . *infino a quess' vltimi anni di Lisabetta, vltima sua figliole. Racolta da gravissimi scrittori non meno di quella Nazione, che dell' altri da F. Girolamo Pollini dell' Ordine de Predicatori, della Provincia di Toscana. Con Privilegio. In Roma. Presso Guglielmo Facciotti. MDXCIV* . . . In 4 books. Quarto.

[2] *The Admonition,* etc. "From my Lodginge in the Palace of St. Peter at Rome this 28 April 1588. The Cardinal." Title page, E.E. Vol. VII, p 237.

[3] See E.E. Vol. VI, pp. 377-378 for list of his writings. Living out of England, and under the protection of the most potent monarch in Christendom, he incurred no personal danger. The sufferers were Catholic Englishmen remaining in their native country, who were in a most unhappy position: for the Cardinal expected them to obey Roman pronouncements; hence the sacrifices and sufferings of many, who have been commemorated in our day by the Catholic Records Society.

[4] See Introduction to *Cardinal Allen's Defence* etc. Chetham Soc: 1851. p. xcvi.

[5] S.P. Dom: Eliz: Vol. CCL. No. 10. 15¼ pp. Here summarised from original. (Cal: 1591-94), p. 558 only gives an abstract, one page of print).

number of persons adjudged traitors to England are given refuge in Spain, persons whose main service to their new master is to act as spies or would-be assassins. But the Queen has never retaliated by being privy to any attempt against the life of King Philip. Nor does she take into her kingdom those who have been condemned by him.[1] The Lord Treasurer claimed that England had fought Spain fairly through seamen and soldiers; whereas the adversary descended to suborn one of the Queen's household servants and to try to sow sedition among her people and win over her nobility.

> "But hath never been any subject of the Queen's Majesty of England, or any other person of what nation soever, that hath or could be challenged by any of the King of Spain's party, or by any other person, to have, with the privity of the Queen of England, or any minister of hers, ever attempted, yea, or offered, to have endangered or harmed the K. of Spain's person; although it need not be doubted that if her Majesty either would or had so base a mind as to practise so vile a matter, she could not have wanted instruments; but her Majesty is very far from any such thought, and she doth assure all men to think, if any had so done, her Majesty would forthwith have most severely punished such a person, according to his desert, or delivered him to the K. to have punished at his pleasure."[2]

We have seen how the Northern rising of 1569 had been undertaken by two Catholic Earls on the direct understanding of aid from Spain; and how in 1584 Lord Burghley had protested that ever since the Queen's accession in 1558 King Philip had worked underground against her through his Ambassadors in England. It had been the Spanish Ambassador who in 1570 circulated *sub rosa* the Pope's Declaration ordering Queen Elizabeth's subjects to cast off their allegiance. After the dismissal of that Ambassador Despes in 1571 there had been no Spanish envoy to the Court of Elizabeth until 1578. From 1584 when diplomatic relations between England and Spain were broken off for the second time, until August 1604 when the Peace Treaty was publicly signed in London (or rather some months before, when a preliminary treaty had been concluded in Spain,) England and Spain were in the throes of a mortal struggle; conducted with chivalry and urbanity by Spanish and English men of action,—as we have seen in the persons of De Castro and Richard Hawkins,—but politically darkened by methods remarkably different from those recommended to Philip II by his father the Emperor,[3]—whose memory Lord Burghley frequently invoked as affording a precedent for the hereditary amity which

[1] In this latter connection we may ask under what heading she classed Antonio Pérez? to whom she certainly gave audience, though only in private. The answer presumably is that it was not she but the King of France who pensioned Pérez; and though Pérez was used by English statesmen for obtaining information, he did not receive public marks of royal favour such as King Philip gave to English refugees.

[2] *Particulars of certain treasonable attempts against the Queen's Majesty, whom God hath delivered from the same*, a 2nd draft with further additions and corrections (matter from S.P.D.E. Vol. CCI. 10, Confessions of López and of Stephano de Ferrera de Gama.) Hatfield MSS. Cal. IV. (1892) p. 630.

See also Ib· pp. 607-608, Sep: 8, 1594, *A Breviate of the accusations against any of the King of Spain's Ministers, or any English fugitive refuged into the same King's territories, upon a practising conspiracy and assassination against her Sacred Majesty's life* . . . 5 pp. (Extracts). The Confessions, of which this is the "breviate for my Lord Treasurer", are in S.P. Dom· 1594, cit. ante.

[3] E.E. Vol. VII, pp. 7-13.

Her Majesty would be willing to resume, were it not for the "unkind and unfriendly actions of the King of Spain."[1]

In the spring of 1594—after the López conspiracy was discovered, but before the execution of the culprits,—the King of Scots appealed to Essex:[2]

"Right Trusty and Well-beloved Cousin.[3]

Although I have this long time forborne the writing unto you, because of the wrong ye received therethrough, suppose not it my default but in the default of them that were between us. But now, having directed the two gentlemen Ambassadors to the Queen your Sovereign, upon weighty and urgent occasions, importing no less than the break of the amity so long happily continued between the two Crowns, I will not omit this occasion of sending these few lines unto you, hereby to pray you favourably to hear, and according to the friendship I look for at your hand, to further them, as far as in you lies, to a good and speedy despatch.

I look, my Lord, that a nobleman of the rank you are of, will move and assist the Queen with your good advice, not to suffer herself to be soiled [query, foiled?] and abused any longer with such as prefer their particular and unhonest affections to the Queen's princely honour, and peace of both realms: but I refer the particulars of all to the bearer's report, whom I have commended to use your advice in all their proceedings. And thus Right Trusty and well-Beloved Cousin, I bid you heartily farewell.

From Edinburgh the 13th April, 1594. Your very loving friend, JAMES R."

That Essex—aged twenty-seven the previous November,—was thus regarded as able and willing to influence the Queen, is one of many instances of his reputation extending considerably beyond his own country. It was no secret that he looked upon the King of Scots as the rightful successor to Queen Elizabeth. He could not foresee how this was to be turned against him, and interwoven with accusations of conspiracy: Nor that his cousin Lord Henry Howard, and others in clandestine correspondence both with Spain and Scotland, had determined upon a monopoly of King James's favour. To this end they resolved to undermine Essex at the Court before the King of Scots should cross the Border. We must bear in mind the rumour circulated that "my Lord of Essex meant to have the Crown himself if he could." For though this mendacious tale was scornfully dismissed by Essex as "absurd," it was gradually so instilled into the Queen's mind as to bring about his utter and irrevocable ruin; after which the foreign policy of England under the new Dynasty was to reverse that of Lord Burghley, thereby paving the way for many disasters, including the rapid decline of the Royal Navy and a proportionate loss of British security at home and honour abroad.

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[1] In [anonymous] *"Estate of English Fugitives under the king of Spaine and his ministers Containing, besides, a Discourse of the sayd Kings manner of government,* etc., etc. London, *"Printed for John Drawater and are to be solde at his shop in Canon lane neere Powles, 1595,"* sm. 4to (issued the previous year as *A Discourse of the Usage of English Fugitives, by a Spaniard*), as to Philip II, ". . . you sawe how cunningly hee had practised with Lopes, that damnable Physition, who, like his predecessor Judas, had for money consented to betray innocent blood . which was by taking away her life, by whome wee doe all live, to bring our noble Countrey into such sorrowe, desolation, and misery as never anie Nation had tasted the like" E.F. ante, p. 276.

[2] Lambeth MSS. Birch's *Queen Elizabeth* (1754) Vol. I, p. 175, and Devereux, *Earls of Essex* (1853) Vol. I. pp. 310-311.

[3] Usual formula for the Sovereign to any peer above the rank of Baron. For the Devereux Royal Descents see E.E. Vol. VI, table facing p. 42.

## "TO RELIEVE THE DISTRESSED"

*Unpublished letter of the Countess of Essex, 2nd June, 1594.*

Because of the manner in which Lady Essex's name was to be misused by false friends and treacherous servants after her husband's fall, we need to notice some small beginnings which culminated in a desperate tragedy. As we have seen, one of the persons employed by Burghley and Essex in the Secret Service was Thomas Phelippes, whose business was to report upon the movements of suspected persons. He was trusted not only by Essex and Burghley but by the Queen During the examination into the Yorke and Williams conspiracy, Essex wrote to him,

"Mr Phelippes. Your absence hath put both the Q[ueen] and me to pain: first that we heard by my Lord Treasurer that the party employed was come to London two days before we heard anything from him. Next that when I had received his first letters, he gave us no satisfaction in anything of worth. . . ."[1]

Having authorised Phelippes to make arrangements "for service present or future," and promising to "supply all things" Essex concludes,

"I pray you to let me hear presently from you. Send your letters to my wife to Barnelmes and she shall send them on to me. . . . Yr very assured friend

Essex."[2]

This is one of several indications how though "living very retired" Lady Essex was concerned in Essex's affairs. a fact ultimately turned against them both and inverted into the outrageous slander that she had endeavoured to withdraw her Lord from the Queen's service. In Spain in the 17th century a notion gained currency that Lady Essex was a conspirator against the Crown, and that her husband allowed himself to be condemned to death because he could only have cleared his own honour by incriminating her. With these tales we will deal in their places. No wife could have been more ungrudging of a husband's services to his Sovereign and country; yet Lady Essex's name was to be used at the last to foster in the Queen's mind the belief that Essex for many years had been rebellious at heart and that his wife had encouraged him in "treasonable projects" Because of what is to come we should now notice a letter written by her in June 1594 (two days before López was executed). It was to intercede with the Lord

[1] This has been inverted in our day into Burghley having "jeered at Essex" for the inefficiency of his tools. But Phelippes had been Burghley's tool long before he was employed by Essex; and as Essex and Burghley were working together for the discovery of the conspiracies, naturally Burghley sent word when he had reason to consider any person employed had been inefficient. As to Phelippes' later affairs, see Hatfield MS. pp 8: 98-170. 86.126; Cal· Vol. XIII. Add: pp. 595-596, which show him getting into trouble with the Queen, and beseeching her "not to be so transported with displeasure against him as to work a hindrance to herself . . . . prays her to consider whether the severe course held with him is like to make him abler to satisfy her," etc. He undertakes to pay £2000 more before Midsummer.

[2] S P. Dom: Eliz: CCXLVI. No. 60. Undated. Holograph. Sealed with coat of arms: the most important quarterings; not the small seal of Devereux coat alone sometimes used by Essex on private letters. Directed "To my very loving friend Mr Phelipps". Endorsed in a later hand "From the Earl of Essex" (Unpublished, only epitomised in Calender, 1591-4. All remarks of commentators hitherto based on the Calendar).

Keeper of the Great Seal for a gentleman-servant in dire woe over Chancery and Star Chamber complications.[1] Hearing that her patronage had been claimed by a Mr Dutton without her knowledge, Lady Essex was concerned lest this had been harmful to the one whose cause she was pleading.

"My very good Lord.

I understand that the last term, and at other times heretofore, my Lord hath very earnestly recommended to your Lordship's favour a servant of his, one Thomas Parker; who, upon the delivery of the last letter from my Lord, received some inkling of a former letter that should be written from me either to your Lordship or to my Lady Puckering in favour of his adversary Mr Dutton. Wherewith having lately acquainted me, and for that I cannot call to mind any such letter, or at whose suit I should be drawn to write the same, I do hereby very heartily pray your Lordship to assure me, by this bearer my servant, whether (as hath been pretended) any such letter hath been delivered to your Lordship or to my Lady Puckering as from me in Mr Dutton's behalf; that I may thereby be satisfied in that which I cannot yet call to mind; or otherwise rest assured *that my name hath been by some device abused to the prejudice of the poor gentleman:* for whom I am likewise bold (the matter, as I hear, concerning him very deeply in his estate and credit), to pray your Lordship with all earnestness (he being surety for another and charged with great family and the weight of other [than] his own debts), to allow him your Honor's favour according to my Lord's former requests, as well in his suit in the Chancery, as also in others in the Star Chamber between him and one Winchcombe, who (as I hear) is set on maliciously by the said Dutton to persecute the same.

"Thus you see, my Lord, how often I trouble you with my letters: which hoping you will rather impute to the desire I have to relieve the distressed than to an importunate disposition, with my heartiest commendations to your Lordship and to my Lady Puckering, I commit you to the protection of the Almighty.

From Barnelms the V of June, 1594.

Your Lordship's very assured friend

FRA: ESSEX."

This same "device" of invoking her name was subsequently to be employed with diabolic ingenuity, as a factor in the ruin of her husband, to save whom she said she would have given her life, or "ten lives" could she have had them to give. There is an extraordinary irony in the way that she and Essex, who constantly endeavoured to aid the poor or oppressed, were, in the end, unable to protect themselves.

[1] "To ye right honourable my verie good L. ye L. Keeper"; endorsed "My Lady of Essex about Mr Dutton and Mr Parker". B.M. Harl: MS. 6996 ff 164-165. Signed but not holograph. This Lord Keeper was Sir John Puckering, to whom in the same year, 1594, was dedicated *The Whole Booke of Psalmes, with their wonted Tunes, as they are sung in Churches . . . compiled by X sondry authors, who have so laboured herein that the unskilful with small practice may attaine to sing that part which is fittest for their voyce. Imprinted at London by Thomas Est the assign of William Byrd.* (Woodcut of Puckering's arms on verso of title page).

## INTERLUDE.

## SUMPTUOUS AND SYMBOLIC HOSPITALITY IN SCOTLAND.

### *Festivities at the Baptism of Prince Henry, August, 1594.*

Though Queen Elizabeth avoided nominating the King of Scots as her Successor, the English Ambassador was given the place of honour at the baptism of James's son and heir, born on the 19th February 1593-4. The christening was deferred until the 30th of August to allow time for envoys to reach Scotland from France, Denmark, the Low Countries and elsewhere[1]. George Clifford, 3rd Earl of Cumberland, was to have represented Queen Elizabeth; but, "when he had prepared himselt" he fell ill; so Robert Radclyffe, 5th Earl of Sussex, was chosen in his place. Ancestrally, Sussex was nearly as illustrious as Cumberland,[2] and for Scotland his title was more significant; his uncle having carried over the Border in 1570 the war resulting from the Northern Rising.[3]

While awaiting the arrival of Lord Sussex, King James and his guests at Stirling "bestowed the time" in symbolical pageants held "in the valley near the castle." These "revellings" gave no sign either of the "Puritanism" or of the poverty we are apt to associate with the Scotland of James VI. First appeared three Turks, then "three Christian Knights of Malta" who "entered the field with sound of Trumpet."[4] These last were the King, "the Earl of Mar, and Thomas Erskine (Gentlemen of his Majesty's Chamber)" The other three, "apparalled like Turks, very goregeously," were the Duke of Lennox, Lord Home, and Sir Robert Ker of Cesford. "Last of all came in three Amazons, in women's attire, very sumptuously clad. . . ." The "Impress or device" of the King, as of the other high personages, conveyed a moral in

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[1] In the present history as first written, many pageants and masques were described More vital matters have since crowded out all except those which had special significance The ensuing quotations are selected from a rare tract in possession of King James's descendant, the Duke of Berwick and Alba, viz *A true Account of the Most Triumphant and Royal Grandeur, at the Solemnisation of the Baptism of His Royal Highness Henry Prince of Scotland, and afterwards Prince of Wales, Son to King James VI of Scotland, and I of England . . . Exactly reprinted, conform to the old Copy printed at London, in the year 1603 Edinburgh Printed for Philander 1732* (31 pp 6⅛ × 4 inches). "The Publisher to the Reader" states that the 1603 version "now long out of print" is revived "for the Satisfaction & Diversion of those that love the Antiquities of this Kingdom"

[2] Radclyffe Pedigree E E. Vol V Table facing p 82.

[3] For which see E E Vol II, pp. 21-42. Robert Radclyffe, 5th Earl of Sussex, was the only son of Sir Henry Radclyffe, who in 1583 had succeeded as Earl on the death of his brother Thomas the famous 3rd Earl, whose tomb in Boreham Church records in Latin his many offices and honours, and adds that "he was possessed of an invincible soul; alike brave and fortunate in the field, and in the Cabinet a most prudent Counsellor He was skilled in most languages and was of an uncorrupt life."

Vide *The Book of the Radclyffes Being an account of the main descents of this illustrious family from its origin to the present day*, &c, &c By *Charles P Hampson, Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland Privately printed by T. and A Constable Ltd At the University Press Edinburgh 1940*, p. 89

The 5th Earl, born in the year of the Northern Rising 1569, succeeded to the title in 1593. His wife was Bridget, daughter of Sir Charles Morison of Cashiobury, Herts. To Lady FitzWalter Countess of Sussex, Henry Lok and Thomas Chapman dedicated *The New Book of Tablature* (music); and previously Robert Greene had dedicated *Euphues Shadow* to her husband then aged twenty-two. Ib· p 98.

[4] For the defence of Malta by the Knights, see E.E. Vol. I, pp. 259-276. King James in early youth had written a poem on the subsequent overthrow of the Turks near Lepanto (for which battle see E.E. Vol. II, pp. 77-97).

"a mystic and hieroglyphic style,[1] the King representing himself as a Lion, to signify Scotland's perpetual "Fortitude and Vigilancy."

After Sussex arrived and when "all the Ambassadors were convened together," the Chapel-Royal of the Castle of Stirling was "richly hung with tapestries" and special seats were prepared for each Ambassador with the Arms of his Sovereign emblazoned, and velvet cushions set in front of each: red for Sussex; purple for "Mr. Robert Bowes, Ambassador Ordinary for the Queen of England"; green velvet for the Ambassador of the Duke of Brunswick; and blue for the Ambassadors of the Low Countries. On the King's left hand the Ambassadors from Denmark, his Queen's homeland, had purple velvet cushions. The pulpit was hung with cloth of gold.

The Baby Prince in his nursery, lay on "his Bed of Estate," embellished with "the Story of Hercules." This was erected on a platform, with three steps up to it, covered in tapestry, "all wrought with gold. . . . ."

". . . the old Countess of Mar, with reverence passed to the bed; she took up the Prince and delivered him to the Duke of Lennox, who presently rendered him likewise to the Ambassador of England to be borne to the Chapel Royal. . . . Then the trumpets sounding melodiously before, the Prince and his Convoy went forward; Lyon King of Arms, and the Heralds his brethren, with their coat-armours in goodly order" following; "the Prince's honours" and his coronet being carried by Lords Semple, Seton, Livingstoun, and Hume. Sussex transferred the infant to the Duke of Lennox, who "delivered him to the old Countess of Mar," and she next handed him to his nurse to hold. Then all the Ambassadors were ushered into their places; with various "Gentlemen of England, Denmark, Almaine, Flanders and Scotland" in attendance.

The ceremony began with a Church service; after which the Bishop of Aberdeen preached on "the Sacrament of Baptism, first in the vulgar tongue, next in Latin to the end that all men might generally understand." The Provost and prebends of the Chapel Royal then sang the 21st Psalm, *Domine, in virtute tua* "to the great delectation of the noble auditory."

This being finished, the Duke of Lennox took the Prince from Lady Mar and handed him to Lord Sussex The names given to him were "Frederick Henry, Henry Frederick." It had been customary from time immemorial to recite at Coronations the genealogies of the Scottish Kings; and on this occasion the Bishop of Aberdeen "made mention of the Chronology" of each of the Princes whose Ambassadors were present, and "recited the proximity and nearness of blood that they had with Scotland."

The blessing having been given, "Lyon King of Arms cried with a loud voice, 'God save Frederick Henry and Henry Frederick by the grace of God Prince of Scotland'." A salute was fired from the Castle guns, as the King and the assembled company adjourned to the Great Hall. There the Infant was knighted by the King and "touched with the spur by the Earl of Mar." A ducal Crown was put on his head and he was proclaimed by the Heralds, "by the grace of God, Knight, and Baron of Renfrew, Lord of the Isles, Earl of Carrick, Duke of Rothesay, Prince and Great Steward of Scotland." Last of all, "the Prince was carried back by the Ambassador of England" to the room from which he had been taken.[2]

Then "certain Barons and Gentlemen" were "addubbed Knights," and took the oath of fealty. Their rank was proclaimed on the terrace in front of the castle; while to the sound of trumpets they scattered "largesse" of gold and silver to the crowd.

At eight in the evening a "delicate banquet" was given in the Great Hall; the King,

[1] See E.E. Vol. VI, p. 466, for the cult of devices.

[2] If the august infant cried during this long ceremonial, the reporter is too discreet to say so. We shall see King James's heir again in the Jacobean Epilogue (E.E. Vol. XII), as that brilliant and beloved Prince of Wales whose early death was to be mourned in numerous impassioned elegies both Latin and English.

Queen, and Ambassadors being at a table of three parts "after a geometrical figure, in such sort that everyone might have a full sight of the other." On the King's right sat both of Queen Elizabeth's representatives, Sussex her special envoy and Bowes her resident Ambassador.

"On the east and west sides of the Hall were placed two very long tables where were set certain Noblemen, Ladies of honour, and Counsellors of Scotland; and with them the Noblemen and Gentlemen of England, Denmark, Almain and Flanders: And betwixt every Nobleman and Gentleman stranger was placed a Lady of honour, or Gentleman."

The banquet was enlivened by the entry of a "a black Moor"[1] drawing a triumphal chariot, upon which was a table of "delicates and dainties"; and seated at the table were six damsels, three "clothed in argentine satin and three in crimson satin, . . ." having each "a crown or garland on their heads, very richly decked with feathers, pearls and jewels upon their loose hair."

Ceres entered: followed by Faith, Concord, Liberality, and Perseverance, their garments being adorned with devices in Latin. "Liberality" and her sisters distributed the fruits and confectionery "to the Earls, Lords and Barons." It had been suggested that a lion should draw the chariot; but as "his presence might have brought some fear," or his tameness might not have been proof against the "sight of the lights and torches," this intention was abandoned.[2] The most impressive spectacle was reserved to the last:

"Presently," after the returning of the chariot, there "entered a most sumptuous, artificial and well proportioned Ship; the length of her keel was 18 foot, and her breadth 8 foot. From her bottom to her highest Flag was 40 foot; The sea she stood upon was 24 foot long, with breadth convenient. Her motion was so artificially [i.e. artfully] devised within herself that none could perceive what brought her in. The sea under her was lively counterfeit, with all colours. On her forestern was placed Neptune, having in his hand his Trident, and on his head a crown. His apparel was all of Indian cloth of silver and gold." He bore a Latin motto, as also did Thetis and the Triton who attended on him. Around the ship were syrens, who sang in Latin to the accompaniment of instrumental music.

The ship was "curiously painted; and on her galleries" was set "the most part of the banquet, in christalline glass" embossed "with gold and azure" Her masts were red, "her tackling and cordage was silk of the same colour, with golden pullies. Her ordnance was 36 pieces of brass, bravely mounted; and her Anchors silver gilt: And all her sails were double of white taffety; and in her foresail a ships compass regarding the North star, with this sentence *Quascunque per undas*. Which is to say through whatever seas or waves the King's Majesty intendeth his Course, . . . Neptune, as God of the Sea, shall be favourable. . . .

"On the main sail was painted the Armories of Scotland and Denmark" with an appropriate Latin motto. "Her tops were all armed with taffeties of his Majesty's colours, gold and pearls; and all her flags and streamers suitable . . ."

Her crew of six were clad in "changeable Spanish taffeties" [shot silk] "and her pilot in cloth of gold; he alone stood at the helm who only moved and governed the whole ship. . . ." This was to symbolise the Monarch controlling the State.[3]

Fourteen musicians on board, clad in the King's colours, produced sweet tunes, "besides Arion with his harp" This fairylike vessel, "made sail till she came to the table, discharging

[1] Actual Moors are not black. In the Scots tongue "black" is sometimes merely a synonym for "dark"; but Shakespeare made his Othello the Moor of Venice coal-black and "sooty".

[2] "A lion among ladies," etc. *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Act. I, Sc: II. Persons who allow no imagination to the dramatist may like to infer that his phrase referred to the lion which did *not* attend the Scottish banquet!

[3] In 16th century English the term "pilot" had no its present limited significance but denoted the principal Navigating Officer, as emphasised in our time in Master-Mariner W. B. Whall's *Shakespeare's Sea Terms Explained*. London, 1910, p. 69.

the ordnance in her stern by the way,"—which was intended to remind the Queen of how the King had gone in person by sea to Denmark to woo her. While the cargo of "infinite things made of sugar" was being unloaded, Arion played upon his harp and was accompanied by viols, and by voices which chanted Latin hexameters, fourteen lines, culminating in courtly fashion,

*Scotia, qua quondam multis tenebrosa vocata est,*
*Lumina magna nitent in te superantia coelum,*
*Lux Verbi, & Rex, & Princeps, diademmata Regni.*

Then ensued music of flutes, and "a general consort of the best instruments." Last of all, when the banquet was finished and grace said, "there was sung with most delicate dulcet voices and sweet harmony, in 7 parts, the 128 Psalm, with 14 voices."[1] After which, at the sound of the Triton's trumpet and the pilot's whistle, the ship weighed anchor, made sail, and retired to the sound of hautboys and trumpets; discharging the rest of her ordnance, "to the great admiration of the beholders." But the "joyful repast" was not yet finished. Their Majesties and the guests were escorted to another hall, "magnificently hung with rich tapestry," and there sat down to a "prince-like Dessert. Which being ended, after taking leave and good-nights, they departed about three of the clock in the morning to their night's rest."

Subsequently in Edinburgh the Ambassadors fêted one another. The ship in which they had arrived, being too large to enter the harbour, was anchored in the river Forth; and the King and Queen went on board to a "very sumptuous banquet." Then after the final leave takings, the guns of Edinburgh Castle fired salutes as they perceived the ship "hoise up sail." This elaborate hospitality had been carefully calculated to give the foreign envoys an impression—vivid if misleading—of the prosperity, magnificence, and concord of the ancient kingdom of Scotland.

[1] "*Beati omnes* . . . thou shalt see thy children's children . . "

PART VII.

"The causes that govern the events."

CHAPTER 5

"A DELECTABLE VARIETY OF MATTER."

SECTION 8.

# "Reconciliation and Obedience."

*(The Conversion and Coronation of Henry IV of France, 1593-1594).*

**"Your Lordship may be assured [if] the Spanish be privy to a peace here, it is to withdraw all these forces [to use] against England."**

*Sir Roger Williams to his "singular beste Lorde and Generall the Earle of Essex" from "w^t^ in this leges of new Chattell this iiii of June."* Original. Unpublished Longleat MSS, Vol I ff. 127-128^b^.

**Henry IV "overcame his enemies . . . His mercy and pardon shall lead them with his good subjects, to reconciliation and obedience."**

Bougereau, *Chronologie* &c., prefacing his Atlas, *Le Théâtre François,* Tours, 1594.

**"The true duty of a Sovereign consists principally in protecting his subjects: he must defend them against Strangers, and repress the Factions and Attempts of Rebels, . . ."**

*The History of Henry IV surnamed The Great.* By the Bishop of Rodez. English translation by J[ohn] D[avies] 1663, p. 201.

**"I aspire to the glorious title of Redeemer and Restorer of France . . . I desire to restore it to its former force and to its ancient splendour. Participate, my subjects, in this second glory, as you have participated in the first."**

*Henry IV to the Prelates, Peers, and Officers of Justice, at Rouen.* Ibid: pp. 188-189.

# *HENRY IV OF FRANCE AND III OF NAVARRE:*

## *" Henricus IIII, Rex Galliae et Navarrae."*

*Now first reproduced from a contemporary print in the collection of Mrs Hope Nicholson*

Contemporary prints of Henry IV are numerous There is one by Crispin de Passe, *Henricus IIII Borbonius D. G Franciae Galliae et Navarrae Rex Christ[ia]nissimus 1596* (B M. Prints 0.1-6), more lifelike than the better known *Thomas de Leu fecit. Mauricij Bogueraldij Turon excud,* inserted in *Le Théâtre François . . A Tours . MDXCIIII* (B M Maps C 7 c 22) This has a disdainful expression, not to be seen in the King's painted portraits but sometimes imputed to him by engravers The verses decorating both prints are typical of French popular feeling at the dates of issue: "Clemency in his soul and prowess in his heart" was more than a merely conventional compliment:

*Voicy le preux Henry des espaignols vaincueur*
*Qui deux sceptres puissans maintenant d'une main forte*
*C'est ce Roy qui pour signe au front la gloire porte*
*La Clémence dans l'âme et la prouesse au coeur.*

In another issue of Bouguereau's *Théâtre François* (B M. C 7 c 8) is a different portrait *Thomas de Leu fecit et Mauricius Bogueraldus excud 1593* three-quarters figure in armour (which would have been photographed for *Elizabethan England* were it not spoilt by being heavily and unskilfully coloured by hand)

According to the wise system by which history and geography used to be taught simultaneously, Bouguereau prefixes to his maps a *Chronologie Successive de tous les Roys de France,* carried up to *Henry 4 Tres-Chrestien, Roy de France et de Navarre Vray deffenseur de ceste Monarchie,* whose valour "by the grace of God and his sword" has saved his country. This Atlas is garnished by a long poem,—*Prière de la France et action de grace à Dieu,* addressed *Au Roy,*—with the same moral as the prose: that kingdoms are redeemed by valour. Verses in French and Latin on the King's portrait are included: and a sonnet to him by Bouguereau, who dedicates the series of maps of *ma Patrie* appropriately to the Sovereign who had devoted himself to the rescuing of France from internal sedition and foreign invaders.


HENRICVS IIII REX GALLIÆ
ET NA VARRÆ

PART VII.

"The causes that govern the events."

CHAPTER 5

"A DELECTABLE VARIETY OF MATTER."

SECTION 8.

# "Reconciliation and Obedience."

*(The Conversion and Coronation of Henry IV of France, 1593-1594).*

FROM Neufchastell "this iiii of June," no year, but apparently 1592, Sir Roger Williams had written "To the most honorable my singular beste Lorde and Generall the Earle of Essex."[1] Though Essex's commission and command had been terminated by the Queen the previous January, the veteran warrior continued to treat his young friend and pupil with affectionate deference:

> "Most Honorable. Your Lordship may favour these your captains and officers, which I do assure you do honour and love you to the highest degree; especially Captain Dockray[2] who desires nothing so much as to follow your Lordship. Touching them all I do assure your Lordship of their honest, valiant, and fair condition; soldiers for their virtues; and especially for the love they bear unto your Lordship. . . .[3]
>
> "We hear still the Duke of Parma's army is entering the Low Countries, and that the Spanish faction is greatly in fear of this peace But whensoever the poor King enters Paris, I pray God he may be well accompanied," so that "both himself and followers be not entertained as they were at his marriage in the said town.
>
> "For my part I see no reason the Leaguers have to crave a peace; considering their fortunes of late"; unless "the Almighty resolves to deliver this country from these great afflictions; or that the Princes of the League discover some great practises by the Spanish against them.

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[1] Original holograph. Unpublished Longleat Devereux MSS. Vol. I, ff. 127-127b Not easy to read. Spelling now modernised. For a specimen of Williams's hand see E.E. Vol. VII, plate 11, facing p. 102

[2] There was a captain (afterwards Sir Henry) Docwra, one of Essex's officers.

[3] Contrast in the modern *Shakespeare's England*, Vol. I, p. 121, a statement that "The military profession . . . was not in good repute in Elizabethan times," &c.; and that the troops were so "seething with mutiny that no gentleman of any self-respect would take command of them."! This assertion being made by the Hon. Sir John Fortescue, author of *The History of the British Army*, has echoed and re-echoed. Shortly before his death the present writer convinced him that the Elizabethan Army enjoyed very high prestige in the eyes of the enemy, and at home; but, alas, too late for Sir John to rewrite the misleading portion of his great work.

"Your Lordship may be assured [if] the Spanish be privy to a peace here, it is to withdraw all these forces [to use] against England. Therefore your Lordship may do well to remember[1] Her Majesty to look well to it I mean to spare no pains to discover the truth. . . ."

"To the Valiant Heart, nothing is impossible" had been the motto of Henry of Navarre. But it was to take him more than four years to overcome the foreign-controlled League. In so far as England was affected by the affairs of France, we must continue to note the course of events on that side of the Channel. And now we come to a matter around which so much retrospective commentary has gathered that it will be best to concentrate on the main points, above all upon Henry's own words. The leadership of the Huguenots had been his inheritance from his mother Queen Jeanne of Navarre;[2] and in 1589 on the death of Henry of Valois, Henry of Navarre had refused to change his creed suddenly or to order.[3] If his Catholic subjects desired him to accept their religion they should cease fighting against him. But this was what King Philip wished to prevent; and the Duke of Mayenne and others of the great Catholic nobility, with few exceptions, remained openly adherent to Spain. The Pope—who was thought to be influenced from Madrid—gave little encouragement to the King of France to return to the Church of his ancestors.

There is no reason to believe that Henry was ever animated by the fervour which upheld such ardent Huguenots as Duplessis and D'Aubigné. It was more as a point of honour than of conscience that he would not hastily desert the sect of which his mother had been the heroine.[4] In 1590 he had written to one of the most prominent Catholic warriors, the Mareschal de Matignon, "I am aware that the point on which you chiefly base the establishment of my affairs is a change of religion, and I verily believe that if this were settled many other matters would be settled with it." Nevertheless, no matter how politic the change might be, Henry protested that with civil and foreign war on his hands he had no leisure yet for theological studies. He meant to overcome his enemies before consenting to reconsider his religion, lest it be said the change was dictated by fear or any other ignoble motive. He would wait, he declared, until he could bring to so grave a matter an alert and unprejudiced mind.[5]

When Admiral Coligny's elder brother Odet the Cardinal had renounced one of the richest Bishoprics in France and joined the Huguenots, the sincerity of his feelings had been evident from the extent of his sacrifice.[6] But Henry's own letters

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[1] i.e. remind

[2] For whose portrait see E E. Vol II, plate 9: and facing p 58 Also on same plate a sketch of Henry in youth

[3] "*Mais comment? La dague à la gorge Quand je n'eusse point eu de respect à ma conscience, celui de mon honneur n'en eust empêche par manière de dire*" Henry to the Three Estates; 4th March, 1589-90. Berger de Xivry, *Lettres Missives* &c.

[4] "*Ceux qui suivent tout droit leur conscience sont de ma religion, et moi, je suis de celle de tous ceux qui sont braves et bons*" (Ibid: Vol. III. p 122) By this he manifestly meant to proclaim that he valued honest men irrespective of whether they were Catholic or Huguenot.

[5] "*Un esprit souple, et sans aucune affection, capable d'être manie par raison*" *Lettres Missives*, Vol. III, p 315.

[6] E.E. Vol. II, pp. 60-62; 64

prevent us from supposing that at his accession he saw any marked difference in merit between one Church and another. The greater number of Frenchmen being Catholic, the majority of his subjects considered that on succeeding to the Crown it was incumbent upon him to revert to the faith of Charlemagne and St. Louis and of all the Kings of France from Clovis downwards. Under date of July the 4th, 1593, Lord Burghley noted, " Sir Thomas Wylkes sent to the French King, to dissuade him from his Conversion to the Pope; if he be not already converted."[1] Wylkes arrived too late; and in any case it was not a matter on which England could expect to be consulted.

On the 18th of July, 1593, Henry attended a Huguenot service in state. A few days later he gave audience to certain Catholic Bishops who had undertaken his conversion. Having conducted his side of the disputate with quick wit, a ready tongue and much vivacity, he suddenly capitulated. The same evening he took leave of his Huguenot clergy, but asked them to continue interceding for him in their prayers. The ecclesiastical historiographer of France, Père Mathieu, wrote fervently of the King's conversion,[2]

> " Many have had their shares in his victories against his enemies, but in that of himself the conquest is his alone. . . . He makes profession of his religion at the entry of the Church of the first Apostle of France, the sacred monuments of his Predecessors and the witnesses of the sincerity of his heart. He caused himself to be anoynted and Crowned in the first and most ancient Temple of Christendom, which they say was dedicated by the Druydes to the Virgin that should bring forth."

His Coronation with the ancient rites was not possible until he had made the necessary submission to the Catholic Church. " On Sunday the 25th of July between eight and nine o'clock in the morning," the King, clad in white satin with a black hat and cloak,—accompanied by many great Princes and Lords, Officers of the Crown, and other gentlemen," attended also by *Gardes du Corps tant Escossois que François*,—made his way to St. Denis, twelve trumpeters preceding him. The Church was decorated for the occasion with tapestries of " silk and golden thread," and the streets carpeted, and strewn with flowers; an " infinite number of spectators raising joyous shouts of ' Long Live the King!'[3] When Henry reached the main entrance, the Archbishop of Bourges was awaiting him, " seated in a chair covered with white damask," and surmounted by the arms of France and Navarre.

The Archbishop formally asked of him, " Who are you?"

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[1] Lord Treasurer's Chronology (*State Papers*, ed· Murdin, 1759) Many other entries as to political affairs in France, the Low countries, and Ireland, ending

> *" Dec: 20.* Jhon Chastell executed at Pariss for an attent to have killed the fr Kyng.
> *Dec. 30.* Er[le] of Ess[ex] L. Adm[iral], L. Buckh[urst] with me for Ireland causes
> *Dec. 31.* The fr. amb[assador] with de Beaumont with me ".
>
> *Hatfield MSS* 333. Cal: XIII, pp 507-508.

[2] *The Heroyk Life and Deplorable Death of The most Christian King Henry the fourth*, translated by Edward Grimston. London, 1612. Pt. II, p. 34.

[3] Cayet. *Chronologie Novenaire . Historie de la Guerre sous . tres Christien Roy de France & de Navarre". Paris 1608 Second Partie* p 222/verso

His Majesty responded, "I am the King."

"What is your wish?" said the Archbishop.

To which Henry answered, "To be received into the bosom of the Catholic Apostolic and Roman Church." He was then required to vow "to live and die" in that faith, and to protect the Church; to defend it if need be at the cost of his life, and to "renounce all heresies" contrary to its tenets. A document was presented to him to sign before he was permitted to enter the sacred portals. Still outside the Church, he was given absolution and benediction,[1] though under the displeasure of the Pope, and so to remain for some considerable time. "Multitudes of people" thronged to witness his recantation; and with an escort of Bishops he was conducted to the High Altar, where he repeated his abjuration of heresy; the congregation applauded with shouts of "Vive le Roi! Vive le Roi! Vive le Roi!" High mass was then said and sung "melodiously," and "largesse scattered in the church, to the loud acclamation of the people."[2]

Henry was next required to send a written manifesto to "all the Parliaments."[3] But he gave assurance by letter to his Huguenot champions that his personal affection for them would remain unchanged, though he announced himself as henceforth seeking "salvation in the Roman Catholic Church," which he joined, he said, "to avoid differing from the Kings my predecessors;" and because "by this means not only the pretext but also the reasons for the divisions and revolts now undermining the State" ought to be resolved into harmony.[4]

Difficulties, however, were not yet at an end. But, as afterwards written by a Catholic churchman, though "the city of Rheims was yet in the hands of the League," Henry would no longer "defer his Coronation, because he knew that ceremony was absolutely necessary to confirm to him the affection of the people."[5] On the 27th of February 1593-4 *Henricus quartus Francorum & Navarre Rex* was anointed at Chartres with all the accustomed ceremonies; he vowing to "live and die in the Holy Faith and Religion Catholic Apostolic and Roman" as a "very

[1] Cayet, p. 223. [2] Ib: p. 224.

[3] Dated from St Denis, *Dimanche 25 Iuillet, 1593 Cayet*, p. 225. For the articles next proclaimed and ratified between Henry and "Charles of Lorraine" (i.e. the Duke of Mayenne) see Ibid: pp. 226-229 On 17th February 1593-4, Lord Burghley noted "the Fr. Kynge sacred at Chartres"; and on 12th March "the Fr K repos[se]seth Paris". His Chronology, *State Papers*, ed. Murdin (1759) and Hatfield MSS. Cal: XIII, pp 507-508.

[4] 25 July 1593. *Lettres Missives*, Vol. III, p. 823. Even after this submission, Pope Clement VIII refused to receive Henry's Ambassador the Duc de Nevers. As related by Cayet (op. cit. pp. 251-268) the Duke, accompanied by the Bishop of Mans and 50 gentlemen, was "extremely astonished" on arrival in Rome to be given a written communication (dated 19th September 1593) and a message to the effect that though declining to receive him as Henry's Ambassador he could seek an audience in his private capacity as Louis Gonzaga, Duke of Nevers. There ensues a full account of how the Duke accepted the distinction in theory but defended the King as thoroughly as if the reception had been granted in his official capacity.

[5] *The History of Henry IV, Surnamed The Great King of France and Navarre. Written Originally in French. By the Bishop of Rodez, once Tutor to his now most Christian Majesty: and made English by J. D.* (John Davies) London, &c. &c. 1663. Dedicated by the translator "to His Sacred Majesty Charles the Second, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland". p. 172.

Christian King."[1] There ensued on the 21st of March his triumphal entry into Paris, whence we have seen him shut out in 1589 when Lord Willoughby and 4000 English Foot had been sent to his aid in what his own forbearance caused to be an unsuccessful siege.[2]

As his episcopal biographer wrote, it seemed "almost a miracle" that though there were "four or five thousand Spaniards" in garrison in Paris, and "ten or twelve thousand factious persons" who "all surely hated the King," he nevertheless took possession "without striking stroke or shedding blood, except that of five or six mutineers . . ." His forces having secured "the gates, ramparts, and public places, he entered triumphantly into the City by the new gate, by which Henry the Third had unhappily fled six years before." Proceeding at once to Notre Dame, "to hear Mass and cause the Te Deum to be sung," he next returned to the Louvre, where he found his officers, and his dinner ready, and sat down as calmly as if he had never been away.

He granted the Spanish troops "a safe Conduct and a good Convoy," arranging for them to leave Paris at three the same afternoon. With them went "twenty or thirty of the most obstinate Leaguers, who chose rather to follow strangers" [foreigners] "than to obey their natural Prince." Eager to see them depart, Henry watched from a window near the St. Denis' Gate: "They all saluted him, with their hats very low." He returned their greeting, and not without irony bade them remember him to the King of Spain: "Go in a good hour," he said, "and return no more."[3] They marched out with drums beating and banners flying. But not yet was the struggle with Spain at an end.

Henry's renunciation of Huguenot tenets certainly tended to chill the sympathy of the English Protestant populace. But Queen Elizabeth's Privy Council in general and Lord Burghley in particular continued to see in him an essential ally.

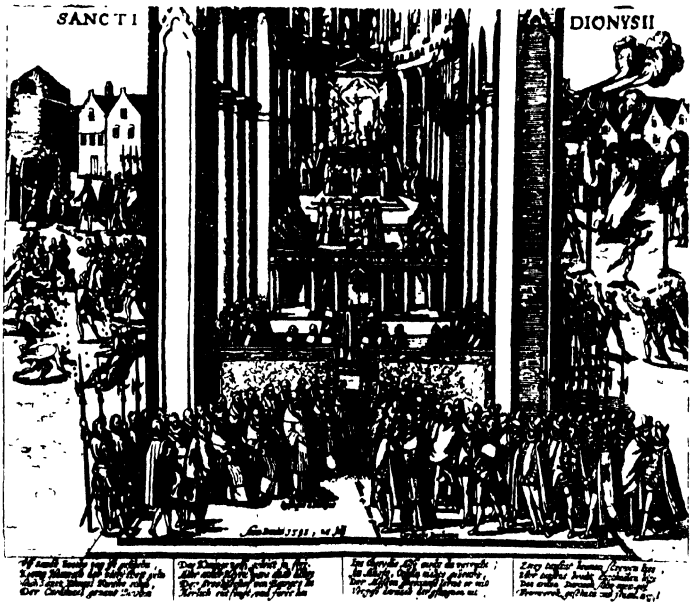
In France Dom Antonio was still accorded the title of King of Portugal, and so did not relinquish his expectation of French assistance against his Spanish cousin and supplanter. As long as the breath of life was in him, Antonio refused to abandon hope. And not only was England to continue the war with King Philip, but the treaty of peace between France and Spain was not to be signed until the spring of 1598; and would not have been signed even then, if Lord Burghley's diplomacy could have prevailed.

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[1] Ceremonies fully described in Vol. LIX, pp. 63-94, of *Collection Universelle des Mémoires particuliers, relatifs a l'Histoire de France. A Londres. Et se trouve à Paris Rue et Hôtel Serpentine, 1790 Suite des Mémoires de Victor Palma Cayet ou Chronologie Novenaire. XVIe Siecle.* (Issued to subscribers.) In England in 1594 there was published *The Order of Ceremonies observed in the anointing and Coronation of the most Christian King of France and Navarre, Henry the IIII of that name, celebrated in our Lady Church, in the Citie of Chartres uppon Sunday the 27 of February, 1594. Faithfully translated out of the French coppy printed at Roan, by commandement of the said Lord, by E. A. London: Imprinted by Iohn Windet, and are to be sold by Iohn Flasket, at the Great North doore of Paules.* The translator "E. A." was Edward Aggas, who had previously translated King Henry's Laws and Ordinances of War; E.E. Vol. VIII, pp. 369-370.

[2] E.E. Vol. VIII, p. 218.

[3] *Henry the Great* &c., pp. 172-173




*King Henry IV at the Cathedral of St. Denis,*
*25 of July, 1593: vowing to live and die henceforth*
*according to the "Religion Catholic Apostolic and Roman."*

Now first reproduced from *Henricodos Durchleuchtigsten Groscentigsten* . 1595. B. M. No. 10660. 1.6(1).

The demonstrations of the people outside, the bonfires for joy, the crowds scrambling for largesse, are described in the verses below the picture.

(On the 8th of August 1593, King Henry wrote to the Marquis de Pisani that of his own free will he had "at last granted the common wish of all my Catholic good friends and servants . . . . relative to their expectation to see me in the Catholic Church."

Original, 2 pages folio. Messrs. Maggs Bros'. Catalogue No. 474. 1926. Item 1027).

## "OUR KNIGHT . . . WHOSE FAME CAN NEVER DIE."

### *Sir Martin Frobisher's death, 22nd of November, 1594.*

We have seen during the brief Parliament of 1592-3 how, in the Upper House, the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, and in the House of Commons, Raleigh, and others, had emphasised the additional menace to England of Spanish forces being established in Brittany, —which had come to pass since the previous Parliament was dissolved in 1589. Early in 1590 King Philip had received offers from his French partisans to place the Breton coast at his disposal in preparation for another attempt against England. But it was pointed out to him that though the seamen in the three principal ports, St. Malo, Brest, and Blavet, were Catholics they were unfriendly to Spain, and so would require to be mastered and controlled.[1] Blavet was the first port to be taken; the Duke of Mercoeur attacking ashore and Lansac afloat.[2]

On the 20th of July, 1594, a warrant was drafted for paying to Sir Thomas Shirley, Treasurer at Wars, the necessary sums for the cost, conduct and transport of 3,000 soldiers and 50 miners to Brittany, *"under the Earl of Essex and the Lord High Admiral,"* for aid of the French King. This warrant also guaranteed the payment of those forces while in Brittany, and for the troops already there under Sir John Norris, and for men taken to the Low Countries by Sir Thomas Baskerville; all payments to be continued until the Queen or Council should direct otherwise.[1] For reasons not specified, Essex's commission was never signed; so Norris continued in command; and to Norris's aid the Queen sent the Lord High Admiral and Sir Martin Frobisher. But it was remarked that on the news being made public that Essex was not appointed after all, the fervour of intending volunteers had cooled considerably.[4]

The subsequent operations in Brittany under Sir John Norris were conducted with characteristic valour in 1594, but, as on an earlier occasion, with insufficient forces; and the naval squadron under Frobisher seems only to have consisted of four ships of war and some smaller craft The Queen, however, wrote to Frobisher in her most affable manner:[5]

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[1] S P. Simancas Cal. Vol. IV, p 565 Blavet (usually written by Elizabethans "Blauet") was subsequently renamed Port Louis

[2] Spain held Blavet until the Peace of Vervins in 1598, and we shall see the Spaniards capturing Calais in 1596; so the position of Henry IV even after his triumphal entry into Paris was one of extreme difficulty This is apt to be overlooked, because though Froude had promised on the title page of Vol. I of the first edition of his History to carry it "to the death of Queen Elizabeth," he broke off after 1588 as if nothing vital remained; whereas the war with Spain, resumed actively in 1589, waxed increasingly strenuous owing to King Philip's further French conquests [Since the Germans in 1940 captured the Norman and Breton ports, perhaps the Elizabethans will no longer be accused of "nervousness" for not shutting their eyes to the danger from formidable adversaries in occupation on the French side of the Narrow Seas.]

The student must be reminded that our State Papers Foreign not being calendared beyond the end of 1588 many current errors arise from insufficient knowledge of the facts.

[3] Cal: S.P.D.E. Vol. III (1867) p 529. [4] F E. Vol. IX, p. 338.

[5] "To our trustie and welbeloved Sir Martin Furbussher, Knight" Printed (in original spelling) by Barrow, *Memoirs of Naval Worthies of Queen Elizabeth's Reign*, 1845, pp. 46-47. Abbreviations now expanded.

"Trusty and well beloved, We greet you well. We have seen your [letter] to our Treasurer and Our Admiral, and thereby perceive your [love] of Our Service; and also, by others, your own good carriage, whereby you have won yourself reputation; whereof for that we imagine it will be comfort unto you to understand, We have thought good to vouchsafe to take knowledge of it by Our own handwriting.

We know you are sufficiently instructed from Our Admiral, besides your own circumspection, how to prevent any sudden mischief by fire or otherwise upon Our Fleet under your charge. And yet we do think it will work in you the more impression to be by Ourself again remembered, Who have observed by former experience that the Spaniards for all their boasts, will trust more to their devices than that they dare indeed with force look upon you.[1] For the rest of my directions We leave them to such letters as you shall receive from Our Council.

"Given under Our Privy Signet, at Our manor of Richmond, the 11th day of November, in the 26th year of Our reign 1594."

Frobisher's own report of the events ensuing, addressed to the Lord High Admiral, Howard of Effingham, seems to have been the last letter he ever wrote:[2]

"My humble duty, my Honourable good L[ord].

The 8th of this month by a battery undermining, and a very dangerous assault, we have taken this fort with the loss of [blank] of our people but none of any account. They [the Spaniards] defended it very resolutely: and never asked mercy. So they were put all to the sword saving five or six that hid themselves in the rocks. Many of them were slain with our cannon and great ordnance in defending of the breach, with their Captain, one Perithos"

[By the laws of war, the garrison of a fortress taken by assault after refusing offers of capitulation, could be "put to the sword."]

Frobisher goes on to say that there had been no time to lose, as "Don John" had advanced within six leagues of our army and was intending to relieve the fort. [This was Don Juan del Aguila, of whose name we should take note, as we shall meet him at the head of the invasion of Ireland in 1601.]

". . . Sir John Norris doth rise this day and march towards them to a place called old Croydon" [meaning Fort Crozon]. "We are about to get in our ordnance as fast as we can, and to so make our repair homewards. Sir J. Norris would willingly have some five hundred of the sailors for his better strength against the day of meeting with Don John."

Frobisher would assent had he sufficient victuals. Not until the conclusion of his letter does he mention having been wounded in the fighting "at the battery," and that an incision made for taking out the bullet had so disabled him that at the moment he could "neither go nor ride:"

"And the mariners are very unwilling to go except I go with them myself. . . . Yet if I find it come to an extremity we will [do] what we are able. If we had victuals it were very easily done, but there is none to be had. I have sent according to your Honour's directions two ships to Plymouth and Dartmouth. We must presently sail away if they come not to us with victuals.

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[1] "their devices". Possibly a veiled reference to the López case. E.E. Vol. IX, pp. 245-288.

[2] Printed by Rear-Admiral Collinson in original spelling, *The Three Voyages of Martin Frobisher*, Hakluyt Society (1867) pp. xxiv-xxv.

This bearer is able to certify your Honours with all things at large. So with my humble prayers to the Almighty for your increase in honour,

Croydon [Crozon] this viii of November 1594.

Your Honour's most humble to command,

MARTIN FROBISHER.

"Mr. Munday arrived the xxviii of October at Brest, and brought with him a thousand crowns for our victualling the which was distributed among the ships."

There is nothing in this to indicate that Frobisher thought his wound dangerous. But he was fated never to see London again, nor to reach his wife in Yorkshire. The Parish Register of St. Andrew's Plymouth, under 22nd November, records "Sir Martin Frobisher Knight, being [wounded] at the fort built against Brest by the Spaniards, deceased at Plymouth this day. . . ."

Making his Will the previous August he had described himself as "in perfect health, . . . thanks to Almighty God." Having no surviving child he bequeathed his landed property to his nephew Peter Frobisher, to descend to Peter's lawful heirs. To "Dame Dorothy my well-beloved wife" he left "all the jewels, chains, bracelets, pearls, buttons of gold and pearl, 'aiglets' and rings which she now hath"; and all "wearing apparel whatsoever." Also a share of silver plate, linen, and other items at Frobisher Hall, and household stuff from Walthamstow in Essex. Likewise "my two coaches with their furniture, and my two white coach-horses," and other horses of which she was to take her choice.[1] Some of his property was set aside to go towards payment for his funeral; settlement of debts; and to meet legacies to his sister and others. The two "overseers" for his Will were Francis Vaughan, and Francis Boynton of "Barmiston,"—the latter of a family famous in Yorkshire for centuries. The sole executor was Peter Frobisher aforesaid, to whom Sir Martin bequeathed the manor of Whitewood in the Parish of Fetherstone, "which I late purchased . . . of our Sovereign Lady Queen Elizabeth to me and my heirs," Frobisher Hall in Altoft; the manor of Brockholes; the Grange of Fynningley; and other lands in the counties of York and Nottingham.[2]

At the time of his death, Frobisher was on the list of Justices of the Peace for the West Riding of Yorkshire, a region in which his ancestors—originally from North Wales—had been established since about 1360 when John Frobisher married Joan, daughter of Sir William Scargill, Seneshal of Pontefract Castle. The descendants of this alliance intermarried with many

[1] She is described by W. Wheater, *The Ancestry of Sir Martin Frobisher*, in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, N S. Vol. I, as daughter of "Lord Wentworth of the South, widow of Sir William Wimmerpole, Kt, one of the Barons of the Exchequer." But neither of the Barons Wentworth contemporary with Frobisher are designated "of the South" in G. E. C.'s *Complete Peerage*, 1898, (U-Z) Vol. VIII.

[2] The Will—now in the National Maritime Museum,—is printed in extenso in Vol. II of *The Three Voyages of Martin Frobisher. In search of a passage to Cathay and India by the North West, A D. 1576-8. From the original 1578 text of George Best Together with numerous other versions. Additions, etc. Now edited, with Preface, Introduction, Notes, Appendices and Bibliography by Wilhjamur Sefjansson, A.B., A M., Ph.D., L L.D. With the collaboration of Eloise McCaskill, A M., together with numerous maps and illustrations In two Volumes 1938 The Argonaut Press Empire House, 175 Piccadilly London.* These beautifully produced and elaborately edited volumes contain admirable maps; including (Vol. I facing p. xciv) a large version of the 1576 Chart by William Borough previously reproduced on a smaller scale in *Elizabethan England* Vol. III, plate 16, the 4th facing p. 62. In the Argonaut volume, however, E E. is not mentioned nor that the original of the chart is at Hatfield House in the collection of the Marquess of Salisbury; docketed on the back in Lord Burghley's hand, "1576 Martij furbashers navigatiõ."

Yorkshire families of distinction.[1] Frobisher was no rough old "sea-dog" seeking fortune afloat for lack of honour ashore. Rather he was one of the many "persons of quality" endeavouring to emulate the Portuguese and Spanish explorers: exchanging home comforts for deadly hazards in his "country's cause," as his followers made clear. Settle, Brest, and Ellis show hearty admiration for his willingness to face all manner of hardships and obstacles. Ellis, apologising for "the rustical style of the God Pan," garnished his prose narrative with verses in praise of "Maister Martine Frobisher." There is little reason to suppose Ellis was what would now be called cultured: but the classic myths were then familiar even to humble balladists, and Ellis harks back to the Argonauts and the quest of Jason and "his noble Knights" for the Golden Fleece:

"If these (I say) with flickering fame
were lift to loftie skie,
That even till now in these our dayes
their fame afresh doth flie:
Why should not then our Frobisher
who farre doeth them surmount,
With golden trumps of thundering fame
be had in like account?
His heart as valiant is as theirs.
his hazardes were more harde."

The same was claimed for Drake; that he had surpassed the Argonauts.[2] And one reason why the Elizabethan era merits the epithet of "spacious" is that all ranks were stimulated by the historic consciousness which overleaps boundaries of time and space and sees in the gallant deeds of heroes of old an incitement to further enterprise:

"A Martiall Knight, adventurous,
whose valure great was such,
That hazardes hard he light esteemed
his countrie to inrich,
No chaunces dire could him dismay,
no doubt could daunt his hart.

. . . .

To uncoth coastes his steppes he bent,
and places distant farre,
Even to the colde congealèd Pole
and Northerne frozen starre;
Where Boreas Boysterous blasts still blow,
and nipping Saturne colde,
With fleeting snowes and hoarie frosts,

. . . .

[1] The Argonaut Press has emblazoned on the front cover of *The Voyages of Martin Frobisher* the family arms, (*ermine* on a fess engrailed between three griffins heads erased *sable*, a greyhound courant *argent*), but without the Cadency mark which Sir Martin as a junior would have borne in those days of heraldic exactitude

[2] E.E. Vol. VI, p 155

Where dreadful dangers are not scarce,
where pleasures few are found.
. . . .
But this our Knight, which fearde no force,
whose fame can never die,
Though that his sprite shall perce at last
the loftiest place in skie.
An Hector stout he is on land
Ulysses on the seas,
Whose paineful pilgrimage hath brought
vnto his countrie ease."[1]

Appreciated as Frobisher was in his lifetime, and the narratives of his voyages translated into French, Latin, German, and Italian, his name and fame being thus recognised on the Continent, his death was the more of a loss to England; especially as the conversion of King Henry IV to the Catholic Church seemed to some of the English to portend that the erstwhile Huguenot leader intended a peace with Spain—in which case the entire burden of the war would fall upon England and the Northern Netherlands.[2]

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[1] " Iohn Kirkham in the praise of *M Martine Frobissher,*" in Ellis's *" true report"*. In extenso in *The Three Voyages,* &c. Argonaut Series, 1938, Vol I, pp. 48-50.

[2] For Frobisher's portrait from Castle Howard,—now in the National Maritime Museum—see E E. Vol VII, plate 31, facing p. 372. In 1674 Walter Charlton M D. presented to Oxford University a portrait of Frobisher (canvas 18½ x 37), inscribed " Aº Dni. 1577, AETATIS SVAE 39, C. K. f." This is described in Mrs Reginald Lane Poole's *Catalogue of Portraits Exhibited in the Reading Room and Gallery of the Bodleian Library,* Oxford, 1920, pp 20-21, No: 50:

" Whole length, standing to r ; short dark hair, beard moustache; white ruff; buff stockings, hose and jerkin without sleeves; white shirt and shoes; knotted gold cord round neck; his r. hand holds a pistol, his l. rests upon the cross hilt of his upright sword, the point of which is on the ground; behind to l. is a terrestial globe standing upon a table covered with a green cloth, dark brown background."

The head and shoulders from this picture appear as frontispiece to Vol. I. of the Argonaut *Three Voyages* &c. without explanation that the original is full length.

In Holland's *Heroologia,* 1620, is a retrospective print of *" Martinus Frobisherus Eq auratus,"* head and shoulders in an oval, and below it the inscription,

*" Frobisherus ovans Neptunia regna frequentat*
*Pro patria at tandem glande peremptus obit."*

Reproduced in MacLehose's Hakluyt, 1904, Vol. VII, facing p. 208.

## "MANY FORWARD AND VALIANT MINDS."

### *Tributes to Frobisher during his lifetime.*

"It is not unknown to the world," wrote Captain George Best in 1578, "that this our native country of England, in all ages hath bred up (and specially at this present aboundeth with) many forward and valiant minds fit to take in hand any notable enterprise. How pleasant and profitable it is to attempt new discoveries," and study "the different manners and fashions of divers nations, the sundry sorts of government, the sight of strange trees, fowls and beasts, the infinite treasure of Pearl, Gold and Silver, the news of new found lands, the sundry positions of the Sphere, . . ."

Being one of Frobisher's most ardent volunteers, Best even claimed that "our Generall" encountered heavier difficulties than the Spanish and the Portuguese explorers in their long voyages to the East and West Indies: "They were never so much distressed and opposed with so infinite numbers and sundry kinds of dangers as our valiant General Captain Frobisher and his Company were in every one of his three voyages." This might be disputed in Spain and Portugal. But whatever the obstacles, Captain Best rejoiced that his countrymen "courageously persist" and continue in their proposed enterprises, to the "everlasting renown, glory, and fame of the English nation." Though Frobisher's efforts had not answered all expectations, the Queen was more gracious to him than to Sir Humphrey Gilbert, the practical value of whose suggested Academy she seems not to have realised [1] The narratives by Frobisher's followers published soon after the events are remarkably appreciative:

I. 1577 *A true reporte of the laste voyage into the West and Northwest regions &c. 1577, worthely atchieved by Capteine Frobisher of the sayde voyage the first finder and Generall*

*With a description of the people there inhabiting, and other circumstances notable.*

*Written by Dionyse Settle, one of the companie in the sayde voyage, and seruant to the Right Honourable the Earl of Cumberland Nil mortalibus arduum est.*

*Imprinted at London by Henrie Middleton Anno 1577.*

In an epistle to his "singular good Lord, George Earl of Cumberland, Baron Clifford," &c., Settle apologises for lack of scholastic learning, but claims that his "scantling" is "beautified with goodwill and truth."[2] His Narrative, the first to appear in English, was translated and published abroad in 1578, 1580, and 1582:[3]

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[1] See E.E. Vol II pp. 211-220 Professor Callender in *The Naval Side of British History* (1924) p. 49, observed that "The story of the search for the north-east passage, in spite of its valour and hardihood, in spite of the discovery of 'North Cape'," is "unintelligible to-day unless we remember that accurate world maps had still to be made" It was believed then that an English route to the Indies could be found and used without offence to Spain. But under Queen Elizabeth the patronage of the Crown was transferred from the north-east passage to the north-west. In this connection, as to Frobisher in particular see also William Gilbert Gosling's *The Life of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, England's First Empire Builder* (1911), pp. 64, 123-125.

[2] For Cumberland's own voyages see E.E. Vol. VIII, table facing p. 402.

[3] The Argonaut Series Vol. II, pp. 224-223, Bibliography (derived partly from notes by Dr Wilberforce Eames and Professor Taylor) includes four publications, 1577, 1578, of two of which only the license survives; and adds notes on the compilers of the narratives still extant. One of the anonymous and lost items was licensed 1st July 1577 to A. Maunsell, for whose *Catalogue of English Books* dedicated to Essex, see E.E. Vol IX, pp 418-419. For the foreign titles the present writer is indebted to the above named Bibliography

Ia *La Navigation du Capitaine Martin Frobisher Anglois. es regions de west & Nordwest, en l'année M.D.LXXVII.* Geneva Anthoine Chuppin, 1578.

Ib *Beschreibung Der schiffart des Haubtmans Martini Forbissher aus Engelland in de Lender gegen West und Nordtwest im Jar. 1577,* Nuremberg, Katharinam Gerlachin und Johanns vom Berg Erben, 1580.

Ic *De Martini Forbissers Angli navigatione in Regiones Occidentis et Septentrionis Narratio historica. Ex Gallico sermone in Latinum translata per D. Joan, Tho. Fregium.* Noribergae, Catharinae Gerlachin, &c. Haeredum Ionanis Montani 1580. (Reissued, 1675).

Id 1582. *Lo Scoprimento dello stretto artico e di meta incognita ritrovata nel' anno 1577 e 1578 dal capitano Martino Forbisero, . . . posto mouvamente in luce nel nostro idioma italiano dal, sig. Gio. Lorenzo Anania,* Napoli, G. Capelli, 1582.

II. 1577. *A true report of the third and last voyage into Meta incognita: atchieved by the worthie Capteine, M. Martine Frobisher Esquire, Anno 1578.*

*Written by Thomas Ellis Sailer and one of the companie. Imprinted at London, at the Three Cranes in the Vintrei, by Thomas Dawson*

This ends with a prayer to God "to preserve our noble Queene, and graunt her Nestor's long and happie yeares, with her noble Counsell, and Commons, in all her little Islande; and to our Generall long life, good health and fortunate successe, in all his voyages, to the profit and commoditie of our native soile and Countrie. Amen."

III 1577. *For M Cap Fvribishers Passage by the Northwest of China in Cathayo, situated in the East syde of Great Asy. Of the Iland Giapan, and other little Iles in the East Ocean, by the vvay from Cathayo to the Molvccaes. By Richard Willes."* Printed in Richard Eden's *"The History of Travayle in the West and East Indies,"* London, E. Jugge. 1577.

Addressed by Willes "to the right honorable and Vertuous Ladie, the Lady Anne, Countesse of Warwyke "[1]

IV. 1578. *A Trve Discovrse of the late voyages of discouerie for the finding of a passage to Cathayo, by the North vvest, vnder the conduct of Martin Frobisher Generall. Deuided into three Bookes.*

*In the first whereof is shewed, his first voyage. Wherein also by the vvay is sette out a Geographicall description of the Worlde, and what partes thereof haue bin discouered by the Nauigations of the Englishmen Also, there are annexed certayne reasones, to proue all parts of the Worlde habitable, with a generall Mappe adioyned.*

*In the second, is set out his second voyage, vvith the aduentures and accidents thereof.*

*In the thirde, is declared the strange fortunes which hapned in the third voyage, with a seurall description of the Countrey and people there inhabiting VVith a particular Card thervnto adioyned of Meta Incognita, so farre forth as the secretes of the voyage may permit.*

*At London, Imprinted by Henry Bynnyman seruant to the right Honourable Sir Christopher Hatton Vizchamberlaine. Anno Domni 1578.*

In the fashion of a time when the theme was regarded as more important than the author, George Best did not put his name on the title page, but only at the end of the dedicatory epistle in which he thanks Hatton for his "honourable goodness and good countenance," every "ready to countenance the meanest man that truly serveth his Country."[2] As with so many Elizabethan publications, the dedication gives the key to the whole:

"By this Discourse, it may please Your Honour to behold the greate industrie of oure present

[1] Whose husband was one of Frobisher's chief patrons. For her memorial to her husband see E E. Vol. VIII, p. 230.

[2] The 19th century Lord Chancellor Campbell, before producing his travesty of Hatton as a mere frivolous self-seeker, should have read the numerous dedications to him, Hatton's encouragement of exploration and of all lawful forms of maritime enterprise being suitably commemorated by Drake changing the name of the Pelican to the Golden Hind, Sir Christopher's crest. (For portraits of Sir Christopher see E.E. Vol. III, plate 27, facing p. 150; and Vol. VIII, plate 36, facing p. 578).

age, and the invincible mindes of our Englishe nation, who have never left anye worthy thing vnattempted, nor anye part almoste of the whole world unsearched, whome lateley neyther storms of Seas by long and tedious voyages, danger of dark fogs and hidden rockes in unknown coastes, congealed and frozen Seas, . . . nor yet present death dayly before their face, could any whit dismay or cease to desiste from intended enterprises . . ."

Best, who was subsequently Captain of the "Anne Francis," describes how Frobisher, though resolved to carry out his voyage of discovery, at first lacked means so to do: for the merchants felt doubtful, and would not proceed without hope of "sure, certain and present gains". So he "repaired to the Court (from whence as from the fountain of our common wealth, all good causes have their chief increase and maintenance)"; and there among "many honourable minds" which responded to him he was especially encouraged and aided by Ambrose Dudley Earl of Warwick,—always "ready to countenance and advance all honest actions."[1] Then had ensued the expedition of 1576.

"The Generall being returned from the recent Voyage, he immediately" repaired "with all haste to the Court" at Windsor, to inform Her Majesty of his "good success"; and "he was courteously entertained and heartily welcomed of many noble men." The Queen was gracious to him and to "the rest of the gentlemen in this service" for their "dangerous toiling and painful attempt; but especially she praised and rejoiced that among them there was so good order of government, so good agreement, every man so ready in his calling as do whatsoever the General should command," which commendation gave "great encouragement to those concerned[2] She from first to last appears to have been favourable to Frobisher. He received adequate support also from Burghley, Walsingham, and the Lord High Admiral, the Earls of Warwick, Leicester, Bedford, and Pembroke, the Countesses of Warwick and of Pembroke, and "Mr Philip Sidney."[3] Dr John Dee, and Michael Lok were also intimately interested

V 1582 *Divers Voyages touching the Discoverie of America, and the lands Adjacent unto the same, made first of all by our English men, and afterwards by the Frenchmen and Britons [Bretons]: And certaine notes of advertisements for observations, necessarie for such as shall hereafter make the like attempt With the mappes annexed hereunto for the plainer understanding of the whole matter. By Richard Hakluyt Imprinted at London for Thomas Woodcocke dwelling in paules Church-yard, at the signe of the black beare, 1582* Dedicated "To the right worshipfull and most Vertuous Gentleman master Philip Sydney Esquire"[4]

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[1] For his portrait see E.E Vol. I, plate 45.

[2] It is difficult to understand why the editor of the Argonaut Series Vol. I, p. 105, note 1, states that "the Tudor Navy must have been slack in discipline or Frobisher a poor disciplinarian," and adds in vague general terms a depreciation of the officers in "nineteenth century polar exploration": no names mentioned Whether meant for sarcasm or otherwise the note is out of tune with the Elizabethan text which states that "The gentlemen for example sake laboured heartily" to encourage the others This has been an English custom in exploration and warfare all through the ages.

[3] "The names of the Venturers &c. S P Colonial East Indies," S.P. Dom. cxix. No: 41, &c. List reprinted Argonaut Series *Three Voyages* &c Vol II, pp. 99-101; also, pp. 103-10. "Grant from the Queene's Majestie to the Companye of Kathai," from Supplementary Material from *The Three Voyages of Martin Frobisher* edited by Rear-Admiral Richard Collinson for the Hakluyt Society. 1867.

[4] In the Argonaut Series Vol. II, p. 225, this is only given as "Hakluyt, R. *Divers Voyages*. London, Woodcocke, 1582;" without mention of the dedication to Sidney. The second map headed *Illustri viro Domino Philippo Sidnaeo Michael Lok Civis Londinensis Hanc Chartam Dedicabat: 1582,* is included in Vol I, facing p 13. Both maps are excellently reproduced in MacLehose's Hakluyt (1904) Vol. III: the above named facing p 368 Below "Meta Incognita" the name of Frobisher is conspicuous.

In the Museum of the Public Record Office (Case G, No: 68a) is a drawing of two furnaces inscribed in Lord Burghley's hand respectively "Old Order" and "Burchardes furnise." (S.P. Dom. Eliz. CCXXII, No· 63): said to illustrate machines made for smelting gold ore brought back by Frobisher in 1577.

No: 68b in same case is listed as "Proofs of gold obtained from Frobisher's ore, attached to the paper by sealing-wax. Only one piece more remains (A.D 1577. Dec. ?)" S P. Dom. Eliz. CCXIX No. 9: Catalogue, 1926, p. 22.

VI. 1589-90. In *The Principal Navigations*, Hakluyt, 1st edition[1] (dedicated to Sir Francis Walsingham, one of Frobisher's chief patrons) *The first Voyage of M. Martine Frobisher, to the Northwest, On the search for the straight or passage to China, written by Christopher Hall, Master of the Gabriel, and made in yeere of our Lord 1596.*[2]

Extra to those prose narratives, there were verse tributes, most notably from the veteran Captain Thomas Churchyard, experienced in many wars and ever ready to salute the "undaunted courages and aspiring minds" of his countrymen.[3]

[1] E.E. Vol. VII, pp. 408-412.

[2] This, and the narratives by Settle, Ellis and Best, with a description of Meta Incognita are reprinted in MacLehose's Hakluyt (1904), Vol. VII, pp. 204-375; with three excellent facsimile maps.

[3] *A prayse, and reporte of Maister Martyne Forbbisher's Voyage,"* was issued in London, 1578, Andrew Maunsell. And *A welcome home to Master Murtin Frobusher* appeared with Churchyard's *discourse of the Queenes Maiesties entertainment in Suffolk and Norfolk*, &c. A further "praise' was licensed in 1578, to R. Jones. As already said, Churchyard's verses are not impressive as poetry, but both his verse and prose are representative of the ardently patriotic spirit which enabled England to flourish when the odds appeared to be heavily in favour of *todas las Españas*.

PART VII.

"The causes that govern the events."

CHAPTER 6.

"THE HONOUR AND GREATNESS OF THE QUEEN."

SECTION 1.

# "To solicit the Queen for Mr Francis Bacon."

*(Essex's baffled efforts).*

**"I told her that the most and wisest of her Council had delivered their opinions and preference for you before all other men for the place" [of Solicitor General].**

*The Earl of Essex, K.G., P.C., to Francis Bacon.* Copy: Lambeth Tenison MSS. Bacon Papers, 650, 90.

**"I desire you to solicit the Queen for Mr Francis Bacon . . . a harsh and rude speaker doth mar a good cause, and the ability or insufficiency of the instruments have made Princes' causes gracious or odious. Therefore, Sir Robert, let us all, who have in this world nothing so much recommended as the honour and greatness of the Queen, plead for him . . ."**

*Essex to Sr Robert Cecil, P.C. "Wanstead this Sunday." Endorsed "5 May 1594."*

**"Your Lordship, . . . the Atlas of this Commonwealth, the Honour of my House, and the second founder of my poor estate."**

*Francis Bacon to Lord Burghley, in "Cabala"* 3rd ed: 1691.

**". . . the trew end of all our privat labors and studies ought to bee the beginning of the publike and Common good of our Country wherein we breathe and have our being."**

*Hugh Platte: Dedicating to the Earl of Essex "The Jewell House of Art and Nature. Containing divers rare and profitable Inventions, together with sundry new experimentes in the Art of Husbandry, Distillation, and Moulding. Faithfully and familiarly set down . . . 1594."*

## NOTE.

In the Mid Eighteenth Century a divine of the Church of England, questing among the Bacon Papers in the Tenison Collection at Lambeth Palace, compiled *Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth From the Year 1581 till her death. In which the Secret Intrigues of her Court And the Conduct of her Favourite Robert Earl of Essex both at Home and Abroad are particularly illustrated. From the Original Papers of his intimate friend Anthony Bacon Esqre And other Manuscripts never before published, by Thomas Birch D.D.* 2 volumes, London, 1754.[1]

In 1596, after the Cadiz expedition, Essex, in Spenser's eyes, was "great England's glory and the World's wide wonder." Shakespeare's description of him in 1599 was as "the General of our gracious Empress." We have seen in 1588 how Professor Gentilis of Oxford dedicated to him *De Jure Belli,* acclaiming him as a "thunderbolt of war" as well as a skilled exponent of the Muses and the Graces.

The term "favourite" commonly denotes one who takes unfair advantage of the Sovereign's partiality, and usurps power to the detriment of other people's interests. Essex, on the contrary (as his cousin Greville testified) did not "serve his own humours" but put the service of the Crown and country before and above any personal consideration.[2] His declared principle was to "aid the distressed" and promote the deserving. We will now see in his own words his reasons for endeavouring to overcome the Queen's distrust of Francis Bacon.

[1] Though founded upon documents, Birch's compilation has tended to mislead, partly because of his imperfect sense of the relative value of evidence,—his appetite for gossip and scandal inclining him to believe that anything disagreeable if in MS. and unpublished was necessarily true. In this connection there will be more to say in E.E. Volume X. The present writer on personally examining some of the MSS at Lambeth found that Birch did not discriminate sufficiently between copies and originals, nor always transcribe either with perfect accuracy. For the ensuing section it has been necessary also to compare Birch's selections with the relevant correspondence at Hatfield and elsewhere.

[2] See E.E. Vol. IX, p. 336, note 2, and p. 345, note 2

PART VII.

"The causes that govern the events."

CHAPTER 6

"THE HONOUR AND GREATNESS OF THE QUEEN."

SECTION 1

# "To solicit the Queen for Mr Francis Bacon."

*(Essex's baffled efforts).*[1]

MUCH has been said and written in the 19th century as to Essex and Bacon; or, in Dr. Abbot's sequence, "Bacon and Essex," in which Essex appears as a "headstrong" tactless youth, whom a wise philosopher and guide laboured to direct and restrain, but who was not to be convinced that wife and children are "impediments to great enterprises,"[2] and who had "no policy" and was "no general." The actual circumstances in 1594 were that Essex, a Privy Councillor, eminent for service at home and abroad, experienced in "warfare and the State," holding high office about the Queen's person, and of special account as her near

[1] The Hon. W. B. Devereux in his "Earls of Essex," 1853, chose for reproduction, as painted in 1594, a portrait called "Robert Earl of Essex" from the collection at Gorhambury. The present writer examined the original in 1927, and pointed out to the then Countess of Verulam that not only did it lack the Garter "George" which Essex, according to the Statutes of the Order, would have worn from 23 April 1588 onwards, but that the thickset figure bore no resemblance to that of Essex in his authentic portraits. Furthermore, as the picture is in the exact same size as one hanging beside it called "Queen Elizabeth," and the garments of both are depicted as of identical material, the inference is that the pair were retrospective paintings by an artist who had forgotten that Essex was a K.G., and had never consulted any contemporary descriptions of his appearance. Lady Verulam replied that some of the pictures at Gorhambury were not of Elizabethan or Baconian origin but had been painted to the order of Sir Harbottle Grimston, who selected such Elizabethans as he considered the most interesting. It appeared therefore highly probable that the Gorhambury Essex and Queen Elizabeth had been painted after Essex's day. As Francis Bacon was not in favour with the Queen she is not likely to have given him her portrait; and in all the voluminous Bacon Papers, with many references to Essex, there has not been found any allusion to his presenting the Bacon family with his portrait. The Gorhambury Essex and Queen Elizabeth have therefore been struck off the list of reproductions scheduled for "Elizabethan England"; as also a miniature at Gorhambury called "Earl of Essex" but conspicuously unlike those which are contemporary and reliable. For the best of many miniatures of Essex, see E.E. Vol. VIII, plate 35.

[2] See F.E. Vol. VIII, pp. 286-287

kinsman, strove earnestly to influence her on behalf of the fifth and at that time least successful son of the late Lord Keeper Bacon. Francis Bacon had the misfortune to be neither liked nor trusted by his Sovereign. "I am somewhat ancient," he had written to Burghley in 1592: "one and thirty years is a great deal of sand in the hour-glass." Saluting the Lord High Treasurer as "the Atlas of this Commonwealth, the Honour of my House, and the second founder of my poor estate," he acknowledged his obligations as an "unworthy kinsman" and an "obliged servant." While deploring the "meanness" of his own fortune, Bacon protested,

> "I cannot accuse myself that I am either prodigal or slothful. . . . I confess that I have as vast contemplative ends as I have moderate civil ends; for I have taken all knowledge to be my province. . . . This, whether it be Curiosity, or Vain-glory, or Nature, or (if one may take it favourably) philantropia, is so fixed in my mind as it cannot be removed."[1]

In another letter he declares to Burghley that he has "ever had your Lordship in singular admiration, whose happy ability her Majesty hath so long used to her great honour and yours."[2] Thus respectfully he wrote while Burghley was the most powerful Minister in England. But after Burghley had been eighteen years dead, and few were still alive who had known him, Bacon's tone was to change out of recognition. On the 12th of August, 1616, when conveying King James's Patent to Sir George Villiers for his elevation to the peerage as Viscount Villiers, Bacon added an ungallant dissertation on the theme that "Fortune is of a woman's nature, and will sooner follow by slighting than by too much wooing:"

> "And in this dedication of yourself to the public I recommend unto you principally *that which, I think, was never done since I was born* and which, because it is not done, hath bred almost a wilderness and solitude in the King's service, which is *That you countenance and encourage and advance able men, in all kinds, degrees and professions. For in the time of the Cecils, father and son, able men were by design and of purpose suppressed.*"[3]

This may be the origin of the modern fallacy that Burghley was hostile to literature, the fine arts, and men of action. The present writer, who admits to having been at first misled in that respect, gradually discovered how large a number of "able men, in all kinds, degrees and professions" were "countenanced and encouraged" by Burghley, as their grateful letters and dedications remain to attest. It would hardly be possible to find a Minister of State during forty years so judiciously selecting persons most capable of carrying out the many different kinds of service required. Far from it being an age when ability was "by design and of purpose suppressed," Burghley again and again not only forwarded the advancement of talented and vigorous civilians and men of letters but also braved the

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[1] "From my lodging at Grays Inn:" in "Cabala", 3rd ed: 1691, pp. 16-17.

[2] Signed "Your Lordships in all humbleness to be commanded, Fra: Bacon". 6 June, 1595 lb. p 16.

[3] *Scrinia Ceciliana: Mysteries of State & Government in Letters of the late famous Lord Burghley, And other Grand Ministers of State. In the Reign of Queen Elizabeth and King James,* &c. &c. London, 1663, pp. 71-72

Queen's displeasure by defending her absent Generals when she turned capriciously against them.

In the Navy, Army, Law, and Letters, in Theology, Cartography, and History, discovery and exploration, the evidence of Burghley's readiness to promote "able men" would fill a large volume. He had been forwarding "the Advancement of Learning" before Francis Bacon was born. Yet Bacon's assertion to the contrary seems to have outweighed the facts. And Birch in 1754, quoting Anthony Bacon in a private letter in 1596 referring to Burghley as the "old fox," created the erroneous impression that Burghley kept the Bacon brothers (and Essex) back out of jealousy, the better to advance his son Robert. But the personage responsible for Francis Bacon's long waiting for preferment was the Queen.[1] The non-employment of Bacon upsets the thesis that he was one of the chief Elizabethan influences; wherefore efforts have been made to argue that in 1590-92 he acted as Queen's Counsel Extraordinary. But his chief 19th Century biographer confessed to "the absence of all contemporary evidence," i.e. that there was no such appointment. Francis Bacon had become a bencher of Grays Inn in 1586, having been first admitted in 1582;[2] and though he was to be granted the reversion of the office of Clerk of the Council in the Star Chamber, this was not due to fall in for twenty years.[3]

As a philosopher and man of letters Bacon had an ardent admirer in Thomas Tenison, who acquired the Bacon Manuscripts and bequeathed them to Lambeth Palace Library. But even Tenison—one of the most assiduous collectors of MSS in his own or any time,—could not find Francis Bacon holding office under Queen Elizabeth except as "one of the Clerks of the Council."[4] It being "Her Majesty's Will and Pleasure" to refuse her countenance to the youngest son of Sir Nicholas Bacon, let us see how Essex described his own efforts to overcome that hostile humour:

"To my assured loving friend Mr Francis Bacon Esquire.[5]

Sir. I have received your letter, and since I have had opportunity to deal freely with the Queen: I have dealt confidently with her, as of a matter wherein I did more labour to overcome her delays than that I did fear her denial. I told her how much you were thrown down with the correction she had already given you, that she might in that point hold herself already satisfied. . . . I found the Q. very reserved, staying herself from giving any kind of hope: Yet not passionate against you till I grew passionate for you: then she said that none thought you fit for the place but my Lord Treasurer and myself."

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[1] A letter signed "Fr Bacon" June 6, 1595, to Lord Burghley, thanking him for his "favourable Endeavour", and two others to the same, in "Cabala" are wrongly headed "Sir Francis Bacon to the Lord Treasurer", for Bacon we must repeat was not Sir Francis while Elizabeth reigned.

[2] Spedding, Vol. I, p. 15.

[3] Spedding. Ib: p. 30. He describes Bacon as employed at the Tower in examinations of López on June 15th 1594; but López had been executed on 7th June. The examinations were months earlier E.E. Vol. IX, pp. 247-248; 262.

[4] T[homas] T[enison]: *Baconiana: or Certain Genuine Remains*, etc., 1679, p. 6.

[5] As "Esquire" is now commonly used as a mere politeness, it may be emphasised that in Queen Elizabeth's day it only applied to members of armorial families, then ranking as minor nobility; as expressed by Attorney-General Sir Edward Coke.—*Nobiles sunt qui arma gentilicia antecessorum suorum proferre possunt*

That the Queen thus coupled Burghley and Essex as Bacon's sole friends at Court shows us that they as yet were the only ones who had risked their own favour by pressing upon her what she did not wish to hear. But Essex would not admit that none but he and Burghley were Bacon's advocates:

". . . I told her that the most and wisest of her Council had delivered their opinions and preferred you before all other men for that place: . . . Yet if they had been never for you but contrarily against you, yet I thought my credit joined with approbation of her greatest Councillor might prevail in a greater matter than this: and urged her that though she could not signify her mind to [an]other, I might have comfort: . . .

". . . She said she neither was persuaded nor would hear of it till Easter, when she might advise with her Council who were now absent: and therefore in passion bade me go to bed if I would talk of nothing else. Wherefore in passion I went away, saying while I was with her I could not be silent for the cause and the man I so much affected, and therefore I would retire myself till I might be more graciously heard. And so we parted. To-morrow I will hence on purpose, and on Thursday I will write an expostulatory letter to her; that night or on Friday morning I will be here again, and follow on the same course . . . and so I wish you all happiness and rest

Your most assured friend

ESSEX."[1]

Nine days later "this frydaie at night" he wrote to Bacon again:

"Sir. I have now spoken with the Q. . . . but the passion she is in by reason of the tales that have been told her against Nicholas Clifford, with whom she is in such rage for a matter which I think you have heard of, doth infinitely put her out of quiet;[2] and her passionate humour is nourished by some foolish women: Else I find nothing to distate us: for she doth not contradict confidently, which they that know the minds of women say is a sign of yielding."

This letter has escaped the notice of numerous modern writers who substitute for Essex's services by sea and land a series of fictitious conquests over Maids of Honour, and depict him chiefly as a "disturber of hearts" in the Queen's entourage. Far from claiming to influence women, or even to understand them if they were unreasonable, it was not he but his cousin Lord Henry Howard who had "much friendship with the ladies of the Privy Chamber."[3] It is also to be noticed how relying upon Bacon's discretion, Essex deplores the Queen's "passionate" anger.

[1] Lambeth (Tenison) MS. Bacon Papers, 650 90 Endorsed in a later hand, "*Copie de la lre de Mons le Comte D'essex a mons Francois Bacon le 20 de Mars 1594*" Birch, Vol I.

[2] Sir Nicholas Clifford (one of Essex's Rouen Knights) had been arrested as a punishment for having accepted the Order of St Michael from Henry IV. His petition to Sir Thomas Heneage and Sir Robert Cecil, April 1594, is at Hatfield (epitomised in Calendar Vol. IV, p. 518): "Beseeching them to let Her Majesty understand how deeply he is grieved that he should offend her by any action of his. The Order of St Michael he never sought for; he saw others receive it, and thought it immodesty to refuse it. If he had foreseen Her Majesty's displeasure he would have refused any honour . . . rather than wittingly have fallen into her displeasure" He implores that she will allow him to keep it; "for to deliver it up with the loss of his reputation, and be made a scorn of the French which is so jealous of their honour, were to bury himself alive; but if it be her purpose that he should yield it up, he had not learnt to disobey", &c., &c.

The Queen was ruthless; and Clifford's next letter, 3rd May, was written when sending the insignia of the Order to Sir Robert Cecil, begging him to be a means to Her Majesty that he may be relieved from his miserable imprisonment.

[3] F.F Vol V, p 157

Seven years later we shall see Bacon at Essex's first trial putting forward, as unbecoming and disrespectful, Essex's more recent expression as to Her Majesty's "passionate indigation." And Essex was too proud or too magnanimous to point out that such a description of the Queen's temper had in no way scandalised Bacon's sense of decorum when it related to his own concerns.

That it was Bacon's speech on the Subsidy which had given offence to the Queen is plain from another letter of Essex, telling him how Her Majesty protested that in her father's reign "a less offence" would have sufficed to earn a sentence of banishment. Essex did not argue about what Henry VIII might have done, but replied, as he relates to Bacon,

> "My desire was that you should neither be a stranger to her person nor to her service. the one for your own satisfaction, the other for her Majesty's own sake, who, if she did not employ you, should lose the use of the ablest gentleman to do her service of any of your quality whatsoever. Her humour is yet to delay. I am going to her again. . . . Excuse my ill writing. I write in haste, and have my chamber full of company that break my head with their talking."

Though this has been in print since 1754,[1] nobody appears to have realised the breadth of mind of Essex, that he the former Lieutenant-General, one of the strongest upholders of the Subsidy, nevertheless could excuse the civilian Bacon for not yet fully grasping the martial urgency: and could propose to enlighten him not by remonstrances but by procuring him an exalted office under the Crown.

But he relates how he found "the Queen so wayward as I thought it no fit time to deal with her in any suit."[2] And when he attempted to plead with her, he was himself so unwell that he could not make much headway, as he briefly informed Anthony Bacon; adding, "I am full of pain and can write no more."[3] Even when laid up,—apparently with one of the attacks of fever and ague to which he was subject,—Essex wrote to reassure Bacon that he would not yet accept a refusal in a matter he considered as much for Her Majesty's own good as for that of Bacon himself. He had laboured, moreover, to win the sympathy of other members of the Privy Council. On his return to the Court, he wrote to Bacon, "I have already spoken with Mr. Vice Chamberlain and will to-morrow speak with the rest. Of Mr Vice Chamberlain you may assure yourself, for so much he hath faithfully promised me." Resolving to have "a full and large discourse" with the Queen the next day, he had persuaded her to assign a time under colour of some other business, as she had been so unwilling to talk any more about Bacon and had bidden him be silent unless he would omit that topic.

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[1] Lambeth MSS. Birch, op cit, Vol. I, pp 121-123

[2] Ibid. p. 123.

[3] Ibid. p 125. On a later occasion, 4th November. 1505 Anthony Standen wrote to Anthony Bacon that Essex came the night before, "very sick, from Cobham, nine miles on his way to Petworth" [presumably going to see his sister the Countess of Northumberland]; "and that Her Majesty had been long with him that day, and ordered him broths and things, and that his Lordship then rested and was somewhat better," but that it was impossible for him to be the next day at the Star Chamber.

Bacon Papers VI, 149. Birch, Vol. I, p. 312. And Ibid: p. 147, Standen wrote to Bacon that "the Earl had been the evening before unquiet with the pain of his head".

"I am pressed with the multitude of letters that are come, of which I must give the Q. some accompt to-morrow morning, and therefore desire to be excused for writing no more to-night. To-morrow you shall hear from me again. I wish you what you wish yourself in this and all things; and rest

Your most affectionate friend ESSEX."[1]

But the more he reasoned and argued, the more obstructive the Queen became; whereon (as the Hatfield MSS disclose) he called in another Privy Councillor, Sir Robert Cecil. That when his own efforts had been unsuccessful he thus appealed to Bacon's cousin should modify the supposition that at this time he was antagonistic to Sir Robert or distrusted him. Rather he took for granted that Burghley's son would forward whatever Burghley approved. Once in 1592—as we have seen—there had been a brief jarring; but the general tone of Essex's correspondence with Sir Robert remained confidential in a marked degree. Two days before the appeal on behalf of Bacon, he wrote to Cecil "this Friday night late":[2]

"It becomes me not to censure the resolution of Her Majesty and her Council, but I am glad I was not so much as present at it. If it do succeed well, I am glad of it, but both now and hereafter I will be free from suing to go, or wishing for employment till Her Majesty do command me and I think it best for her service. My absence is both forced by my own business, and warranted by Her Majesty's leave. Your offer of kindness and profession of affection is of me most willingly embraced, and shall be justly requited."

This undated note, endorsed 3rd of May, calendared for 1594, relates obviously to one of his brief temporary absences from Court. "Employment" presumably refers to his possible appointment to go forth again as General to France, this time to Brittany; but what measure it was that he was glad not to have been "so much as present" when it was carried, is a question nobody now can answer except conjecturally,—the records of Acts of the Privy Council for 1594 having perished.[3]

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[1] Lambeth (Tenison) MSS. Bacon Papers 650-89 Addressed "To my assured good friend Mr Francis Bacon Esquire". Endorsed *"Lettre de mon^r Le Comte d'Essex a mons Francois Bacon le 29 jour de Mars 1594"* (Copy. In Vol: of papers for 1594 Birch, Vol. I)

[2] Holog: Hatfield MS. Cal· Vol. IV, p 524.

[3] The Registers from 26th August 1593 to 1st October 1595 are missing from those that were at the Council Office. B M Add· MS 11402 purports to be an Abstract of the P. C. Register from 1547 to 1611, but abstracts and registers are two very different things. In Vol. XXV of Acts of the P. C. (1901) Add: MS. is printed for the dates 26th Aug: 1593 to 1st Oct: 1595, but gives nothing to indicate what could have been the decision of which Essex wrote to Sir Robert Cecil on May 3rd, [1594]. An undated letter in Essex's hand, to Sir Robert, now at Hatfield, docketted "Feb· 1594" 95 N S. (MS 25 59. Cal: Vol V, pp. 127-128) is further illustrative of the frank manner in which he confided in Burghley's son·

"I told you to-day whither I was going, and how the Queen had answered me. I must acquaint you further that the Queen offering to talk with me this morning about sea causes, I told her my Lord Admiral was in the house, and Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins were in the town. I had drawn all my thoughts within the cliffs of our English sea coasts. She presently sent for my Lord Admiral, and I went out. But at my going I told her that Mr Vice-Chamberlain had given me her answers, and that I was now at full point. She desired me not to speak of it till she were better. I answered I did only because that she should know I had received the answer; the efforts [query "effects"] must speak for themselves. I do acquaint you with this to the end that if the Queen mislike my going down, you might tell her I did acquaint you with Her Majesty's message to Mr Vice-Chamberlain, and told you I did retire myself to give myself some solace, being more amazed and thrown down than I would make show of," &c.

Though Essex was on friendly terms with Sir Robert Cecil when thus expressing to him disapproval of what was decided in Council, the now current idea of his attitude is derived from a story related by Dr. Birch in 1754, and echoed by Devereux in 1853: viz: That after López was examined in the Tower " before Essex and Cecil," those two came back " in a coach together," and Cecil enquired of Essex whom did he favour " for the post of Attorney General?" Essex replied that surely it was well known that he stood for Francis Bacon. " Lord!" replied Sir Robert, " I wonder your Lordship should go about to spend your strength in so unlikely or impossible a matter." Cecil is represented then as denouncing Bacon as a " raw youth,"—a strange term to apply to a man of nearly thirty-four. Essex is said to have answered that he knew one " younger than Francis Bacon, of less learning, and of no greater experience " who was " suing and striving with all force for an office of far greater charge and greater weight than the Attorneyship,"—meaning Cecil himself, whom rumour credited with aspiring to the vacant Principal Secretaryship. Cecil is supposed to have warned Essex that Bacon's appointment was not of good " digestion " to her Majesty; whereon Essex is alleged to have retorted, " Digest me no digestions, for the Attorneyship for Francis I must have," &c. &c.[1]

But Essex never asked for the *Attorney* Generalship for Bacon. This office was already filled by Sir Edward Coke, who (with Essex) had been one of the chief examiners of López. It was for the *Solicitor*-Generalship that Essex strove to convince the Queen that Bacon was most suitable. So we need not take seriously a retrospective " revelation " in which not even the office under dispute is correctly named. Moreover, except in 1596 in a letter to Anthony Bacon with a message to " your brother Francis," Essex does not refer to Bacon by his Christian name only.[2] Also, far from Essex being arrogant and overbearing to Cecil, it was upon Cecil he depended to help him to convince the Queen. If we return from the hitherto uncriticised anecdote to the genuine intercourse of Essex with Cecil, the style and manner are in conspicuous contrast to the language imagined for him in a private conversation " in a coach," which nobody would have heard.

> " Sir. I write this to desire you to solicit the Queen for Mr Fra. Bacon, whom not only lawyers but men of all professions and degrees do think the only fit and worthy man to be Solicitor. I have heretofore, while I thought my meditation was anything worth, pleaded unto her Majesty not only for his worthiness sake, but also for my comfort sake, to hearken unto this suit. But now all presumption and hope is dead in me, though duty and passionate zeal to her service can never die.
>
> " To you therefore, as to a Councillor, I write this: that Her Majesty never had in her reign so able and proper an instrument to do her honourable and great services as she hath now, if she will use him. For if this maxim were only strengthened by mine own weak judgment, I should not be so confident; but I have heard the opinion of the learnedest gentlemen, the ablest lawyers, and the gravest judges in her realm. I heard him yesterday handle the great question of perpetuities, so far above all that ever come out of a lawyer's

[1] Birch. Vol I, pp 152-153.

[2] The sole instance is in a letter " From the coast between Andalusia and Algiers, this 8th of July, 1596." Bacon MS 658. 109. Devereux, " Earls of Essex," pp 373-374

mouth, as without private respect of love and friendship I should grieve in my soul that her Majesty should not have use of him.

"His adversary yesterday was one of the ablest lawyers in England, and a man far above any that I hear else named to be Solicitor; but, in all men's opinion, Mr Bacon had such odds in the comparison as the one did both persuide and prove all things he undertook and the other did nothing but serve for an excellent foil. *I know in Parliament, in arraignments, and in causes where the Prince's prerogative must be stretched, what service is done to a Monarch by a man of such excellent gifts, and how, of the other side, a harsh and rude speaker doth mar a good cause, and that the ability or insufficiency of the instruments have made Princes' causes gracious or odious.*

*"Therefore, Sir Robert, let us all who have in this world nothing so much recommended as the honour and greatness of the Queen, plead for him.* for the world, that knows the Queen's manner to choose the worthiest, and knows none more worthy to be compared with him, will say that it is our faults, by whom Her Majesty should be truly informed.

Your assured friend ESSEX."[1]

[When thus praising Bacon as likely to be useful in "arraignments and in auses where the Prince's prerogative must be stretched," little could Essex have oreseen that though the Queen refused Bacon the Solicitor Generalship she would ltimately make use of him at Essex's own arraignment, where Bacon's eloquence vas to take the form of comparing Essex, then Earl Marshal of England, to Cain, 'isistratus, and the Duke of Guise: none of whom he resembled.]

The letter above quoted is illustrative of the ceremonious manners of the time, or though Essex was writing to Cecil of Cecil's first cousin, he calls him "Mr ?ra. Bacon;" and it is characteristic of Essex that his argument takes the form of rying to impress upon Cecil the advantage to the Queen in having "use" of Bacon; ind that, instead of making a personal appeal to Cecil to advance a near relation, he tone is "Sir Robert, let us" who have "the honour and greatness of the Queen" it heart "plead for him."[2] As Essex had saved the Queen's life by his discovery of

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Holograph. Hatfield MS Cal IV, p. 525 (printed without ending). Dated "Wanstead, this Sunday". Endorsed "5 May, 1594".

The principle on which Essex worked can be seen from this, which is ignored or distorted by special pleaders whose case for Bacon in 1600-1 largely depends upon depicting Essex as self-centred, inconsequent and "foolish" (the epithet is sometimes varied by "insane"). Sir Fulke Greville's statement (in his Life of Sir Philip Sidney) that it was Essex's habit to try and promote the ablest men, irrespective of personal considerations, has been in print since the mid Seventeenth Century. But it might never have been uttered, for all the effect it produced in 1877 upon Dr Abbot, Essex's professed defender and grotesque calumniator And a new lease of life has been given to the spurious Essex in Professor Neale's *Queen Elizabeth* Overlooking Essex's own words as to "the honour and greatness of the Queen", the Professor (ed: 1944, pp. 334-337) mingles the Bacon case and the López case, with the maximum of modern misinterpretation of both:

"The truth was" (he states) "that every creature placed in office by Essex meant so much more pressure on the Queen. It was once said" [no intimation of by whom] "though not with much reason, that Leicester had placed so many of his supporters about her that she found it hard to withstand them". [This was alleged in the vile libel which the Queen herself contradicted E.E. Vol. V, pp 145-164]. "Had she let a man of Essex's nature pack the royal service and the Council with his nominees she would probably in the end have found herself a puppet Queen in tutelage to him."

There are no footnote references in Professor Neale's monograph, so his readers and reviewers have no facilities for comparing his impressions with the contemporary evidence. The errors of

the "Portingale" conspiracy, and by that discovery had exposed a spy system through which England's secrets had been betrayed during a lengthy period of years, he naturally looked to his Sovereign to consider carefully his recommendation of Bacon for her service. But she determined to demonstrate to the Court that she was not influenced by Essex's wishes or advice; indeed, his very fervour of championship appeared to arouse in her a resistance for which she assigned no sufficient cause.

Meanwhile King Philip was tightening his grip upon Brittany. The increase of menace to England was so palpable that the Privy Council was permitted to announce Her Majesty as "determined to prepare convenient forces" to aid her brother of France "to withstand the attempt of the King of Spain upon the haven of Brest."[1] To Essex the French King wrote of "Le Sieur Roger Wyllemes" that "there could not be any gentleman of his quality whom I like better or would more willingly see."[2] And to the Queen "I beg you, Madame, to believe Sir Roger Williams in what he will say to you, . . . as he is very well informed."[3]

The orders for shipping 3000 men from England and 2000 from Jersey to Brest, still exist in Burghley's hand, dated "xv Julii"; and among personages selected to superintend the provision of victuals, Sir John Hawkins, Sir Francis Drake, Sir John Gilbert, and the Mayor of Plymouth are conspicuous. From Greenwich the 16th of July, Burghley as Lord Lieutenant for the County of Essex was authorised to

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Devereux (1853), Abbott (1897), Sidney Lee (1888), Corbett (1898 and 1900), and the C M H, hitherto scattered, are combined by Professor Neale; though the 8 volumes of the present writer's *Elizabethan England* are in the University which the Professor adorns, and in Vol. I, E E, pp. vi-xiv, and pp xxxii-xxiii, teachers of history were emphatically warned that the pseudo-Essex of the 19th century came into being through neglect of documents essential for realisation of Essex's character and actions Professor Neale issued between 1934 and 1944 eleven reprints of his Queen Elizabeth in which there is little of the actual Essex but his name, the Professor having been seriously misled by the authors above named,—none of whom had examined the necessary materials for forming a correct estimate of Essex's services to Crown and Country.

[1] Hatfield MSS. Cal: Vol IV (1892) p 563.

[2] "Ce xiii^mr Juin a Cerny pres Lan." Calendared as 1594. Orig: holograph Hatfield MSS. Cal: Vol: IV, p 547. The King tactfully ignores Queen Elizabeth's ill-temper and declares that there is nothing in the world he holds more precious than the continuance of her friendship "(*ryen que je tyenne plus cher an ce monde que la contynuasion de son amytage*)."

There are at Hatfield House, a number of letters from King Henry IV to Essex. The editors' choice of which to epitomise and which to print in extenso in the Calendars is sometimes perplexing, some of vital importance not being published in full until they appeared in E.E Vol VIII, pp 399, 521, and others of a comparatively trivial nature being given word for word in French, in King Henry's peculiar spelling which seems to indicate that he spoke with the accent not of Paris but of his native Béarn Hard worked as the King always appears to have been, he allowed himself occasional relaxation; as we see from a note in his own hand to Essex, Hatfield MSS 147-19 Cal: Vol. V, pp. 511-512 "Ce viii^me de Janvyer a Rouan",—no year; but editorially dated "1595 Dec 29. 1596 Jan —8".

"My cousin. Among obligations I have to you, of which I would never lose remembrance, it is necessary that I add another from you": namely a couple of Irish hounds from which to breed. "You know how much I enjoy hunting which helps me to pass the time, and now and then I hunt wild boars; and would wish to see if these hounds are as good as the reputation ascribed to them. Believe that I shall cherish them for love of you who will obtain them for me," &c., &c.

[3] 20 June. Hatfield MS. Cal· IV, p 549.

levy 250 men, pikemen, and musketeers, to embark from Harwich before the end of the month. Lord Cobham was bidden to levy 300 in Kent.[1] Sir Walter Raleigh wrote from Sherborne, 20th of July, to Sir Robert Cecil that he would like to go privately [i.e. as a volunteer] "with my Lord Admiral," and that he was preparing the 30 miners he had been ordered to despatch, but that Devon could better spare men than Cornwall.[2] Cecil then received a letter from Sir Horatio Palavicino in Italian, warning him that *since it was publicly realised "that the Earl of Essex is not going" with the Breton expedition, this news "cools most of the heat of the enterprise."*[3]

We must soon pass from the Court to the fighting lines; for far from the war nearing its end, a most notable example of combined operations was still ahead. But in 1594 the Queen repeated her previous mistake of expecting large actions to be performed by small forces. Before, however, we treat of the war afloat and ashore, we will consider further what were the elements in Francis Bacon which caused Essex to forgive his opposition to the Subsidy, and regard him with open and declared esteem.[4]

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[1] Hatfield MS. Cal. IV, p 565. [2] Ib: p. 566 [3] Ib p 567.

[4] The indications of Essex's sympathy not only with Bacon but with other men of letters are so numerous that a few typical examples must suffice We have seen, when he was at Cambridge, aged not yet thirteen, his eagerness to read Greek and Divinity with "Mr Broughton's brother"; and his appeal to Burghley to intervene when he heard that Hugh Broughton was in danger of losing his place "by the malice of the Master" Broughton's erstwhile famous *Concent of Scripture*, dedicated to Queen Elizabeth, is now forgotten except by bibliophiles who value it for the maps and the symbolic engravings; as also his *Moses on Mount Synai*, (interpretations of Biblical prophecies), with plates "graven in brasse;" dedicated to Essex at the end of 1592. Of Essex's regard for this theologian there are subsequent evidences·

"From the Courte the 14th of October 1594" he wrote "To my very loving friend Sr Richard Martin Knight Lo: Mayor of ye Citie of London: . . . As the good affection of manye of yor cheftest Citizens for the Contynuance of Mr Broughton to preach in your great assemblies for the publique use, and the desire wch they have to allowe him some competent reco[m]pense . . . is much to be liked, So I would be glad to give him my best furtherance . . I will not saie any thing of the Worthyness and sufficiency of the man, being so well knowen to the most of you . . Onely I thought good to lett you knowe my affeccon towards him , And if you shall have this speciall care of his contynuance with you, I will, as time shall serve, acquaint Hir Matie therew[i]th, to whome I dowbt not but yor well dealing with him will be very acceptable . . Yor Lo: very loving friend

ESSEX."

Unpublished Guildhall *Remembrancia* (Letter Book) II. 36

# A fruteful/ and pleaſaunt woꝛke of the beſte ſtate of a publyque weale, and of the newe yle called Vtopia: written in Latine by Syr Thomas Moꝛe knyght, and tranſlated into Engliſhe by Raphe Robynſon Citizein and Goldſmythe of London, at the procurement, and earneſt requeſt of George Tadlowe Citezein & Haberdaſſher of the ſame Citie.

(.˙.)

Imprinted at London by Abraham Vele, dwelling in Paules churcheyarde at the ſygne of the Lambe. Anno. 1551.

*Utopia* was first printed in Latin at Louvain in 1516-7. In German, 1524. In Italian, Venice, 1548. In French, Paris, 1550; and in English the following year.

Title page of first English edition here reproduced by courtesy of Messrs. Maggs Bros. (from their *Mercurius*, No. 85, May, 1944).

Dedicated by translator to his former schoolfellow, "the Right Honourable, and his very Singular good master, Master William Cecil, Esquire, one of the two principal secretaries to the King's most excellent Majesty" (Edward VI) ". . . . not doubting that you, for your native goodness and gentleness will accept in good part this poor gift," &c.

Reprinted in London, 1556, 1597, 1624, 1639, 1808, 1845, 1869, and often since. Translated into Dutch, 1553, Antwerp; and Spanish, Córdoba, 1636.

*APPENDIX A*

## "BEYOND BOTH THE OLD WORLD AND THE NEW."

### *Francis Bacon and his "New Atlantis."*

Being accustomed to see Francis Bacon loom large in Sir Sidney Lee's "Great Englishmen of the Sixteenth Century," we need a reminder that Bacon's career, both literary and political, was set less in the Sixteenth Century than in the Seventeenth. His maiden effort in print, "Essayes or Counsells Civil & Morall," was published early in 1597-8, some months after Essex as Admiral-General had been Commander-in Chief against Spain, Elizabeth having then been nearly forty years on the throne.[1] But nothing else of his appeared during her reign; except in 1601 his denunciation of Essex's alleged "Treasons." This we will consider in its place; but the question now is, how did Essex realise Bacon as "rarely qualified" at a time when this future Lord High Chancellor and author of "The Advancement of Learning" had given as yet no public evidence of genius?[2]

Seventy-six years after Elizabeth's death, one of Bacon's most learned and fervent admirers could affirm ". . . with good assurance (for Truth is bold) that amongst those few who by the strength of their private reason have rejected popular errors, and advanced real and useful learning, there has not arisen a more eminent Person than the Lord Chancellor Bacon. Such great Wits are not common Births of Time. . "

Comparing "Copernicus, Father Paul the Venetian [Paulo Sarpi], Galileo, Harvey, Gilbert, and Sir Francis Bacon," this eulogist claimed—with some partiality we may think - that Bacon "if all his circumstance be weighed, may seem to excel them all."[3]

> "He was by profession a Common lawyer; by office, in the Queen's time, one of the Clerks of the Council; in the reign of King James one of the King's Council Learned, then Solicitor General and one of the Judges in the Knight Marshal's Court; then Attorney General and one of the King's Privy Council; and during the King's absence in Scotland, Lord Protector. And last of all, Lord High Chancellor of England. So that with such a life, . . . so thickly set with business of such height, it is a miracle that all seeds of Philosophy

[1] 1st edition of *Essayes*, dedicated to Anthony Bacon, is dated "From my Chambers, at Grays Inn this 30 of January, 1597." The 2nd edition, 1612, was dedicated to Sir John Constable,—a dedication to Henry Prince of Wales having been prevented by the Prince's early death. The 3rd edition 1625, further enlarged, is dedicated to the Duke of Buckingham (formerly Sir George Villiers, Viscount Villiers), Lord High Admiral of England. E.E Vol. XII.

[2] The only portraits of Bacon were painted apparently after he was created Baron Verulam and Viscount St Albans; that in his Chancellor's robes (by Van Somer) being the best known. For his bust as a small boy, with a powerfully shaped head, see E.E. Vol III, plate 17.

[3] T. T [Thomas Tenison] introducing his *Baconiana. Or Certain Genuine Remains of Sr Francis Bacon, Baron of Verulam, and Viscount of St Albans. In Arguments Civil and Moral, Natural, Medical, Theological, and Bibliographical, Now for the First time faithfully Published. With An Account of these Remains in a Discourse by way of Introduction. London, Printed by J. D. for Richard Chiswell, at the Rose and Crown in St Paul's Church Yard; 1679.* (Reissued 1684). The "Publisher" does not denote Chiswell but the owner of the Manuscripts and editor of the material, namely Tenison. As he only signs "T. T." and was always more concerned to advance scholarship than to advance himself, this book appears, oftener than not, in antiquarian booksellers' lists without his name.

were not daily over-dropped and in a short time quite choked; and that any one of them sprang to maturity."[1]

But the seeds of many of Bacon's Seventeenth Century publications may have been sown during the earlier and more leisurely years; and his views might well have been discussed with Essex, whose positive tone to the Queen about him is otherwise perplexing. When Bacon's opposition to prompt payment of the subsidy had been defeated in the House of Commons,[2] it is remarkable (as already said) that Essex, a prominent advocate for vigorous prosecution of hostilities against Spain, nevertheless excused Bacon's misunderstanding of the urgency of the naval and military requirements.

There is nothing in Bacon's Parliamentary orations at this juncture to show such foresight as his father had so often displayed in matters of defence;[3] and we have seen how he had chosen a time of acute tension in 1588, when Leicester and Essex were respectively Commander-in-Chief and General of Horse, to approach them as to his own "suit," which was nothing to do with the war.[4] It is therefore surprising that Essex, whose main purpose was to forward the war, could recognise ahead of others the mental capacities of one who then seemed to have scant comprehension of the immediate practical necessities.

To understand how he could be so early convinced of Bacon's genius, we should consider the super-political aspects of both their natures. We shall soon find Essex protesting that although King Solomon in his old age declared "All is vanity," to this melancholy ejaculation should be opposed the remembrance that when God created the world it was very good: wherefore the aim of mankind should be to restore to this planet its lost felicity. Though Bacon's *New Atlantis* is said not to have been written until nearly a quarter of a century after Essex's death, yet presumably it was that constructive side of Bacon's mind which attracted Essex.

Believed to have been penned after Bacon's fall, *Atlantis* was not published in its writer's lifetime; nor was it translated from Latin to English until 1629, when it appeared appended to his *Sylva Sylvarum*. There need be little doubt that this *Atlantis* would have been suggested by the reading of More's *Utopia*. But the differences are conspicuous. Whereas in Utopia jewels are disdained as mere playthings for children, and gold and silver are used as marks of infamy,—even as fetters for "bondmen,"—and the cloaks to cover "homely garments" are all exactly alike, and only allowed to be renewed once in every seven years, the people in New Atlantis are not merely permitted elegance and beauty in their daily lives but the example is set them by their leaders. The philosophers are not "rudely clothed" like those to whom Philip Sidney had objected; in Atlantis they combine exaltation of ideas with every outward grace. Among many indications that Sir Thomas More did not intend *Utopia* other than ironically, is that, instead of scorning all ornaments, he "commonly" wore "a chain of gold about his neck," as his son-in-law mentions in *The Mirrour of Vertue*. Also when it was announced to him that the time approached for him to be beheaded, far from being indifferent to appearances and costume as were the Utopians, he, "as one that had been invited to some solemn banquet, changed himself into his best apparel." The Lieutenant of the Tower remonstrated, and reminded him that his garments would be the executioner's perquisite. Sir Thomas replied that this functionary would do him "so singular a benefit" in setting him free from earthly life that were the garment of "cloth of gold" he would "think it well bestowed on him, as Saint Cyprian did who gave his executioner thirty pieces of gold." And "albeit at length,

[1] Ibid p. 6.
[2] E.E. ante pp. 103-104.
[3] E.E. Vol. VII, p. 284.
[4] E.E. Vol. VII, p 283, and plate 25.

though at Master Lieutenant's importunate persuasion he altered his apparel," yet out of the little money that remained to him he presented "an angel of gold to his executioner."

The European popularity of *Utopia* was long sustained; but that the conception was intended by the author as a good-humoured satire seems indicated by the name—Utopia being from a Greek word meaning "Nowhere." Sir Thomas in his own home certainly did not restrict his wife and family to the dull garb of the Utopians, among whom in effort to eliminate causes for pride, envy, and covetousness, the daily life of all ranks was reduced to monotonous conditions as unlike as possible to the brilliant and ostentatious age in which that discourse was devised.[1]

Though *Utopia* was dedicated by the translator to Burghley when he was William Cecil, the attitude of Burghley's son Sir Robert towards this much-circulated publication was one of open scorn, "Ewtopia" being the word with which he dismissed what he considered utterly impracticable as to Ireland.

But *The New Atlantis* depicts a race skilled in all the arts and sciences, attaining personal dignity not by disdaining the good things of this earth but by using them wisely. When Bacon's voyagers—after "sailing from Peru" towards China and Japan "by the South Sea"—enter the "good haven, being the port of a fair city," a "scroll" delivered to them by an official in "a small boat" who came aboard, at once reassured them, as it was marked with the sign of the Cross. It was written in ancient Hebrew, ancient Greek and "good Latin," also in Spanish; and the travellers, in their petition to be allowed to land and re-fit used "the Spanish tongue."[2] Part of the South Sea being then "utterly unknown" they had thought there might exist Continents hitherto not come to light; but even so, they were astonished to find an ancient civilisation, superior to their own.[3]

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[1] A life of More by Thomas Stapleton was issued at Douai in 1588, (in his *Tres Thomae*, the other two being the Apostle Thomas, and St Thomas á Becket). But More's son-in-law's book *The Mirrour of Vertue in Worldly greatness, or the life of Syr Tomas More, Knight, sometime Lord Chancellor*, edited by R. P, was not printed until 1626. The writer, William Roper, had died in 1578, (the year King Sebastian was overthrown in the fatal battle of Alcacer-Kebir) *The Mirrour* depicts a household much more attractive than any in Utopia, and it is when this charming biography is compared with the daily life of the Utopians that it becomes permissible to suspect the famous *Utopia* to have embodied an elaborate jest; its author knowing human nature too well to suppose mankind could attain peace, contentment, and security (outside a romance) under such conditions as he described. And a powerful argument against taking *Utopia* as More's intended pattern is that whereas in that region "there be divers kinds of religion, not only in sundry parts of the Island, but also in divers places of every city", More himself only admitted the validity of one Church,—that of Rome,—and died resolutely in defence of that one, and in our day has been canonised.

[2] Note the linguistic ability of those English. In 1584 Giordano Bruno had testified that "Englishmen of quality know that their own tongue is confined to their own island, and would deem themselves savages could they not speak Latin, French, Spanish, and Italian." (E.E. Vol V, p. 243). Bacon setting this conversation in Spanish may now serve to remind us that Spain and Spanish culture then occupied the leading position in the civilised world.

[3] Geographically Bacon is now supposed to have had in mind *Terra Australis Incognita*, of which in 1598 Cornelius Wytfliet in Louvain had stated that "its shores are but little known, since after one voyage and another that route had been deserted, and seldom is the country visited unless when sailors are driven there by storms. The Australis Terra begins at two or three degrees from the Equator, and is maintained by some to be of so great extent that if it were thoroughly explored it would be regarded as a fifth part of the world" *Early Voyages to Terra Australia*, &c. edited by R. H Major. Hakluyt Society, 1859.

In 1606 Luis Vaz de Torres passed through the Straits now called by his name, between Australia and New Guinea, and possibly it may have been the thought of Torres which prompted Bacon to represent the conversations as in Spanish.

The leader of the expedition thus admonishes his followers:

". . . we are beyond both the Old World and the New, and whether ever we shall see Europe again, God only knoweth. It is a kind of miracle that hath brought us hither, and it must be little less than shall bring us hence. Therefore in regard to our deliverance past and our danger present and to come, let us look up to God and every man reform his own ways. Besides, we are come here amongst a Christian people, full of piety and humanity; let us not bring confusion of face upon ourselves as to show our vices or unworthiness before them."

Having proclaimed themselves Christians, and being admitted to the city, the travellers conversed with one of the high personages of the island: "We said, since that we were met from the several ends of the world, and hoped assuredly that we would meet one day in the Kingdom of Heaven, . . . we desired to know (in respect that that land was so remote) . . . who was the Apostle of that nation and how it was converted to the Christian faith?"

With the elaborate explanation in reply we need not be concerned, except in so far as the questions of the travellers evoked from the Governor of the city of "Bensalem" a description of an ancient civilisation such as would vividly have appealed to all minds capable of realising past, present and future as one vast drama of the soul.

"You shall understand—that which perhaps, you will think scarce credible—that about three thousand years ago, or somewhat more, the navigation of the world (especially for remote voyages) was greater than at this day. Do not think with yourselves that I know not how much it is increased with you within these six-score years: I know it well, and yet I say greater then than now."

The Phœnicians, "and specially the Tyrians," had great fleets; so had the Carthaginians; the shipping of Egypt and of "Palestina" was most extensive. "China also, and the great Atlantis (that ye call America), which have now but junks and canoes, abounded then in tall ships." And to "Bensalem" of old had come men from all nations of "might and fame." And "for our own ships, they went sundry voyages, as well to your Straits, which you call the Pillars of Hercules,[1] as to other parts in the Atlantic and Mediterranean seas. . . ." and even penetrated "as far as the borders of East Tartary."

There ensues a description of the first "Great Atlantis" in its prime, with its magnificent temple, palace, and city, its many navigable rivers, its potent, wise, and gracious warrior King. Though in *De Sapientia Veterum Liber* (The Wisdom of the Ancients) Bacon alleged, as in his Essays, that "the delights of wedlock and love of children do for the most part hinder men from enterprising great and noble designs," it is otherwise in New Atlantis, where marriage is infinitely more respected than elsewhere: "There is not under the Heaven so chaste a nation as this, . . . nor so free from all pollution or foulness." Whereas in More's "*Utopia*" jewels are scorned, and beauty and sumptuousness of attire most drastically forbidden, in the New Atlantis when "one of the fathers of Salomon's House" (the central educational establishment) appears in public, even his gloves are set with gems; his shoes are of "peach coloured velvet"; the horses of his chariot are gay with trappings of blue velvet; and his chariot itself is of cedar gilt and adorned with crystal, sapphire, and gold, and "covered with cloth of gold tissued with blue."

Attended by "the officers and principals of the Companies of the City" who followed

[1] Straits of Gibraltar

his chariot, "he sat alone upon cushions of a kind of excellent plush, blue; and under his feet curious carpets of silk of divers colours, like the Persian, but far finer. He held up his bare hand, . . . as blessing the people, but in silence. The street was wonderfully well kept, so that there was never an army had their men stand in better battle array than the people stand here in peace."

When the voyagers were subsequently allowed "private access" to him, he was seated on a throne canopied with "a rich cloth of state," of blue satin, embroidered. His attendant pages were again clad in white. When the visitors approached, "bowing low" to him, he courteously "stood up, holding forth his hand ungloved, and in posture of blessing."

The pages were then dismissed, and the guests bidden to be seated. The great personage explained to them "in the Spanish tongue" the purpose of the highest education: "the knowledge of causes, the secret motions of things; and the enlarging of the bounds of human empire, to the effecting of all things possible." Among the practical advantages then enumerated, not the least was the "means to convey sounds in trunks and pipes, in strange lines and distances."

"We have also engine-houses where are prepared engines and instruments for all sorts of motions," including "instruments of war" much swifter and stronger than any elsewhere known.

*"We imitate also flights of birds; we have some degrees of flying in the air, we have ships and boats for going under water and brooking of seas";* and much else of "fineness and subtlety."

"We have also a mathematical house, where are represented all instruments as well of geometry as astronomy, exquisitely made. We have also houses of deceipts of the senses, . . . false apparitions, impostures, illusions. . . . But we hate all impostures and lies. . . ."

He then recites the various degrees and departments in the "liberal arts," as superintended by men who by new experiments revise and expand the former discoveries: "These we call 'Interpreters of Nature.' They consult and discuss which discoveries should be published and which kept secret."

In "Bensalem" there is no jealousy, but a willing appreciation of all heroes and pioneers, past and present. "We have the statue of your Columbus," and after every new invention of value "we erect a statue to the inventor" and give him an "honourable reward." Daily rendering "thanks to God for His marvellous works," the pioneers in Bensalem sought "blessing for the illumination of our labours and the turning of them into good and holy uses."

Bacon did not complete *The New Atlantis*; it breaks off where, on dismissing the travellers, the August Personage gives them leave to publish his disclosures "for the good of other nations."[1]

Without attaching too much importance to a similarity of phrase, Essex's poem to the Queen, "Seated between the Old World and the New," and his superlative description of her Kingdom,[2] might seem to suggest that Bacon's *New Atlantis* was under consideration long before being put on paper; and that it was this aspect of Bacon's intellect which Essex had in

[1] Thomas Tenison in his *Baconiana* (1679) p. 23, was of opinion that Bacon "broke off on purpose, being content to set others onwards . . ."

[2] E.E. Vol. IX, p. 501.

mind when trying to persuade the Queen to recognise qualities too spacious to be restricted to private life. It may also be that Essex had seen Bacon's *Temporis Partus Masculus* (The Masculine Birth of Time), a book which Bacon " wrote in his youth, which was ultimately " either wholly lost, or in some obscure place committed to moths and cobwebs."[1]

While deferring comment on Bacon's precepts and practice in general, this much it has been necessary now to say in particular; because Bacon's reputation in 1594 had hardly extended beyond his intimates; so Essex's tributes to his versatility of mind might seem excessive if we went only by Bacon's speeches in the House of Commons. Though Essex's sympathy was to be very ill-requitted, Bacon a few years later denouncing him as a second Cain, no such sequel could have been foreseen in 1594—when Essex was occupying a more powerful position than had been attained in his day by any other Englishman so relatively young, even in that era of early maturities, brilliant acomplishments, and wide-spread admiration for families " famous of olde for worthie deedes."[2]

[1] T. T[enison], *A Discourse by way of Introduction, In which the Publisher endeavoureth an Account of the Philosophy, Mechanic Inventions and Writings, of Sir Francis Bacon, Baron Verulam, and Viscount of St Albans, And particularly of these Remains now set forth by him under the title of Baconiana.*

London, 1679. Dated " Novemb: 30. 1678."

[2] When Professor Neale (ante, E.E. p. 336, note 2) stated that Essex wished Elizabeth to be " a puppet Queen in tutelage to him," he forgot that Essex's cousin Fulke Greville Lord Brook wrote the exact opposite (in *The Life of the Renowned Sir Philip Sidney* which has been many times reprinted) · namely that even at the height of his power and fame " this gallant young Earl " justly eminent for " the greatness of worth and incomparable industry," never attempted " to raise a strong party for himself," but " left both place and persons entire " in their " jurisdiction or magistracies under his Sovereign as she granted them." Greville repeated with emphasis that Essex did not " serve his own humours or necessities by filling seats of justice " &c. &c.; " but suffered England to stand alone in her ancient degrees of freedom and in egrities." Greville's editors sometimes complain that his style is " obscure; " but, as often shown in the present history, there need be no difficulty in understanding him; and it is typical of the inadequacy of the article on Essex by Sir Sidney Lee in the D.N.B. that in his list of authorities there is no mention of Greville.

*APPENDIX B.*

## "THOSE EXCELLENT TRANSLATIONS"

### *Queen Elizabeth as a Classical Scholar.*

"I told her that what I sought for you was not so much your good—though it were a thing I would seek extremely and please myself in obtaining—as for her honour that those excellent translations of hers might be known to them who could best judge of them." This, in a letter of the Earl of Essex to Francis Bacon, 24th of August 1593, quoted by Spedding,[1] has been emphasised anew in Miss Caroline Pemberton's *Queen Elizabeth's Englishings.*[2]

Camden mentioned that the Queen translated Sallust's *De Bello Jurgurthino* in 1598, and part of Horace's *De Arte Poetica*; also a treatise by Plutarch. The *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1762 printed her translation from the Greek of Xenophon, with a facsimile page. As Nicolls in 1823 in his *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth* referred to those works—and asserted that "At Windsor she amused herself with translating Boethius's *De Consolatione*, in 1593, as she had at Enfield done the like to *Ochinus Sermon*,"[3]—it is the more incongruous to find the *Dictionary of National Biography* alleging that Elizabeth was entirely aloof from the culture of her time, and "did not even care for learning and learned men."[4] Nobody could attain intimacy with the literature of that era and fail to notice the many dedications to Her Majesty Even if we allow for courtly hyperbole in the tributes to "the eternitie of her fame," it is astonishing that the editors of the *Dictionary of National Biography* could countenance a statement so conspicuously erroneous as to a Monarch whose patronage of learning was almost as manifest as her delight in pageantry and sumptuous garments. Her zeal took arbitrary forms when she insisted in 1591 on Lord Buckhurst being elected Chancellor of Oxford University when the majority were in favour of electing Essex;[5] and by her personal confiscation of Essex's library in 1601.[6] But as to the genuineness of her love of literature, Miss Pemberton (p. xii) justly remarks that though the royal translations are not always exact we nevertheless should recognise "the intelligence and industry of a Queen, who, at the age of sixty, occupied as she must have been with State affairs, and the multifarious other duties pertaining to her position, could yet find inclination to undertake such tasks and time to devote to them." Miss Pemberton relates how Mr. R. E. G. Kirk discovered that the secretary to whom the Queen

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[1] Vol. I, pp. 254-255.

[2] *Queen Elizabeth's Englishings of Boethius, De Consolatione Philosophiae, A.D. 1593, Plutarch, De Curiositate, Horace De Arte Poetica A D. 1598. Edited from the unique MS. partly in the Queen's hand, in the Public Record Office, London.* Kegan, Paul, Trench, &c. 1899.

[3] Vol. III. p. 564. [4] Vol. XVII (1889) p. 230. [5] E.E. Vol. VIII, pp 579-584.

[6] "Robert late Earl of Essex at the time of his conviction had in a certain room called his Study . . divers printed books of divers kinds and languages. And our aforesaid Most Serene Lady Elizabeth was pleased to remove these books for herself . . . that they should not be included in this Inquisition. And it was announced for this reason that the aforesaid jurors should abstain from placing any value on these books." Special Commission (in Latin) hitherto unknown. E.E. Vol. XI.

dictated some of her translations was Thomas Windebank, who had been appointed Clerk of the Signet in 1568, and was still in that position in 1600.[1]

> "Of the three translations, . . . that of Boethius is the one which will add most to the Queen's reputation as a scholar; it is tolerably exact and generally very literal," though now and then "the Queen has mistaken the meaning of the Latin text." Her "handwriting is not always very legible and she has in many places so heavily corrected her text that it is difficult to make out her meaning" in the Metres, and "the Prose also is corrected in numerous passages, sometimes by the Queen herself."[2]

To the noble sentiments which attracted Her Majesty we shall recur when considering certain conspicuous disparities between her theory and practice. Meanwhile all readers can be assured that whatever the faults of temper of Elizabeth Regina, her attitude to "learning and learned men" was one of excessive affability; provided they did not deviate into what she classed as sedition or subversion. Her holding aloof from Francis Bacon—we must repeat—was not from indifference to his intellectual qualities, but because she was gravely offended by his speech opposing immediate payment of the Subsidy.[3]

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[1] For a confidential communication of Walsingham to Windebank about an angry letter the Queen dictated, see E E Vol. VIII, p. 104.

[2] Pemberton. Op: cit: pp. x-xi. Facsimile holograph page, faces pp. 33 Miss Pemberton appends "Sir Thomas Challoner's translation of some of the Metres of Boethius". From S P. Dom: Eliz: Addenda. Vol. II, No. 121. (For Challoner's portrait see E E. Vol. I, plate 15, and Vol. III, p. 187).

[3] From Gray's Inn, 28 July 1595, Bacon wrote to the Lord Keeper Puckering reproaching him for "failing me and Crossing me" in his efforts to secure the Solicitor-Generalship. This is docketed by the Lord Keeper "Mr Bacon, wronging me." Harl: MS. 6997. f. 72. Facsimile in B.M. Ser: ii, No· 6. The Queen appointed Fleming; and Bacon did not become Solicitor-General until 4 years after her death.

## "A GREAT LOVER OF LEARNED MEN":

### *Essex's Generosity to Bacon.*

Now that Essex's patriotic expenditure in the wars in 1585-6, 1588, and 1591 has been made public in the present work, we may wonder why in 1594, when still heavily burdened with debt, and having a wife and family to provide for, he gave Francis Bacon an estate But we have seen how Matthew Sutcliffe in 1593 declared that had it not been for Essex he himself would neither have had leisure nor means to write *The Proceedings, Practice and Lawes of Armes,* and in the same year Richard Harvey had thanked Essex for "magnificent and sweete" favour.[1] Testimonies to his lavish readiness to aid and encourage any soldier, scholar, or divine, whose labours he supposed of value to Queen and Country, are so numerous that far from his championship of Bacon being an isolated action, it was one of many efforts to advance the deserving.

As to the case of Bacon, let us note a story by Dr Thomas Tenison. Himself a bountiful patron of art and letters, Tenison made out a list of Bacon's lost, unfinished, or projected works, not merely his writings but his "Mechanical Inventions"; and in 1679 Tenison issued at his own expense *Baconiana. Or Certain Genuine Remains of Sr Francis Bacon, Baron of Verulam, and Viscount of St Albans, In Arguments Civil and Moral, Natural, Medical, Theological, and Bibliographical, Now the First time faithfully Published,* which went into a second edition in 1684.[2]

> "I doubt not that his Mechanical Inventions were many," says Tenison "But I can call to mind but three, at this time, and of them I can give but a very broken account: And for his Instruments and Ways in recovering deserted Mines, I can give no account at all, though certainly without new tools and peculiar Inventions, he would never have undertaken that new and hazardous work. Of these Inventions, . . . The *First was an Engine representing the motion of the Planets.* Of this I can say no more than What I find in his own words, in one of his Miscellany Papers in Manuscript . . . 'I did once cause to be represented to me, by Wires, the motion of some Planets' . " &c, &c

Essex was interested in Astrology and Astronomy, especially Astronomy in relation to navigation; but according to Thomas Tenison's account it is Bacon's "Second Invention" with which Essex's name is connected:

> "a secret Curiosity of Nature, whereby to know the Season of every Hour of the Year, by a philosophical Glass . . . in a Chamber. This Invention I describe in the words of him from whom I had notice of it, Mr Thomas Bushell, one of his Lordship's Menial Servants; a man skilful of discovering and opening of Mines . . . "

["His Lordship" in this case seems not to be Essex, but Bacon in the next century. We may add that the Bushell family had been servants previously of Essex Edward Bushell had a room in Essex House,[3] and his name occurs often in Essex's accounts, as first examined by the present writer.] Dr Tenison conjectures that the invention

> "is likely to have shewed changes of the Air with so much exactness, as the later Baroscope made with Mercury . . . it should seem to be a secret of high value by the Reward it is said to have procured For the Earl of Essex . . . when Mr Bacon made a Present of it to him, was pleased to

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[1] E.E. Vol IX p 112 & p. 415.

[2] The ensuing is from *A Discourse, by way of Introduction . . . . an Account of the Philosophy, Mechanic Inventions, and Writings of Sir Francis Bacon, Baron of Verulam, and Viscount of St. Albans, And particularly of those Remains now set forth . .* [in *Baconiana*].

[3] Unpublished MS. Inventory. Forthcoming E.E. under date.

be very bountifull in his Thanks, and bestow upon him Twickenham Park, and its Garden of Paradice, as a place for his Studies."

Questioning whether this could have been the case, Tenison adds,

"And yet I believe the Earl of Essex was extremely Liberal and free even to Profuseness; that he was a great lover of Learned Men, being, in some sort, one of them himself; and that with singular Patronage he cherish'd the hopeful parts of Mr Bacon, who also studied his Fortunes and Service."

Tenison's only reason for doubt was because "Mr Bacon himself, where he professeth his unwillingness to be short in the commemoration of the favours of that Earl, is in this great one perfectly silent." The marginal reference is to the *Apologie* which Bacon wrote in James I's reign trying to rid himself of some of the opprobrium which he had incurred by the *Declaration* he had launched against Essex in 1601 to please the Queen. But there seems to be an oversight on Tenison's part; for in the *Apologie* as reprinted in *Scrinia Ceciliana*, 1663, (p. 89), Bacon says

"I must and ever will acknowledge my Lord's love, trust and favour towards me; and best of all his liberality, having enfeoffed me of land which I sold for 1800*l.* to Mr Reynold Nicholas, and I think was more worth, and that at such a time and with so kind and noble circumstances, as the manner was as much as the matter."[1]

To both *Declaration* and *Apologie* we will come in their places; but meanwhile to continue Tenison's assertions:

"There is in his *Apologie* another Story, which may seem to have given Mr Bushel the occasion for his Mistake After the Queen had denied to Mr Bacon the Solicitor's Place, for which the Earl of Essex had been a long and earnest suitor on his behalf, it pleased the Earl to come to him, from Richmond to Twicknam-Park, and thus to speak with him: 'Mr Bacon, the Queen hath deny'd me the Place for you. You fare ill because you have chosen me . . . You have spent your thoughts and time in my Matters. I die if I do not somewhat towards your Fortune You shall not deny to accept a piece of Land which I will bestow upon you' And it was, it seems, so large a piece, that he under sold it for no less than Eighteen Hundred Pounds."[2]

Tenison presumably was not aware that Essex at his trial in 1601 expressed astonishment when Bacon claimed to have expended much toil and study in advancing his affairs: "*I*, Mr Bacon, by *your* study?" he exclaimed; not condescending to point out that it was when Bacon had offended the Queen by opposing the subsidy that he, Essex, Privy Councillor, Master of the Horse, and at that time high in the royal favour, had risked displeasing Her Majesty in order to try to win her forgiveness for Bacon.

For events of 1594, letters written at the time are the safest guide to Essex's frame of mind. Bacon was then in no position to be of use to him, and the retrospective attempt of Bacon to represent Essex as bountiful only because under obligations to him, collapses immediately upon dispassionate examination.[3]

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[1] As in "*Scrinia Ceciliana*" (pp. 87-104) the effusion is not under its former title of "*Apologie*" but only headed "Sir Francis Bacon to the Right Honourable his very good Lord, the Earl of Devonshire, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland", it is apt to be overlooked in that collection of "*Mysteries of State and Government*". (1663).

[2] *Baconiana*, &c pp. 19-20.

[3] The story of Essex presenting an estate to Bacon was told anew in 1754 in Birch's *Queen Elizabeth*, Vol. I, p. 272, with a speech Bacon alleged himself to have made to Essex, ending "I see, my Lord, that I must be your homager, and hold land of your gift But do you know the manner of doing homage in law? Always it is with a saving of his faith to the King . . and therefore, my Lord, I can be no more yours than I was" &c But Essex as a peer naturally knew the conditions of homage; and as it was Bacon who had got into trouble for opposing the Sovereign's wishes, the speech would not in 1594 have had any relevance. It fits, however, with the absurd charge brought in 1601 against Essex that since the "earliest time of his preferment" he had been conspiring to usurp the Crown.

PART VII.

"The causes that govern the events."

CHAPTER 6.

"THE HONOUR AND GREATNESS OF THE QUEEN."

SECTION 2

# "Nobody like to deal with him but these two."

*(Burghley, Essex, and Antonio Pérez).*

**". . . . the Lord Treasurer . . . and . . . the Earl of Essex . . . . both have received great satisfaction in him, and do much commend his sufficiency . . . . There is nobody like to deal with him but these two . . ."**

*Memo in the hand of Robert, Earl of Essex.* S.P.D. Eliz: CCLXV. 42.

**". . . the favour which Your Excellency worthily enjoys with that Most Serene Majesty: . . . To Fortune I give credit for what is hers; and to individuals credit for their courage and their virtues. . . . to your Excellency, therefore, and to your assured good qualities, your natural and particular virtues, I commend the protection of these papers."**

*Ralphael Peregrino [Antonio Pérez] "To the most Illustrious Lord the Earl of Essex, Master of the Horse and Member of the Council of State of the Queen of England, 'Singular MY Lord' and of the Order of the Garter:"* dedicating to him in Spanish, *Pedacos de Historia, o Relaciones,* &c., &c., &c., *Impresso en Leon.* No date. (B.M. No: G, 15676.)

**"His Humours are soe harsh and crosse, both to the King, and French, as were it not in regard to your Lordship I thinck his Intertainment here would be very meane."**

*Captain Edward Wylton to the Earl of Essex; from Paris. October, 1595.* State Papers, ed: Murdin, 1759, pp. 692-693.

# "RAPHAEL PEREGRINO."

Considering the cold-blooded treachery of Pérez—and how he had worked upon King Philip's mind to distrust Don Juan of Austria, and grossly slandered Don Juan's secretary Escovedo and then contrived his death,—we cannot but regret that Burghley and Essex, also Henry IV of France, gave countenance to the refugee. But the manner in which Pérez in his *Relaciones* depicted himself as deeply injured, and cruelly persecuted, was so plausible that to this day there is a tendency to take him at its own valuation, as apparently did Essex, "Truth's belovèd."

To Spaniards the sensational story of Pérez is familiar *ad nauseam*, but English readers of a monograph issued by an apologist in 1922 may imperfectly realise the egregious vanity and ruthless egoism of that politician who posed as a pious moralist and grave philosopher [1]

Pérez appears to have taken a horrible delight in persuading his Sovereign to regard as a dangerous rival the champion who had quelled the Moorish rebellion,[2] and had defeated the Navy of the Grand Turk.[3] How Queen Elizabeth was ultimately to be turned against Essex, as subtly as King Philip against Don John, has yet to be revealed Meanwhile we may observe the acute dislike which Captain Wylton felt for the renegade Spaniard upon whom he was bidden to attend in France at Essex's expense,—Essex not having fathomed the cynical nature of the "Pilgrim" whom both he and Burghley believed to be a valuable friend for England [4]

As these sheets are passing through the press there appears in Madrid a monumental work in two volumes, *Antonio Pérez, el hombre, el drama, la época*, by Dr G. Marañón; concerning which see E E. pp 369-372.

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[1] In an otherwise ably edited modern version of *The Art of Worldly Wisdom*, (Baltasar Gracián's *Oraculo Manual* &c. 1653), the translator, Joseph Jacobs, says (p. xliii, note 1) "Perez was over in England and was of the Sidney set." But Sir Philip Sidney died in 1586, and there is no indication in England of interest in Pérez before 1591. Jacobs also states, "Certainly the only work in Spanish or any other literature preceding Gracian on anything like the same lines is this book of *Aforismos* by Antonio Perez" But Guicciardini's Maxims had been current in print in Italy from 1525 onwards. Jacobs asserts that "men of action" do not produce Maxims Actually Guicciardini had been a General on active service as well as a civil administrator. His observations are often borrowed (though without acknowledgment) by Francis Bacon in *Essayes and Counsels Civill and Moral*, 1597-8. As for the saying of Pérez quoted by Jacobs, *"La pluma corta mas que espadas afiladas"* a wiser axiom was that of Cervantes, *"Nunca la lanza emboto la pluma ni la pluma la lanza"*

[2] E E. Vol I, pp. 308-309

[3] E E. Vol. II, pp. 77-97.

[4] A 32 page Supplement dealing with the case of "Antonio Perés" is appended to *The State of Christendom: giving A Perfect and Exact Discovery of many Political Intrigues and Secret Mysteries of State practised in most of the Courts of Europe, With an Account of their several Claims, Interests, and Pretensions, Written above forty years since by the Renowned Sir Henry Wotton, Knight, Whereby the Reader may easily perceive how far the present State of Christendom differs from its former. London, Printed, and are to be sold by Peter Parker . . . over against the Royal Exchange in Cornhill, 1679.*

Wotton for a while was one of Essex's secretaries; but he does not refer to Essex's patronage of Pérez

For literary comments upon Pérez, see *Othello as the Tragedy of Italy* by Lilian Winstanley, M.A., London, 1924; p. 108 et seq. Miss Winstanley regards Shakespeare's Iago as founded upon the treachery of Pérez Othello for her is a mythological personification of Spain.

PART VII.

"The causes that govern the events."

CHAPTER 6.

"THE HONOUR AND GREATNESS OF THE QUEEN."

SECTION 2.

# "Nobody like to deal with him but these two."

*(Burghley, Essex, and Antonio Pérez).*

PHILIP of Spain as former King Consort of England had many advantages over and above the other Monarchs of Europe. Personally acquainted with some of Queen Elizabeth's Privy Councillors, and having formed by observation and experience a comprehensive idea of this country's resources, he could compare himself favourably with Elizabeth who not only had never set foot in Spain but never penetrated beyond England and Wales. We have seen how Philip had been able to win the adherence of the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland;[1] and throughout his reign he relied upon assistance against Elizabeth from the native Chieftains in Ireland and from nearly all English and Scottish Catholics. He was not without hope of persuading King James to be his vassal. The contrast is striking if we ask what Grandee,—or what hidalgo or ecclesiastic of Spain—looked favourably upon Elizabeth? Of all King Philip's Spanish-born subjects there seems to have been only

[1] E.E. Vol. II, pp. 21-42

one who made overtures to her; and who desired the humiliation of his King: namely Antonio Pérez, of whom already so much has been written that to have anything new to say may seem surprising.[1] Nevertheless there exist in England materials not hitherto drawn upon.

Though the first Anglo-Spanish Dictionary was not printed until 1591, we have seen eight years earlier how Giordano Bruno found English courtiers conversant with Spanish, French, Italian and Latin. So when the disgraced and fugitive Spanish Principal Secretary of State came to England from France he had no need of the interpreter with whom a modern biographer of Shakespeare provided him. The Queen and the Privy Councillors would have been able to read in the original his narrative issued under the transparent pseudonym of Raphael the Pilgrim: *Pedacos de Historia, o Relaciones assy llamados por sus Auctores los Peregrinos. Retrato al vivo del naturel de la fortuna. La Primera Relacion contiene el Discurso de las Prisiones, y auenturas de Antonio Perez aquel Secretario de Estado del Rey Catholico don Phelippe II. de este nombre desde su primera prision, hasta su salida de los Reynos de España,* &c.[2]

This publication, dedicated *Al Illustrissimo Señor El Conde de Essex Cauallerizo Mayor, y del Consejo de Estado de la Reyna de Inglaterra, Singular MY Lord, y de la orden de la Iarretiera,* has received more attention in its minor than in its major

[1] The trouble as to Pérez is not lack of material but excess. MSS relevant to his affairs in 1590-93 include many letters of comment by Philip II. *Catálogo de la colección de Documentos inéditos,* &c. Julián Paz, Tomo I (1930), pp. 128-149. In 1922 the Librarian of the Escorial, Fray Julián Zarco Cuevas, published in Madrid a monograph *Antonio Pérez* (Father Zarco's tragic fate in 1936 lends a poignant additional interest to all his works). In 1890 Duro in his *Estudios Historicos del reinado de Filipe II,* had included an essay on *Antonio Pérez en Inglaterra y Francia (1591 a 1612),* and in 1918 Don Angel González Palencia published (in the *Rev. de Archivos) Fragmentas del archivo particular de Antonio Pérez,* &c. In 1927 Eduardo Ibarra in his *España baja los Austrias* (Barcelona & Buenos Aires) summarised "*La muerte de Escobedo y los procesos de la Princesa de Éboli y de Antonio Pérez* (1578-1585)", pp. 199-204; and the later events in that connection, pp. 230-236; but without footnote references. A list of Pérez material, ranging from *Documentos inéditos* down to the latest English monograph (1922) appeared in the Philip II Section of *Fuentes de la Historia Española e Hispano Americana Ensayo de Bibliografia sistematica de impresos y manuscritos que ilustrán la historia politica de España y sus antiguas provincias de ultramar Segunda edicion revisada y ampliada B. Sanchez Alonso* Madrid 1927 Vol. I, pp. 420, 436-438, numbers 6045-6079.

In Lady Moreton's *The Story of Don John of Austria told by Padre Coloma, S.J., of the Real Academia Española,* London, N.Y. and Toronto, 1912, facing p. 345, is a portrait of Pérez, ascribed to Moro, said to be "in Paris"; a bold aggressive face.

Since the foregoing was written there has been issued *Archivo de Simancas. Catalogo XVII. Julian Paz y Ricardo Magdaleno. Secretaria de Estado Documentos relativos a Inglaterra (1265-1834) Edicion y Prologo de el Duque de Alba Director de la R.A. de la Historia. Madrid 1947* Dedicated *Al Excmo Señor Conde de Halifax, K.G. &c., &c. Canciller de la Universidad de Oxford.* This list does not contain any references to Antonio Pérez.

[2] *Impresso en Leon.* Undated. B.M. Catalogue queries it as 1592. (B.M. C. 38, f. 37; formerly 1060, i. 18). Other copies 281, d. 22; and G. 15676. Earliest dated edition known is that of 1598, Paris. (B.M. 593. e. 3.) Reprinted 1624 (1196. k. 20; formerly 8007, eee. 20), and 1196, k. 21 (formerly 8007. ee. 21). B.M. also has *Cartas de A. Perez para diversas personas . Cartas . . . A. Perez . . . ad Comitem Essexium .* (246. i. 8) Date queried as 1603, [Essex had been executed in 1601].

issues.[1] In a short monograph, *Antonio Perez*, 1922, we read that

> "The Court of England was . . divided between two policies, namely the moderate party under Cecil, Lord Burghley, as against the impetuous methods of Lord Essex. . . . With the first party Perez found no advocates. It was otherwise with Lord Essex and his friends."

But Essex wrote, at the time, that he and Burghley both had received "great satisfaction" from Pérez; and that there was "nobody like to deal with him" except themselves.[2] In this connection we will soon consider Essex's own words. But first as to the book. It opens with a discourse of *Raphael Peregrino al Impressor* as to *el Summario del discurso de las prisiones de Antonio Perez es mio, y la Relaçion de xxiij de Septiembre de vn Hermano mio, llamado Azarias Peregrino: y del mismo es la de lo succedido á xxiij de Mayo del mismo año del 1591*. This, in which Pérez, as Raphael the Pilgrim, introduces his own story, is followed by the dedication to Essex, upon whom since the death of Leicester in September 1588 had devolved the burden of entertaining nearly every foreigner of distinction who visited England.[3]

After the dedication, and *Los Auctores, los Peregrinos à los Priuados de Prinçipes*, ensue remarks of the printer to the public,—*El Impressor à Todos*,—then "*Relacion svmmaria, que yua haziendo Raphael Peregrino, del discurso de las prisiones, y auenturas de Antonio Perez, aquel Secretario de Estado del Rey Catholico don Phelippe II de esta nombre, desde su primera prision hasta su salida de los Reynos de España*. Then follows one of the most extraordinary narratives ever issued even in an age when reality was often more dramatic than fiction.

Differences of opinion exist as to whether the *Relaciones* were published at Lyons or in London. James L. Whitney in his *Catalogue of the Spanish Library and Portuguese Books bequeathed by George Ticknor to the Boston Public Library 1879*, under "Perez, *Pedacos de historia, etc., Impresso en Leon*" quotes a note of Ticknor: ". . . From the dedication, type, paper, etc. I doubt not it was printed in England, where Perez lived for the summer of 1593, and where he certainly published this book in the course of 1594. He returned to France in August, 1595."

We cannot be certain that Pérez "published this book" in 1594, though it is probable. The Dedicatory Epistle does not give the impression that he lived in England during "the summer of 1593;" for in his appeal to the "Conde de Essex"

[1] (B.M. G. 15676. Page A.3) The dedication has been translated by Mrs Julia FitzMaurice Kelly, M.A., in *Antonio Perez*, Oxford 1922, pp. 112-113, as "To the Illustrious Earl of Essex Senior Knight, and of the Council of State of the Queen of England, Unique Lord, and of the Order of the Garter." But *Caullerizo Mayor* means *Master of the Horse*. Essex was not a "Senior Knight,"—he was the youngest Knight banneret dubbed in 1586 aged 19, after the Zutphen charge; and the youngest peer elected K.G. in 1588 "Unique lord" is not a correct rendering of "Singular My lord," which was an effort of Pérez to show he knew English etiquette; "my Singular Good Lord" being then the correct way for one of lesser rank to write to a peer.

[2] Essex's private memo for Phelippes. E.E. p. 359.

[3] Statement by Gelly Meyrick Essex's House Steward and Comptroller General. Longleat Devereux MSS. E E. Vol. IX, pp. 56; 380.

he refers only to "Passing through that Kingdom which is the birthplace of Your Excellency, when on my pilgrimage, I thought of recommending to you, as to a favoured person, the care of these fragments of history."[1] He had hesitated, he says, to choose Essex as a patron, because "a favourite depends upon fortune," and he wished to secure a permanent protector for his work. On second thoughts, however, he relied upon "the favour your Excellency so worthily enjoys" with a Princess "who is as a man in valour, in Prudence, in Constancy," &c. Saluting Essex's "noble spirit, rare nature, and great valour," he exclaims that Fortune is fluctuating, but that valour and virtue are lasting possessions: "To your Excellency, therefore, and to your assured good qualities, I commend the protection of these papers."[2]

As it was in 1591 that Pérez had escaped from Spain to France, possibly Essex heard of him during the French campaign. But the Dedication of the *Relaciones* must have been written after February 1593 (New System) at which date Essex was appointed to the Privy Council. It is offered to him as *Consejo de Estado*.[3]

Two of the undated Latin letters from Pérez to Essex in the Record Office are assigned conjecturally by the editor of the State Papers to "October? 1593": one recommending "Jerome Lopez;" the other a farewell effusion, Pérez bewailing that the sea, the night, and sad departure are his lot, and that he expects little good when separated from his Lordship, though he hopes a favourable wind and Essex's friendship may follow him to France, as all his prosperity depends thereon.[4]

A MS. now at Hatfield reveals that in 1591 the *Relaciones* were selected for

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[1] *Passando por esse Reyno natural de Vuestra Excelencia siguiendo my peregrinaçion, quise encomendar le, como à Prtuado, el amparo de estos pedaços de Historia"* &c Sig. A. 3 (B M G 15676).

[2] " . . *de mas de que tambien era huzer offensa en ello à la Grandeza de su naçimiento de Vuestra Excelentia, à su gentil Spiritu, à su raro Natural, y gran Valor Bienes todos estos, que no dependen de Fortuna Que aunque diga el otro, que por las cosas naturales no somos alabados, ny estimados en menos, deuiò de hablar como Cortesano, que no hazen estima sino de los bienes de Fortuna. Yo lo entiendo differentemente, y que de cada cosa se deuen las gracias à su dueño" &c, &c "A Vuestra Excelentia pues, y à las partes de sy seguras, sus virtudes naturales, y proprias, encomiendo el amparo de estos papeles"*

[3] Among unpublished Longleat Devereux papers—Vol I, ff 120-121,—is a letter in Essex's hand in which the scribbled Christian name looks more like "ffrancesco" than "Antonio," and was so read by an official of the British Museum, where this collection of MSS. was deposited for the sole use of the present writer Addressed to "my assured good friend Mr Dr Gifford," one of the Court Physicians, it is manifestly written in a hurry:

"Good Dr Signo ffrancesco [?] Perez is faln very sick att my house Y^u are neere him. I pray [if] y^u love me, go to him and have as good care of him as of myself. You need not omitt your charge and yet may give [a word illegible] to him. Good Dr. serve me in this I affect so much,

Y^r most assured friend

ESSEX"

No date or place; but as it is signed "Essex" this points to after 1592 at which time he was still signing "R Essex" (See E E. Vol. VIII, plate 35).

[4] Cal S P D Vol. III, p. 379 the editor read S^r as "Sir" but it should be "Señor". Further allusions to Pérez in same Calendar. pp. 360; 412; and (1st Feb. 1594) p. 422, p. 426, (Spanish "enterprise" for killing Pérez, pp. 430, 431, 484, ditto; not the López conspiracy but another project).

translation.[1] As the Queen, and most of the high personages knew Spanish, the address of "The Translator to the Reader" was manifestly not intended for the Court but for popular reading. The translation itself has vanished; but the introductory matter—docketed "Mr Atye on Señor Perez book, 1591: Concerning the miseries of D. Perez,"—is sufficiently striking:[2]

> ". . . many will be desirous to read this book, for the newness, the strangeness, the greatness of the matters it containeth" and the "tragical dealing it recounteth. A very tragedy . . . full of imprisonments, executions, subtle practices, cunning dissimulations," &c., &c., the leading personages being "no less than the King of Spain that now is, Philip of Castile; Don John of Austria, brother to him and a son of an Emperor; a Princess of Ebolye, widow of Ruy Gomez de Silva, Prince of Ebolye, Duke of Villa Franca," &c. &c. &c. this being a narrative "which concerneth a whole army and a whole realm."

Atye relates how the secretary of Don John of Austria, Señor Escovedo,[3] was suspected by Philip of inciting Don John to set up an independent sovereignty in the Netherlands. But instead of openly arraigning Escovedo on a charge of treason, it was decided to do away with him privately. Pérez who lent himself to this conspiracy was afterwards dismissed from office; and "imprisoned, tortured, tossed and turmoiled up and down in prisons and arraignments in Courts of Justice twelve years together, till he fled from Spain in the year 1591." There follows the now familiar but then startling assertion that the order for Escovedo's death was "committed by the King to Señor Antonio Pérez" to be achieved without public scandal, and to appear like an act of "private revenge." Escovedo's widow, however, had suspected the Princess of Eboli to be concerned, so she demanded justice from the King. But, as phrased by Atye, King Philip

> "knew the Princess to be utterly ignorant of the case, and Señor Antonio to have procured it to be done by his commandment. . . . Yet he suffered them both to be imprisoned; her to die in prison";[4] and caused him to be removed from prison to prison in Castile, "to be condemned in great sums of money, to be deprived of his office, all he had to be confiscated," &c., &c. In 1590 "he escaped out of prison from Castile into Aragón. Thither the King's authority followed him also, plucked him out of Sanctuary, imprisoned him, called him before a Court of law which acquitted him; then before another Court called *Enquesta*," and when that also "could hold no plea against him," sought to bring him before the Inquisition: which the people of Aragón resenting, he being an Aragonese, "they arose in arms and delivered him."

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[1] As Essex's property was confiscated after his fall, and his MSS. not deposited with State Papers but kept by Sir Robert Cecil, we cannot always be sure in a matter concerning both Burghley and Essex which document belonged to which: and as the discourse on Pérez dated 1591 is without any month we cannot infer whether it was written before or after Essex went to France that year. The translator, Arthur Atye, had been one of Essex's "Voluntary Gentlemen of the Horse" in 1586

[2] 5½ pp of MS. Long quotation in Hatfield MSS. Cal: Vol. IV, pp. 172-174. This Calendar was printed in 1892, but in 1922 the English author of the Pérez monograph seems not to have been aware of any project for translation; or of Atye's effusion.

[3] So spelt by Atye. Sometimes spelt Escobedo; b and v having the same sound in Spanish.

[4] At the time she came under the evil influence of Pérez, he was a married man with a devoted wife and a family of children. The story is sordid in the extreme, though Arthur Atye tried to give it the dignity of tragedy.

The King sent an army to put down the rebellion, and Pérez "escaped into France and thence to England, whither do practises against his life continually pursue him. This is the sum of the matter." The full circumstances are declared by the author in the three treatises of this book:

"The first, a general summary report of all the troubles of Señor Antonio Pérez about this cause.

"The second describing 'the great commotion of the people at Saragossa to deliver him from the Inquisition.'

"The third, the pleading of the case against the King's Attorney. So that the two last treatises being parts of the first, . . . let it not offend or be thought a fault in the author if there be repetition of some points, especially these treatises having been also written and published at sundry times."

Then follows the lesson to be learnt from the perusal: "especially by such Englishmen at home and abroad, as, discontenting themselves with their own Prince and Country, may rely their hopes upon the King of Spain. If such there be, let them consider well the whole story" and take warning by the experiences of Pérez.

Here we have the reason why Burghley and Essex patronised the renegade Spaniard, who was ready to go to any lengths to aid the struggle against his former master.

In the preliminaries to the *Relaciones* the ornamental letters A, V, and R, resemble the R and H in the second edition of the *Stratioticos* of Thomas Digges "At London, Imprinted by Richard Field" in 1590; so it is possible that the *Relaciones* were published by Field, under patronage of the Privy Council in the persons of Burghley and Essex. There is not, however, among Essex's accounts of expenditure in relation to Pérez anything to show payments to printers. But as a copy of the *Relaciones* was discovered by the present writer among books formerly in Lord Burghley's possession, and as in 1598 there was issued an English translation of another book by Pérez, a reasonable inference is that the *Relaciones,* attacking King Philip, were printed under English patronage though in the Spanish tongue. It may have been decided on consideration that the disclosures of Pérez were too shocking to be circulated among the outer public.

Commentators on the Pérez controversy have not hitherto noticed Arthur Atye's discourse on Pérez, or Wylton's letters; nor known of the existence of Essex's accounts kept by his steward; nor that any English translation of the *Relaciones* was projected; nor that Burghley kept at hand a copy of the *Relaciones*. These facts, now first brought together, tend to strengthen the current assumption that the undated edition of the *Relaciones* was issued by Field in London while purporting to be printed at Lyons.

Some uncertainty may remain as to the date and place of printing, but there need be no mystery as to the business of Essex with Pérez. Written in Essex's hand, and sealed by himself, is a list of instructions "to my very loving friend Mr Thomas Phelippes," directing what may be said, presumably to correspondents abroad:

" Antonio Pieris came not the first nor second time to the Queen when the Vidame [de Chartres] had audience. When he did come, he came privately," and " did only kiss the Queen's hands, having no great speech with her.

*" He hath at two several times since had private conference with the Queen. He never came to the Court publicly when the two Embassadors of France did come except at the feast of St. George.*

*" He himself is not willing to speak with many here, nor is the Queen willing to have him. He hath only spoken privately with the Lord Treasurer once, and with the Earl of Essex once or twice. They both have received great satisfaction in him,* and do much commend his sufficiency. It is not yet known whether he shall stay here or return into France."[1]

This is not dated. But in August 1593 Lord Burghley noted that a passport was given to " the Vidame de Chartres to return into France."[2] On the 6th of September 1594, writing to Burghley, from Dieppe, Sir Roger Williams mentions that " M. Peres [Mr. Pérez] is in Paris."[3]

We should discard the notion that Essex encouraged Pérez in opposition to the wishes of Burghley; this erroneous idea was set afloat by Camden long after the death of both these peers:—" Burghley, Lord Treasurer, scarce vouchsafed him countenance; but Essex entertained him in his house, and supplied him largely with money, using him as his Counsellor, yea as an Oracle . . . "[4] Essex's financial affairs we shall soon see from his steward's accounts; and he did have Pérez in his house in 1595; but as for using Pérez as an oracle, this is one of the rash assertions to which Camden was addicted and in which he has been uncritically echoed. In the memo for the use of Phelippes, as to Pérez, Essex adds, *" There is nobody like to deal with him but these two,"*—that is himself and Burghley,—" of which I conceive the Treasurer desires only to compare this man's judgment with his own experience; but the Earl seeks to get somewhat out of him upon which he may found some foreign action," all his plans being directed towards making " the war offensive rather than be driven to make it defensive."[5]

Hasty misreadings of epitomes have led to the assertion that Burghley was opposed to offensive war. Let us again recall that he fought as a volunteer at Musselburgh nineteen years before Essex was born; and that in 1581 he had wished the Queen to take the initiative against Spain. In emergencies yet ahead we shall see

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[1] S.P. Dom. Eliz: CCLXV. 42. *Supra* from original. The Calendar Vol III, 1867, p. 238, slightly abbreviates and modernises.

[2] " State Papers," ed: Murdin, 1759. p. 807. [3] Hatfield MSS. Cal: Vol. IV, p. 608.

[4] "Annals." ed: 1635, p. 431 (first published in Latin 1615).

[5] Continuation of S.P Dom. Eliz: CCLXV, No: 42 Epitomised in Calendar 1591-94. Now first given from original. (Spelling modernised)

him concur in measures to promote which Essex looked to his influence with the Queen.[1]

Essex's enemies at the Court were yet to accuse him of trying to keep up war with Spain merely for his own glory. The first breach of diplomatic relations had been in December 1571 and the sending in 1572 of small bands of English soldiers to begin learning how to fight against Spaniards in the Low Countries took place when Essex was under six years of age. Not until he was in his twelfth year was there a Spanish Ambassador again at the Court of England; and Essex had turned seventeen when that Ambassador Mendoza, was expelled from England. Never again during the Queen's lifetime did a Spanish Ambassador set foot in this country.

The points commonly missed are the continuousness of the struggle against Spain, the complexity and variety of methods used by King Philip to overpower England, and by England to frustrate that intention. Sir Philip Sidney, Essex's elder by twelve years, had formulated to Fulke Greville a project not merely for raiding but for holding a Spanish port; and previously in 1584 John Hawkins had confided to Essex's stepfather Leicester, Sidney's uncle, a plan for striking at Spain through the African possessions which Spain had seized from the "Portingales." Except from 1558 to 1571 and from 1578 N.S. to January 1584 N.S. England and Spain were at war throughout the reign of Elizabeth. In 1584 Burghley stated that the Spanish aggression upon England had been planned from the time the Queen came to the throne. Her accession was eight years prior to the birth of Robert Devereux, subsequently Viscount Hereford and Earl of Essex.

As a Privy Councillor, Essex followed the policy originated by his elders; and his hope to "make the war offensive rather than be driven to make it defensive" was to be carried out by him in 1596 with Burghley's full approval: without which the fleet could never have sailed nor the army have been recruited. One reason why the Cadiz expedition of 1596 is under-estimated today is that the political events antecedent to it have been little comprehended. It was the response, delayed, but emphatic, to the alien-financed plots against Queen Elizabeth: those conspiracies of William Stanley, Dr. López, Yorke, Holt, Gifford, and the rest, which Essex had discovered in 1594.

As the now current references to Essex's patronage of Pérez are mostly echoes of Camden, we should consult Essex's "Accompts," not hitherto realised to exist. Therein can be seen on what occasions and at what cost Pérez was entertained.[2] The steward's entries of expenses for 1594-95 are so exact that even such trifles are set down as "for a black feather for yo$^{r}$ l[ordshi]p against New yeres daie 7s. 6d." It is under "EXTRAORDINARY" charges in 1595 that we find the Pérez matter:

[1] In 1596—after the Cadiz victory—there was an attempt to create misunderstanding between Essex and Burghley; but it was frustrated by the frankness of each with the other. The matter looms large in Devereux's *Earls of Essex* (1853), but will appear in its actual proportions in E.E. Vol X, where it will be seen that the discord was of brief duration; and that (subsequent to the temporary coldness) Burghley at a Council of War in his own house supported Essex strongly.

[2] Unpublished Longleat Devereux MSS, Vol. III, f. 91$^{b}$ and 83$^{b}$; 85

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| "11 July Itm to Mr Wiseman by yo$^{r}$ lp Comand acq goeing for ffrance p. acq 11 July *with Se$^{r}$ Perez* | £20 |
| "Itm to Mr Lynnett and Ralph ffettis for *diet of Mo$^{r}$ Perez* and his Companie and yo$^{r}$ lp: owne people to Cambridg and back againe, p bookes | £55 18 3 |
| "Itm for diet at Gravesend at such time as Se$^{r}$ *Antho Perez* dep[ar]ted for ffraunce p. bills" | £11 9 10 |
| And among "GUIFTES". | |
| "Itm for a pece of Plate weighing 47 oz at 7s le oz given to *Mr Perez* bought pr Samuell." | £16 9 |

This last is not dated; but from a previous entry it is clear that although Pérez was received with the consent of the Queen and full approval of the Lord Treasurer, it was not by the Exchequer but from Essex's private purse that the expenses were defrayed. Moreover, on the 16th of Sepember 1595, Philip Gawdey wrote of being resident either at the Court "or else continually with Don Antonio Perez at Essex House, whom my Lord useth with high favor, and favours me mightily in regard to accompanying him."[1]

To continue the Unpublished Accounts:

"Mon$^{R}$ Perez and Wylton

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | *Imprimis to Mon$^{r}$ Perez* for the month of November being allowed by yo$^{r}$ l[ordship] £20 p mense Mr Smith will witnesse those paiements | £20 |
| 26 December acq<br>5to January acq | *Item Mo$^{r}$ Perez* p lopus[2] acq 26 Dec and V$^{to}$ January by yo$^{r}$ lp comaund *towardes his furnishings into ffraunce* | £300 |
| 5 Junij acq | Item to Mr Wylton by yo$^{r}$ lp com *towardes his furnishing to attend Mr Perez into ffraunce* | £50 |
| 30 Junij acq | Itm to M$^{r}$ *Perez* 5 Junij 1595 | £300 |
| 12 July acq | Item to Mr Wylton p acq vid die | £83 6 8 |

These are the sole references to Pérez in a series of accounts begun in November 1592 and ending late in 1595. Proportionate to Essex's small income, and the 16th century values of money, the sums are heavy: bearing out once more the repeated assertions of his followers as to his readiness to give of his own substance in any matter wherein he supposed the interests of the country to be concerned. But Captain Wylton did not consider Pérez worth the price,—as he showed in a series of reports "To the most honourable Lord my Lord and Master the Earle of Essex," the first of which is dated from "Roan [Rouen] 5 September, Stilo Novo 1595."

". . . The King hath sent Letters full of princely Favours to Senior Antonio Perez . . . "; but Pérez "grieveth much that hee hath not as yet heard from your Lordship, or

[1] Hist: MSS. Comm: 7th Rep: p 523, and C. L Kingsford, "Archæologia," Vol: III, 1923

[2] López. Not the Doctor, who had been executed in June 1594. Possibly the "Jerome López" mentioned by Pérez

any other his Frendes in England. Your Lordship's Favors and the Pleasures of England, have caused that he cannot so well affect the dangerous and inconstant disposition of the French. . . ."[1]

On the 2nd of October 1595, Wylton wrote again:

"Most Honourable Lord.

The King arrived at Paris the last of September. Monsieur de la Force and Sennior Ant. Perez went to meet him at Fonteinbleaw. The King used him well, and meaneth, noe doubt, to gratify him with many honorable Curtesyes, if he could be content to frame his Humours to accept of such as Fraunce affordeth. The Favors wherewith your Lordship graced him in England were so great as, I feare, they will be chiefest Cause of his Discontent in Fraunce. . . . *His Humours are soe harsh and crosse, both to the King and French, as were it not in regard of your Lordship I thincke his Intertainment here would be very meane.* He importuneth a King that will not be importuned. He is at Defiance with the Financiers, whom the King himself is glad to court. This Night, having refused the Money they brought him, wanting somewhat of the sum he expected, he protesteth to goe to the King and tell him that if His Majestye will have him stay in Fraunce, he will only give him leave to live uppon your Lordship's Purse; thereby ingaging your Lordship to sustaine an unnecessary Charge, and not so well contenting the King. . . .

"Your Lordship assigned me to attend him: how I carry myself, I referre me to others; and, most honorable Lord, there is not anything I desire more, than to stay in Fraunce, in hope to make myself more fit for your Lordship's Service. But to spend my time where I cannot please grieveth me not a littell. . . . with all give me Leave to say this, that *I think it impossible that any man living should please him.* His Feares are infinite, his Suspitions equall with his Feares . . . but notwithstanding this, I will, by God's help, religiously observe the course your Lordship hath prescribed; *your Commaundment making that seeme light to me that of itself were altogether intollerable.*

"*This only grieveth me most, . . that I thinck your Lordship will herein be deceived if you expect that he should here seat himself, and doe you such offices as your Favors . . . have well deserved.* . . . Pardon me, most honourable Lord, if herein I have written plainly: my Duty bindeth me to doe no less. . . ."[2]

On the same day, 2nd of October 1595, Wylton adds that "Señor Perez proposeth, among other things, . . . to drawe the King to an invasive Warre in Spayne." As King Philip "suspecteth" something of the sort, the wife, children and friends of Pérez in Spain were suffering "inconvenience" accordingly. Pérez was still asserting that he meant to "write to your Lordship for means;" and he hoped to be honoured with the "Order of St. Esprit," in which case he would expect Essex to pay for his robes.[3] From Paris, October 6th, 1595 *stilo novo,* Wylton

[1] Murdin, State Papers, 1759, p 691.

[2] He refers Essex to Sir Roger Williams and to Pérez himself for general news, and then concludes. Murdin, State Papers, pp. 692-3

[3] In Birch's *Queen Elizabeth* (1754) Vol. I, pp. 301-302, it is stated that "The Earl of Essex, having on the 1st of October 1595 received letters from Antonio Perez, ordered Mr Edward Reynolds one of his secretaries, in whom he had most confidence, to send them to Mr Bacon, which Mr Reynolds did in a letter dated that day (Vol. II, fol. 62) in which he acquainted him with the Earl's indisposition, who had taken cold the day before . . . and though he had been pained all that day in his head, he had not spared himself in perusing his despatches, so careful was he in Her Majesty's service."

reported further,

"I wrote before to your Lordship that Sennor Perez was not a little discontent; partly that his Intertainment in France was not according to his Expectation, and partly for the Daungers that threatened his Person; for which cause he determined to speake with the King."

He craved "leave to depart," or if the King would "have him stay, that he might be pardoned if he wrote to your Lordship for Maintenance, refusing altogether to be referred to the Financiers." Whereon King Henry, at the mention of Essex's name "promised all."

"Your Lordship, I hope, will pardon me," says Wylton, "if I write what I thinck. I doe assure myselt that the only Respect of your Lordship caused the King to uphold hym in his Humours. . . ." But still he is not satisfied: "He pretendeth to me that he looketh for no Contentment in Fraunce; that he will presently for England; yet he laboureth nothing more than to make known in England that he receives infinite Favours in Fraunce."

Believing that the King would be brought to make him a Knight of the St Esprit: "he meaneth to write to your Lordship for Ornaments for his Knighthood; and for a thousand Crowns in plate, to furnyshe him. . . . And then, if he receave further Discontent (which I nothing doubt) he goeth directly for Venice. . . . I know I have presumed much in writing to your Lordship a Thing so contrary to your Expectation. . . . Notwithstanding I know you . . . desire nothing more than to know the Truth."

Wylton is the more disapproving of the conduct of Pérez because of the benefits Essex had already conferred:

"As being your servant I thought myself bound in all Duty to write what I have written. I pray God make your Lordship fortunate in all your actions, and me in doing you honest and acceptable service. . . .

Your Lordship's most humblest faithful Servaunt

ED. WYLTON."[1]

On the 4th of December, 1595, "from the Camp at La Fère" King Henry IV wrote to Essex, "Señor Antonio Perez has always been very dear to me, and his presence and residence in my kingdom will be no less agreeable than useful. I thank you therefore for the help you have given me, which I appreciate the more in that you have thereby incurred some inconvenience." It was not, however, easy to entertain Pérez "so well as he deserves," for "he who participates in the good graces of the King of France must also witness the miseries of the French. Console him, therefore, with the continuance of your friendship, so that he may the better

[1] Orig: Murdin: State Papers, pp. 693-694. Owing to the omission of the majority of our schools and colleges to subscribe in 1759 to Murdin's volume, in which Wylton's communications were published, these particulars have not received much attention. Out of 180 subscribers to Murdin's work, but one school, Eton, appears on the list; and the total of colleges at Oxford and Cambridge then willing to reconsider Camden's pronouncements in the light of the direct evidence was only nine. Though in our day the Hatfield Calendar, Vol. IV, included some of Wylton's letters, the author of *Antonio Perez*, 1922, does not appear to have realised that it is seldom safe to pass judgment upon any situation in regard to Burghley without first studying both Murdin's Selection and the Calendars of the most important private collection in England,—containing the wherewithal to elucidate many matters otherwise perplexing.

support our incommodities."[1]

It is in England the fashion now to treat Pérez with misplaced leniency: Admitting that he was a traitor to his King and Country, faithless to his wife, indifferent to his children, and exceedingly egotistical, his biographer in 1922 nevertheless asked "condonation for him" on the ground that "it is something, after all, to have contributed to the amusement and pleasure of friends . . ." But surely his ferocious denunciations of his native Country and of Philip II were not written to give pleasure to friends but in the hope of arousing Europe against his Sovereign. We must repeat that during the visit of Pérez to England, our country and Spain were at war. But his biographer, while protesting that he should not be judged by "modern" standards, lost sight of the war, and also expended pity upon him because "It was his misfortune not to be able to return his wife's unbounded devotion," &c.[2] and that "Perez could not disguise from himself that whereas for him Essex was paramount, Essex's liking for him was as nothing beside the earl's interest in matters of State."

We doubt Pérez having "paramount" regard for any man except himself. And to class the bitterly resentful *Relaciones* as amusing seems the more strange in that Pérez regarded himself as a tragic figure, so ill-treated by his Sovereign that his utmost hatred and attempted vengeance were excused by him to himself and others because of the wrongs he had suffered.

If the circumstances are overlooked in which the two most influential of Queen Elizabeth's Privy Councillors took this wandering Spaniard under their protection, and if his writings are reduced to mere diversion for "friends," we are led far from the reason why Her Majesty's Ministers entertained the fugitive, namely, as Essex clearly shows, because they hoped his revelations would be of use to England in the life and death struggle against the Leviathan of Spain.[3]

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[1] Orig: Lambeth (Tenison) MSS. Bacon Papers, 652, 174. Printed in French by Devereux, *Earls of Essex* (1853), Vol. I, pp. 305-306.

Pérez kept his footing with Henry IV, and in 1598 *Impresso en Paris* there appeared *Relaciones de Antonio Perez, Secretario de Estado, que sue, del Rey de España Don Phelippe II* and *Aphorismos de las Relaciones de Ant Perez. monstrum fortunae."*

Even in the next century the *Relaciones* were reissued under title of *"Retrato al Vivo del Natural de la Fortuna de Ant. Perez, fama meliore, quam fortuna. En Rhodanusia, 1625,"* and *Aphorismos* &c. In 1654 appeared again *Las Obras y Relaciones* &c. issued *por Juan Antonio y Samuel de Tornes, 1654* We may contrast Pérez who, after falling from favour, used his pen to wage war upon his former master, and Henry, Vicomte Turenne and Duc de Bouillon, who after becoming a Huguenot wrote with much forbearance and even generosity as to the political party he had renounced. E.E. Vol. VIII, pp. 300-304.

[2] Julia FitzMaurice Kelly, *Antonio Perez (Hispanic Notes and Monographs)*, Oxford, 1922

[3] We shall see Pérez visiting England again in 1596, E.E. Vol X.

*APPENDIX A.*

## DISPUTED DATES OF PÉREZ PUBLICATIONS.

In *The Times Literary Supplement* of August the 8th, 1928, Mr. James P. R. Lyell wrote

"Apart from the internal evidence, e.g. the dedication to the Earl of Essex, the fulsome praise of Queen Elizabeth, and the apology of the printer for his scanty knowledge of the Spanish language,—all the known facts of the residence of Pérez in London in the summer of 1593 under the patronage and protection of the Earl of Essex support the probability of the book being printed in London."

From this we would infer the particulars of the "residence" of Pérez in London in the summer of 1593 were accessible; whereas even the year of his arrival in England is disputed. Birch, editing the Tenison collection of Bacon Papers, stated that "the first mention" in these MSS "of that remarkable person's being in England" is dated 18th December, 1593, "tho' it appears from a letter of Sir Henry Wotton to Lord Zouch, dated at Florence, August 14th, 1592, that he was then gone for England . . ."[1]

The Earl of Essex's letter about Pérez to Philippes and one to Dr Roger Gifford are not dated, and so do not help us to judge when the book would have been printed, but the accounts discovered by the present writer relate to 1595. As Giordano Bruno's works were published in London with foreign imprints,[2] this (though the biographers of Pérez do not mention it) might have afforded a precedent for allowing Pérez a similar privilege. Likewise the conjectured date, 1594, becomes plausible in the light of Burghley's dealings; for, as we have seen, he then was openly denouncing the methods of the King of Spain. Mr. Lyell, however, does not mention the war, nor any political cause for publication of the *Relaciones*.

". . . on comparison of types," he says, "and particularly of an alphabet of decorative woodcut initial letters used in the book, there is little or no doubt that it was in fact printed by Richard Field . . . in London. Under the name of Ricardo del Campo, he printed several Spanish books" (named) in which appear "some of the type and initial letters, together with at least one woodcut tailpiece, used in the *Relaciones*." Field, "an apprentice of Thomas Vautrollier whose widow he married, was a versatile genius, who in addition to producing Spanish books was responsible for others, both in Italian and French. . . ."

But "versatile genius" is too flattering a term to apply to a London printer of Spanish and Italian works in a reign when the press was completely under control of the Crown. Soon after her accession, Queen Elizabeth had proclaimed that "*No manner of person shall print any manner of book or paper, of what sort, nature, or in any language whatsoever it be, except the same be licensed by her Majesty by express words in writing, or by six of her Privy Council; or be perused and licensed by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishop of London, the Chancellors of both Universities.*"[3]

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[1] *Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth* London 1754 Vol I p 140 (Wotton was not "Sir Henry" in 1592; his Knighthood was from King James I. He was for a while one of Essex's secretaries E E Vol. IX, pp 402-404)

[2] E.E. Vol. V, p. 246

[3] Cardwell's *Documentary Annals*. Vol I, p 229

It is possible that the *Relaciones* were printed in London to be sold both there and abroad, though the similarity of printers' blocks would only be conclusive if we were sure that no such tailpieces or initials had been used by any printer outside England. Let us therefore leave doubtful matters of typography, and turn to the certain historical issue: namely, that the reason Antonio Pérez was tolerated by the Queen of England and favoured by the King of France was because they were fighting against Spain. *Had they been at peace, King Philip would have been entitled to demand that Pérez as his subject and a fugitive should be delivered up to him. That Pérez could live in France and pay visits to England was made possible only by the war.* Had he set foot in any neutral country, he would have been liable to arrest by King Philip's agents.

We have seen how a small English force under Lord Willoughby d'Eresby was in France from the autumn of 1589 to the early spring of 1589-90, aiding Henry IV against the Spanish invaders, and how from the summer of 1591 to the end of 1594 English military assistance to King Henry—though on a small scale—was continuous. Early in 1591 Percival and D'Oyley's *Bibliotheca Hispanica* had been dedicated to Essex, as proficient in the Spanish tongue and so experienced in war that he was likely soon to be required in the field anew.[1] As 1591 was the year when Essex was commissioned Lieutenant-General to command English troops against the Spaniards and their allies in France, that is the date to begin looking for new light on the *Relaciones*, English patronage of foreign books being frequently simultaneous with some fresh development in the war against Spain. And accordingly it was in 1591—as we have seen—that an elaborate preface to the *Relaciones* was composed in English by Arthur Atye, who had served under Essex in the Netherlands in 1586. Atye's discourse was conspicuous for sympathy with Pérez and disgust against the Monarch who had first used him for his own purposes, and then disgraced him, in a manner so cold-blooded as to be doubly incongruous from the son of the great Emperor Charles the Fifth.[2]

For reasons already stated, it seems probable that the *Relaciones* were printed in London in 1594 after Essex's discovery of the López conspiracy had aroused further official exasperation against King Philip[3]. Wherever published—whether in London or Lyons—there are a number of printers' errors[4]. Of one thing we can be certain: namely, that such revelations would not have been set up in type in any part of the widespread dominions which acknowledged the rule of Philip II.

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[1] Title page, E.E. Vol VIII, p. lvii; and dedication, pp. 326-327.

[2] For whose advice to Philip II see E.E. Vol. VII, pp. 1-7. Reliance upon Camden's assertion that Burghley opposed Essex as to Pérez may be one reason why the disputants do not consult the Hatfield MS. and therefore have not discovered that an English translation of the *Pedacos de Historia* was undertaken, apparently in 1591.

[3] In *Ant. Perezii ad Comitem Essexium, singularem Angliae Magnatam, et ad altos Epistolarum* (Paris, 8vo, n.d.) a Latin letter from Essex to Peréz, undated, alludes to Portuguese "machinations," and asks Pérez to "send, I pray, by Smith anything you have concerning these matters, for at dawn I shall be at the Tower of London (*ero in aurora in Castello Londinensi*) that I may convict others there imprisoned or at least hear them what they may . . . . confess against themselves." As he invites Pérez "to my wife's house where I can speak with you" (*ut venias ad aedes uxoris meae*, &c &c) it is clear that Pérez was in England in the spring of 1593-4 when López and his accomplices were being cross-examined in the Tower by Essex, Bacon, Cecil and others.

[4] A page of Errata at the end of the *Relaciones* is headed *Yerros de la Impression, sin algunos otros de la Orthographia Española, y apuntamiento, que al que supiere bien la lengua, le sera façil enmendar los*

*APPENDIX B*

## " WHEREVER THE SUN SHINES ":

### *Aubrey F. G. Bell on the penetration of Spanish Language and Literature.*

When we consider the reception of Antonio Pérez in France and England, we should remind ourselves that the Spanish language had spread all over Europe:[1]

" In Portugal it had penetrated to such an extent that every great Portuguese writer of the sixteenth century, with the exception of Antonio Ferreira, was bilingual and composed poetry or prose in Spanish as well as in Portuguese. 'Nuestra lengua,' said Gonzalo Correas in the year 1600, 'a ido creciendo como suelen las lenguas con el imperio.' Siguenza in 1599 says that Spanish may now be read wherever the sun shines; and Cabrera de Córdoba speaks of it as 'general y conocida en todo lo que alumbra el sol.' Thus Lebrija's saying that 'language always follows Empire' had been fulfilled, and Gracian can speak of 'la lengua española tan universal como su imperio.'

" Miguel Salinas, almost a century earlier, writes of 'nuestro lengua casi entendido por toda Europa,'[2] and in 1588 Virues called it 'la universal lengua española.'[3] In Portugal all educated persons spoke or wrote it. In France '*ni varon ni mujer deja de aprender la lengua castellana*' wrote Cervantes in his posthumous novel.[4] In the first half of the preceding century Valdés had remarked that in Italy all the gallants and ladies learnt Spanish. At Venice, said Francisco Delicado in 1531, 'casi pocos la ignoran.' At Brussels 'se les ha hecho muy familiar':[5] 'ya la saben todos en aquel reino.'[6] In Germany we are told that the spokesman of the citizens of Wittenberg addressed the Emperor Charles V in Spanish.[7]. In England Queen Mary shared her sister Queen Elizabeth's 'perfit readines in Spanish' . . . The merchants of the West coast of Ireland were familiar with the language. Familiarity with the language or with the books of Spanish authors translated into English filled English literature with Spanish phrases and allusions to Spain. Books in Spanish were printed at the principal presses throughout Europe. Even Rabelais, to whom the Spanish were simply the enemies of his country, 'ces idalgos bourrachous marranisez comme diables,'[8] had to include

[1] In this connection as we cannot improve upon what has been stated by Mr Aubrey F. G. Bell, the ensuing appreciation is quoted with his permission from his *Notes on the Spanish Renaissance* in the now out-of-print *Revue Hispanique*, tome LXXX, pp. 328-329; New York & Paris, 1930. The footnote references are Mr Bell's, but renumbered for E E. The present writer takes this opportunity of again acknowledging to Mr Bell a large debt of gratitude for his many and excellent works on the literature of the Peninsula.

[2] *Libro apologetico que defiende la buena y docte pronunciation que guardan los antiguos &c. 1563 Al lector.*

[3] *El Monserrata* Canto V. [4] *Trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda III.* 13 &c.

[5] *Obras de Quevedo*, Brussels, 1660. *Prologo del impressor.*

[6] Maria de Zayas, *Tarde llega el desengaño*

[7] Luis de Avila, *Commentario de la Guerra de Alemania* &c.

[8] *Gargantua.* Liv. I, cap 8.

the Spanish language in his 'belles grandes librairies en Grec, Latin, Hebrieu, François, Tuscan et Hispaignol.'[1] Ronsard advises the learning of Latin, Greek, Italian and Spanish. . . .[2] In the following century the scroll of parchment in Bacon's *New Atlantis* was written in Hebrew, Greek, Latin and Spanish.[3]

"In Spain the pen and the sword were old comrades; men of letters continued to be men of action in the sixteenth century and indeed often regarded their writing as a kind of militia."[4] Spain and England "both emerged from the Renaissance with a score of immortal names and with a national drama of a splendour unknown since the death of Euripides. In both centuries classicism and romance, authority and induction were enabled by peculiar circumstances to balance one another. In Spain there was greater artistic feeling, and we may also contrast the utilitarian spirit of Bacon with Luis de León's longing after pure knowledge and that other reality the ultimate explanation of things; but in Spain also there was plenty of practical sense and applied science, and Spanish treatises on cartography, cosmography, medicine, music and botany were held in general esteem."[5]

To this the present writer has added occasional reminders that Spanish *disciplina militar* and text books on navigation were assiduously studied in sixteenth century England, not only before but after the defeat of the Invincible Armada.[6]

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[1] *Garganttua*, cap 53 [2] *La Franciade* Preface, 1587

[3] See E E. Vol IX, p 342 [4] Bell op cit p 335

[5] Bell, pp. 338-339

[6] See E E. Vol II, p 200, Vol IV, p 78, Vol. VII, pp 405-412, Vol VIII, pp 205-207, and for the first Anglo-Spanish Dictionary in England, 1591, Vol VIII, p lvii The combination of arts and arms is typified in the gorgeous parade armour of Alexander of Parma, E E Vol. VIII, plates 13 and 14. Mr Bell observes in his *Notes on the Spanish Renaissance*, pp 483-486, "If Renaissance means a new sensitiveness and a deeper humanity, a ready appreciation of the external world, a quick susceptibility to the impressions of the senses, to every shade of colour, every changing note of melody, to harmony of phrase and grace of form, the Spanish writers of the sixteenth century display those qualities in abundance."

He instances also the arts and crafts "Chasubles, *azulejos*, carved retables, iron screens, silver monstrances, work of silk, of lace, of earthenware, work in a tone so delicate as to be known as silversmith's work, plateresque",—all characteristic, as also the "treasures of architecture"; with their "freshness of invention and vigorous individuality, especially in the windows," such as in their variety "contrast with the orderly monotony of the Escorial"

Moreover, (pp. 490-492) "The reign of Philip II was the age of great Spanish musicians," and "all the arts were magnificently encouraged by Philip" whose Portuguese mother to her appreciation "of nature, of flowers, and song of nightingales, joined a love of poetry, music and painting" (For her portrait by Titian see E E. Vol IV, plate 1)

Continued Spanish zeal for "*lo bello, . . lo verdadero y lo bueno*" in art, embodying "*los nobles ideales del alma humana*," was described by the Duke of Berwick and Alba in his *Discursos leidos ante la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, Madrid*, 1924 And many examples of Spanish arts were lent from private and public collections and exhibited at Barcelona: Vide *El Arte en España Guia del Palacio Nactonal Tercera edición Revisada por Don Manuel Gomez Moreno*, &c, &c Barcelona, 1929

Mr Bell's above-quoted work has been issued in Spanish, *El Renacimiento español. Traductión y prólogo de Eduardo Julián Martinez Saragoza*, Edit: Ebro. 1944. pp. xxviii-402; xxxvi láminas As the present History is passing through the press, news arrives that Mr Bell died in Canada on the 7th May, 1950, aged 68. It is to be hoped that his works may be collected and reissued.

*APPENDIX C.*

## "ANTONIO PÉREZ, EL HOMBRE, EL DRAMA, LA ÉPOCA."

Since the foregoing pages were set up in type two handsome volumes bearing the above title have been issued in Madrid by the famous firm of Espasa-Calpe, with 102 illustrations; and a Bibliography of (A) Printed and (B) MS data.[1] The extensive list of Spanish publications brings home to us anew the extraordinary interest excited by the far-from-edifying career of the disloyal Principal Secretary of Philip II. The distinguished author, Dr G. Marañón, has been at pains to gather together a large collection of material which will establish his *Antonio Pérez* as a standard work. The illustrations cover a wide area. Portraits of Pérez, authentic and otherwise, are treated in a *Nota sobre los retratos,* (Vol. II. pp. 930-932, and more briefly in Vol. I, p. 290). Five reproduced, (nos 44 to 48) are held to be possibly genuine; and six only *supuestos* (nos 49 to 54).

There is an admirably dignified *Enrique IV de Francia* in robes of State, sceptre in hand, with his crown beside him (Vol. II, fig. 90, facing 628), by an unknown artist, *Galeria de los Oficios,* Florence; and photographs of documents, title-pages, houses, castles, prisons, and personages connected with Pérez, enabling us to feel we see him almost as when he lived.

We might wish that the portraits selected of Philip II had shown that Monarch at his best, for though he plays a sinister part in the affairs of his renegade Minister, this King of Spain was a "great Lion" in the eyes of Lord Burghley,[2] who spent forty years opposing him but who never underrated his ability.

Dr Marañón regards Pérez as a fascinating incarnation *del espíritu de su época.* But some of us may think that though his type would not have seemed strange in the turbulent and partly republican States of Italy, *todas las Españas* in the great days of Monarchy and Empire can be more justly represented by the 3rd Duke of Alba,[3] by Don John of Austria,[4] by the 1st Marquis of Santa Cruz,[5] by Alexander Prince and Duke of Parma,[6] by the veteran Cristóbal de Mondragón,[7], by Sancho Dávila,[8] or by Don Beltrán de Castro[9]; rather than by the wily civilian who never drew sword in war for his King or Country, but by tongue and pen urged the rulers of other nations to invade the homeland from which he had fled.

Though we may prefer the martial valour and loyalty, consistency and fidelity for which Spain was then renowned even in the eyes of such English and French warriors and statesmen as were the most resolutely opposed to what they described as King Philip's ambition "to make

[1] *Primera edición 31 1. 1947. Segunda edición 12. 5. 1948, especialmente autorizada por el autor.* (1003 pages)
[2] E.E. Vol. V, pp 5-11.
[3] E.E. Vol. II, pp. 1-22; & plate 2; Vol. III, pp. 215-222; Vol IV, 1-22; & plates 2 & 5.
[4] E.E. Vol. II, pp. 77-97; & plates 10 & 12.
[5] E.E. Vol. IV, pp. 165-215, 291-306; & plates 12, 15, & 22.
[6] E.E. Vol. VI, pp. 187-202; & plates 9, 10, & 11; Vol. VII, pp. 101-122, & plates 13, 14, & 16; Vol. IX, pp.
[7] E.E. Vol IX, p 414 [8] E.E. Vol. IV, pp. 18, 28-33 [9] F.E Vol IX, pp. 187-266.

himself Lord and universal Monarch of the World," we should recognise the scholarship and perseverance embodied in Dr Marañón's many years of labour to produce what he conceived to be a complete portrayal and interpretation of this paradoxical personage and of his friends and foes.

It is not possible to bring a work so elaborate within the limits of a summary. To enter into the author's standpoint his narrative and arguments need to be studied in extenso. There is here only space to mention a few points. As the second edition, 1948, is *revisada y ampliada* we assume that later editions may be still further amplified. This is desirable for Chapter XXVI of Volume II, pp. 643-675, where the English and French portion could be strengthened from material now published in Volume IX, Part VII, chapter 6, section 2, of a work the title of which is misprinted in the Bibliography (p. 925) as

> "(291) TENNINSON (E. M.) Elizebetrhan England, being the History *to* all foreign Princeps, X vol. 1933."

In Volume I of that History a note of warning was sounded (pp xxxii—xxxiii) that the pseudo-Essex of 19th and 20th century animadversions bears no resemblance to the actual soldier-statesman, whose character, principles, and services can only be measured through the direct evidence, much of which has been strangely neglected until exhumed by the present writer. It is unfortunate that Lytton Strachey's journalistic fantasy has been translated into Spanish (*Isabel y Essex*, 1944) to give a new lease of life to fallacies which need never have arisen had our 19th century historians not echoed each other's rash pronouncements.

Essex's actual dealings with Pérez are seen in their chronological place in this Volume IX But Volumes I to VII were all in the Library of the *Real Academia de la Historia* in 1940, and should have sufficed to make clear that where Essex is concerned no previous modern rendering has been based on more than a small proportion of the evidence.[1] Dr. Marañón (p. 644) draws a contrast between Essex *uno de esos jóvenes, impetuosos, elegantes*, &c. and the *sagaz Cecil* This antithesis has long been the fashion It is the present writer's discovery that Essex from early childhood looked to Burghley as his "pilot," and that after Drake's death Essex was the chief active instrument of Burghley's foreign policy. A misleading idea of antagonism has seemed to be supported by the Calendar epitome of Essex's instructions where Pérez is concerned (See E.E., ante, p. 359, for this memo, there taken from the original). Dated by Dr. Marañón *en junio de 1593*, the actual document is not dated at all. We may, however, agree as to Pérez having visited England with the Vidame de Chartres during that year; and that it is probable the *Relaciones* were published in London in 1594, though this last is by no means certain. Dr Marañón rightly doubts whether the printing was *de costa de la Reina*, and asks *Es posible que tenga razón Fernández Duro al decir que el mecenas fué el Conde de Essex?* How generous Essex was to this refugee, and the exact figures of expenditure on his behalf, the present writer has been able to put beyond doubt (ante p. 361), but (as already said) there is nothing in Essex's detailed Accounts for 1593-1595 to answer the question as to the printing of *Relaciones*.

Dr Marañón (p. 647) very properly doubts whether Queen Elizabeth gave a pension to Pérez. We can answer definitely that Captain B. M. Ward in searching unpublished Exchequer records which revealed sundry hitherto unknown pensions,—found none for Pérez, but one for life to Dr Ruy López.[2] In regard to López Dr Marañón (not unnaturally) has been misled by

[1] See especially E.E Vol. I, pp. x-xii; Vol. III, p 50, and note 1

[2] E.E. Vol. IX, p. 251.

Strachey's echoes of Camden and Sir Sidney Lee. And Lee's fanciful assumptions have escaped detection as such until now. (E.E. pp.247—267). Had Dr. Marañón noticed the retrospective statements of the Conde de Gondomar as to López and his accomplices[1] he would have been saved from applauding Strachey's morbid sentimentality about a scoundrel whose treachery was so cold-blooded, deliberate, and long-sustained as to be almost inhuman.

In Dr Marañón's list of editions of the Works of Pérez (Nos 204 to 236) no: 234 *Traicté paraenetique* is given only as *atribuido* to Pérez. But there exists clear evidence of the authorship, which will be published in Volume X of E.E Meanwhile in E.E., Vol. VIII, (1940), quotations from that work show how Pérez regarded Dom Antonio, Prior of Crato, the elected 18th King of Portugal, last of the dynasty of Avis. Dr Marañón mentions an English version of the "Treatise Paraenetical" and also a later Italian translation (from the French); but not the Dutch, the title-page of which last will appear in facsimile in Volume X of E.E. The identity of Pérez as the author appears to have been no secret in official circles at the time; and his discourse, vehemently hostile to King Philip, is a useful further indication of his feelings.

On Dr Marañón's page 648, "Lord Harris (Arry)" as one of the English friends of Pérez must be meant for Lord Harry Howard. There was no Lord Harris until 1815

References to *los corsarios ingleses* call for amendment; for, as Don Beltrán de Castro pointed out to the Council of State, England and Spain being at open war, Queen Elizabeth's maritime officers were no more corsairs than those of King Philip.[2]

The English combined operations in 1596 are described by Dr Marañón (p. 649) as *dirigida por el Lord Howard, por el gran marino Raleigh, y por Essex*. a sequence not unusual in hasty writings of modern English landsmen. But the Queen's Commissions show Essex and the Lord High Admiral Howard of Effingham as colleagues equal in command afloat and Essex as General in sole command ashore. Raleigh was on that occasion the officer of lowest flag-rank (Rear Admiral), and in one of his letters he sadly relates how being wounded in the initial fighting in the Bay he could do little afterwards and had to return to his ship.

Dr Marañón uses our Calendars of State Papers; but lacks the earlier and very important selection issued by Murdin in 1759, often quoted in E.E. (Thence we derive Wylton's letters to Essex about Pérez in France) Nor does Dr Marañón appear to know of the Hatfield Calendars, which are essential to any adequate comprehension of the policy, work, and era of Lord Burghley. (His expression *los Cecils* is derived from modern English writings; but Burghley had been a peer for more than twenty years when Pérez came to this country. It will ultimately be seen that Burghley's sons failed to continue their father's policy, so that to refer to "the Cecils" collectively is misleading).

For lack of the Hatfield Calendars, Dr Marañón remains unaware of Arthur Aty's Prologue to an intended (but seemingly abandoned) English translation of the *Relaciones* in 1591. Aty's special pleading (E.E. ante, p. 357) might with advantage be translated to add to the Chapter *Intrigas politicas . . . en Inglaterra y Francia.*

The *Real Academia de la Historia* in 1935 pronounced *Elizabethan England . . . 'In Relation to all Foreign Princes,'* to be *escrita sin espíritu de partidista* and to have "reconstructed the march of events" from the direct evidence. The late Señor Don Alvaro Alcala-

[1] *Correspondencia oficial. Documentos,* (Madrid, 1936), Vol. I, pp. 196-198. Translated, E.E. Vol. IX, pp. 280-282.

[2] E.E. Vol. IX, pp. 198; 222-223, and plates 13 & 14.

Galiano, Marqués de Castel Bravo, likewise testified to the author's strict justice to the achievements of Spain.[1] It is therefore the more to be regretted that a scholar of the quality of Dr Marañón has allowed himself to be influenced instead by the grotesque "Elizabeth and Essex" of Lytton Strachey.[2]

Let us hope to see a third edition of *Antoio Pérez, el hombre, el drama, la época,* in which the Elizabeth naval heroes will no longer figure as corsairs, nor Essex as merely a rash impetuous youth. The dedication of the *Relaciones* to him as a Privy Counsellor might have conveyed its meaning; rash youths were not appointed to that august institution which then conducted the main business of the realm. Though certainly Essex's patronage of Pérez is one of the least edifying of his actions, and may reasonably be classed as an error in judgment, that error was shared by Burghley, who had been recognised by Don Pedro de Valdés as far the wisest and greatest of the Queen's Ministers of State.[3] Their motive, as we have seen, was service to England. Neither of these noblemen appear to have felt the impropriety of patronising an ex-Minister who was devoting all his talents and energies to the attempted overthrow of his own Sovereign,—who, whatsoever his faults, was the unwavering custodian of the power and majesty of Spain.[4]

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[1] . críticos y eruditos tendrán que confesar que Mr Tenison ha bebido en novísimas fuentes de información, renovado por completo la perspectiva histórica de aquella época . . Al hacer justicia al poderío y grandeza de España, el historiador inglés destruye los prejuicios de la leyenda negra, y justifica al propio tiempo la política de Inglaterra y sus planes de hegemonía. Ante todo, este autor aspira a demostrarnos su imparcialidad. No idealiza a ningún hombre, sea insigne o mediocre Cada personaje, se revela a sí mismo, bien por sus propios actos y palabras, bien por la correspondencia o los juicios de sus contemporáneos . En lo que se refiere a España, las figuras de Felipe II, el duque de Alba y el marqués de Santa Cruz adquieren aquí singular relieve. Insiste el autor en recalar la importancia de las victorias navales de Santa Cruz . . . En cuando el gran Duque de Alba, es calificado como 'jefe, superior a todos los españoles de su tiempo,' en talento, energía, y dotes de mando . . . Varios de estos manuscritos traducidos del español no habían visto la luz ni siquiera en España."

*"Isabel de Inglaterra y su tiempo"* in *"ABC. Madrid 28 de Mayo de 1935 Edición de la Mañana" pag 32*

[2] Strachey was no antiquary, but an ultra-"modern" impressionist with a peculiar inability to comprehend any character of higher moral stature than his own He will be remembered by posterity, if remembered at all, chiefly by his cynical distortion of the life and reign of Queen Victoria, and his depreciation of the deserved renown of General Gordon, Florence Nightingale, and other eminent Victorians, whose devotion to Sovereign and Country (and whose lack of selfish ambition) he so misrepresented as to reveal not their natures but his own limitations

[3] E.E ante pp. 105-106.

[4] Burghley himself, privately to the Queen, had described King Philip as "absolutely ruling" a people who under him were "all one-hearted in religion; ambitious, politic, and valiant." E.E. Vol. V. p 9

PART VII.

"The causes that govern the events."

CHAPTER 6.

## "THE HONOUR AND GREATNESS OF THE QUEEN."

SECTION 3.

# "Annuities, Gifts, Rewards."

*(Household accounts of the Master of the Horse).*

**"His Lordship's private expenditure in Her Majesty's service . . . . My Lord's Gifts to poor soldiers and men that had no means . . . It is and hath been more than I will state: and sure I am it hath been for Her Majesty's honour that poor men might have relief."**

*Holograph Memo. of Gelly Meyrick, Steward and Controller of the Household to Robert Earl of Essex, K.G., P.C.* Unpublished Longleat Devereux MSS.

**"The ancient Noble house your Lordship is come of, and how both they and your Lordship have deserved well of the Crown and State is well known to all men. . . ."**

**". . . . I shall dailie pray unto the Almighty . . . that you may long live, . . . to the comfort of your Countrie, and friends. . . ."**

*William Jones to the Earl of Essex, 1595; offering a translation of "Nennio."* E.E. p. 420.

**"The everywhere beloved Earle of Essex."**

W.C. [*William Covell,*] *in Polimanteia, 1595.* E.E. p. 536.



# ASTROPHEL.

## A Paſtorall Elegie vpon the death of the moſt Noble and valorous Knight, Sir *Philip Sidney*.

Dedicated

*To the moſt beautifull and vertuous Ladie,* ***the Counteſſe*** *of* Eſſex.



PART VII.

"The causes that govern the events."

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## "THE HONOUR AND GREATNESS OF THE QUEEN."

SECTION 3.

# "Annuities, Gifts, Rewards."

*(Household accounts of the Master of the Horse).*

IN 1595,—the year which was to see the Spanish landing raid in Cornwall, the sailing of Drake and Hawkins on their final voyage, the death of King Dom Antonio "in deepest poverty," and of Philip Earl of Arundel in the Tower,—Edmund Spenser dedicated "To the most beautifull and vertuous Ladie, the Countesse of Essex" his *Astrophel. A Pastorall Elegie upon the death of the most Noble and valorous Knight, Sir Philip Sidney*. It was then nine years since the "misty morning" outside Zutphen, when Sidney had come by his fatal wound, in the Cavalry charge led by his "beloved and much honoured Lord the Earl of Essex," to whom on his deathbed he bequeathed his "best sword."[1] And still in 1595 the war against Sidney's royal godfather Philip II was far from its end. Essex (who had been only nineteen years old when he first proved himself a "thunderbolt of war") had his twenty-eighth birthday in November 1594. His wife, born in the autumn of 1568, was twenty-six, when in the spring of 1595 she gave birth to her fourth Devereux child.[2] On the 14th of April "Master Henry Devereux, third sonne to the Earle of Essex" was baptised "in the Lady Walsingham's house" in Seething Lane. The baby's name of Henry was either in honour of King Henry IV of France; or possibly after Henry Percy, 9th Earl of Northumberland, who was one of the "sureties" at the christening. The other godparents were Essex's elder sister Lady Penelope Rich, and Thomas, Lord Borough, K.G. "Master Sharpe, he preached, and baptised the child,"[3]—Lionel Sharpe, who had been Essex's chaplain in Tilbury Camp in 1588; also in the "Portingale Journey" in 1589, and in the French campaign of 1591.

We have seen the added financial difficulties which had ensued for Essex after

[1] E.E. Vol. VI, p. 245

[2] Her third had been a daughter, Lady Penelope.

[3] Parish Register of St Olave's, Hart Street.

his services in France. Appointed to the Privy Council in February 1592-3, this promotion entailed heavy increase of work, in days when not Parliament but the Queen and Council transacted the daily business of State. Essex therefore had less and less time to devote to his family. If he asked leave to absent himself from the Court for a few days to set his house in order, the Queen was apt to bid him "wait some more convenient season."

Though the late Lord Leicester's "lease of sweet wines" had been conferred upon Essex, the additional money did not go in luxuries but in discharging debts, and paying interest on sums borrowed, during the French war, from Peter Vanlore. Though usury was held in abhorrence, and high rates of interest were forbidden, the condition of Essex's finances had compelled him either to have frequent recourse to the foreign Money-Lender, or refuse some of the responsibilities which crowded thick and fast upon him. In 1594 and 1595, he again resorted to extensive sale of lands; and instead of redeeming the gilt plate and jewels he had pawned to "Peter" in 1592, he left them as security for further loans.

Though it was Essex who had discovered in 1594 the "dangerous and desperate treason," by which not only the Queen's life was to have been taken but her kingdom transferred to the rule of Spain, she does not appear to have accorded the discoverer any reward or even much thanks. As Essex had written to her previously, when he sold a manor to pay a debt to the Crown, that "money and lands" were base things compared with "love and kindness," she knew that to drive a bargain was foreign to his nature. While his renown spread his expenditure increased without proportionate expansion of the wherewithal to meet what he conceived to be his obligations as a "chief member of the Commonwealth."

Service to Queen and Country had been inculcated from his earliest childhood, and to this he added concern for the oppressed. His "suits" to Lord Burghley on behalf of poor scholars, prisoners, or sufferers from the law's delay, began before he reached his teens.[1] How to make a small allowance stretch as far possible he learnt so early, and subsequently upon the income of "the poorest Earl in England" he so outdistanced richer men in the benefits he conferred, that modern allegations as to his "levity of purpose,"[2]—"reckless extravagances," and "rash" behaviour,—tell us nothing of Essex; but reveal the heedlessness of those who with a few pen-strokes held up to opprobrium a personage whose services they never troubled adequately to ascertain. Because of the ignorance and overconfidence with which the life and death of Essex have been treated in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, it is needful to enter now into more detailed consideration of his personal affairs than otherwise would be "proportionable." We have seen that at the age of ten, on his succession to the Earldom, he was admonished to imitate his father's generosity.[3] He inherited with a load of debt a name which was a byword for open-handedness. His father's pensioners all counted on the "young Earl" as a benefactor; and his devotion to his

[1] E.E. Vol V, pp 126-127, 129. Particulars translated from his unpublished Latin letters, pp 126-131
[2] By Corbett in *The Successors of Drake*, 1900 [3] E.E Vol. III, pp. 47-49.

father's memory forbade him to disappoint them. His stepfather Leicester set him a similar example. If we recall also that Essex's expenditure had been far beyond his means in the two wars wherein Leicester was Lieutenant-General, we will comprehend that when Leicester died, Essex was expected to shoulder some of his burdens. Leicester's last Will shows him deep in debt; bequeathing to his stepson a Garter George, a suit of armour and two favourite horses as tokens of affection; with the remainder of certain estates, but these last not unless the "base sonne Robert Dudley" should die without heirs.[1] In all respects Leicester's death had increased the difficulties of Essex who often relieved Her Majesty, as Leicester had done, of part of the "charges" of entertaining her foreign visitors. After Leicester died, the next public event for England had been the expedition to try and restore Dom Antonio to the crown of Portugal; to which project Essex (as we have seen) had contributed seven thousand pounds,[2] hoping to regain it by capture of enemy gold; an expectation doomed to disappointment.

In 1590 Hondius had dedicated to him the new engraved map of England and Ireland;[3] which possibly meant that Essex paid for its printing and circulation. Leicester had been a patron of cartography, and Essex had delighted in maps even in his childhood.

The exigencies of the French war had brought the heaviest demand upon him just when he could least afford it, after marrying the widowed daughter of the late Secretary Walsingham. From thenceforth not only did Essex's "suitors" comprise his father's and stepfather's protégés; but the scholars, churchmen, and others who had looked to Walsingham for help, transferred their supplications to Essex; or if not directly to him, to the lady whom he raised from a "mean state" of fortune to a great position. Because Walsingham's daughter was loaded with her first husband's, her father's, and some of her father-in-law's debts, there does not appear (despite her "extraordinary handsomeness") to have been any competition for her hand during her widowhood. For if on the one part an Elizabethan husband had absolute control over his wife's money, so if he married a wife whose inheritance was mostly of debt, he became responsible. Though a peer could not be imprisoned for debt, the ardour of Essex's affection may be measured by the fact that when he was already over twenty thousand pounds in debt he constituted himself for better for worse the lawful protector of a lady who had no influential relations and whose vicarious treble debts were exceedingly formidable.

Considering that the Queen's jealousy compelled Essex's wife to live "very retired," we might expect him to have given her only a meagre allowance, although in his Will he built up safeguards for her future. During the first two years of marriage, his expenses in connection with the French Ambassador's visit, and the military aid ensuing, compelled extra economy in his home. But after the sale of lands and pawning of jewels that followed his return from France in 1592, we find

[1] E.E. Vol. VII, p. 392.
[2] Memo by his steward. E.E. Vol. VIII, p. 48
[3] E.E. Vol. VIII, plate 17.

him in 1593 handing over to Lady Essex for her "revenue" one thousand three hundred a year, nearly half his total income—towards the upkeep of Barn Elms and Walsingham House, to which she was heiress, though her mother had the leases of both for life. Being so deep in debt—the result of Walsingham "impoverishing himself to serve the State,"—Ursula Lady Walsingham might have been obliged to sell these properties had not Essex come to her aid by marrying her daughter, thus alleviating her "poor and friendless" condition which he had pitied.

The more the circumstances are comprehended, the more we shall see how wide of the mark is the allegation in the Cambridge Modern History that Robert Earl of Essex was a "soldier of fortune" who greatly benefited himself by his marriage. A "soldier of fortune" is a person whose sword is for sale to the highest bidder. But Essex's service to his Queen had increased his honour at the cost of his fortune. He who during his minority persuaded the Master of the Court of Wards to allow him to raise four thousand pounds in his country's interests[1], and who before the age of thirty-three was to be four times Commander-in-Chief of his Sovereign's Armies, twice Admiral, also a Privy Councillor, and Master General of the Ordnance, Lord Lieutenant General of Ireland, and Chancellor of Cambridge University and of Trinity College, Dublin, deserves at least that some heed should be paid to the exalted offices he held. Before rebuking his supposed extravagance, it would have been better to ascertain what his resources were and how he spent them.[2]

Actually, of the "thoughtless folly" characterising the spurious Essex of "Modern History" there is no trace to be found. His generosity was not spasmodic, capricious, or fitful; but deliberate and systematic.[3] And the accounts were so carefully kept by Meyrick that if we had the complete series, from when Meyrick first was appointed Steward and Comptroller until he was executed for fidelity to his master, we could almost estimate Essex's nature from his expenses. But whereas for some of the years the items are described, for others the "particular bookes" are missing.[4] Only short memoranda remain of "*His L[ordship]s private expenditure in her Mat^ies^ service*" from his first coming to the Court (in 1585) until 1591. We have not the full list of "*My Lord's gyftes to pore soldyers and men that had noe means, and were out of intertainment;*"[5] but of this, the Steward notes, "It is and hath bynne more than I will stett;[6] and shure I am it hath bynne for her Ma^ties^ honor

[1] When he was General of the Horse 1585-6, E.E Vol. VI, pp. 39-40.

[2] If it be asked "How should this be discovered?" the answer is that concerning personages exalted in rank and office it is usually only a matter of perseverance to find particulars. As the Essex Earldom now belongs to a different house (the Capels), and as Essex's son left no male heir, the correct line of action is to search among the papers of the descendant of the eldest daughter of Essex · namely the Longleat Devereux MSS These had been almost ignored until used for the present work.

[3] As the present writer is the first to discover

[4] Also some of the totals are illegible. This is the case for gratuities to the Queen's Household at Christmas and New Year 1594-5, and "rewardes to such as presented New yeare's guiftes to yo^r^ lp": which are stated by Meyrick to have been fully entered into two separate books. These books have been sought in vain.

[5] i e unemployed [6] state.

that pore men myght have relief."[1] There remain among the same unpublished Devereux MSS sundry petitions and "suits," with orders to Gelly Meyrick added in the margins, usually in Essex's own hand. Sometimes making further enquiry, sometimes authorising immediate aid, the annotations are among many hitherto unknown evidences of the scrupulous attention given by him to the needs or wishes of all sorts of folk, on his professed principle of trying to "do right" to "every man."

When we have followed his short but crowded life to its premature end, we may be surprised to find that instead of the admiration of the "needie poore" for their benefactor flickering out when he perished, the memory of his "good words and magnificent deeds," his "affable and kind" manner, his prompt payments to soldiers, his pity for the sick and suffering, his sympathy with "scollars paynes," did not fade from the hearts of the "common sorte,"—though to mention his name at the Court, or to refer to his erstwhile famous services, was not allowed in the Queen's presence.[2] In the country's interests and honour he both demanded much and gave much; and as his precepts and practice agreed, he was loved as well as revered,—except by certain courtiers jealous of his reputation, or by a few dishonest officers whom he detected in practices unworthy of their calling. His open-handedness to soldiers, scholars and others, necessitated much self-denial. His expenditure upon his "Household," when he was free of guests, was relatively small. Nor were his disbursings for "Apparrell" proportionate to his position. He had attired himself magnificently to ride into Compiègne in 1591 as the Queen's Lieutenant-General; but, except on state occasions, his manner of dressing became more and more ascetic. In an age when £100 was not thought extreme for a Court dress for a lady of rank; and noblemen's clothes were as costly,—and where the pearls that adorned Sir Walter Raleigh's sumptuous garments were alleged to be of vast price,—the total expenditure by Essex upon his "Apparrell" in 1594 and 1595 up to January 1595-6, comes to £292, plus seven shillings and six pence for "a black feather" set down under "Extraordinary."[3]

As to "Playe," only five items occur for the whole of 1594 and 1595. The total of these comes only to a little more in those two years than the sum which Essex

[1] Undated memo circ. 1592. Longleat Devereux MS. ante p. 373

[2] A 19th century effort to explain away his popularity by alleging the "favourite" to have "practised all the arts of the demagogue" to forward his "treasons." was launched in ignorance of the facts A "demagogue" seditionist commonly covets other people's money; but Essex gave his own. A "demagogue" stirs up strife against superiors; Essex allowed it to be thought that the Queen was the donor, when it was he who paid the bills, when the Vicomte de Turenne and suite were entertained at York House in 1590. A "demagogue" desires the people to revolt against lawful authority; but Essex made authority respected by his manner of using it.

[3] Typical entries are:

"Itm to Oliver for ffustian for yo$^{r}$ lp for to suite of ap$^{ell}$ p. acq. £1. 10

"Itm to him for ffustian for two doublets for yo$^{r}$ lp. 10 January £1. 10"
(Fustian was one of the least expensive of materials).

"Itm to Richardson for girdle and hangers of sylver lace d(livere)d to Oliver for yo$^{r}$ lp: against the 17th of November" (Tournament Day) "and to Tynney cutler for Rapier and Dager sylv(ere)d and likewise d(elivere)d to Olyver 16 Nov: £4 11."

gave during three months in aid of a refugee "gent" from "ffrance" who fell into poor health.

"PLAYE"

Imp[ri]mis to a lynnyn drap[er] yo[r] l[ordshi]p playeing him at Chesse. and lost y[t] time w[ch] yo[r] lp comaunded me to pay at Greenw[ch].

Pitchford and Oliver teste £10

Itm to yo[r] l[ordshi]p to plaie at Cardes with the l[ord] Sheffield on Newe yeres daie at night in the Pre[sen]se.[1] yo[r] lp giving him oddes at Noddy, viz no to 26. £20

Itm to yo[r] lp at S[r] Robt Cecylls 26 January d[elivere]d p[er]me to Oliver in 20 peses in gold £20

Itm to Mr Carewe Reynold w[ch] he lent Yo[r] lp 5 februrie in plaie and I paid it againe Vth ffeb by his acq mans acq £10

Itm to the Countesse of Leicester[2] w[ch] yo[r] lp lost at Chesse to S[r] Robt Carewe[3] yo[r] lp borrowed £10 of her and lost 4 w[ch] yo[r] lp comaunded me to repaie £4"[4]

Total £64. There is reason to infer that Essex either disliked card games; or, except where courtesy demanded, refrained from them because he preferred to spend money upon certain relief to the distressed rather than uncertain amusements for himself. There are not any winnings at "Playe" entered on the credit side of the Accounts. And whereas "Playe" occupies less than half a page "Lawe" covers nearly 4 pages, other people's bills being paid by Essex as well as his own. "Guiftes," 1594-95, fill 5 pages, "Rewardes" two, followed by an extra three quarter page of more gifts. Also other presents come under the heading of "Extraordinary":

7 Nov. Itm to Mr ffowkes w[ch] he gave to the Pore as he attended yo[r] lp 2s 6d.

17 seq. Itm to Mr Allen for necess[aries] to furnish y[e] schollers against 17 No[vember] per bill of p[ar]ticlers £6 2 10[s][5]

The particulars are missing; but as the public were admitted to watch the tournaments on the Coronation anniversary, possibly Essex presented the "schollars" with new doublets or cloaks for the occasion.

"Itm to John the l[ord] Riches footman ffor a torch wherewith he attended yo[r] lp. one shilling," comes under "Extraordinary;" as also the following,

"Itm to S[r] John ffortescues coachman who carried yo[r] lp from Som[er]set howse to the Tylt yard. 2s. 6d.

"Itm to Conway foteman sent with the l[ett]res from yo[r] lp: to S[r] Robt Sydney to Penshurst 29 No[vember] 3s.

29 Nov. To Greene Plomber for work about Essex howse £1 16s.

Itm for a Torche 12 Decemb. 1594 1s.

Itm to Conway foteman for torches to attend yo[r] lp: from Essex howse to Walsingham howse and back againe 12 Decemb. 2s."

[1] In the Queen's presence. [2] Essex's mother.

[3] Sir Robert Cary, his cousin, son of Lord Hunsdon, knighted by him in 1591 E.E. Vol. VIII, p. 516.

[4] In extenso, from unpublished Devereux MS. (Longleat) Vol III, f. 90[b].

[5] Ib. f 91.

Essex going in haste to Walsingham House at night may have been to see his wife or children in some sudden illness; for they did not live at Essex House, but more "retiredly" at Walsingham House in winter and at Barn Elms in summer. Boat-hire on the Thames, and doctor's bills come under "Extraordinary." Though Essex often suffered from fever and ague, his patronage of physicians appears to have been less for himself than for others. In 1594 and 1595 the sole medical item on his own behalf is "to Mr. Wiseman to give Mr Gooderidg" the Queen's chirurgeon, "by yo[r] l[ordshi]ps com[mand] ffor healing yo[r] lp: finger hurt 17 No[vember]. £2."[1] Presumably an injury at the tournament on the Queen's Accession anniversary, and possibly the reason for the "lame hand" to which Essex sometimes refers afterwards, when apologising for his calligraphy.[2]

The accusation against Essex by his political foes, after his fall, that his benevolence had been for treasonable and personal ends, collapses when his accounts are examined. The greater number of his private gifts were to persons in no position to requite him, sufferers whose misfortunes touched his heart. His father "could not beare to see merit weeping," and Essex similarly thought himself born to succour the distressed. When his yearly pay as Master of the Horse only came to £66. 13. 4. he spent £61. 15 in ten weeks in aid to one foreigner alone:—

"30 January. Itm to Mr Normanvile the ffrench gent, being sick in London I sent him at several times by his man 23 January for expenses, £8 10

"Itm to Mr Daniel Poe for Mr Normanvill His Physick and Diet being sick in London p. acq £13 5 6

"Itm to Mr Normanvile for necessary occasions being in physick, his Arme out of Jointe and to send his man into the Countrey £20

"Itm to Mr Normanville by y[r] l[ordshi]p command 17 April 1595 Mr. Lyndley and Mr. Reynolds being privie thereto To buy him app[ar]ell £20"[3]

The distinction between "Guiftes" and "Rewardes" was that the first depended only on the recipient's need; the second were in recognition of courtesies

[1] Ib. f. 91.

[2] Seven pages transcript of "Extraordinary" include such items as "For paper and wax being sent for to Essex howse for yo[r] lp: use at sundry times p[er] Samuel" 3s. 6d. and 1s.
"To Mr Ellis Jones sent w[th] the Dutch Ambass[ador] to Oxford and Cambridg xii May 1595 £5."
"To a Ke[e]p[er] of Chartleighe for bringing up xii Redd deare Pyes 14 Octobris £1. 13"
"To Richard of the Pantry being sent into the lowe Countryes £1."
26 Octobris et seq. To Robt Lynnacre, Cooke, to buy him a cloak his other being lost in y[e] Kitchen £2"
"To Robt Mefflin Coachmaker for making a shed to kepe Mr Bacons coach drye £2. 4 6."
The list of "Debtes pay'd", (3 pp. transcript), are to joiners, shoemakers, armourers, coachmaker, "ffethermaker", farriers, sadlers, chandlers, "glassors", "an Apothecarie", "Ymbroderer", "stockingman", and to Meyrick the Steward himself, "due upon my last accomptes 1593 & 1594," £144. 8 6.

[3] Steward's Accounts. Longleat Devereux MS. Vol. III. ff. 82 & 83.

received,—such as "To one that keeps the monuments at Westm[inster] Abbey y[r] Lordship being ther to see them, £1;" equal to much more in modern money.

"Annuities" to relations and to men of letters, and others, with numerous Gifts and Rewards, made up of a large proportion of Essex's expenditure. There are also elaborate particulars of lands to be sold; and notes of how much these may be hoped to yield; supplemented by lists of jewels and plate in pawn to help to pay interest to Peter Vanlore, of whom we shall hear often again. ["Peter" was to play his cards so skilfully that he at last became the possessor of Lady Essex's old home, Barn Elms, after her Lord's tragedy; and received the accolade from Queen Elizabeth's successor].

We should recollect that Essex's expenses in the French campaign were fourteen thousand pounds; the previous cost of entertaining the French Ambassador having been two thousand two hundred pounds, "besides private giftes." So even after selling many manors, and pawning more plate and jewels, to meet the most pressing claims, three years after his marriage Essex still was hampered by debts amounting to nearly thirty thousand pounds—as the present writer discovered from the accounts kept by Meyrick.[1]

Some ten manors and "The Island of Alderney," this last valued at £1,300, presumably a lease, make up £30,520, enough to clear the debt and leave a few hundred pounds balance.[2] On a later occasion, to meet other debts, he paid Vanlore £6000 out of the "lease of swete wines." Of entailed property which he could not sell, the values are less than we would expect; his beautiful ancestral home of Chartley with its extensive park being rated as "worth ye[a]rlie £200" at this time, and no more. Though he had inherited manors in Staffordshire, Herefordshire, Brecon, Pembroke, Buckingham, and Essex, as well as estates in Ireland, some of the English manors are set down as yielding only from four to eighteen pounds each, per annum. Even in Elizabethan England it was not so much the landowners who were rich as the merchants. In 1592 Essex's annual territorial income had been two thousand five hundred pounds, after the annuities to his relations were paid.[3] But with other items his revenue in 1595 came to three thousand and eighty-seven pounds five

[1] "Sum total of the said Earles debts £29,993. 4 6. whereof his l[ordship] hath assured unto Mr Peter Vanlore to be paid out of the p[ro]ffits of the lease of swete wynes w[ch] will satisfie the somme of £4000 And ther will rest owinge by his l[ordship] the somme of £25,993. 4. 6. w[ch] somme I accompte shalbe satisfied w[th] the lands herafter mentioned appoynted to be sould"

Unpublished Devereux MS Vol III, ff. 107-108

[2] Ibid

[3] But in estimating the purchasing power of Elizabethan money we must remind ourselves that there was no income tax The present writer could not judge the relative values; but according to an expert at the British Museum each Elizabethan figure "should be multiplied by 20 to give the value while we were still on the gold standard, and I suppose by 3 again to represent the present day value, which would make Essex's £2,500 per annum the equivalent to £150,000 now. With the present heavy taxation it would take £5,000,000 or £6,000,000 to yield £150,000 to-day." An official in the Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum, to Sir George Hill, K.C.B, late Director of the B M, in answer to a question on behalf of E M T December, 1946.

shillings: fees for stewardships, and his pay as Master of the Horse (the latter sixty-six pounds thirteen shillings and fourpence) being taken into consideration.[1]

Out of this three thousand pounds odd, Essex was not only allowing his wife, as already said, one thousand three hundred as her yearly "revenue," but helping her in the payment of her debts. In any emergency she seems only to have needed to ask her "sweete Essex" for money for him at once to give it; even if he had to part with another estate to meet the increased liabilities. Under "Money borrowed," his Steward notes "Mr Duxhurst for the Countesse use xxvith Junij 1593 for vi months, £100." Immediately under this comes further "Sale of lands" including Cliffe Park to "the Lord highe Treasurer of England," for which the payment was five hundred pounds.[2] In 1593, and onwards to 1595, "Jewel and plate at pawne upon interest" are conspicuous: and not only gilt and "white" (i.e. silver) plate, but a "great pearle" and "greate piece of gold," and "Two Riche garters." Most remarkable is this pawning of such of the Garter insignia as Essex had not in daily wear.[3] His dignity of a Knight of the Garter was ardently prized by him; so the extremity to which he was reduced—when jewels and plate did not suffice for security to the usurers, and they even held his "Great Garter" in pledge,—we shall realise if we remember that though by the 38th Statute of King Henry VIII, the collar of the Order could be "put into the hand of the Goldsmith and Workman" for

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[1] "The ffee of the Stewardship of heref(ord) per an. £5
The ffee of the Mr of her Ma^tes horse per an £66. 13 4.
The ffee of Stewardships in Wales per an £70
etc etc
"So his lo Revenue is by yeare clere present £3,087. 5. 0."

*Unpublished Longleat Devereux MS. Vol. III.* Meyrick sets down also a list of "Landes which are to dissend until the said Earl" to the value of £735. 14s. "after the death of the countesse of leicester"; also after the deaths of his uncles George and Edward Devereux and the Lady Devereux; and there follow exact particulars "of my L. his debts upon interest for w^ch Mr Crompton, Mr Wrighte, and my self stand bound."

[2] "*This Declaration of the Accompte of Gelley Mericke Esquier, Steward of the right honorable the Erle of Essex houshold, and Receiver generall of his Rentes and Revenues,* as well of sondrie somes of money by him receyved and hadd, As also howe and in what manner the same hathe bene by him disbursed yssued and paide to the same Earles use, ffrom the XXIIIIth daie of November 1592 anno Regni dne Regina XXVth untill the XIIIIth daie of Decembr Anno regni Regina . . XXXth p s d. 1593"

*Unpublished Longleat Devereux MSS* Vol III, ff 73-77 (large sheets, Transcript made in 1927 covers 22 folio pages) forthcoming (with other accounts) in the present writer's *Complete Life of Robert Earl of Essex.*

[3] "July past 1593 Yor Lp. Jewels in Peters handes £2000
Wakering mortgaged to him £3000
Decemb Mr Mayo drap(er) upon yor Lp and my L Riches Statute £1000
Yor Lp guilte plate with ffletcher £200
Yor Lp. white plate and guilt Basins £200
Two Riche garters with Watt Wood £140
Yor Lp. silver dishes £120
Novemb. 20 Yor Lp. greate pearle £400
Yor Lp. greate pese of gold £400
Sum 7,460"

(a few illegible items omitted) *Unpublished Longleat Devereux MSS.* Vol. III, f. 110.

repairs, "The said collar may not be sold, engaged, aliened, or given, for any need, cause, or necessity whatsoever be."[1]

For 1594 and 1595 the accounts are exceedingly elaborate: under twenty headings, in this order: *"Stable, Harbinger, Rewardes, Guiftes, Money lent, Rentes payd, Exchange, Apparell, Lawe, Playe, Extraordinary, Debts payd, Interest, Privy Purse, Household, Annuityes, Wages, Diet, and Wines."*

Under "Guiftes" in 1595, we see "To my lady 10 April when she lay in p. her hand. £10." Under "Interest," undated,

| | |
|---|---|
| ". . . for interest of £100 for my ladie | £5 |
| . . to Mr Peter Vanlore for interest | £150 |
| [An illegible line] . . . to Wat Wood for interest of Garters pawned by yo l[ordshi]p. Com p. acq. | £10 3 6" |
| Again soon after, "To Mr Vanlore for interest money | £50 |
| To Mr. Whitfield for interest of £700 for my Ladie her debt due at Midsummer 1595 | £70 |
| To Mr Peter Vanlore for interest due to Mr Adrian de Porter | £25 |
| To Mr ffletcher for interest of £100 had upon yo[r] l[ordshi]p gilt plate due Octobris 1595 for 6 months | £5 |
| To Mr Watwood for interest of 150 for 6 months finit 23 Novemb: 1595, *Being borrowed up[n] yo[r] l[ordshi]ps Greate Garter* | £7 10 |
| To him for interest of £120 for y[e] 8 months finit 28 No. 1595 £8 Being borrowed upon *yo[r] lp. two Garters* | £8 |
| For renewing the same p. bill | 5s" |

Under "Stables" in 1595, "for the charges of my Ladie to Petworth and back againe" 27th of June, 27th of July, £33. 17. 1. This visit to Essex's sister Lady Dorothy, wife of Henry Earl of Northumberland at his estate in Sussex is the only journey by Lady Essex to be found, other than backwards and forwards from Barn Elms to London; and it shows that despite Essex allowing her one thousand three hundred pounds a year, he did not expect her out of that to pay what he classed as "Extraordinary" expenses. He seems not to have troubled her with the knowledge of his constant difficulties about money: for some of his debts appear to have come as a shock to her after his death. We shall then find her trying to sell some of her Walsingham lands in order to prevent losses to his creditors,—Essex's own lands and property having been confiscated by the Queen, and Lady Essex thus being deprived of the yearly allowance she had hitherto enjoyed. To contrive for her a "sure, perfect and certain" estate, in case he were swept away from her in the wars, was a determination to which Essex firmly held. In this year 1595, he settled the remainders of Chartley and of his lease of Essex House upon her to supplement his previous legacies.[2] The oft-repeated modern assertion that Essex in his "careless extrava-

[1] *Status of the Most Noble Order . . .* ed: 1840, p. 43.

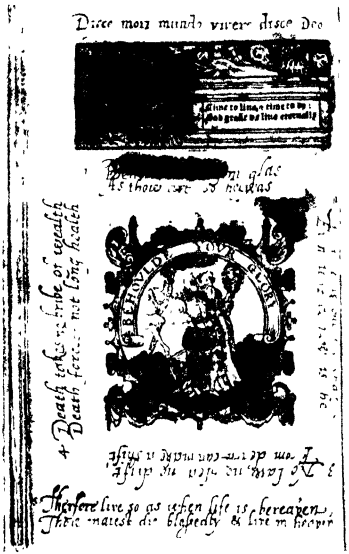
[2] S P.D Eliz: CCLIII. No. 20. Memo 17 July 37 Eliz. endorsed "Comes Essex. who to be executors, who overseers, where the books shall remain." "Chartley, Staf" is noted as "Yo[r] L for Lief ut sup. rem[ainder] to the Countess towardes educacion of your children, payment of dettes, p[er]formance of your will till your heir be 22 yeres old . . ."

gance" left Lady Essex almost to starve after his death, is doubly slanderous. It ignores all his own elaborate arrangements for her and his children and that the Queen in 1601 confiscated the lands out of which those provisions for his wife and family should have come. Apprehending that he might be cut off early by a Spanish bullet, Essex foresaw and provided against every contingency; except the disaster which came upon him at the last; namely, ruin largely through an enemy's misuse of his wife's name to the Queen,—the long-buried story of which is yet to be divulged,—and death on the scaffold on a charge of aspiring to be King: which accusation not even the Spaniards believed, though the overthrow of "England's Bulwark" was their comfort.

Because of the indictment to be brought against him in the end, that "from the earliest times of his preferment" all his expenditure and service had been a cunning device to conceal a secret intention to put himself in Her Majesty's place, we require at every stage of his career to take note of what he was doing. His position in 1595 was based upon his own merits and the Queen's deserved favour. It was not until after his death that an admirer sadly likened him to the generous but ill-fated Prince Plangus in Sidney's *Arcadia,* whose greatest virtues and noblest actions were made a pretext for awakening the jealousy and bitter antagonism of the Sovereign. In 1600, while Essex was a prisoner, a courageous dramatist dared to put on the stage a peer and warrior whose entertainments to foreign Ambassadors promoted the fame of his Sovereign who by evil Counsellors was turned against him. In the play, the King repented of his unjust suspicion, and restored the warrior to all the offices and honours he had carried so worthily.[1] But though this was meant to show Queen Elizabeth what the people expected of her, there were other and subtler influences at work in 1600. In 1595, however, (the year after the execution of Dr. López), it had not yet occurred to Her Majesty to distort into a "conspiracy" to usurp her throne the efforts made by Essex. And excepting only his "pilot" the Lord High Treasurer—Burghley—no Councillor in 1595 appeared to stand more securely in the Queen's favour than her near kinsman and Master of the Horse.[2]

[1] *The Royall King and the Loyall Subject.* Analysed E E. Vol. XI.

[2] Observe that his relationship to the Queen was not through the Tudors but through Lady Mary Boleyn (for whose portrait see E.E. Vol. III, plate 5). Some emphasis is required here, because of a fantastic modern fiction making Essex a son of the Queen; regardless of his Devereux birth being very well authenticated and his character as unlike as possible to that of any Tudor.



A
DISCOVRSE
OF LIFE AND
*death, written in French by Phil. Mornay, Sieur du Plessis Marly.*

IT seemes to me strange, and a thing much to be marueiled, that the labo-rer to repose himselfe hasteneth as it were the course of the Sunne: that the Mariner rowes with all force to attaine the port, & with a toyfull crie salutes the des-cried land, that the traueller is neuer quiet nor content till he be at the end of his voyage: & that we in the meane while tied in this world to a perpetuall taske, tossed with conti-nuall tempest, tyred with a rough &



*"Done into English by the Countesse of Pembroke."*

First published in 1592 (E E Vol IX, p. 390, note 4) the Countess of Pembroke's translation of the above Discourse was re-issued "At London, Printed for William Ponsonby, 1600." Of this latter edition the "Short Title" Catalogue only records three copies.

Messrs Maggs Bros. possess a fourth, described in their *Mercurius Britannicus* No 123, September, 1950 (item 397) and there priced by them at £85. They have kindly lent the illustration now added as these sheets are passing through the press.

This copy, with MS. notes and additions, is a "12mo rebound in calf, with the original calf sides laid down, these bearing the Boleyn Badge, a crowned falcon holding a sceptre in gold in the centre of each cover. This Badge was used by Queen Elizabeth to indicate Books in her Private Library." (See *Mercurius*, p. 23).

For Sir Philip Sidney's translation of *"The Trewnesse of Christian Religion"* from the French of the same eminent soldier-statesman, see E.E., Vol. VII (1940), pp 145-160, and E.E., Vol. IX, p. 257

## *MARY, 3rd WIFE OF HENRY HERBERT, EARL OF PEMBROKE.*

*Sister of Sir Philip Sidney, and daughter of Sir Henry Sidney*
*by his wife Lady Mary Dudley, daughter of John Dudley, Viscount Lisle,*
*Earl of Warwick, and 1st Duke of Northumberland*

*From the original formerly at Garboldisham Old Hall,*
*in the collection of Major Crisp Molineux-Montgomerie,*
*and now in the possession of the Rt Hon Sir Felix Cassel, Bart.*

Canvas 77½ × 41½ inches Described as follows in the late Prince Frederick Duleep Singh's "Portraits in Norfolk Houses," Vol I, pp 148-149:

"F L Standing Body and face turned towards the dexter, hazel eyes, firm mouth, red hair, curly and turned back over a low pad, and stuck full of pear-shaped pearls, a tiny curl over the right ear, she wears ear-drops. Dress: Grey, tight bodice cut low and oval, covered with rich lace or white embroidery over the shoulders, three white puffs down the front and ribbon at the bottom of the bodice, similar sleeves with wide turned-back lace cuffs in points, very high lace collar, and pointed lace all round the opening, black satin skirt on hoops with pointed edging close to the bottom. Open in front showing a white satin petticoat, barred across with wide bands of gold and silver embroidery; a white muslin scarf, dotted with little black beads is draped in front and behind on each shoulder, she wears a double row of pearls round the neck, with a long loop to the waist, and ropes round both wrists and cuffs, that on the left arm having a square diamond clasp with narrow black bow; the right hand holds an open gold watch on a square gold and black embroidered cushion, tassel downwards, tilted up towards the dexter; and she wears a square ruby ring on the thumb of the right hand and two narrow rings on the thumb and little finger of the left hand. Wall behind, landscape with wide river, sailing boats, and a tower on the sinister side"

Inscribed "Mary, wife to Henry, Earl of Pembrok, daughter of Sr Henry Sidney" In 1909 said to be by Zucchero But he left England in 1578 when Lady Pembroke was some 22 years old, whereas the style of dress suggests about 1605 when she would have been at least 50.

A companion portrait of her husband is at Wilton (signed C de Vos, who was one of the Antwerp School, born about 1585 and died 1651)

In the Molineux-Montgomerie Sale, 23 June, 1933, the picture of the Countess of Pembroke was ascribed not to De Vos but to Gheeraedts Then in "British Painting," p. 49, Mr Collins Baker re-identified it as by Van Somer, which seems the most probable.

Shown and catalogued in 1938 in the Royal Academy's "Exhibition of 17th century Art in Europe" it is included in E.E now (instead of in its chronological place in the Epilogue), because it seems appropriate to accompany Spenser's tribute to Sidney's sister as "Clorinda" in *Astrophel*, 1595 In 1591 Spenser had dedicated to her *The Ruines of Time*



# " WITH THIS END TO TEACH AND TO DELIGHT."

## *Sir Philip Sidney on the uses of Poetry.*

Not until 1595, six years after Sidney's fatal wound, was his *Apologie for Poetrie*—alternatively called *A Defense of Poesie*—issued in print for the outer world. Circulated in MS during his life time, its influence both then and afterwards was very far-reaching In 1676 Milton's nephew, Edward Phillips, wrote in *Theatrum Poetarum Anglicanorum*,

> " Sir Philip Sidney, the glory of the English nation in his time, and pattern of true nobility, as equally addicted to arts and arms, . was the great English Macenas of Vertue, Learning and Ingenuity, though in his own writings chiefly if not wholly poetical, his *Arcadia* was a poem in design . . ."

In the present History we have seen Sidney's position in life and letters,[1] but we will imperfectly understand the times following on his death unless we observe the tenacity with which his memory was cherished Men and women may be estimated through what they admire. The Spanish proverb, *Dime con quien andes decirte he quien eras* has a wide application It is not merely the choice of companions in the present but of heroes in the past which reveals character and even to some extent creates the character of an individual or a nation

When Henry Percy, 9th Earl of Northumberland, disdained *Arcadia* as favoured chiefly by women, his was one of the very few unsympathetic voices.[2] The charm which this romance exercised appears not only in the numerous testimonies which have survived[3] but from the number of times it was reprinted, and by its translation into foreign tongues, though Sidney himself regarded it only as a "toy,"—"a trifle, triflingly handled "[4] His Arcadian shepheards and shepheardesses now seem remote; but his *Defense of Poesie* can never be out of date for any who remember that Sidney was a champion of the English language before the rise of Shakespeare and when Englishmen if desiring readers outside their native land were obliged to write in Latin

For Sidney, "heavenly Poesie" was not restricted to "rhyming and versing"; he applied the term also to prose if it afforded "a speaking picture, . " Deploring the "accursed fall of Adam," he lamented that though "our erected wit maketh us know what perfection is, yet our infected will keepeth us from reaching it." Hence the need "both to delight and teach," thus to persuade men to "take that Goodness in hand which without delight they would fly as from a stranger." The poet, for Sidney, ranked with those who endeavoured "to take naughtiness away and plant goodness even in the secretest cabinet of our souls"

Those were days when even a street balladist could exclaim "Happy were man if sin had never been!" And Sidney was heartily applauded in that he pleaded for the "purifying of wit" and "enriching of memory," which should "draw us to as high perfection as our degenerate souls, made worse by their clay lodgings, can be capable of." All arts seemed to him intended "to lift up the mind from the dungeon of the body" to the enjoying of that "divine essence" which few then would have dreamt of denying to humankind [5]

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[1] E.E. Vol. I, pp. xxix-xxxi; 71-75; 195; 197-201. Vol. II, pp. 61; 63-75. Vol. V, pp. xxv-xxvi; 49-79; 265-279. Vol. VI, pp. 34-37; 98-105; 132; 161-165; 174-178; 187; 191-195; 241-253; 437-459.

[2] E.E. Vol. IX, p. 522. [3] E.E. Vol. VIII, pp 231-232

[4] Dedication "to my deare Ladie and sister, the Countesse of Pembroke," E E Vol III, pp 183-184

[5] Francis Bacon subsequently wrote, "As Atheism is in all respects hateful, so in this that it depriveth human Nature of the means to exalt itself above human frailty." *Essayes and Counsells Civill and Morall.* 1597-8.

## "JOY OF THE WORLD, AND SHEPHEARDS' PRIDE."

*Sir Philip Sidney: in Spenser's "Astrophel," 1595.*

That Courtiers represented themselves as "shepheards" in a fabled Arcadia, in striking contrast to the circumstances of their own careers, is apt now to seem fantastic. And when Ronsard sighed for the Age of Innocence,—that Golden Age when gold had no power, and mankind had not yet learned the hostile use of steel and iron,—his poetry was the more admired in contrast to the tempestuous times in which he addressed his Eclogues to the Duke of Anjou.[1]

It was in Arcadian guise that Sir Philip Sidney's friends in 1595 chose to "eternise" him anew. That their collected tributes were offered to his widow endows those memorial verses with an added human interest if we escape from retrospective misunderstandings. *Astrophel* was described by the late Sir Sidney Lee (in *Elizabethan Sonnets* 1904, p. xliii), as dedicated to "Sidney's wife"; no date being mentioned. And during over 40 years no critic has noticed that the dedication is not addressed to "Sidney's wife" as such, but to "the most beautifull and vertuous Ladie the Countesse of Essex," nine years after she, Sidney's widow, had married the Queen's near kinsman The date of publication is repeated on the colophon: "London. Printed by T C for William Ponsonbie 1595."

"We have seen how the Countess of Pembroke collaborated with Philip Sidney in translating the Psalms,[2] and how he dedicated *Arcadia* to her.[3] In 1595 Spenser in *Astrophel* saluted her,

> "The gentlest shepheardesse that lives this day,
> And most resembling both in shape and spirite
> Her brother deare."[4]

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1 "Que ne retourne au monde encore ce bel age
Simple, innocent et bon, ou le meschant usage
De l'acier et du fer n'estoit point en valeur,
Trop en prix maintenant a nostre grand malheur!
Ha! bel age doré, au l'or n'avoit puissance!
Mais dore pour-autant que la pure innocence,
La crainte de mal-faire, et la simple bonté
Permettoit aux humains de vivre en liberté."

*Les Eclogues et Mascarades de P. de Ronsard Gentil-homme vandomois. A Francois d'Aniou fils & frere de Roy. Paris 1578. Eclogue I. Oeuvres Completes de Ronsard. Ed: Huges Vagnay. 1923.* Vol. IV, p. 271.

2 E.E. Vol. V, pp. 92-94. 3 E.E. Vol. III, pp. 183-184.

4 She had continued her literary activities after Sidney's death, but chiefly as a translator: Vide *A Discourse of Life and Death Written in French by Ph. Mornay. Antonius, A Tragoedie written also in French by Ro Garnier. Both done in English by the Countesse of Pembroke. At London, Printed for Wtllam Ponsonby.* 1592. Colophon "At Ramsburie 26. of Nouember 1590." (B.M. C. 57. d. 16. "Ph. Mornay" was Phillipe de Mornay, Sieur Duplessis, for whose work see E.E. Vol. II, pp. 145-157).

*The Tragedie of Antonio. Done into English by the Countesse of Pembroke. Imprinted at London for William Ponsonby.* 1595. (B.M. C. 57, aa. 18.)

She contributed her own lament for " Astrophel ":

" Woods, hills, and rivers now are desolate
Sith he is gone the which them all did grace,
And all the fields do waile their widow state,
Sith death their fairest flower did late deface.
. . . . .
Great loss to all that ever did him see,
Great loss to all, but greatest loss to me."

Yet more poignant are the expressions believed to have come from the pen of Fulke Greville,

" Who wishing death, whom death desires, whose thred is all too long,
Who tied to wretched life, who looks for no relief
Must spend my dying days in never ending grief."

Matthew Roydon felt Sidney's " sweet attractive kind of grace " so charming that to hear him speak " You were in Paradise the while."

It was no secret that the " Stella " of Sidney's early Sonnets was Essex's sister Lady Penelope Rich; and the reference to her in 1595 in *Astrophel* could not possibly have been taken to denote Sidney's wife by anyone who knew them both. " Her yellow locks that shone so bright," and " her hair which hung like threads of gold," manifestly could not apply to Lady Essex, who was a dark-eyed brown-haired beauty.[1] But that such verses could be included in a book dedicated to Essex's wife is of itself an indication that Sidney's previous devotion to " Stella " had not offended her either at the time or in retrospect.

" Above all others, this is he
Which erst approved in his song
That love and honour might agree
And that pure love will do no wrong."[2]

The affection and admiration evoked by Sidney appear not only in the Latin elegaic volumes issued by both Universities in 1587,[3] but even more remarkably in *Astrophel* published nine years after his death.[4]

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[1] Her authentic portrait was first published E.E. Vol. VIII, plate 18, several portraits having been previously misnamed.

[2] Despite this, and much else not difficult to understand, tissues of incongruous literary conjecture have been woven in our time around the Sonnets which Sidney himself declared were written privately " to ease a burdened heart ", and not addressed to the world See E.E. Vol. V, pp 59-61.

[3] Title pages first reproduced E.E Vol. VI, pp. 455, 457.

[4] *Astrophel* was issued by William Ponsonbie, in the same volume with *Colin Clovts Come home againe By Ed. Spencer* (sic) dedicated " To the righty Worthy and Noble Knight Sir Walter Raleigh, Captain of Her Majesties Guard, Lord Wardein of the Stanneries, and Lieutenant of the Countie of Cornwall " The epistle, dated " From my house at Kilcolman, the 27 of December 1591 ", is signed " Yours ever humbly Ed. Sp." The poet offers " this simple pastorall ", modestly apologising for " the meanesse of the stile," but hoping that Raleigh will accept the offering " in part of paiment of the infinite debt in which I acknowledge myself bounden unto you, for your singular favours and sundrie good turns shewed to me at my late being in England." He asks Raleigh's protection " against the malice of evil mouthes " open in readiness to " carpe at and misconstrue my meaning ". Among the poets eulogised he touches upon " Astrofell " as a paragon who had no equal while he lived. This is the more remarkable as none of Sidney's verses had been printed until after his death.

# AN APOLOGIE for Poetrie.

Written by the right noble, vertuous, *and learned*, *Sir* Phillip Sidney, *Knight*.

*Odi profanum vulgus, et arceo.*



AT LONDON,
Printed for *Henry Olney*, and are to be ſold at his ſhop in Paules Church-yard, at the ſigne of the George, neere to Cheap-gate.
*Anno.* 1595.

This contains an Address to the reader signed H. Olney, and 4 sonnets by Henry Constable. In the Stationer's Register is an entry, 12th April 1595 "to H. Olney Entered for his copie a booke entituled An Apologie for Poetrie."

This is crossed out, and a note added that "This belongeth to Ponsonby by a former entrance, and an agreement is made betweene them whereby Master Ponsonby is to enjoy the copie according to the former entrance." It had been licensed to Ponsonby 29th November 1594. The version he printed is called "A Defence of Poesie."

## "MANY GOOD PARTS IN HIM."

### *Sir Thomas North: translator of Plutarch.*

In 1595, the same year that Spenser's *Astrophel* was published, and Sidney's *Apologie for Poetrie* came tardily into print, there was a reissue, after sixteen years, of *The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romanes, compared together by that grave and learned Philosopher and Historiographer Plutarke of Chaeronea: Translated out of Greeke into French by Iames Amyot, Abbot of Bellozone, Bishop of Auxerre, one of the King's priuy counsel, and great Amner of Fraunce, and out of French into Englishe by Thomas North.*[1]

The charm of this work and its practical value were eloquently described when it reappeared in our own day, introduced by a soldier-statesman-poet, the late George Wyndham; who, being himself Elizabethan in breadth of sympathy and variety of talents, was at ease in the company of Plutarch as rendered by North: "He that directeth well must needs be obeyed," said Lycurgus. "This need of authority," wrote Wyndham, "and the obligation of the few to maintain it,—by a 'natural grace' springing on the one hand from courage combined with forbearance, and leading on the other to harmony between the ruler and the ruled,—is graphically illustrated through the parallel Lives."[2] At the height of Essex's fame in 1596 we find him acknowledging his obligations to Plutarch. That he is likely to have known the "Lives" in Greek,—and in Amyot's French version, of which there were six editions between 1559 and North's first rendering,—would not have prevented him being interested in 1579 in the English translation: especially as the translator was a protégé both of his guardian, Burghley, and of his step-father, Leicester. Thomas North's brother Roger, Lord North, was so intimate a friend of Leicester as to have been present at his private wedding in 1578 with Essex's mother.[3]

An idea has arisen that Thomas North was unsuccessful because now and then he was short of money. But as heir presumptive to his brother Roger's peerage he would have been expected to show the "bountie and liberalitie" then regarded as the duty of all persons of quality: and if he lived beyond his income, so did others of his circle,—Leicester and Essex notably. Even Burghley in a private letter to Leicester admitted how it was "only with borrowing in the City" that he could indulge his "fond humour of building" his new London house.[4] Anxiety about ways and means was often proportionate to the renown of the

[1] *Imprinted at London by Thomas Vautroullier and Iohn Wright, 1579* Licensed, "VI to Die Aprilis . . . a booke in English called Plutarke Lives" &c. From *Les Vies des Hommes Illustres Grecs & Romains* &c, &c. Vascosan, Paris, 1559.

North's 2nd edition, London, 1595, was "printed by Richard Field for Thomas Wright," and "by Richard Field for Bonham Norton." For these and later editions see C. F. Tucker Brooke, *Shakespeare's Plutarch*, London 1909; 2 Vols.

[2] *Essays in Romantic Literature*. 2nd ed: 1919, edited by Charles Whibley. (Macmillan).

[3] Unpublished Dudley MS, E E. Vol. III, p. 163.

[4] Unpublished (holograph) Longleat Dudley MSS, Vol II. f. 47-47b. Burghley writes from "amongst my dusty labourers," and adds that his rejoicing over his new home is modified by the need of borrowing; but that he would rather borrow thus—and "leave my heirs less land,"—than be importunate to Her Majesty for aid. "You see of what disease I labour; not unlike your own . . . From my house in Westminster; as merry with my own as the Queen's business will permit me, which followeth me wheresoever I go. This x of August, 1571."

individual and it would not have been easy for a man of Thomas North's birth and connections to lead an obscure and parsimonious life, An admiring editor of *Shakespeare's Plutarch*,—writing in 1909 under the impression that North remained until 1601 rowing against the tide of fortune,—observed that by way of "self-advertisement" he now and then "rather pathetically" described himself as "sonne of Sir Edward North L, North of Kyrtheling," or "Brother to the Right Honorable Sir Roger North, Lorde North of Kyrtheling."[1] But he might well have been proud to be brother of so gallant a "martialist."[2]

The erroneous impression as to Thomas North spending his life in misery seems to have been caused by taking a few words out of a letter from Leicester to Burghley without inquiry into the circumstances. Commending North in August 1580 as "having many good things in him," the remark of Leicester as to his talents being "drowned only in poverty" has been read to mean that the English translator of Plutarch led a life "darkened almost to the end by the shadow of poverty," and that not until his "work in this world was over" did he receive in 1601 "a pension of forty pounds from the Queen."[3] This would indeed have been a tardy response; for in 1601 Leicester had been dead thirteen years; Burghley three; and the Queen had reigned forty-two years. Leicester was not in the habit of appealing in vain; and Burghley was celebrated for his promptitude in answering letters.[4] On this occasion he was away from Court, enjoying one of his rare interludes of leisure, which he spent in hunting the "stagg" with a "good brache" presented to him by Leicester.

That North did not languish unrewarded until near the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign can be stated now on the best authority, namely that of Burghley, it being his official business to see to the paying of the pension. Let us consult his hitherto unpublished communication "fro[m] my poore house of Theobalds this St bartillemew's day 1580," addressed "To y^e^ Right Honorable my very Good Lord ye Erle of lecester. . . ." After thanking him for his letter, and anew for the much appreciated hound, Burghley adds, "My Lord, for Mr North, whom I think truly well of, for many good parts in him, I will do what pleasure I can and indeed I do adventure to make his portion more by £10 by year than her Majesty did assent, hoping that she will not mislike it. . . ."[5] As Burghley assumed that the Queen would not demur to his going beyond the figure to which she had consented, we may reasonably conclude that North does not stand in need of pity.[6]

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[1] Tucker Brooke, Introduction of *Shakespeare's Plutarch*, 1909. Vol. I, p. xiii.

[2] The title of Lord North of Kirtling had been created in 1554 for Sir Edward North (G E C. Complete Peerage (2nd ed:) Vol. IX, p. 650). He built Kirtling House; but there had been a Kirtling Castle so far back as the 13th century. "Victoria History" of Cambridge, 1948, p. 33

[3] Tucker Brooke. Introduction to *Shakespeare's Plutarch*, 1909 Vol I, p xiii.

[4] See E.E. Vol. IX, p. 240.

[5] Spelling now modernised from original: holograph S.P. Dom: Eliz: CXLI. No. 39. (wrongly endorsed 4th August).

[6] Mr Tucker Brooke states (p. xiii) "With 1590 the more interesting part of North's life closes," and the only War he mentions is in 1588. Essex's French campaign he forgets and so is perplexed why 1591 should be the date of North's Knighthood. But in literary matters his Commentary is excellent. He points out (p. xvi) that not only Shakespeare but the "non Shakespearean drama of the Elizabethan age owes a large debt to Plutarch. He furnished the French writer Robert Garnier with the material for his tragedy *Marc Antoine*, and this play as translated into English by the Countess of Pembroke in 1590 became the progenitor of a school, Senecan in form, Plutarchan largely in subject matter." He instances Samuel Daniel's *Cleopatra*, 1594, and gives (p. xvii) passages which both Shakespeare and Daniel had manifestly put into verse direct from Plutarch's prose

PART VII.

"The causes that govern the events."

CHAPTER 6.

"THE HONOUR AND GREATNESS OF THE QUEEN."

SECTION 4

# "Entertaining of Strangers."

*(Efforts to console a disappointed foreign Envoy, 1595).*

**"Since my L. of Lester dyed it hath coste my L. of Essex £400 or 500 by yeare at leaste intertayning of straungers" [and on one occasion £2,200].**

*Notes by Gelly Meyrick, Steward to the Earl of Essex, as to his Lord's voluntary expenditure "in her Ma^tes^ service,"* not refunded, nor intended to be repaid by her. Undated; circa 1592. Unpublished Longleat Devereux MS of the Marquess of Bath.

**"Your Excellency . . . who is renowned not only in England but also in Germany, as the well-wisher, protector, and patron of all foreigners."**

*Baron Breuning von Buchenbach to the "Most Illustrious Earl of Essex," April 1595.*

From Archives of Werttemberg. Selected by Victor von Klarwill and translated by Professor T. H. Nash, 1928.

> **". . . . We observe him:**
> **His popularity; how affable**
> **He's to the people; his hospitality,**
> **Which adds unto his love; his forwardness**
> **To entertain Ambassadors."**

*"The Royall King and the Loyall Subject."* By Thomas Heywood. Acted 1600. 3rd edition 1617. Reprinted 1637, and 1850.

# VINCENTIO
## SAVIOLO
his Practiſe.

*In two Bookes.*

*The firſt intreating of the vſe of the Rapier and Dagger.*

*The ſecond, of Honor and honorable Quarrels.*



LONDON
Printed by IOHN WOLFE.
1595.

Dedicated "to the Right Honorable, my singular good Lord, Robert, Earle of Essex and Ewe, Viscount Hereford, Lord Ferrers of Chartley, Bourchier and Louain, Master of the Queenes Maiesties horse, one of her Highnesses most honorable privie Councell": Saluting him as "the English Achilles, whose favouring good literature celebrateth your name as the English Mecenas; whose benigne protection and provision for strangers maketh you reputed as theyr safe sanctuary . . ."

Presumably drawn upon by Shakespeare in "As you like it," where Touchstone says "We quarrel in print by the book." See E.E p 417.

Saviolo has been fully analysed and extensively quoted in Egerton Castle's "Schools and Masters of Fence, from the Middle Ages to the end of the Eighteenth Century," &c., 1885 & 1910. See also "The Connoisseur," June 1936, "Early Books of the Sword · English and Scottish," by Charles Richard Cammell

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*(Efforts to console a disappointed foreign Envoy, 1595).*

IN August, 1592, it had been "the Earl of Exces" [Essex] who had chiefly entertained the "Almayne" Count Montbéliard [Mümpelgart]. Excepting the Lord High Admiral, Essex is the only nobleman mentioned by name in the journal kept by that appreciative visitor's secretary at His Highness's command.[1] Frederick, Count Montbéliard, had been much impressed when he saw in St. George's Chapel "the shields, helmets and banner of the Royal Order called the Garter."[2] His subsequent correspondence with the Queen and Burghley as to his yearning to be included in that famous galaxy has been more than half a century in print; but has been little understood.

Aged about thirty-five at the time of his visit to England, Count Montbéliard succeeded to the Dukedom of Werttemberg in August of the following year, 1593; and thought he should no longer be kept waiting for election as a "Knight of St. George." His pleadings by letter being unsuccessful, he sent to England in 1595, as Envoy Extraordinary, Baron Breuning von Buchenbach, whose lively description

[1] E.E ante, p. 55, from *A True and Faithful Narrative* of the excursion which *His Serene Highness Frederick Duke of Wirtemberg, Count Mumpelgart . . made a few years ago to . . England, as it was written down daily . . . by his private secretary* Translated W B Rye, *England as seen by Foreigners*, 1865, pp. 15-16.

[2] Op: cit. In the 8th Statute of K. Henry VIII it was specified that every Knight "shall have his Banner, Sword, with his Helm and Crest above his Stall, the which during his life shall abide in the said Chapel for his Honour . . ."

*Statutes of the Most Noble Order*, &c 1840 p. 12.

of the Court of Elizabeth we must not omit from the record of her dealings with "all Foreign Powers":[1]

> "The gentlemen . . . at the Court of England who are of the most consequence and through whose hands all matters must pass, and to whom all foreign envoys have to apply," notes Von Buchenbach, "are the Earl of Essex, Grand Master of the Horse (who is at present deemed to be the Queen's chief favourite), and the Lord Treasurer of England . . . who can effect much with Her Majesty. . . .
>
> ". . . I, on the 1st April, after donning suitable habiliments, had myself presented to the Earl of Essex. , . . The Earl gave me an appointment at his mansion in the city on the 3rd day of April at nine in the forenoon, though he usually dwells at Court."
>
> Received "most cordially," Buchenbach delivered to Essex the writings of the Duke, and made a speech in Latin: ". . .'I could desire nothing more important than to be permitted . . . a meeting with Your Excellency . . . who is renowned not only in England but also in Germany as the well-wisher, protector, and patron of all foreigners. . . . My August master hopes that your Excellency (who count for so much with her Royal Majesty) . . . will assist his Highness to obtain the royal boon which has already been promised, often craved, and is so ardently longed for by his Highness. . . .' The Earl most kindly offered to procure me an audience of Her Majesty as speedily as possible . . ." and "then accompanied me to the house door, and told one of his secretaries, Mr Arriago Wotton, to see me to my lodging."

This was Henry Wotton,—a future Ambassador, ultimately Provost of Eton. Slightly junior to Essex, having been born 30th March 1568 at Bocton Hall, Bocton [now Boughton] Malherbe near Charing, he came of a family of scholars and patriots. His father Thomas Wotton was conspicuous among Kentish country gentlemen; and the earliest English County History had been dedicated to him in 1571.[2] Twice married, his second wife Eleanor daughter of Sir William Finch of Eastwell, Kent, was mother of Henry Wotton. Of Henry's elder half-brothers the most noted were Edward, friend of Sir Philip Sidney,[3] and James who was to be knighted by Essex at Cadiz in 1596.[4] Henry's uncle Dr. Nicholas Wotton we have already seen as a diplomatist in Scotland in company with Sir William Cecil,

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[1] Quoted now with due acknowledgement, from Part III of *Queen Elizabeth and Some Foreigners. Being a series of hitherto unpublished letters from the archives of the Hapsburg family Edited, with introductions, by Victor von Klarwill Authorised translation by Professor T. H. Nash With 36 (half tone) illustrations from contemporary sources.* London (John Lane) 1928. pp 357-423

Neither von Klarwill nor his English translator appear aware that the narrative of the visit to England in 1592 has been familiar to English readers since 1865, when W. B. Rye translated it in *England as seen by Foreigners*

The correspondence of the German guest with Lord Burghley on the subject of the Garter was treated by Rye, pp. lxi-lxxxviii from original letters he was the first to examine.

[2] *A Perambulation of Kent: Conteining the Description, Hystorie, and Customes of that Shyre Written in the yeare 1570, by William Lambarde of Lincolnes Inne Gent: first published . . . . 1576, and now increased and altered after the Author's owne last Copie. Imprinted at London by Edm. Bollifant, 1596* Dedicatory letter dated "From Seinclers this last of January 1570" (71 N.S.), "To the Right worshipfull, and vertuous M. Thomas Wotton, Esquier," expressing a hope to find "fit matter for each particular shire" could he be assured "of mine owne abilitie, and of other mens liking." Ends by "committing to the defence of the Almightie, yourself, your wife, your sonnes and familie."

[3] For his letters from Portugal, see F E. Vol. III, pp. 195; 212-215.

[4] F E Vol X

early in Elizabeth's reign,[1] and his grandfather Sir Edward Wotton, Treasurer of Calais in 1540 is said to have refused the office of Lord High Chancellor.

It has been well explained in our time that "English youths of this period; the younger sons of country gentlemen, honourably nurtured in old halls and manors, and going out to seek their fortunes in the romantic world, . . . are among the most human and delightful figures of literature." And Henry Wotton has been fortunate in his biographers; except in regard to his relations with Essex which are misapprehended.[2]

The same afternoon that Von Buchenbach visited Essex he received from him a message that the Queen had consented to give audience the following Sunday, the 6th of April. This news was sent verbally through Wotton. Not for the first or last time, Wotton's remarks to the guest were far other than his master would have authorised. Unless Buchenbach misunderstood and misreported him, he discoursed on there being such rivalry between the Earl and the Lord Treasurer that "what one was trying to promote, the other thwarted." This was not true—for it was upon the Lord Treasurer's concurrence that Essex relied in all suits to the Queen, as can be proved time after time. But even had such an assertion been well-founded, it would have been most undignified to talk to a stranger about divisions at the Court.

Buchenbach's perplexity was increased when he "heard further" from another quarter "that the Earl of Essex bore no grudge if the envoys presented themselves to the Lord Treasurer, whereas the latter did not brook application being made to any person but himself alone." This about Burghley was also misleading. But Essex, always deferential to his elders, was careful not to act without the Treasurer's knowledge and approval. Not suspecting what Henry Wotton had been saying, it was Wotton whom Essex sent to advise the German to visit the Lord High Treasurer "and follow his counsel." Buchenbach obeyed; and, after a conversation

[1] E.E. Vol I, pp. 175-180

[2] *The Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton By Logan Pearsall Smith In Two Volumes. Oxford At the Clarendon Press 1907,* is a carefully considered scholastic work, in which, however, the otherwise precise author has accepted the conventional idea of Essex, representing him (Vol. I, pp. 28-29) as working against Burghley instead of under Burghley, and stating that "The faction between Essex and the Cecils which occupies the foreground of the history of this decade, was a strife, not for principle or faith, but for personal power and the favour of the Queen" The actual relations of Essex and Burghley the present writer (in 1923-27) was the first to discover References to Essex in Mr Smith's volumes call for revision; as also in *Sir Henry Wotton A Biographical Sketch by Adolphous William Ward, Litt D LL D Principal of the Owens College Manchester, Hon. Fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge,* London, 1898, in which Lee's Essex article in the D N B. is credited with "researches" never performed and Essex appears as the "prodigal" of Lee's misconception But the above named works should have prevented von Klarwill's English editor from countenancing the note on p. 316: "Arriago Wotton. Perhaps is here meant Anton Wotton, 1561-1626, English divine and theological writer."

In 1866 a portrait of "Sir Henry Wotton, Kt" was lent by Eton College to *The First Special Exhibition of National Portraits,* London. Catalogue No: 496, p 85: "Half length; seated, head resting on l. hand. Canvas, 51 x 41 in:" "B. at Boston Hall, Kent, 1568; educ: at Winchester and Eton; Sec: to the E. of Essex; Ambassador to Venice and the Low Countries from James I.; 1634; Provost of Eton; d. there 1639. Celebrated for his chivalrous devotion to Elizabeth Queen of Bohemia."

with Burghley, he was escorted through the Privy Chamber to the Presence Chamber; which he found "full of My Lords, Grandees, Earls, Lords, and of very grand Countesses and Ladies, who were all without exception beautiful."

To the Queen—who "came halfway up the room" to meet him, and then "turned back and seated herself . . . under a canopy of cloth of gold,"—he made a speech in Italian, lauding her "virtues of the rarest quality," and greeting her from the Duke of Werttemberg: "Your Majesty will doubtless recollect that his Highness has at various times most humbly besought and craved that he might be invested with the Order of the Garter. May it please Your Majesty . . . to . . . receive him into the number of Knights of this most excellent and illustrious Order." Three years ago "when His Highness personally sojourned in England" Her Majesty had given a promise that this grace should be accorded. The Duke had waited long; and "considering the honourable descent and illustrious blood of His Highness's ancestors" was he not worthy of what he asked?

The Queen, wearing her crown, was dressed in a silver robe and adorned with "magnificent gems and jewels beyond compare." She replied affably but vaguely. Wherefore, writes Buchenbach, "on leaving, I sought out the Earl of Essex in his apartment, as he, owing to illness, had not been present . . ." Essex promised to do his best with Her Majesty; so did Burghley two days later; and Buchenbach repeated that he relied upon their aid to promote his Prince's desire, "the fulfilment of which has so long been promised by her Royal Majesty, . . . to be made a Knight of the Garter."[1] Hoping for the best, he offered a bribe of four hundred crowns to Monsieur de La Fontaine, and to Wotton one hundred. To Essex he wrote,

> "I hope I need entertain no doubt that your Excellency has the honour of my august Sovereign and Master at heart . . . A space of three years having already elapsed since he was promised this renowned Order by her Royal Majesty, and his Highness having now for the third time with great zeal and at great cost dispatched an Embassy to her Royal Majesty, he most humbly entreats Her Majesty to permit no further delay. . If the august Prince might . . . attain election into this exalted Order, . . . his Highness would realise that he has not in vain received the promise of her Royal Majesty. . . ."

Essex was one of those peers who would be taking part in any election of a new Knight, so to him was addressed yet another pleading letter. This resulted in an invitation to the Garter festival on St. George's Day, April the 23rd; and in a coach with "a mylord," Buchenbach was driven to the Thames. There the Queen's eight-oared barge awaited him; and on a cushion of cloth of gold he sat with Sir Henry Neville, while the rest of the company sat apart. "This part of the boat was also divided from the rest by two contiguous doors, and had an awning of red satin. The interior of the boat was ornamented with coats of arms and other paintings, and the floor was strewn with lovely flowers."[2]

On reaching the palace, the envoy was escorted to the Presence Chamber, where

[1] p. 366. [2] p. 375

thirteen Knights of the Garter were assembled, who walked in procession in the following sequence:

(1) Lord Cobham
(2) Lord Hunsdon
(3) Lord Burghley
(4) Lord Effingham [Charles, Lord Howard of Effingham]
(5) The Earl of Essex
(6) The Keeper of the Privy Purse
(7) The Earl of Northumberland
(8) The Baron de Burrows[1]
(9) The Baron Cheftel[2]
(10) The Earl of Cumberland
(11) The Baron Shrewsbury[3]
(12) My Lord Buckhorst[4]

The absent Knights were "His Royal Majesty of Spain"—with whom England was at war,—"the Earl of Ormond an Irishman; the Earl of Huntingdon, the Earl of Pembroke . . ."

Many "Earls, Lords and Knights" were present, clad in cloth of "gold and silver, . . . adorned with precious stones and pearls."

"At no other Court have I ever seen so much splendour and such fine clothes," relates the visitor; who specially admired "the Countesses and other noble ladies who were of rare surpassing beauty . . ." He describes fully the attire of the Knights of the Garter: breeches and doublet of cloth and silver, a red velvet gown with gold belt, with tassels of gold and silver; and over this a long cloak of "fig-brown" velvet trailing upon the ground and lined with white silk. On their shoulders a "tippet in old Franconian style, and broad gold and enamel collars with the medallion of St. George." On their heads black bonnets with white plumes.

[1] The editor, 1928, states that this was *William Borough celebrated mariner* &c. But the old sea dog Borough (now remembered mainly for falling out with Drake in 1587) was never a K G The personage in the procession of 1595 was Thomas, 4th Lord Borough (Burgh, Bourgh, Burrow) of Gainsborough, 2nd but eldest surviving son of the 3rd Lord Borough. Elected K.G 23 April 1593, installed 25th of June, he had been one of the godfathers to Essex's son Henry (E E p. 377, ante), appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland in 1596 aged about 41, he died in Ireland, 14 October 1597

[2] The editor identifies "Cheftel" with "Sir Henry Hastings" But Sir Henry Hastings, K G. was Earl of Huntingdon, and he is noted by Buchenbach as absent "Cheftel" is an attempt to spell "Sheffield" Edmund, 3rd Baron Sheffield had been one of the few Knights dubbed at sea by the Lord High Admiral in 1588 during the fight against the Spanish Armada; he was the Admiral's first cousin, his mother being the notorious Douglas, daughter of William Lord Howard of Effingham: the same Lady Sheffield who pursued Robert Earl of Leicester when he was a widower, and who was mother of his one illegitimate son.

Edmund, Baron Sheffield (only son of the 2nd Baron) was elected K G 23 April 1593, installed 25 of June at the same time as Thomas Lord Borough. Sheffield survived until 1646, when he was aged 84 Created Earl of Mulgrave, 5 Feb 1626, he was ancestor of the Sheffield Earls of Mulgrave and Dukes of Buckingham. The effigy of the last Sheffield Duke, a beautiful youth who died at the age of 18, is one of the sights of Westminster Abbey Though Herr von Klarwill may not have an English peerage in his study, it is surprising that the English translator overlooked the misidentification of two such well-known Knights of the Garter.

[3] Should be Earl of Shrewsbury.

[4] Thomas Sackville, Baron Buckhurst, Chancellor of Oxford

On the left thigh the garter like a girdle, with the motto embroidered in pearls and gems, "Honi soit qui mal y pense."[1]

From the Presence Chamber the procession went into the chapel. "Here were the officiating clergy, who, like the papal wore albs and dalmatics and levitical vestments of gold material." The "common people" were admitted after the "Mass," and when the Queen came out under a canopy of cloth of gold, she and the Knights walked three times round the Castle yard "so that everyone should have a good view of them. Her Majesty spoke most graciously to everyone, even to those of the vulgar, who fell upon their knees."

There ensued a "splendid" banquet which lasted from one o'clock till after four; the envoy from Werttemberg being attended thereto by "gentlemen and nobles" who had been selected for the purpose "by Her Royal Majesty in the apartments of the Earl of Essex." At table there arose a dispute about precedence between Buchenbach and an envoy from Hesse. The Englishmen explained that "the order of sitting was of little import, because the meal took place in the apartments of the Earl of Essex and not in a public hall." Buchenbach, however, was firm as to his master being of higher state than the Landgrave of Hesse.[2] And he took the opportunity to present to the "Earls, Barons, most gallant Knights," the greetings of the Duke of Werttemberg, and an expression of the eagerness of his expectation "at long last to be . . . elected into the goodly company . . ."[3] The peers responded that their own good will was unanimous, but that the choice of foreign Knights rested with the Queen.

When the banquet was over, the envoy returned to his lodging, in the Queen's own barge as he had come. A zealous servant to his master, he wrote in Latin next day, the 24th, to Essex and Burghley, and in French to "Lord Robert Cecil,"—meaning Sir Robert. On the 26th of April, perhaps in consequence of these letters, he received another invitation to the Court. On his arrival he was most "cordially greeted" by the Earls of Essex and Cumberland, and taken at once into the Queen's presence. A conversation ensued in Latin. After listening to his opening oration, she expressed her affection for his master the Duke; but as to the Order of the Garter which he solicited, she protested that "there were difficulties" in fulfilling the wish "of your illustrious Sovereign."

> "The laws of our Order of the Garter," she said "are definite and fixed, as also are the regulations . . . and permanent statutes . . . They provide that at the election of Knights, the Roman Emperors shall enjoy precedence; then follow Kings; after whom come the lesser Sovereigns . . . Having been elected, the insignia of the Order must be remitted to them: and in the meantime no

[1] For portrait of Essex in Garter robes, see E E. Vol. VIII, plate 5.

[2] By the 11th Garter Statute Henry VIII, "the children and Brethren" of "Kings, Princes and Dukes" who were foreign were to sit at dinner or supper according to their state. Nothing said in the Statute about precedence of their envoys, but presumably the same rule applied.

[3] Op: cit p. 383

other may be elected . . .[1] Your illustrious Prince must therefore pardon me if I cannot grant his request. I am the less able to do so, because the King of Spain has in the meantime intermeddled,"—and so forth.

As England had been seven years at war with Spain at the time of the Duke's visit (1592),—and the expulsion of Don Bernardino de Mendoza from London dated back still longer,—Buchenbach was not to be diverted, but reminded the Queen again of her " Royal Promise." She retorted that she had no memory of any promise, " for by reason of our laws " such a promise could not have been " fittingly made." Buchenbach was bidden to tell his Sovereign that " It does not lie with me definitely to promise that I shall confer upon him this honour. We are all mortal, and I might die before the matter is settled. But I repeat that your Prince may rest assured that I am devoted to him in grace and love . . . "

Her Majesty complained that many " lies and baseless imputations " had been circulated against her on the Continent; so she requested that His Highness of Wertemberg " defend me right manfully, and everywhere shield me from contumely . . . " This may have been meant to indicate that she intended to receive him ultimately into the Order, the 27th Statute of which decreed that every Knight should help to " keep, defend and sustain the Honour, Quarrels, Rights, and Lordships of the Sovereign of the said Order."[2] Buchenbach protested that the good name of the Queen of England must surely survive all slanders, and that his master's " life and blood " would be hazarded willingly in her defence. " Her Majesty listened to this with a radiant face," so the envoy then passed from compliments to herself to a eulogy of her Court: " August Queen, I have been not only in my native country, Germany, but also in France, Italy, Greece, Turkey, Egypt, Arabia, Syria, and Palestine, and . . . I have never seen a royal Court of such splendour, adorned with such inexpressible majesty and royal magnificence, and yet conducted with so much dignity and simplicity . . . "

Then he returned anew to the reason for his visit; namely that the Duke of Wertemberg, her most devoted servant, who would risk his life for her, craved in return the distinction he had so long solicited. That the Duke was not destined to obtain the Garter in Queen Elizabeth's lifetime we know; but Baron Breuning von Buchenbach would not accept a refusal; and he besought Essex to keep Her Majesty in mind of the matter after he had gone. Essex seems to have been sorry for the loyal servant who had travelled so far and must go back without even a promise. Anxious that this " Almayne " should carry away a favourable impression of England, Essex arranged for him to be taken to see the palaces of Richmond, Nonsuch, Windsor Castle, Whitehall, and Greenwich. It was at Greenwich " where Her Majesty was holding Court," that, on the 10th of May, Buchenbach approached Essex " to thank

[1] [No other Prince]. For the regulations for Foreign elections see especially the 13th Statute of King Henry VIII *Statutes of the Most Noble Order of the Garter*, 1840 pp 19-22. There is not among Queen Elizabeth's Statutes (Ib: pp. 46-49) any additional regulation in this regard

[2] Garter Statutes of Henry VIII. ed: 1840, p 35

your Excellency for the innumerable benefits and great good will with which you have helped me," even though the result as yet had been nought. Essex condoled with him over the disappointment, the reason for which, he said, were as explained by Her Majesty. Of his own continued zeal and service he sent the Duke of Werttemberg a written assurance.

On the 16th of May the departing guest on his way to the coast visited four of the Queen's ships at Rochester; "The Triumph, the Bear, the Victory and the Honour of the Sea."[1] The next morning, 17th, he and his party embarked from Gravesend; but were driven back to Harwich by contrary winds on the 19th. There during four days they were delayed because of the wind. On the 23rd they sailed. A great storm caught them on the 26th. On the 27th May they sighted Heligoland; and early on the 28th they arrived at Hamburg. When on the 7th of July they reached Stuttgart, Buchenbach wrote for the Duke of Werttemberg a detailed description of his "faithful, assiduous, and unremitting service" and its meagre result. He hoped the Duke would persevere in his suit, and he advised that "It could do no harm if Your Grace's messenger were the bearer of a brief letter of thanks to the Lord High Treasurer and Lord Robert Cecil . . . to preserve the Lord High Treasurer's friendship . . ."[2] But Essex was his main hope:

> "Your Grace should at once thank the Earl for the trouble he has taken. . . As M. de La Fontaine is well acquainted with . . . the Earl of Essex, . . . I enquired of him whether he thought it advisable . . that your Grace tender the Earl a testimonial" [euphemism for a bribe]. "M de La Fontaine thinks that the Earl's ambitions lie rather towards honours than money and lands . . . If therefore a fine horse or something rare and uncommon, be it a piece of armour or some weapon were sent, the Earl would not take it amiss; . . . nothing would cause him greater delight than a finely wrought coat of mail, of perfect fit. I have provided that the measurements of his height and girth be sent to me as early as possible. . . ."[3]

If the superiority of Germanic armourers over English had not been recognised, Queen Elizabeth's successive Masters-General of the Ordnance would not have imported "Almayne" artificers into England as the unpublished Exchequer Warrants now disclose. "A fine horse" had been Essex's parting gift to Count Montbéliard in 1592. Whether in the autumn of 1595 that personage, as reigning Duke of Werttemberg, sent him a charger, or an Innsbruck rapier, or a "coat of mail,"—or did not offer anything at all, but merely relied on his good nature,—the Archives of Werttemberg may some day disclose. But in any case, Essex's "cordiality" went far to prevent this German Baron taking offence at the attitude of the Queen, for—as Buchenbach himself recorded—next only after the Lord High Treasurer, Essex was then the most conspicuous Privy Councillor in the eyes of

[1] This last usually called "Merhonour." Buchenbach gave 4 crowns in these ships in gratuities. His expenses include also "Six pairs of English gloves at 8s making 48s", and "To the Coachman of her Majesty and (of) the Earl of Essex for driving us on various occasions to the Court, 4 gulden 12 Batzen" von Klarwill, Op: cit, p. 414.

[2] Ib. 413. [3] p. 413

foreigners; though he had not yet reached his apotheosis of renown in the feat of generalship at Cadiz which was soon to win for him his highest honour as " great England's glory and the World's wide wonder."[1]

[1] The position of Essex in 1595, as the next most conspicuous after Burghley, is borne out by correspondence for that year, confiscated after his fall and now preserved at Hatfield:—Letters to him from the King of France, the French Ambassador; Count Maurice of Nassau, King Antonio, Lord Borough, Sir Francis Vere, Sir Roger Williams, Sir John Hawkins and Sir Francis Drake, Sir Robert Sidney, and very many others.

On 6th November 1595, from Flushing, Sir Robert Sidney wrote to Essex, "Were it not you, to whom nothing that is good is hard, I would wonder how among so many businesses you could find time to write so at large to me."

Vide Hatfield MSS Calendar, Vol V. p. 440 As the Calendar volume for 1595 was issued in 1894 (very well edited and introduced), it is significant that in all this time the "rash" and frivolous Essex of Modern History has not been dislodged in favour of the actual man until the present work came into print. The trouble is not scarcity of evidence of what Fulke Greville called the "incomparable industry" of Essex in service to the nation and the Crown, and of his benevolence to individuals. The quantity of material to be examined in relation to Essex between his first appointment, aged 19, till his unnatural death, aged 34, is so extensive that to find, read, digest, and select it has been for the present writer a labour of over 20 years

*APPENDIX*

## FREDERIC, DUKE OF "WITTENBERG" AND THE GARTER.

In *Queen Elizabeth and Some Foreigners*, translated from the German by Professor Nash 1928, Herr Victor von Klarwill states (p. 351) that "*The question whether the Queen conferred the Garter upon her visitor in the year 1592, or only promised to do so, or did neither, will never be cleared up.*" But it was "cleared up" in England more than sixty years previously,—in 1865.[1] Had "the Queen conferred the Garter upon her visitor in 1592" he would not have needed in 1595 to have sent Baron Breuning von Buchenbach to plead with her for admission into the Order. This faithful servant's report, "written in the purest Swabian dialect" and preserved in "the erstwhile private Royal Werttemberg State Archives," Herr von Klarwill has been the first to give to the world. But the editorial introductory matter indicates that the constitution of the Order of the Garter has not been fully understood by him. Even if the Garter Registers had not been available in print, the date of election of the Duke of Werttemberg could have been ascertained in 1928 by an enquiry addressed to the Garter King of Arms of H.M King George V. And without any English information, or reference to the Werttemberg Archives of later date, Baron Breuning von Buchenbach's "Most Submissive Narrative" of all that happened to him in England in 1595, as published by Herr von Klarwill himself, is proof enough that Queen Elizabeth in 1592 had not admitted "her visitor" to the Order.

Herr von Klarwill in his Introduction mentions the Record of the English Journey of the Duke (by his secretary) in 1592, when he was still Count Mumpelgart, but fails to see that this official journal would not have kept silence about instalment as a Knight of the Garter had any such event taken place; nor in 1595 would the Latin and Italian oratory of Buchenbach, to the Queen and the Knights, have abounded in protests of how sorely his master's patience had been tried in waiting for the long-desired honour he felt himself to deserve. And there is in the British Museum a woodcut portrait, *Imago illvstrissimi Principis, ac Domini, Ludovici, Ducis Wirtembergensis et Teccensis, Comitis Mompelgartensis, &c.*, from the verso of title page of a Bible published under the Duke's auspices in 1593: *Biblia sacra Veteris et Novi Testamenti. Quid sit hac noua editione praestitum, frequens Praefatio Consistorij Theologici, in Ducatu Virtembergico, &c., docebit. Tvbingae, Excudebat Georgius Gruppenbachius. Anno MDXCIII. Cum Privilegio.* In this print the Duke is not wearing the George and insignia of the Garter; the absence of which would show (even if we had not ample other evidence) that he had not been made a Knight of the Order during his visit to England the previous year.

No "research" is required to solve the question of Duke Frederick's Garter: we only need to avail ourselves of material long in print. The ensuing information is derived from Rye's Introduction to "England as seen by Foreigners," published in 1865. When Baron

[1] In W. B Rye's *England as seen by Foreigners*. (Correspondence from original MSS in P.R.O. and Lansdowne MSS.).

Breuning von Buchenbach left England in the early summer of 1595, he took back to his master a letter from Queen Elizabeth, repeating what she had said in person as to her good will, but emphasising the inevitability of delay. The Duke, much disappointed, wrote to her in July in French, and to Burghley in Latin; but without tangible result. In 1597, wishing her long life and victory over her enemies, he had still to beg her *d'avoir souvenance de ses Royalles promesses à moy faictes.* Soliciting anew the aid of "Baron de Bourghley," he sent to Sir Robert Cecil a *petite souvenance.* In August of the same year, 1597, the Duke sent to the Queen a present of a *chandelier, façon d'Allemagne,* and on the 10th of October she responded graciously with the news that he had been elected to the Garter, "to which honour We have always chosen great Princes Our allies and other personages who have acquired reputation by their merits."

In 1598 he sent an Ambassador to England to give thanks; but did not receive the expected insignia. So in January 1598-9 he wrote to the Queen "I waited all last year for the sign of the Order from your Majesty, which I had been given to expect, but I have found myself hitherto disappointed. . . ." [Nevertheless he issued gold and silver medals depicting himself as a K.G.]. In October 1599 Her Majesty was still delaying: "As to the affair of which you desire the fulfilment," she wrote, "it has not been the lack of goodwill that you have not already received Our Order; but because there are also other Princes who are elected, to whom We have not yet been able to send it, . . . and who would conceive jealousy if We sent it to you rather than to themselves. But we hope ere long to be able to give you the contentment you desire."

This "contentment," however, was again retarded. In March 1602 the Duke had not yet received his Garter, when he wrote to congratulate the Queen on the success attained by her Army in defeating the Spanish invaders of Ireland at the end of 1601. We may recall her remark in 1595 to Baron Breuning von Buchenbach, when saying she could not make a definite promise: "I might die before the matter is settled." And though Duke Frederick was certainly elected in 1597, the Queen's funeral was to take place six months before the Garter was despatched to him by command of the first Stuart King. In Stow's "Annals" the circumstances were described in print in 1631:[1]

> "Soone after his Majesties Coronation, order was given that the high and mighty Prince Frederick Duke of Wirtomberge, &c., who had been elected to bee one of the Company of the noble Order of the Garter by the late Queen Elizabeth, at Saint George's feast in the thirtie-nine yeare of her raigne, should now forthwith be invested with the ornaments of that Order."

Whereupon Lord Spencer, with Sir William Dethicke, Garter King at Arms, Sir Robert Lee and other Knights and Gentlemen, embarked on the 8th of October 1603, landed the next day at Calais, and through Lorraine travelled to "Stutgard," where they arrived on the 3rd of November, and were received with "much honour and love." On the 6th of November the Duke was invested at last with the robes and insignia, "in the Cathedrall Church of that citie," in a "religious and solemne manner . . and all the residue of that day was spent in great feastes and triumphs." After several days of sports and pastimes, and much "entertainment and satisfaction," Lord Spencer and his "whole company" departed on the 14th of November "and returned all safe into England before the feast of the Nativitie following."

[1] p. 828 (also Rye, p. lxxvii).

Nothing would have been more surprising to Duke Frederick of Werttemberg, K.G., than if the astrologers he patronised had foretold that after more than three centuries it would be stated in German and English that whether the Queen conferred the Garter upon him in 1592 or not was a mystery which would "never be cleared up." The ceremony of the investiture was described in the utmost detail in a printed quarto "*Eques Auratus Anglo Wirtembergicus*," issued in 1605 in Latin by Erhard Horn of Zelle—Erhardus Cellius—in which the Duke's portrait is to be seen in his Garter robes. Rye, in 1865 (pp. lxxx-1), gave representative extracts in English, translated from the text, and a different portrait—one from his own collection. In 1604 Erhardus Cellius published a long Latin poem celebrating the same honour. But even if all German publications had perished, or if Rye had never dealt with this matter, the Register of the Order of the Garter would have sufficed to settle the question.

The foreign Kings and Potentates elected during the forty-four years' reign of Queen Elizabeth were Adolphus Duke of Holstein, Maximilian II Emperor of Germany, Francis Duke of Montmorency, Charles IX King of France, Henry III King of France, Rudolph Emperor of Germany, Frederick II King of Denmark, John Casimir Count Palatine of the Rhine, Henry IV King of France, James VI King of Scots, and Frederick Duke of Werttemberg.[1] The facts of election, and delay in reception of the insignia,—so that although elected in 1597 the actual investiture of the Duke did not take place until 1603,—are neither difficult to find nor open to dispute.[2]

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[1] *The History of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, Collected by Elias Ashmole Esqre Windsor Herald, at the Command of the King Charles II . . .* (Revised ed. 1715. pp 528-530)

[2] Nor is there anything comical, as Herr von Klarwill appears to think, in the intensity of the Duke's yearning to belong to the Most Noble Order, the history and value of which his now-living critics seem not to remember. This lack of realisation is perhaps due to departure in the Order from the rule that a Knight from the day of his installation until his death should never cease to wear his "George" as a symbol of his responsibilities From the moment that this law and custom was discarded, the moral influence of the Order has declined; until to-day the average Professor in English Universities if asked by a foreigner to recite the names of the present Knights, might consider such knowledge outside his province. But in the time of Queen Elizabeth—and indeed within the memory of our own great-grandfathers—such a question could have been answered without recourse to books of reference. The Garter is still the highest honour the Sovereign can confer upon a subject, or on a foreign Prince; but though the banners of the living Knights can be seen in St George's Chapel, the language of heraldry, erstwhile comprehensible even to the most uncultured, is now understood only by a few. Although the restoration of the Chapel of St George at Windsor is being carried out by subscription among Knights of the Garter and donations from descendants of the bygone Knights, some of the comments of the daily press, when this arrangement was announced, revealed a surprising degree of historical ignorance—which the Royal Society of St George is endeavouring to overcome.

As these sheets are passing through the press the author notices that "Frederick, Duke of Wurtemberg" figures in the list of "Knights without Stall plates" in Canon Fellowes' *The Knights of the Garter 1348-1939. With a complete list of the Stall-Plates in St George's Chapel* (1939), p. 80.

## NOTE: "QUEEN ELIZABETH AND SOME FOREIGNERS."

Having now seen from the unpublished particulars, recorded by the faithful Gelly Meyrick, what Essex's difficulties were at the time of Baron Breuning von Buchenbach's visit, we may regret that Herr von Klarwill in his *Queen Elizabeth and some Foreigners* (1928) while putting us all in his debt by publishing the narrative of the German envoy, unfortunately derived his footnotes from inaccurate modern books of reference: especially where Essex is concerned. The date of Essex's birth is given as 1567 (p. 359); it should be 1566. He is described as highly distinguished in Drake's "Spanish Expedition." But he did not serve unde Drake at Cadiz or La Coruña; presumably his Portuguese exploits of 1589 are intended "Employed on various diplomatic missions" is misleading, for he was never Ambassador to any foreign power. He was of the Privy Council from February 1592-3; and his only foreign "missions" were as Commander-in-Chief, 1591, 1596, 1597, and as Lord Lieutenant General of Ireland, 1599. "In 1597," says Herr von Klarwill, "he took part in Raleigh's unhappy expedition against Spain." But in the expedition of 1597 Raleigh was the officer of lowest flag-rank (Rear-Admiral) and Essex the Admiral General in command of all the forces Naval and Military.

Errors as to Leicester we have elsewhere noted. Another oversight (which appears as if the transcriber or the printer misread R for P) has escaped notice of the English translator Where the text refers to Leicester's nephew the Governor of Flushing as "Sir P. Sidney", in 1595, and also describes him as connected by marriage with the Earl of Essex, the editor (p. 357) states that this refers to "Sir Philip Sidney . one of the most eminent poets of the English Renaissance, who in England was the beau ideal of a soldier and sage Fell in the battle of Zutphen." But as the battle of Zutphen, with Essex as General of the Horse, took place nine years previously,—1586, it was Sir Philip's brother Sir Robert who in 1595 was Governor of Flushing

As Essex's connection with the Sidneys "by marriage" consisted of his own marriage to Sir Philip Sidney's widow, and as this fact is mentioned in a different footnote, (p 359) the haste with which the notes have been jotted down is thereby revealed. But the original matter transcribed by Herr von Klarwill is so interesting that if in later editions he would revise his editorial assertions, (and add the official reference numbers to the volumes of the Archives and correspondence from which he has given so much of value,) his *Queen Elizabeth and some Foreigners* would deserve a place in historical libraries; as a companion to *England as seen by Foreigners,* selected and translated by W Brenchley Rye, 1865, with which work neither Herr von Klarwill nor his English translator —nor his reviewers—appear to have been acquainted

## NOTE: "MONTDRAGON SWAYETH ALL."

### *English Tributes to a Spanish veteran, 1595.*

In communications sent to Essex from abroad, giving news of the Spanish war, there are frequent references to "Mounte Dragon," meaning the veteran Don Cristóbal de Mondragón, one of the heroes of the Emperor Charles's expedition to Tunis;[1] also distinguished under the "Great Duke" of Alba.[2] In the summer of 1595, describing the various adversary officers, Sir Francis Vere informed Essex that "Montdragon swayeth all."[3] A letter from Dieppe announces that Count Maurice [of Nassau] was "forced by Montdragon to raise his siege"[4] Describing how King Henry "hath solicited reinforcement into Calais and Ardres,"—and obtained it,—Lord Burrough added, "We are encamped within seven English miles of Montdragon."[5] And next it was related how "Montdragon with his forces goeth to the siege of Cambray," wherefore King Henry had sent "a gentleman" to Queen Elizabeth asking for "men from Picardy"[6] From the Camp near Wesel, 22nd August, 1595, Vere wrote to Essex that he supposed Mondragón would soon give battle; but, if so, he ought to be repulsed, "for we are strongly entrenched."[7] Two days later, Vere stated that "The armies continue in the same place still, Montdragon over against Berke and we near Wesel neither making any show as if they would bring it to a day's fight, but both content to keep the other from doing" There had, however, previously been a Cavalry skirmish "very well fought on both sides."[8]

Don Cristóbal de Mondragón, who in 1595 was England's opponent, had erstwhile been England's ally. We have seen in the defence of Guisnes how gallantly Mondragón and his Spaniards supported Lord Grey of Wilton, and how, when Grey was obliged to capitulate to the Duke of Guise, there were few Spaniards remaining to surrender, most of them having fought till they fell[9] Their discipline had been far superior to that of the English garrison.

In 1595 Mondragón is said to have been over eighty years of age. The date of his birth is disputed, but there is no difference of opinion as to his valour, loyalty, and power of leadership.[10] Surviving until 1596, he is affectionately remembered to this day in Spain as a typical hidalgo.[11]

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[1] E.E Vol. VII, plates 4 and 5.

[2] Many allusions to him in *Correspondence de Philippe II sur les affaires des Pay Bas,* published by Gachard; Vol IV.

[3] Hatfield MSS. Cal. Vol V. (1894) p 285 [4] Aug: 1595. Ib: p. 308.

[5] 12 August 1595. To Essex: "I commend to the most virtuous Earl my service in all truth and constancy against death and whatsoever this world may encounter me withal." Ib: p. 315.

[6] 19 August Otwell Smith to the E. of Essex, Ib: p 333 [7] Ib: p. 339

[8] Ib p 344 [9] E.E Vol I Prologue, p 118.

[10] *Ilustre por su valor* (Herrera) *Gran soldado,* (Cabrera de Córdoba). *Valerosisimo capitán y hombre muy de bien,* (Strada). And Carlo Coloma wrote of him *Todos los capitanes y soldados le tenian por padre, y le respetaban como a tal.* These tributes are quoted in an article by Don Angel Salcedo y Ruiz, *El Coronel Cristóbal de Mondragón* in *Ciudad de Dios,* 1915. Of his help to Lord Grey, Don Angel says,

> "Al tomar el Duque de Guisa la pequeña ciudad de Guines, que, con la de Calais, poseian los ingleses en el Norte de Francia desde la guerra de los cien años, hizo prisioneros, ademas de la guarnición inglesa, a ochenta españoles y algunos borgoñones que, al mando del capitán Mondragón, habia enviado de socorro el gobernador de Gravelinas. Sucedió esta prisión de nuestro heroe el 20 Enero de 1558, y no sabemos cúanto se prolongaria el captiverio . . ."

[11] . . . *gente noble y distinguida, de aventureros jóvenes, bravos, altivos, gallardos, camorristas, avidos de gloria y de emociones, de entre los cuales, los que no sucumbian a las armas enemigas o a las fatigas de la guerra, formaban después el plantel de donde salió el mismo Londoño y sus compañeros Valdés, Dávila, Mondragón, Verdugo, Romero y tantos otros.*

The Duke of Berwick and of Alba, describing the chivalrous martial character. Introducing a new edition of the "*Disciplina Militar*" of Sancho de Londoño; (1943) p. 7

*APPENDIX.*

## "YOUR HONOURABLE AND ACCUSTOMED FAVOURS TOWARDS ALL THE LOVERS OF ART AND LEARNING."

*More dedications to Essex, 1592-1596.*[1]

1592 *Thomas Mastersen His First Booke of Arithmeticke. Shewing the ingenius inventions, and figuratve operations, by which to calculate the true solution or answeres of Arithmeticall questions, after a more perfect, plaine, briefe, well ordered Arithmeticall way, than any other heretofore published: verie necessarie for all men.*

*Nothing without labour.*
*All things with reason.*

*Imprinted at London by Richard Field, dwelling in the Blackfriers neare Ludgate 1592.* (B.M. C. 74 b 11)

"To the Right Honorable Robert D'Evrevx, Earle of Essex and Ewe, Viscount of Hereford and Bovrchier, Lord Ferrers of Chartely, Bourchier and Louaine, Maister of the Queenes Maiesties horse, and Knight of the most honorable order of the Garter, T M. wisheth increase of all honour and happinesse"

Long epistle [A3 verso] setting forth the author's ideas, concluding,

". . And for that I am assured of the good liking and favour your Honour hath to this Art and the professours thereof, I haue chosen you Right Honourable Lord to be the patron of this my first booke of Arithmeticke, the which I present to your Honour in most humble manner, hoping your Lordship will accept the same with as good affection as I desire abilitie and meanes to be inployed in some other seruice that might be more pleasing to your Honour

Thus I most humbly take my leave. "

From London this 20 August Anno 1592.

1593. *Philadelphus, or A Defence of Brutes [Brutus], and the Brutans History. Written by R. H. [Richard Harvey] Imprinted at London by John Wolfe 1593.* (B.M. 292 f. 44)[2]

"To the most Noble Lord, the Lord Robert Deuoreux, Earle of Essex, of her Maiesties priuie Counsell, Knight of the Princely Order of the Garter. I present nowe unto your Lordship this . . . essay, in print, which I offered before in writing . . . urged to this dutie by your most honourable munificence toward me," [meaning presumably that Essex paid the printer's bill]. He is asked to accept this book according to his custom of approving men "like to do God good service" and to serve "this kingdome. Thus trusting to your Lordship's magnificent, and sweete favor herein, I most heartely commend your true renowmed honour to the blessed estate of immortalitie."

Harvey begins with a rebuke to Buchanan for doubting Geoffrey of Monmouth as to the Trojan origin of the British Monarchy, and then he treats of the Anthropology, Chronology and Topography bearing on his defence of Brutus; the statements being elaborately tabulated to show the "genealogy or issue,"—when they began to rule, "How long they ruled; in the Iland; out of the Iland," &c. He protests that not "ten Buchanans" can persuade him "that this Genealogy is a fabulous tale," and he

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[1] Continued from E.E. Vol. VIII, pp. 174-183; 448; 578.

[2] When Essex was 16 years of age in 1583, Richard Harvey had dedicated to him a Latin treatise on Logic, *Ephemeron* &c. (E.E. Vol. V, p. 124); and in 1590 a theological discourse, *The Lamb of God* (B.M. C. 37. d 44) E.E. Vol. VIII, p. 176 177

pleads that there is no sufficient reason to doubt what for many centuries has been accepted, "both in regard of all reverend antiquities of historie, and in respect of our own Countriemen and neighbours, to whom I wish all content and agreement among themselves and against their enemies for ever."

In the 18th century the descent of the Royal Family from Brutus was given in Anderson's "Royal Genealogies" as merely lengendary. But as the English Ambassadors used to claim precedence over those of France and Spain on the ground of the greater antiquity of the British Monarchy, the matter was of more than academic interest to Elizabethans [1]

1594 *Tenor Songs and Psalms composed into 3, 4, and 5 parts, for the use and delight of all such as either love or learne Musicke by John Mundy Gentleman, bachiler of Musicke, and one of the Organest of hir Maiestues free Chappell of Windsor.*

*Imprinted at London by Thomas Est, (the assigne of William Byrd), dwelling in Aldersgate street, at the signe of the black Horse 1594.*" (B.M. K. 2 a 3 and E.E. Vol IX, p 130)

Until mentioned by the present writer the remarkable dedicatory epistle escaped notice —

". . . I have exercised the nine sweet Muses . . . to delight the tenth Your Honour is the same excelent tenth Muse . To your delight I consecrate my duties, . . . If I satisfie not you, I satisfie not any, although all besides. If I content you I hope I shall content all "[2]

1594 *The Jewell House of Art and Nature. Conteining diuers rare and profitable Inuentions, together with sundry new experimentes in the art of Husbandry, Distillation, and Moulding Faithfully and familiarly set down, according to the Authors owne experience, by Hugh Platte, of Lincolnes Inn Gentleman London, Printed by Peter Short, dwelling on Breadstreet hill, at the signe of the Star, and are to be solde in Paules Church yard 1594*

(Bodleian 4° B 62 Art.) Essex' coat of arms on verso of title page. Dedicatory Epistle, sig. A2, and A2 Verso

This book in an edition of 1653, dedicated to Bulstrode Whitlock, is fairly well known, but the first edition, 1594, with the dedication to Essex is exceedingly rare. Wishing him "a long and happy life", Platt states "that the trew end of all or privat labors and studies, ought to bee the beginning of the publicke and common good of our country, wherein we breathe and have our being"

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[1] Though the French Monarchs could not assert—as Queen Elizabeth's Ambassadors did,—that Christianity reached their country within the lifetime of St Joseph of Arimathea, the French Kings did claim a share of the Trojan ancestry: *Les Anciennes et Modernes Genealogies des Roys de France et mesmement du roy Pharemond, avec leurs epitaphs et effigies Poictiers au Pellican . . . par Jean Bouchet, 1529*, included a full page woodcut of Troy in flames, and issuing forth therefrom three groups of horsemen labelled respectively Francus, Æneus, Anthenor. The French alleged that Francus, son of Hector, was the progenitor of their Kings

Caxton's first English printed book, circa 1474, under the patronage of Edward IV's sister Margaret Duchess of Burgundy, had been *The Recuyell of the Historyes of Troy*, from the French of Raoul Lefevre.

In our own day the legend of the Trojan origin of the British Crown was revived in *The Royal House of Britain an Enduring Dynasty. By the Rev W. M. H Milner, M.A., F.R.G.S., A.V.L., late Vicar of Sewstern, Lincs, and Son of the Chaplain to H.R.H the late Duke of Edinburgh*, &c. London, 1902, 1903, 1904, 1907, 1909, 1911, 1915, 1924, 1927, 1933. This is an amplification of a work published in 1860 by the Rev. F. R. A. Glover, Chaplain to the British Consulate at Cologne. Though both authors make too little distinction between ancient legends and demonstrable history, the beliefs for which they stand were in the Middle Ages and up to the end of the 16th century not only held by Englishmen but accepted in Spain, where the tradition is still remembered. See E.E., "*Las Naves*," plate 22.

[2] See E.E. Vol. V, p. 53, for specimen page from this book, "Were I a King," and Vol. VI, p. 261, for "my prime of youth," &c, and Vol IX, p. 137. No authors' names are given for verses which had been identified from other sources. John Mundy was Mus. Bac. Oxon, 1586; Organist of St George's Chapel, Windsor, circa 1586 until his death in 1630. His father, William Mundy, also a musical composer, was "Gentleman of the Chapel Royal" 1564; and a member of St Paul's Choir.

"and because in these daies of deepest censure, ech author of novelties (be they never so really and roially performed) is euery way in danger both of sharp and soddeine reprehention, not onely of the base and vulgar sorte of people, that measure other mens conceipts by their owne; but of those that have had some better education . . . I am therefore bold (presuming upon your honorable and accustomed favors towardes all true lovers of art and learning), to devote and consecrate unto your honorable protection, these the painefull and chargeable travells of my youth, not doubting that being shrowded with Achilles shield, they shal be able to endure al the thundering volees of shot whatsoever, that shall be bent or discharged against them. And thus . . hoping that your honor will inspire some life into those breathlesse ghosts of mine," &c., &c.

1595. *A Musicall Consort of heavenly Harmonie (Compounded out of manie parts of Musicke) called Churchyards Chaunte Imprinted at London by Ar Hatfield, for William Holme 1595*

Dedicated to Essex (with all his titles), wishing him "happiness of life, worlds goodwill and everlasting fame" Revived in 1807 by S. Egerton Brydges in *Censura Literaria*, Vol. III, pp 337-347 And see E.E. Vol. VI, p 459

1595. *Vincentio Saviolo his Practice In two Bookes The first intreating of the use of the Rapier and Dagger The second, of Honor and honorable Quarrels* [See E.E., p. 399].

Dedicated to Essex "whose valour inforceth all soldiers to acknowledge you the English Achilles: whose favouring good literature celebrateth your name for the English Mecenas: whose benigne protection and provision for strangers, maketh you reputed of as theyr safe sanctuary . . ."

Saviolo offers his dialogue as "a new yeare's gift" proceeding from a mind "that wisheth and prayeth that your Honour may injoy many good and prosperous yeres," &c. This work contains "A discourse" (28 pages) "most necessarie" &c, "touching the giving and receiving of the Lie, where upon the Duello and the Combats in divers sorts doth ensue," &c. "Of the Lye in Generall," "Of the Lye in Particular," "Of foolish Lyes," &c Shakespeare satirised this as quarrelling "by the book"[1] There was much jealousy against Saviolo as a foreigner. His English rival George Silver, subsequently dedicated to Essex his *"Paradoxe of Defence"* protesting against "strangers and false teachers," and pleading for the use of "ancient English weapons" Silver waxed wrath against "the strange views of Italian, French and Spanish pincers" whose "apish tongues could not free Rome from Brenners sack nor France from Henrie the fifth his conquest." We shall consider his prejudices under the date of publication, 1599; the fatal year when Essex accepted the Irish Viceroyalty though realising that while he went forth to confront the Queen's enemies in War he left her in the midst of his own "ill-willers" at home.

[1] *Touchstone:* "O Sir, we quarrel in print, by the book; as you have books for good manners; I will name you the degrees. The first, the Retort Courteous; the second, the Quip Modest; the third, the Reply Churlish; the fourth, the Reproof Valiant; the fifth the Countercheck Quarrelsome; the sixth the Lie in the Circumstance; the seventh, the Lie Direct."

*"As You Like It"*. Act. V. Sc: 4.

In 1595 a translation of the *True Arte of Defence* of Giocomo di Grassi was "Englished by J. G. gentleman," and dedicated to Thomas, Lord Borough, "Lord Governor of the Breil," K.G.

## "TO THE DELIGHT OF THE LEARNED, AND THE INFORMATION OF THE UNLEARNED."

Such is the expressive summing up of his efforts, by the first English bookseller to compile and issue a "Catalogue of English printed Bookes: Eyther written in our owne tongue, or translated out of any other language," &c.

Part I, Divinity, is dedicated to the Queen who is saluted with the more profound respect in that under her gracious rule theological books are said to have notably multiplied. But the dedication to the "Seconde parte" is here preferred for quotation, in that it more clearly shows the aim and scope of Maunsell's patient labours

"To the Right Honourable, Robert Earle of Essex and Ewe, Viscount Hereford, Lorde Ferrers of Chartley, Bourgchier and Louaine, Maister of the Queenes Maiesties Horse, Knight of the most noble order of the Garter, and one of her Highnes most honorable priuie Counsell.

"Considering (right Honourable) the marualious great height of knowledge and learning, that this our Nation is come vnto, by the blessing of God, and peaceable gouernment, continued vpon this famous realme of England, aboue all the Nations of the world [1] and seeing still many excellent Bookes written, and Printed in our owne tongue, and that many of them after twenty or forte yeares Printing, are so dispersed out of Booke-sellers hands, that they are not onely scarce to be found, but almost quite forgotten, I haue thought it worth my poore labour, to take some paynes heerein, (though that the more learned sort would not willingly imploy their labour in the same) to gather a Cathalogue in such sort as I can, of the Bookes Printed in our owne tongue; which I doe hope will be delightsome to all English men that be learned or desirous of learning: for hereby they may know euen in their studies, what Bookes are eyther by our own Countrymen written, or translated out of any other language, that those which desire to set foorth more Bookes for the benefit of their Countrey, may see what is already extant upon any argument

And, as I haue shewed, that in Diuine matters necessarie to saluation, no Nation hath better or more plentifull instructions in their owne tongue then wee: So in this second part of my labours, I doe endeuour to shew, that in the Mathematicke, Physicke, and Surgerie, our tongue is not barrain.

Most humbly beseeching your Honour, seeing the Lord hath made you a most honourable Patrone of learned men and theyr workes, you will vouschafe also fauorablie to receiue even the titles of theyr learned workes, though gathered by one unworthie to carrie their Bookes, yet if I may be a remembrancer vnto them, and carrie their titles after them, to the delight of the learned, and information of the vnlearned, with your most honourable fauour, I haue inough.

Your Honours poore Oratour

ANDREW MAUNSELL Booke-seller"[2]

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[1] In 1595 England had been ten years at war with Spain. So by "peaceable government" Maunsell must mean that the internal peace was kept by defending England abroad The horrors of "totalitarian" war were as yet in the far future.

[2] This Catalogue is of remarkable historical, literary, and bibliographical interest. The present writer hopes some day to reprint it in full for subscribers, with facsimile title pages of certain of the chief works, and a descriptive Introduction and explanatory Notes. This would afford a clearer notion of the literary activity of the time than many a retrospective discourse. As the historian of "Elizabethan England" has studied some of the books with special care (see E.E. Vol. VII, pp. 145-160, for a typical example) the Commentary would not be in vague general terms but as precise as the annotations of the present History, in which the system is so to set the literary matters that the relations between literature and life can be seen and felt by any reader: it being emphasised that most of the books surveyed were produced in time of war,—a fact which should evoke the sympathy of our contemporaries, and of their posterity

# THE
# Seconde parte of the Cata-
## logue of Engliſh printed Bookes:

*Eyther written in our owne tongue, or tranſlated out of any* other language: which concerneth the Sciences *Mathematicall*, as *Arithmetick, Geometrie, Aſtronomie, Aſtrologie, Muſick*, the *Arte of VVarre*, and *Nauigation*:

And alſo, of *Phyſick* and *Surgerie*: which haue beene publiſhed to the glorie of God, and the benefit of the Commonweale of England.

*Gathered into Alphabet, and ſuch methode as it is, by* Andrew Maunſell Booke-ſeller.

Vnumquodque propter quid.




AT LONDON,
Printed by *Iames Roberts*, for *Andrew Maunſell*, dwelling in *Lombarde*. 1595.

So far as ascertainable at present, only two copies of this Catalogue survive: one in the British Museum (No. 618. 1. 17, from which the above is reproduced), and one offered at £90 by a bookseller in Leicester, some years before the war of 1939-45.

Though Maunsell was the pioneer of booksellers' Catalogues, such as Messrs Maggs Bros and Messrs William Robinson Ltd. have so developed as to be treasured by all who receive them, he as yet has received little if any attention from Bibliophiles and Bibliographers (See opposite).

## "HONOURABLE CURTESIE TO ALL MEN."

*Translated from the Italian, 1595.*

*"Nennio Or a Treatise of Nobility· Wherein is discovered what true Nobilitie is, with such qualities as are required in a perfect Gentleman Written in Italian by that famous Doctor and worthy knight Sir John Baptista Nenna of Bari. Done into English by William Iones Gent. Printed for Paule Linley, and Iohn Plasket, and are to be sold at their shop in Paules churchyard, at the Signe of the blacke Beare,* 1595." (B.M. C.71.b.19).

On the verso of the title page are the arms of Essex, 53 quarterings. The dedicatory letter to him is dated "At my house by Charing Crosse, this first of November 1595":

". . . A more fit Patron I could not wel chuse, considering the argument and the substance of the discourse. It treateth of Nobilitie by descent: The auncient Noble house your L. is come of, and how both they and your L. have deserved well of the Crowne and State, is well knowne to all men· It speaketh of Nobilitie purchased by vertue. Your L. . . . have added such grace to your Nobilitie that not only the common sort do admire, but the Court likewise. . . . I . . . therefore . . . humblie beseech your good L. that as your honorable curtesie to all men hath deserved no small commendation: So your noble and worthy mind would vouchsafe the patronage of these my labours. For the which I shall dailie pray unto the Almighty . . . that you may long live . . . to the comfort of your Countrie and friends. . . ."

Commendatory sonnets by Spenser, Chapman, Samuel Daniel, and A[ngel] Day follow the address "To the Courteous Reader."

The Italian original was published in 1542: *Il Nennio nel quale si ragiona di Nobilta. Del magnifico dottor di Leggi e Caualier di Cesare M. Gianbattista Nenna de Bari.*

Colophon: *Impresso in Venegia per Andrea Vanassere detto Guadagnino e Fratello Nel anno del Signore MDXXXXII. Dedication "Alla Sacra et serenissima D. Bona Sforza Aragonia Reina di Polonia, Duchessa del Gran Ducato di Lithuania, et de Bari, etc.:* dated *Da Bari di nono di Settembre. Del MDXXXXI."*

As cultured Englishmen were supposed to read and speak Italian, translations into English were not for the highly educated but for the "simple." They were presented to some noble patron in order that his name might be a guarantee that the work deserved respectful reading: and sometimes in the hope that he would pay the printer's bill.

*

## *" LAS NAVES ": TAPESTRY OF THE 15th CENTURY.*

### *Purporting to represent the landing of Brutus in Britain.*

*From the original in the Cathedral at Saragossa.*

*Reproduced by courtesy of the Director of the Real Academia de la Historia de España.*

Photograph. Hauser y Menet.

This is well-known in Spain, and was included in *Exposición retrospectiva de Arte. Texto historico-Critico por Emilio Bertaux*, Madrid and Zaragoza, 1910, p. 147; and a small half-tone (of the central ship only) appeared in 1934 in *Gente de Mar* by Señor Gervasio de Artiñano, p. 15: *Singlo xv. Tapiz llamado " Las Naves " Representa la llegada de Bruto, el legendario fondador de Inglaterra.*

It was shown in the great International Exhibition at Barcelona: Vide *El arte en España. Guia del Museo de Palacio Nacional*, Dr Gómez Moreno, 3rd ed: revised. Barcelona, 1929.

[The ships are not of the XVth Century, but adapted from an earlier model].

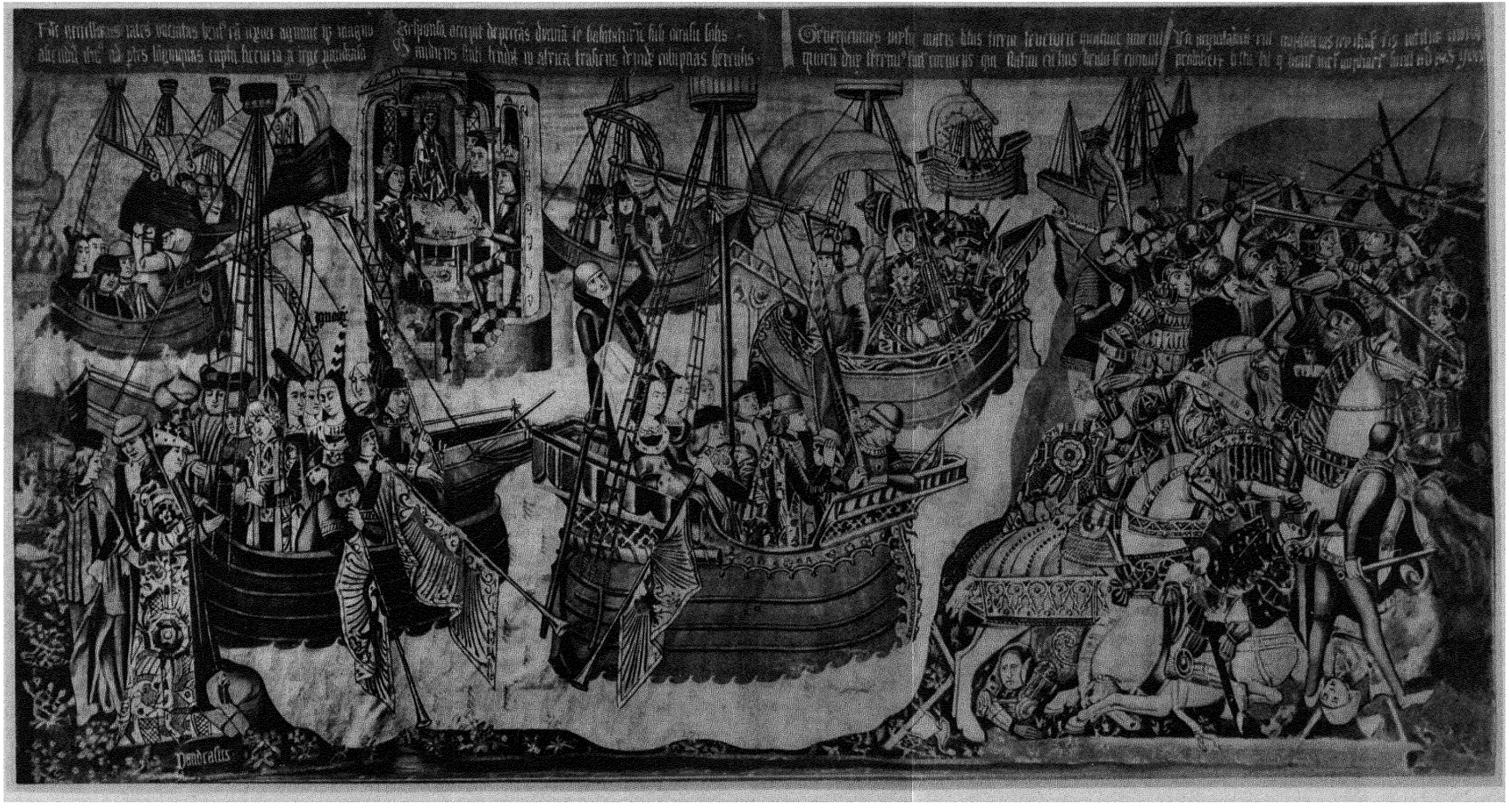
The legend of the Trojan origin of the British Monarchy was accepted for centuries, not only by our nation but abroad; and when George Buchanan, as a Scot, grudged to England so ancient a civilisation, Richard Harvey answered him vigorously, protesting that there was no adequate reason for challenging a narrative handed down from the remotest ages. (E.E. Vol. IX, p. 415-416.)

Elizabethans believed literally the prophetic command alleged to have been given to Brutus:

> " Brute, past the realms of Gaul, beyond the Sunset
> Lieth an Island girt about by Ocean,
> Guarded by Ocean—erst the haunt of giants,
> Desert of late, and meet for this thy people.
> Seek it! For there is thine abode for ever.
> There by thy sons shall Troy again be builded.
> There of thy blood shall Kings be born, hereafter
> Sovereign in every land the wide world over."

However cold such a legend may leave our public to-day, when Science and Speed tend to crush Romance and Tradition, Englishmen in the past took pride and satisfaction in the assumption that the story of this country went back into Classsic Ages. Hence the popularity of George Peele's *Tale of Troy* (E.E. Vol. VIII, pp. 97, 100), and of numerous other references to the Homeric warfare whether in prose or verse. Hence also the myth that the ancestors of the De Veres were among the warriors who landed at Totnes with Brutus.

Any student who wishes to know the most recent commentary on the value—and otherwise—of stories gathered by and from Geoffrey of Monmouth, should consult " Antiquity," Vol. XV (1941) pp. 269-286; 305-339. As to the early East Mediterranean influences in this country, see " Prehistoric Britain " in the Penguin Series. But those elucidations are outside our present purpose of entering into the minds of the Elizabethans. Their faith in the gratifying legend certainly stimulated the vigour and valour which prompted the majority of Her Majesty's subjects resolutely to resist absorption into the Empire of *todas las Españas.*



PART VII.

"The causes that govern the events."

CHAPTER 6.

"THE HONOUR AND GREATNESS OF THE QUEEN."

SECTION 5.

# "Called into action by Her Majesty."

*(The departure of Drake and Hawkins).*

**Elizabethe by the grace of God etc.: to our trustye and well beloved Sr Frauncys Drake and Sr John Hawkyns Knightes . . . Deeplie considering the hostile attemptes daylie practised againste this our Realme and person, . . . . to withstand such attemptes . . [We] doe . . give you full power and authoritie to receive at the Handes of our Admirall sixe of Or shippes . . . wth twelve of or Marchantes Shippes and sundry Pinnaces . . . manned victalled and prepared for you bothe to leade . . . to such places and countries . . . as . . . you shall thinke meeteste to offend or capitall enemye the Kynge of Spayne . . . either on sea or on land . . .**

**"And for the tenne thousand poundes adventure wch we are pleased you shall have wth Us . . . ye shall . . . be satisfied yor selves rateablie in gaine or loss, as ye do to Us and thother adventurers . . ."**

*The Queen's Commission, dated 29th January "in the xxxvij year of or Raigne" 1594-5.* First published, E.E. pp. 427.

**Barnaby Loe of Ipswich, mariner, "saith . . . [these Galleys] . . . would have stayed longer to do more spoils to this Country . . . but that they stood in fear of Sir Francis Drake's fleet."**

**"After they had burned Penzance, and the other villages, he sayeth they had a masse the next day on the western hill, by a fryar, where they have vowed to buyld a fryery, when they have gotten England, which they vaunt to conquer."**

*"26th July, 1595. Examynacon of certen english Prisoners landed out of Spa[nish] Galleys in Cornewall."* S.P.D.E. CCLIII. 33. E.E. p. 429.

**"I, Sir Francis Drake of Buckland . . . . am now called into action by Her Majesty."**

*Will and Testament of Drake; August, 1595.* E.E. vol. IX, p. 552.

**"We beseech your good Lordship that if Her Majesty do alter our first agreement you stand strongly for us," &c., &c.**

*Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins to the Earl of Essex, K.G.; P.C. 13th August, 1595.* E.E. p. 433.

**"Your Majesty . . . is to consider what are the general provisions against invasion; and the likeliest designs of the enemy."**

*The Earl of Essex to the Queen.* 31st August, 1595. E.E. p. 440.

# "AT HOME IN PEACE." SERVICES OF SIR FRANCIS DRAKE, M.P.

As already made clear in this History, the 19th century notion of "Drake in disgrace" from 1589 until he set sail in 1595—though repeated by our historians since 1898 when Corbett started it—is entirely mistaken. In his vigorous speeches in the Parliament of 1592-3 he showed no sign of regarding himself as under a cloud, and a few months after his death a fellow West-Countryman, Charles Fitz-Geffrey—not content with celebrating the exploits afloat, by which

> "Our lofty Dragon did advance his breast,
> Exacting tributes of the strongest lands
> Won by his words or conquered by his hands,"—

also praised his achievements ashore —

> "Neither in wars his worth was only known,
> Although his worth was chiefly known in wars,
> But all as well at home in peace was shown,
> In moderating public wealths affairs,
> As quieting his foes tumultuous jars:
> And as the Laurel crowned him conqueror
> So did the Olive show him counsellor.
>
> "Like as abroad with unresisted arms
> He tamed his foes proud insultations,
> Even so at home with lenity he charms
> His jarring friends discordant passions,
> Rescuing the poor from proud vexations:
> So all his life he made a warfare long
> Abroad 'gainst enemies, at home 'gainst wrong
>
> 'In war he strove (and striving still did gain)
> To vanquish all with never-daunted might:
> In peace he sought (and seeking did obtain)
> All to excel in equity and right,
> A Justicer in peace, in war a Knight:
> Though hard it were for him that might take ease
> Scipio to be in war, Cato in peace"[1]

There follows the story of how "by his industry and quaint device" he contrived the water-supply for Plymouth (for the hitherto unknown map of which see E E Volume VIII, plate 33)

Drake "better deserveth a Homer than Achilles, a Virgil than Æneas," declared Charles Fitz-Geffrey "To the Reader," 17th of November, 1596, prefacing the second edition of his eulogy of "Bellona's darling, man of chivalry, . . . foeman's fear," the nation's hero, "undaunted Drake"[1] Drake was on the Parliamentary Committee of 1592-3 for relief of distressed or disabled soldiers, which is possibly what Fitz-Geffrey had in mind when alluding to his rescuing the poor at home from their vexations.[2]

---

[1] "*Sir Francis Drake His Honorable Lifes Commendation and his Tragical Deaths Lamentation . . .*" Oxford, 1596 (2 impressions). Reprinted by Sir Egerton Brydges "At the private Press of Lee Priory," 1819 E E Vol: IX, pp 560-561

[2] An eminent modern writer who in 1934 described Drake as having retired into private life from after the expedition of 1589 until his final enterprise in 1595, was relying upon Corbett's "Drake and the Tudor Navy," 1898, which for half a century has misled English, American and Spanish historians, Corbett would never have been intentionally unfair; but he depended too often on modern epitomes

## "THE TRUMPET OF FAME." 1595.

"Drake, conquering Drake . . .
A friend to friends, a scourge unto the foe
A plague to those that wish sweet Englands woe.

Be forward then, and joy in this brave Knight
That never yet receivèd foil in fight,
But still returned with fame and wealth alway
In spite of those that would the same gainsay;

And Hawkins in this action his compeer
Full well is known a famous cavalier,
Whose valour shown and service often done
With good success immortal fame hath won."

*The Trumpet of Fame, or Sir F. Drakes and Sir I. Hawkins Farewell.*
By H. R. [Henry Robarts] 4to. For T. Cresswell, sold by W. Barley. 1595.[1]

[1] This H. R was the same Henry Robarts who ten years previously had written *A most friendly farewell . . . to the right worshipful Sir Francis Drake Knight, Generall of her Maiesties Navy,* (E.E. Vol. V, pp 281-283) then describing himself as a Citizen of London. Possibly he was the father of Captain Henry Robarts who was Walsingham's agent in Morocco in 1585.

The 1595 quarto is not in the B.M One copy is in the Henry Huntington Library, U.S.A. In 1818 *The Trumpet* &c. was edited by T. Park, and "Printed at the private press of Lee Priory Kent." (B.M. 239. i. 9.) Even the reprint is very rare. The above verses were appropriately quoted in R. A. J. Walling's *A Sea-Dog of Devon, A Life of Sir John Hawkins* London, New York, and Melbourne, 1908, p. 256: but without Mr Walling stating who was the author or where the booklet is to be found.

## *SIR JOHN HAWKINS.*

*From the original on panel, inscribed " Ætatis suæ LVIII Ano dni 1591."*

[*Inherited by his descendant Christopher Stuart Hawkins.*]

*Now in possession of the Mayor and Corporation of Plymouth.*

Re-photographed by permission for the present volume, by Cyril H. Gill, Plymouth, 1932.

First published by Miss Hawkins, in her *Plymouth Armada Heroes The Hawkins Family With original Portraits, Coats of Arms, and other Illustrations,* Plymouth, William Brendon and Son, 1888. Included also in *Historical Portraits* by Emery Walker and C. R. L. Fletcher, Clarendon Press; and in several modern biographies. A similar picture is in the Bodleian Library; Catalogue, 1920: No: 51 405

Notice shield of hereditary Arms, "*Sable,* on a base wavy *argent* and *azure,* a lion passant *or*; in chief three bezants" Hawkins also had an augmentation granted by Queen Elizabeth "On a canton *or,* an escallop shell between two palmers' staves of the field" Second augmentation: to the crest, "a wreath *argent* and *azure,* a demi Moor proper, bound and captive, with annulets upon his arms and in his ears, *or*; mantled *gules* doubled *argent*" Motto, *Nil Desperandum*

For " Table of the Family of Hawkins of Devon " See Miss Hawkins' *Plymouth Armada Heroes,* with armorial particulars, p 158-176.

In the Inventory of pictures belonging to John, Lord Lumley, at Lumley Castle, compiled in 1590, we see "Sir John Hawkins, Treasurer of the Admiraltie, drawne by Hubbert," but this is not now in the Lumley Castle collection, and the late Earl of Scarbrough could throw no light upon its disappearance. A posthumous print of Hawkins appears in Holland's "*Heroologia*" and has often been reproduced. Except a portrait formerly at Hawkins' Hospital at Chatham, now in the National Maritime Museum, and a picture in which Sir John appears with Drake and Cavendish (included in Miss Hawkins' tercentenary volume) no other oil portrait representing him is known to have survived, but for an excellent contemporary miniature, by Oliver, see E.E. Vol. II, plate 14.



PART VII.

"The causes that govern the events."

CHAPTER 6

"THE HONOUR AND GREATNESS OF THE QUEEN."

SECTION 5

# "Called into action by Her Majesty."

*(The departure of Drake and Hawkins).*[1]

IN November of 1594 there had been published, as we have seen, under Lord Burghley's direction, particulars of the foreign conspiracies against Queen Elizabeth,—with a challenge to King Philip to clear himself, if he could, from the imputation of complicity. No answer was forthcoming. And some eight weeks later, on the 23rd of January, Her Majesty signed a Commission authorising Drake and Hawkins to "offend our capitall enemye the Kynge of Spayne, his Countries, Subjects and adherents either on sea or on lande." This was the retort to the discovery of the plot for the taking of her life, and burning her fleet, and for King Philip's intended combined purchase and conquest of her kingdom. The biographers of Drake have tried to explain his last expedition without ascertaining either the machinations of foes from abroad or the orders given at home.

In *The Trumpet of Fame,* 1595, there was hearty salutation to

> "Drake, conquering Drake, . . .
> A friend to friends, a scourge unto the foe,
> A plague to those that wish sweet Englands woe."

But in 1898 the author of *Drake and the Tudor Navy* drew a pathetic picture of the neglected veteran, after five years' "disgrace," being permitted at last to hoist his flag, not for the honour of England, or for any sound strategic reasons, but because greedy courtiers, deaf to higher considerations, were panting for gold: the word "treasure" working upon their minds an effect which nobler reasonings failed to produce. We have seen that Drake had not been "in disgrace" but in Parliament. (And a disgraced Admiral would not have been consulted by the Privy Council, and his advice accepted; nor would Peers of the realm acting as Lieutenants of the

[1] Described by the late Professor Sir Geoffrey Callender, Director of the National Maritime Museum, as throwing new light on the events. He studied the typescript of this and the later section about the expedition

Counties have been bidden to be "assistant" to and guided by a personage who was under a cloud).

A later rendering of the situation in a life of Sir John Hawkins is equally remarkable for omissions.[1] Alleging that Burghley and Elizabeth "doddered together through their last years" (forgetting that Burghley predeceased the Queen by nearly five years) the 20th century biographer portrayed the venerable Lord Treasurer as the despair of the men of action. No Elizabethan footnote references are given to support this assertion, which seems to be a paraphrase of Corbett's statement that after Walsingham's death in 1590 there was nobody left to "trick" or "goad" Burghley into forwarding the war. Actually Burghley was still so powerful and vigorous that certain adversary politicians and English exiles paid him the compliment in 1594 of wishing him assassinated: a tribute no enemy offers to a "doddering" minister.

Let us see the situation in 1595 through the words of those mainly concerned, beginning with the Queen's Commission, which manifestly none of the biographers of Drake and Hawkins have consulted. It is usual today to expatiate on the foolishness of the "Government" in cramping Drake's genius by forcing on him Hawkins as yoke-fellow—or cumbering Hawkins' mature wisdom by tying him to Drake,—the blame varying according to which of these Commanders each writer has happened to prefer. But we must ascertain upon what terms they were sent to sea. For how can we comprehend "the Government" unless we are cognisant of the orders the Sovereign signed? And how judge the actions of the Generals unless we know the terms upon which they undertook the expedition?

The original Commissions have vanished. But the Clerk of the Crown kept a copy and added in the margin, "Note that ther weare 2 Com: of the same tenure: delivered to boath: in that each of them had his name and was first in the Com:" meaning that in the Commission handed to Hawkins his own name came first, but in the one drawn up for Drake, Drake's name took precedence; while each understood his powers to be identical with those of the other.[2] Before we criticise the arrangement, we may recall that these two friends and kinsfolk had the same standards of duty, and could have been presumed able to settle amicably any differences of opinion which might arise between them. However peculiar a dual Commission may seem to us, it was no novelty to Drake, who had commanded the 1589 expedition to Spain and Portugal jointly with Sir John Norris, and had not fallen out with him, although fiery Norris, "son of Mars," was notoriously difficult to work with. Even if we suppose Drake happier during his early ventures when he was sole Commander, it is unreasonable to infer that Hawkins, whose labours of late

[1] *Sir John Hawkins the Time and the Man*, Oxford, 1927, by James A. Williamson.

[2] The clerk's note is retrospective, for it goes on to allude to a document of the following year: "The lyke was to my ld Admirall and my Ld of Essex in the expedition for Cales· 1596. S P." [Stephen Powle]. But in 1596 the joint command was only afloat. Essex had sole command ashore. Commission, F F Vol X, plate 2

years had been administrative, resented having as his colleague in 1595 his most active pupil, whose name still resounded through the world to the pride of nearly every Englishman of the Protestant persuasion.

The title " Admiral " not being accorded to either by the Queen for this occasion, we will refer to both from now onwards merely by their names, as in the Commission itself. Beginning by greeting " our trusty and well beloved S^r^ Frauncys Drake and S^r^ John Hawkyns Knightes," Her Majesty explains,

> " Forasmuch as . . . deeply considering hostile attempts daily practised against this Our Realm and person . . without just cause given by Us, We are justly moved, . . . where peaceable means on Our parts have not prevailed, to prevent . . and withstand such hostile attempts, . . . We let you wit . . that having to that end resolved with both of you by the advice of our Council upon some special service . . . whereunto both of you have assented. And knowing your approved fidelity, wisdom, valour, and circumspection, We have made especial Choice of you both. . . And therefore do . . . give you full power and authority to receive at the hands of Our Admiral six of our Ships, named the Garland, the Defiance, the Bonaventure, the Hope, the Foresight, and the Adventure, thoroughly furnished in warlike manner, together with twelve of Our merchant's ships, and sundry Pinnaces to attend them."[1]

Sir Francis and Sir John are authorised, individually or by deputy to " take up " a " fit number " [no figures specified] of " Sailors, Ship Carpenters, Gunners, Soldiers, and other artificers and seafaring men as shall be sufficient to furnish all the ships and pinnaces aforesaid for the service intended." Likewise the Commanders are permitted to secure at reasonable prices, and for present payment, victuals, artillery and other furniture needful. They may issue " good orders and Constitutions " suitable to Her Majesty's honour and their own credit [but these are not here entitled Laws and Ordinances of War]. All subordinates are bidden to be obedient to them:

> ". . . And for the especial trust and confidence We repose in your virtue, fidelity, dexterity and experience " the use of Martial law is to be allowed, " where the delay otherwise of the execution may breed peril; nothing doubting of your moderation herein, . . . that without great and urgent cause you will not use the same."
>
> There is no restriction to any special objective; their course may be set " *to such places and countries as well upon the Continent as in the Islands whatsoever, as by your experience you shall think meetest to offend Our capital enemy the King of Spain, his countries, subjects and adherants either on sea or on land.*"
>
> Her Majesty adventures ten thousand pounds, and allows the other adventurers " the same rate that We ourselves shall have and receive." Also she undertakes that " if at any time hereafter it shall be Our pleasure to stay or alter this Service, We dothe promise hereby that the whole charge thereof shall be allowed and borne by Us, and no part or parcel imposed upon either of you, . . ."

To this proviso—very necessary in dealing with a Monarch apt to change her mind,—she added the assurance that whatsoever either or both Commanders shall judge fit to do " on sea or land," by virtue of this Commission will be justified to

[1] Copy, by Stephen Powle, Clerk of the Crown. Bodleian Tanner MS 168 ff 37-37^v^. (Spelling now normalised).

"Us, Our heirs and successors in that behalf." "Wytnes Our sealfe at Westminster the xxix$^{th}$ of Januarye in the xxxvij$^{th}$ yeare of Our Raigne."

Because we know that Drake and Hawkins never returned, the fashion now is to send them out in the gloomiest frame of mind, as if their association foredoomed the venture to "disaster." But there is nothing sinister or ominous in the Queen's Commission. Signed as it was early in 1594-5, there remained much to do before the Commanders could weigh anchor. By the time their preparations, and those of the owners of the merchant ships, were complete, the Queen "stayed" them; tidings having come as to a possible Spanish attack upon England or Ireland. Such being the expectation, it was not expedient to allow the most renowned of English seamen to depart from home waters until more certain news arrived of the enemy's movements.

The utmost vigilance was exercised on the coasts; and from Exeter on the 20th of July Sir Thomas Dennis reported to Essex that since writing to the Privy Council he had heard from "Mr Philip Bevell of Cornwall, who this night supped with me, that on Sunday last the Spaniards with four galleys presented themselves before a little parish called Saint Evauell, three miles to the west of Padstow," and tried to land. They were opposed by troops led by "Mr Grenville, son unto Sir Richard Grenville." Postscript: "I hear of few men taken or killed . . . Sir Francis Drake came unto Plymouth on Sunday last . . . I think you shall hear more from him than certainly I can advertise."[1]

Three days later, 23rd of July, Hannibal Vivian at St. Mawes fort, Falmouth, sent "To the right wor$^{th}$ S$^{r}$ Fr. Drake and S$^{r}$ John Hawkins, knights, her Ma$^{t}$ Generall[s] of her fleet at Plymouth" a package inscribed "This is to be conveyed by the ordinary post to Plymouth w$^{th}$ all speed for her Ma$^{ties}$ special service. Hast post haste, hast for lyef." It was to inform them that the Spaniards had that day burnt Penzance, Newlyn, and "Poole" Church and the Church Town,[2] "Mousehold," and other villages; without encountering resistance: "I speak it to the disgrace of these people."[3]

Forty sail were seen to seaward, but only four galleys came near the shore for the landing.[4] That the people had allowed the foe to work his will would most likely

[1] Holog: Hatfield MS 33 67. Cal· Vol. V. p 283.

[2] "Poole," i.e St Paul's Church, on a hill-top was inland of and between Mousehole and Newlyn.

[3] "Mousehole: the town is set on fire, and all except the granite mansion of the Keigwins is reduced to ruins The church of St Paul fares no better . . . two pillars of the chancel alone mark what it was" The church register records the burials of three men killed by the enemy.

*A Short History of Penzance, St Michael's Mount, St Ives and the Land's End district,* by the Rev· W. S. Lach-Szyrma, London, 1878, pp. 57, 128, 130

[4] Upon this, Professor Sir Geoffrey Callender commented in a letter to the present writer, "It should be pointed out that the galleys in calm weather were independent of the wind. Under cover of the fleet of forty sail, they were thus enabled to carry out in the extreme west of England a raid which could have scant effect on the course of the war, but might convey the impression in Spain that England was becoming feeble at sea The presence in the neighbourhood of the fleet under Drake and Hawkins made it certain that the time element limited the Spanish offensive, and made their own defeat probable if they had dallied."

encourage him to land again along the coast, as well to the east as to the north. So Vivian implored that even if ships were not ready to fight, the Generals should send "into those parts" leaders experienced in war. As to mariners, a hundred could be procured in ten hours in Falmouth haven. On this letter, sending it to Sir Francis Godolphin, Drake and Hawkins stated that it came into their hands just as the post was ready to take horse and as some Captains were making ready to go westward to the rescue.[1]

Further details emerge from a MS docketed by Burghley's secretary, "26 July 1595 Examynacon of certen english Prisoners landed out of Spa[nish] Galleys in Cornwall." The intention of the Spaniards—who had an English pilot—was to have gone to the Scilly Isles, and thence to Guernsey and Jersey; but the wind was contrary. Hence their descent on the mainland. *"They would have stayed to do more spoiles to this Country, . . . but that they stood in fear of Sir Francis Drake's fleet."* [We now see the good effects of that detention of Sir Francis which his modern biographers disapprove because not cognisant of the reasons.]

"After they had burnt Penzance and the other villages," said Barnaby Loe of Ipswich, mariner, "they had a masse the next day, on the western hill, by a fryer, where they have vowed to buyld a fryery, when they have gotten England, which they vaunt to conquer." To this statement Sir Francis Godolphin added, to the Privy Council,

> "The prisoners confessed . . . that from an Irish bark which these Galleys did take in our view, they tooke but one butt of wyne for which they payd them money, and used them very favourably. Whereby appeareth that there is a mutuall affection betweene the Irish and them. I farder gather by the desyre which these Spanyards have to Silley, that if they can possesse yt, they will keep theyr Galleys theer, for under the fort is a very good place, with some changes to bee made that with all wether they may keep them safely.
>
> "Lastly that by the present attempt of these Galleys, I noted amongst other these principall wants of 15 good peces to beat them from the Roade, of better store of powder, mach and bullets, and of some skillfull and valyant leader." These "will be necessary in all places" where the enemy "may do great hurt with their landing. I humbly beseech yor Lps to beare with my rudeness in adding these remembrances.
>
> FRA GODOLPHIN."[2]

The fort to which he refers is the one which he himself had completed in 1593.[3] While this raid was in process, Essex, unwell, was away from the Court, as shown by a letter to Sir Robert Cecil, endorsed "27 July 1595":

> "Though indisposition of body should make me wish not to stir hence till I have found some remedy, yet if I thought her Majesty did either miss my attendance or my service I would quickly be at the Court. Her leave, signified by my Lady Leighton,[4] doth warrant

[1] Signed "Fra. Drake John Hawkyns", but not written in the hand of either. S.P.D Eliz: CCLIII, 30. Docketed by Sir R. Cecil "23 July Hanibal Vivian from y^e Fort of Falmouth to S^r Fra Godolphin adverting y^e burning of divers Townes." For plan of Falmouth Haven dated 1592, see E.E Vol. VIII, plate 28, facing p. 370.

[2] S.P.D Eliz: Vol CCLIII. Now revised, from original.

[3] E.E. ante, Plate 11.

[4] His mother's sister, wife of Sir Thomas Leighton

my absence, which shall be no longer than Saturday, for I will but rest one night after my letting blood. And, being very thankful for your kind letter I rest

Your assured friend

ESSEX "[1]

On the 18th of August, while "daily looking for a good wind" Drake and Hawkins wrote to tell Burghley, that they had "answered Her Majesty's letter, we hope to Her Highness' contentment." They would not willingly displease her.

"We humbly thank your Lordship for your manifold favours, which we have always found never variable, but with all favour, love, and constancy, for which we can never be sufficiently thankful, but with our prayers to God long to bless your good Lordship with honour and health.[2]

"We think it be true that some small men of war be taken upon the coast of Spain, and they are of very small moment; they be for the most part such small caravels as was before this taken from the Spaniards. Some small number of our men are yet in Spain, . . . not above one hundred . . . many returned already to England."

Of the twenty seven ships for the Puerto Rico expedition only six were the Queen's: *Bonaventure, Garland, Defiance, Hope, Foresight, Adventure.* The other twenty-one were merchant vessels. But the publication now of the Queen's Commission should terminate for ever the current modern idea that the enterprise was "piratical." These seamen and soldiers whether in royal or merchant ships were equally in the service of the Crown. As to costs, Hawkins spent £18,661 18. 6. on victualling the fleet, and Drake £12,842. 9. 10. Essex does not appear to have contributed to the outlay; but when we search his unpublished private accounts for 1595 we find that on the 10th July his steward Gelly Meyrick had set down "Itm. to S[r] Nich: Clyfford by yo[r] l[ordshi]ps commaund at his goeing to Sea £100." That this was personal aid, not payment for service, or any investment in the adventure, or remission of a debt, is clear, because the sum appears in the section headed "Giftes" which are distinguished from "Rewardes."[3] Debts are kept separate. On the 26th, from "Godolphyn," Clifford, signing himself "Your Lordships poor kinsman and servant," wrote him further particulars of the Spanish incursion:

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[1] He adds a few lines asking Sir Robert in his absence to help a friend: "I pray continue your favour to Mr Savile; you shall do yourself honour and her Majesty service by his advancement. He is married but 3 or 4 years ago, and her Majesty hath known it long and never shewed to mislike it, nor indeed hath no cause. . . ."

Holog: Hatfield MS. 33 39 Cal. V. p. 291. In Ib: p 296 is printed part of a letter of July 1595 from Lady Penelope Rich to Sir R. Cecil, entreating him to favour the bearer, and saying that her brother's "troubles" make him unfit to deal [with the Queen] as yet.

[2] Though this was printed (from a copy in S.P. Dom.) in 1888 in Miss Hawkins *Plymouth Armada Heroes*, pp 61-62, it did not prevent Corbett in 1898 and Hawkins' biographer in 1927 from depicting Burghley as the despair of the men of action. It is now reproduced from the original, E E p 437.

[3] Longleat Devereux MSS. Vol. III, f 83[b] Sir N. Clifford had previously been receiving regular financial aid from Essex, as under "Annuityes" there appears "Itm to S[r] Nich Clyfford for Middsomer qu(ar)t(e)r £40."

"My Lord. According to Sir Fra. Drake and Sir John Hawkins' desire, I have been with Sir Fra. Godolphyn in Cornwall, where, before our coming, the Spaniards, out of four galleys, had landed some four hundred soldiers, which burnt Moldsey,[1] a small village and Newland,[2] with Pensance a very good town.

"For the town of Pensance, had the people stood with Sir Fra. Godolphyn, who engaged himself very worthily, it had been saved; but the common sort utterly foorsook him" while some "four or five gentlemen" were standing firm. It is stated by prisoners, whom the Spaniards set ashore, that for want of fresh water they would have landed again "with some 500 of Don John's best soldiers";[3] but the wind shifting north *they took the opportunity to avoid the fleet at Plymouth,* and retired to Bluit" [Blavet]. Had they landed again, Clifford and Godolphyn and other gentlemen would "either have buried them or ourselves. And had we been there before their landing, I see no reason . . . that ever they should have returned."[4]

The aforementioned letter to the Generals, 9th August, 1595, should be read attentively. For lack of it, and of the Commission, Corbett and all his followers have misunderstood the circumstances. The letter itself has vanished, but we will take it from the draft corrected by Sir Robert Cecil. Some of the repetitions are struck out and words altered in effort to compress it. Its prolixity indicates that it was dictated by the Queen herself. The following points emerge. (We abbreviate them):

(1) Her Majesty's renewed explanation of her reasons for having delayed the Generals when they were ready to weigh anchor;

(2) the necessity for her to consider their expedition not by itself but in relation to the defence of her kingdom;

(3) that the security of England was more important than any mere commercial profit [a sentiment the exact opposite to what Corbett ascribes to the Court and "the Government" in this crisis];

(4) that the royal consent could only be given to the departure of Drake and Hawkins if they undertook to be home again by April, or at latest May, in readiness to meet a probable Spanish attempt in the Narrow Seas. [Let us note the time; for in April 1596 the Archduke Albert attacked Calais, as we shall see.]

"Trusty and wellbeloved," wrote Her Majesty, "We greet you well.[5] By your letters of the fifth of this month, We have perceived the answers that you have made to the second letters sent to you from our Council in Our name, after the arrival of Sir Thomas Gorges: whereby you pretend there is no possibility for you to linger upon the coast of Ireland as you were advised by the said second letters" [with orders] "for the withstanding of the Spaniards passing into Ireland. But yet you write that if in your Course towards the coast of Spain, or going alongst the coast, you shall perceive any strength of Spain, bending towards

[1] Now Mousehole. [2] Newlyn.

[3] Don John—Don Juan del Aguila then in Brittany (He led the Spanish invasion of Ireland in 1601 E.E. Vol. XII).

[4] Holog: Hatfield MS. 172 35 Cal: Vol. V (1894) p. 290.

[5] Endorsed by Burghley *9 Aug. 1595. Copy of y^e Q l[ett]re to Sr franc. Drak, Sr Jhon Hawkyns Sr Tho. Gorge and Sr Tho Baskerville altered by Rob^t Cecill* Draft, S.P.D. CCLXIII. 70. Although most of this was given in the Cal: S.P.D.E. 1595-7, p 88, it appears not yet to have penetrated to general history. To make sure nothing of consequence is omitted, it has been re-examined from the draft. (Spelling now modernised).

England or Ireland, you do faithfully assure Us to give over all,[1] and follow them, referring yourselves for the charge thereof to Our dealings with you.

"Upon this your answer made, We have entered into some deep consideration of the cause, which We do impart to you privilie, not to be communicated to any others. And upon such considerations We have resolved that We shall require of you, not doubting but that you will have regard thereto as in your dutie you ought to do for the state of Our Crown and Our Realm.

"First We have considered *upon the advertisements We hear out of Spain, continually renewed by reports of persons coming from thence, that there is provision made and continually in making for three fleets or Navies to come to the Sea: The one in the South of Spain about Cales· the other in Lisbon; the third at 'Farroll,' the Groyne, and other North parts of Biscay.* And by some reports it should seem that with that fleet from the North of Spain there should be intended a voyage presently into Ireland, and namely to land about Tredaugh [Drogheda]. But whether the same is presently to be taken in hand now before winter We cannot certainly understand, although We greatly doubt thereof."

But whatsoever be the intention in that respect "this is certain that *the preparations made in Spain are so great as the like were not in Anno* 1588, *and that it is not to be doubted but that the intention is in the next summer, with the same great armies, to invade our Realms of England and Ireland also.*"

(Let us notice this; it was unknown to the many writers in our day who accuse Essex of "getting up" the war of 1596 for his own vainglory, and who deny that there was any menace from Spain after 1588.)

"Whereupon," continued Her Majesty's order, "We found it very dangerous to yield to your departure at this present, before the attempt for Ireland might be discovered." Here is added by Burghley[2] "which we think will be soon, before the end of this month." Then this is crossed out "*But most of all dangerous if you should not the next summer be returned in convenient time to help to do some service (according to the strength of your ships) against the Spanish Army that should attempt the invasion of this Realm. which it is thought would be attempted about June or July* And therefore except We think it probable"—the last word crossed out and altered to "either certain, or not unlikely, that you might return hither with your Navy before the end of April, or May"—April crossed out—"whereof even now at your departure you did assure Us, and as your shipping might be refreshed and put in good order after your coming home,—which you know would require one month's space,—We would not assent to your going forward in this voyage, though We presume the same voyage never so profitable."

Then come revised corrections; and the statement that

"*We are moved, as is fit in so great a matter, to prefer surety to any profit.* And therefore We have thus determined that if you should now depart, and finding new course for your stay upon the coast of Spain to withstand their force, and so depart on your voyage, if you can by good reason [altered from "probably"] assure Us to return unto our Realm by the end of April, or at the farthest by the end of May, We then do yield unto you our assent for your proceeding in the voyage. wherein We wish you as good speed as yourselves can desire, not doubting but that *you will without respect of the privy profit intended by this your voyage, either stay upon the Coast of Spain to impeach the issue of the Spanish Army at this present* or if there should be no such great occasion, then to proceed and order your whole journies in that port, without spending your time upon any unnecessary or small attempts upon your way as you might return by the time afore limited."

[1] i.e. abandon the Puerto Rico project [2] The hand seems to be his, not Sir Robert's.

It is added that if, by reason of the delay in starting, the Generals think they would be unable to return by the specified time, "whereof We would be very sorry,"

they must, as "men of knowledge and experience," "presently make (with this force or with some part thereof) to any part of Spain, specially to the places whence you shall understand their shipping and magazines of victuals is, to *destroy either their victuals or their ships, whereby the intention of their next year's attempt might be frustrate, or at the least diminished*. And of all this we require you to have earnest consideration, and to advise Us your resolution and the time of your departure as you shall determine.

"And to further your voyage We are content to be at charge with a good number of ships to be sent to those West parts of our Realm towards Ireland under the conduct of Sir Henry Palmer, to withstand the attempt to be taken in hand, with any mean number of ships of Spain against Ireland, or else by pursuit to distress them before their landing."[1]

From all this we may see how misleading it has been to treat the Puerto Rico voyage as a desperate and "romantic" personal adventure of Drake,—as if only the New World were of interest,—instead of considering the movements expected towards England and Ireland from Spain.

On receiving the Queen's instructions through the Council, and not altogether liking them, Hawkins and Drake had addressed to Essex a joint letter pleading with him to support them strongly:[2]

"Right honourable our especial good Lord[1]

This morning we received a letter from Her Majesty in which letter we were required to give answer presently unto divers particular services which Her Highness hath much commanded us, upon some intelligence lately come out of Spain: the which letter we answered . . . that if it please Her Majesty to command us to any other service than first was agreed upon, that it would please Her Highness at our most humble suit to take upon her the whole charge as well as the tonnage of the merchant ships as of victual, and wages, both for land servitors and mariners. The charge hath been and doth continue very great, and it hath been the more for the keeping the whole companies together: Were it known to the better sort that there were any other purpose than the first, they would most[ly go] away; although it hath been very chargeable unto them which will much discontent them. And for our own particulars, we humbly beseech your good Lordship that if Her Majesty do alter our first agreement that you stand strongly for us that the whole charge may be borne by the Queen; else look we for nothing but the like discontentment or worse than that of the Portugal Voyage.

Thus in haste we most humbly take our leaves. From Plymouth this 13 of August 1595.

Your good Lordship's humbly to be commanded

FRA: DRAK[E]. JOHN HAWKYNS"

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[1] "in your absence" struck through (Finis)

[2] Though this was calendered many years ago, Hawkins's biographer in 1927 omitted it. While claiming to depict the period and all the principal persons in "perspective" and "proportion", he rarely allows them to speak direct. In his volume entitled *Sir John Hawkins the Time and the Man*, Oxford, 1927, Mr James A. Williamson only once mentions Essex and calls him "self magnifying", obviously not realising that both Sir John and Captain Richard Hawkins looked to Essex for help at the Court, as their own letters at Hatfield repeatedly show; but Dr Williamson seldom mentions the Hatfield MSS, which are essential to any general comprehension of the era

[3] Original. Hatfield MS 3419. Possibly acquired by Sir Robert Cecil when Essex's papers were confiscated after his fall. Spelling now normalised.

From Plymouth on the 13th of August, Drake and Hawkins also wrote to Sir Robert Cecil, and enclosed a letter which they begged him to deliver to the Queen.[1] It was in answer to her demand on the 11th. Though ready to spend their "lives and abilities" in her Majesty's service, they protested that to linger "upon the coast of Spain or Ireland is very perilous for us, having a great Fleet and Company of men who require a speedy landing." They dared not promise any exact date of home-coming, "but take Heaven and earth to witness that our only desire is to make a speedy return, and without attempting any other enterprise to impeach it; but it must depend upon God's blessing." They implore her to allow them to depart; but if she decides upon some "other enterprise" they are willing also, provided she meets the charges. "We are loth to be tedious, knowing that Your Majesty mislikes it." They refer the matter to her final judgment, praying God so to direct her that the enterprise might be "to His glory" and to the benefit of Her Majesty and her Kingdom.

The Queen, on the 16th, rebuked their epistle as "uncertain and frivolous," and told them that as "dutiful subjects" they should not have "so slenderly answered" their Sovereign. As they had not replied to her liking she refused assent to their departure; and charged them upon their allegiance to make a "direct answer that you will try by all possible means to finish the voyage in the time by Us allowed; otherwise the journey shall be stayed, and the disgrace and loss shall be your own."[2] Apparently after dictating this, having thus relieved her feelings, Her Majesty relented; for it is docketed as not having been sent: and on the 29th of August the expedition set sail.[3]

Essex evidently had in some way admonished Sir Nicholas Clifford,—one of his Rouen Knights,[4]—for in a farewell letter Clifford answers, on the eve of departure, ". . . Your Lordship doth know our Generals' humours are to respect none but those they must perforce; and Sir Thomas Baskerville to be a true lover of himself: but I beseech your Lordship to believe that in this journey I will do nothing to displease you, what cause soever shall happen."[5]

This is the last from Clifford. He was never to see England again. But though he set forth in a frame of mind the reverse of happy, there is no just cause for the present custom of treating the expedition as ill-planned and worse executed; and

[1] S.P.D. Eliz: Vol. CCLIII, No: 79(1). Cal: Vol. IV, pp. 92-93.

[2] S P.D E Vol. CCLIII, No. 87. In Calendar Vol. IV, p. 95, it is headed "To Sir Fras. Drake and Sir *Thos* Hawkins,"—misprint for Sir John

[3] But not until the 17th of October did the Venetian Ambassador in Madrid report to the Doge and Senate, "Drake has put to sea at last in spite of opposition. His fleet consists of forty sail, and they fear that he means to carry out his design to build a fort in the Indies, *where his Catholic Majesty's fleet could not reach him before March. The King is negotiating a loan of three millions from the Fuggers.*" (The italicised words in cipher deciphered.) *Cal S P. Venice* Vol. IX, p. 169.

[4] E.E. Vol. VIII, p. 525.

[5] No date. Holog: Endorsed "At Plymouth Aug: 95." Hatfield MS. 172. 58. Cal: VI. p 358.
Baskerville has been knighted in 1588. In 1589 he accompanied Lord Willoughby d'Eresby's Expedition to France (E.E Vol VIII, p 221) He came of a family of knights and warriors.

throwing the blame upon Burghley and the " Government " for troubles ensuing such as neither the Privy Council nor the Generals could have foreseen.

After they had weighed anchor, Essex wrote to the Queen, " Your Majesty, hearing that your great enemy means to draw you to a defensive war, is to consider what are the general provisions against invasion and the likeliest designs of the enemy." The measures he proposed are set down in his usual concise fashion,[1] but suggestions easy to read must have been the outcome of much consideration. On the 17th of August, Thomas Bodley had written to him

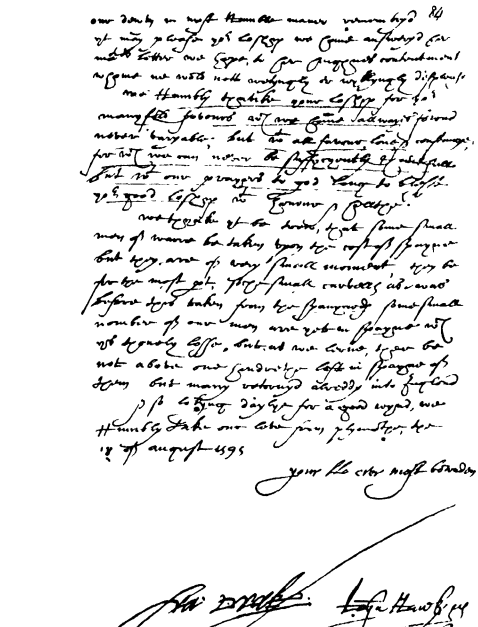
> " . . . you signifie the Dangers of the Spanish Preparations, Scottish Contentions and Irish Rebellions; . . . Many more, as well as I repose all our trust in your excellent Vertues, as those that are assured that that heroicall Instinct which hath caused your Lordship to disdaine in all proceedings those underhand Courses and base kind of Practises as wanting Honour or Securitie, will also move you to go forward in persuading Her Majestie that all these polities in whatsoever the occasions are *aeque intule atque indecora* but those that Vertue doth conduct."[2]

After Essex's execution, Bodley was to allege that he had always distrusted him and never came under his influence. And nobody until now has put side by side his statements before and after Essex's fall. But unsuspecting that Bodley was only a fair-weather friend, Essex was soon to be giving him the collection of books which at Oxford formed the nucleus of the future Bodleian Library,—concerning which there will be something to say in a later volume. Meanwhile let us turn to Essex's detailed advice to the Queen for defensive measures; advice completely ignored by the numerous civilian writers who in the 19th century and onwards have repeated that Essex the " favourite " was " no statesman and had no policy," whereas in sober reality his policy from first to last was remarkably consistent, and so plainly described by himself that nobody of normal intelligence need find it difficult to understand.

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[1] In extenso, E.E. pp. 439-442.

[2] State Papers, ed. Murdin, p. 90 (Date misprinted)



Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins "To the Ryght honorable lord the lord Heigh tresorer of England gyve this at the court." Written on the eve of their departure: (Now first reproduced from the original, B.M. Harl. MS. 6997. f. 84) "We humbly thank your Lordship for your manyfold favors, which we have allways found never variable, but with all favor, love and constancye, for which we can never be suffycyently thankful, but with our prayers to God long to bless your good lordship with honour and health . .

Ending "And so lokying daylye for a good wynd, we Humbly take our leve, from plymouth the 18 of august, 1595

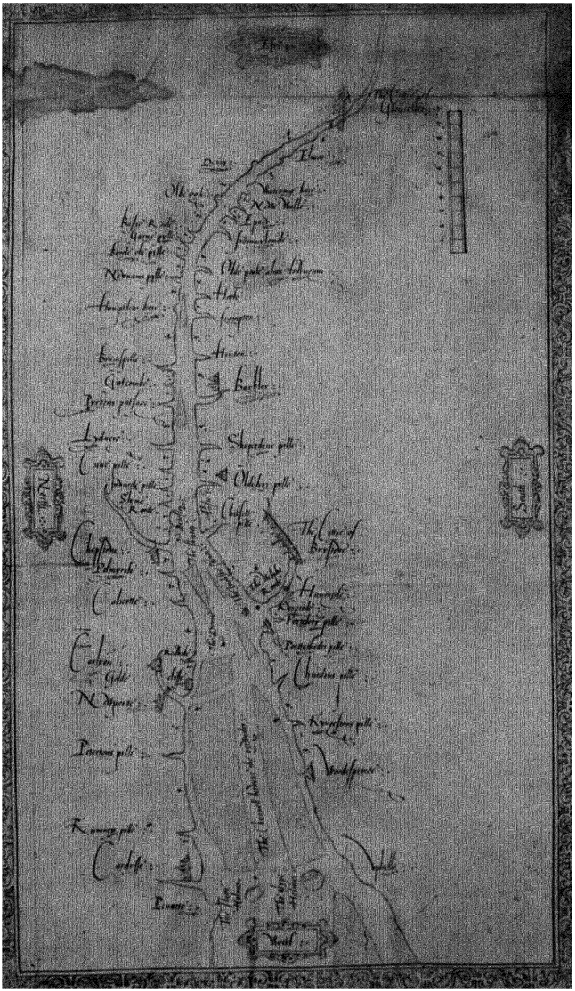
your llo ever most bounden
fra: Drake John Hawkins"

## *"THE RIVER FROM BRISTOW TO GLOSTER"*

### *Unpublished sketch of the Severn thus inscribed.*

*Pen and ink, 25 x 14 inches. Found among 16th century MSS at Hatfield House.*

In August 1595 Essex warned the Queen that the Spaniards might "enter with their smaller ships" this way, "and have the haven of Milford for their great ships, and so by fortifying some passage upon the river of Severn" might "seek to cut off Wales from England." (Lambeth MS. 651 f 180 F E p 441)



## "GENERAL PROVISIONS AGAINST INVASION": 31 AUGUST, 1595.

*Advice to the Queen from Robert Earl of Essex, K.G., P.C., Master of the Horse.*

The assertion in a modern standard work that the "defence of the realm" was no concern of Queen Elizabeth's Privy Councillors, but was "left to the Naval experts, of whom there were many" [names not specified], is the less accountable in that a lavish supply of MS. and printed matter exists to show with what anxiety and assiduity such Privy Councillors as the Earl of Leicester, Lord Burghley, Sir Francis Walsingham, Sir Nicholas Bacon, and Sir Christopher Hatton, of the older generation, and Robert Earl of Essex of the younger, laboured to influence the Queen in this connection.

Except during the Napoleonic wars—if then—there has never been in England such constant preparation for "any sudden occasion" (as Burghley phrased it). The importance of sea power it would not be possible to over-estimate; and Lord Leicester's question in 1588, "If her Navy had not been strong and abroad, in what case had Her Majesty and the realm been by now?" was excellently to the point. But confusion has arisen in our own day from a tendency to regard the Elizabethan Navy as if it had been a Service apart, like the Victorian Royal Navy; whereas the same "martialists" were expected to be Admirals or Generals as the occasion required. Defence by sea and land was thought out as an organic whole; and the ablest Privy Councillors devoted to it a degree of care which could not have escaped notice if their work had been sufficiently examined prior to their characters being criticised. The Acts of the Privy Council [printed] abound in references thereto.

In *Drake and the Tudor Navy* (1898) and *The Successors of Drake* (1900) and also in some of the editorial matter to the publications of the Navy Records Society, contempt for the Elizabethan Army became an established convention. But we have much to learn from Queen Elizabeth's Generals. To make first-hand acquaintance with their correspondence is an education in itself. The sequence in which Essex arranges the chief points for the Queen's consideration should be carefully observed. He begins with "money," knowing Her Majesty was apt always to harp on "charges." Notice also the attribution to the Queen of the "provident" proposal to strengthen the Navy; her opposition to expenditure being usually less vehement if she believed her Councillors' ideas to have emanated first from herself.

The more the ensuing "Provisions" are examined, the more thorough and comprehensive they will appear. But though Birch printed this MS. so long ago as 1754, all historians whether English or foreign seem to have overlooked it; and it was ignored by the interpreter of *The Politics of Shakespeare's Historical Plays* who in 1874 alleged the salvation of England during the forty years of Queen Elizabeth's reign to have arisen from "ill-merited luck": a quip which has often been echoed and seldom rebuked.

Though soldiers will best recognise the degree of practical knowledge required for such proposed "preparations," even the youngest student—with the aid of Elizabethan maps reproduced in the present volume—should realise that the utmost intellect, energy, wisdom, valour, and consistent labour were requisite to keep England armed and prepared against the perpetual menace from Spain. Where our predecessors toiled so much and so ungrudgingly, it should not be beyond our capacity to do tardy justice to them and to their work: Had we emulated their foresight, our position in 1914 and 1939 would have been happier than was the case. The ensuing summary of the measures for which the Sovereign's consent was required, being written for the Queen herself, is devoid of technical phrases; and affords an excellent example of Essex's art of compressing complicated matter into a concise and easily assimilated form.

PROVISIONS AGAINST INVASION[1]

"Your Majesty, hearing that your great enemy means to draw you to a defensive war, is to consider what are the general provisions against invasion: and the likeliest designs of the enemy.

*The general provisions are:*

1. *Money* and therefore if your coffers are not full, you should forthwith make such as do best understand matters of figures set you down honourable and easy ways to get treasure.

2. *A Navy*, which your Majesty doth very providently purpose both to arm and strengthen,[2]

3. *Artillery, munition, and all sorts of arms,* which are forthwith to be sought, and a proportion[3] to be made by your best Captains.

4. *Victuals,* as corn, butter, cheese, bacon, and such like meats, which are given to armies, magazines whereof are to be made in divers parts of the realm.

5. *Able and trained Soldiers:* And therefore Muster-Masters must be sent down into all the shires of England, which shall see the people armed and trained; and upon the first alarm of the enemies approach all the old English Companies in the Low Countries to be sent for, and raw men to be sent in their places.

*The enemy's likeliest designs are,*

1. *By Scotland,* because there they may have easily ports for their shipping; and then they are upon the same continent with us.

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[1] Spelling modernised from Lambeth MS 51 f. 180 The original as delivered to the Queen has vanished This at Lambeth is a copy in the same hand of one of Essex's secretaries as that in which is written a warrant signed by Essex on f. 116 of same bound volume of papers.

Endorsed in late 16th or early 17th century hand, *Des P're* (rest of word obliterated) *de M^r le Com(te) D'Essex contre l'Armée du Roi d'Espaigne le 31^me d'Aoust 1595.*

Birch printing this in 1754 (*Eliz* Vol. I. p. 292) did not notice the endorsement with date, and gave a vague heading of his own: "The Spaniards seeming to threaten the Queen's dominions with invasion the Earl of Essex about this time drew up the following memorial to Her Majesty."

[2] Note that Essex (though his own commission in 1585-6, and '88 had been as General of the Horse, and in 1591 as General Commanding in Chief), sets the Navy first.

[3] "proportion" meaning in this case a schedule on distributing the ordnance.

2. *In Ireland,* where they have a part already in rebellion.

3. *On the river Severn,* where they may enter with their smaller ships, and have the haven of Milford for their great ships, and so by fortifying some passage upon the river of Severn they will seek to cut off Wales from England.

4. *In the West or South West parts of England,* where if they can get a port, and fortify it, they shall keep both sides of the narrow seas, having the coast of Bretagne already.

1. *Against the enemy's attempts by Scotland,* your Majesty must first strengthen the Borders and all places of importance there, especially Berwick and Carlisle.

You must also have a magazine of victuals and munition at Newcastle, which may supply all the wardenries, and serve for any Army that shall be sent that way.

You must have all the forces of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmorland, bishopric of Durham, and the farthest part of Yorkshire, to make a head towards the Borders upon any sudden attempt of the enemy, and some one head to command them:[1] and these forces must be seconded by the forces of the higher parts of Yorkshire, and those of Nottinghamshire and Lincolnshire. The rendez-vous of the first should be Newcastle, and of the second York.

2. *Against an invasion in Ireland,* your Majesty must send supply both of men, money, victuals and munition; for they lack all. And you must have a Fleet ready to send thither upon the first news of the enemy's coming hither. For your two Kingdoms being divided by sea, cannot without a Navy succour one another, if there be an enemy's Navy to impeach you.

The best havens there must be made defensible, for if they possess not them, they can do your Majesty no hurt that way.

3. *Against the enemy's design upon Wales* and the river of Severn, your Majesty must fortify three places in Milford Haven, which I will shew you upon the chart;[2] for if you keep that haven from them, they will have no safe place for their great shipping. Also your Majesty must make some fortress upon the river of Severn, that goeth to Bristol, and strengthen Bristol itself, as well as it may be for the time.[3]

I was never there, and therefore cannot design the places. But I will go down in a day, if it please your Majesty, and see all places, that may either give your Majesty strength or the enemy advantage.

Also you must have all the forces of Wales to be ready under one head, to answer all alarms, and those to be seconded by the counties of Hereford, Gloucester, Shropshire, Derby, and Stafford.

4. *Against an invasion on the West or South West parts* your Majesty must have Plymouth well guarded, and the fortifications finished; for it is the key of that country.

[1] "bishopric of Durham". Under Statute law the Peers Spiritual were just as much obliged as the Peers Temporal to supply Cavalry for defence of the Realm.

[2] See chart of Milford Haven now first published. Plate 25.

[3] Possibly the drawing of the Severn, now first reproduced, was made in this crisis.

Also Falmouth, Dartmouth, and Portland must be well strengthened and guarded, for they are all good ports.

You must have all the forces of Devonshire and Cornwall to be ready of any sudden, under one head, and they must be seconded by Somerset, Dorset and Wiltshire.[1]

Hampshire is to supply Portsmouth and the Isle of Wight with the garrisons of both, which must be remembered upon the first discovery of the enemy's Fleet.

Sussex, Kent, Essex, Suffolk and Norfolk to guard their own coasts, and all the other shires to furnish the body of a great Army, which is to be about your Majesty's person, and in the heart of your country, and to supply any other Army that hath the enemy in head against it."[2]

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[1] In connection with the defence of Devon and Cornwall three months later there is a long letter from Sir Walter Raleigh to the Privy Council, "From Sherborne this 25th of November 1595" Hatfield MSS Cal: Vol. V (1894) pp. 466-469.

[2] In *The Elizabethan House of Commons* (Jonathan Cape, 1949) p 232, Professor Neale states that "the supreme faction struggle of the Elizabethan period" was "the vital conflict between Robert Earl of Essex and the Cecils"

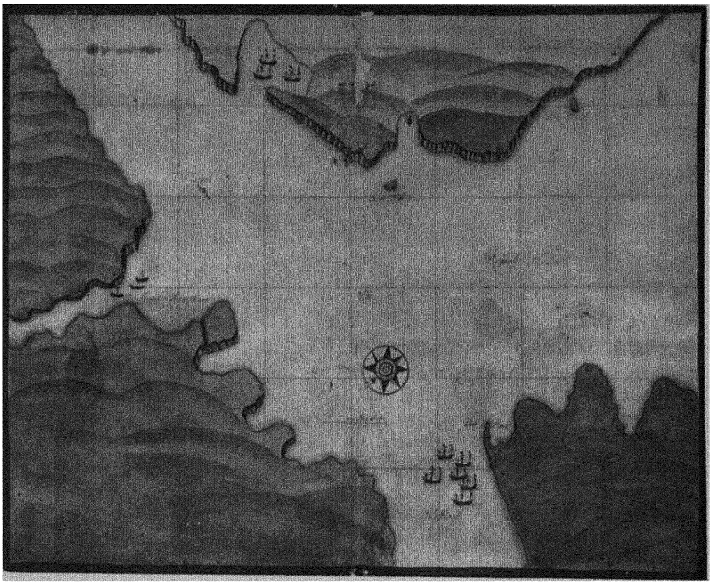
But Queen Elizabeth had been 29 years on her throne before Essex received a Court appointment; and it is the present writer's discovery from the direct evidence that far from Essex clashing with Burghley, he looked to Burghley as his "pilot" In Volumes III, V, VI, VII, VIII (1933-47)—which are in the London University Library,—Professor Neale could have obtained much first-hand information which would have prevented him lending his authority to a common error. Certainly we shall in 1600-1 find Essex accusing Sir Robert Cecil of joining a faction which had "usurped Sovereignty and buried freedom." What was behind that accusation will be duly disclosed. But no open breach occurred between Essex and Sir Robert until more than two years after Burghley's death, when Essex (correctly) apprehended that Sir Robert was being worked upon to reverse his father's policy. The "vital conflict" was between Elizabethan England and Philip II of Spain who is only mentioned three times in Professor Neale's Index,—though the Journals of both Houses so abound in rebukes to that Monarch's pride and ambition that the difficulty for the present History has been to select from such a wealth of material the most significant speeches Drake as M P is only alluded to once by Professor Neale, who has taken pains to gather many local details and to familiarise us with the procedure in the Lower House; but not in such sort as to bring home to the reader that from Elizabeth's first Parliament (E E. Vol. I, p. 149) to her last, the primary issue, on which all else turned, was how the Queen should hold her own against the machinations of England's powerful and persistent foreign foes

## *UNPUBLISHED CHART OF MILFORD HAVEN.*

*From the original now at Hatfield House. Water colour, 17 × 22 inches.*

On the 31st August, 1595, the Earl of Essex, writing to the Queen, advised her that "against the enemy's design upon Wales and the river of Severn, your Majesty must fortify three places in Milford Haven, which I will show you on the chart, for if you keep that place from them, they will have no safe place for their great shipping"

As such of Essex's papers as were confiscated after his fall are now at Hatfield House, possibly this chart is the identical one which he showed to the Queen It depicts the Western portion only: the harbour, fiord-like in character, runs a long way inland As Angle Bay at the South-East is described as the "Old Port," presumably that anchorage was already falling into disuse. (Nowadays it is almost silted up, and even for small craft is available only at high water) The island at the South-West here called "Ship Island" is in modern Charts "Sheep Island." The two other groups of ships on the chart indicate the anchorages, viz Dale Road,—which has a bottom of sand or clay and gives secure riding in Northerly or Easterly gales, but is exposed to the East and South,—and "Sandie Baye" (now called Sandy Haven Bay) which provides good riding in Easterly and North-Easterly winds For the Severn, see Plate 24



## MAPS AND PLANS BY ROBERT ADAMS.

*List now first published from the original, in State Papers Domestic, Vol. CCLIII, No: 108.*[1]

It was pointed out in the present work (in 1932 in the Portfolio brochure *Noble Arts*, &c.) that whereas it had been usual to estimate Eizabethan cartography from printed maps, the progress made during this long reign cannot be fully understood without regard to the manuscript maps and plans devised for special purposes, chiefly in relation to the defence of the realm. Most of these had been forgotten until published in *Elizabethan England*. Those signed by Robert Adams being of particular merit, it is of interest now to print

"A Catalogue of such plattes and modules as well foreign as domesticall which Robert Adams Surveyor late deceased had in his custodye on y^e^ 13 day of Septemb: Año Dñi: 1595."

Domesticall

Imprimis one Voluntary module Octangle of fortification with a plott of the same.
Item, a description of y^e^ Ilandes of Sylley w^th^ some other particuler of Ilandes adiacent
Item, y^e^ fort of Plymmouth w^th^ y^e^ haven confyned.
Item, y^e^ fort of Hue Hill in Sylley.
Item, Pendennis castell.
Item, St Nicholas Iland by Plymmouth.[2]
Item, Falmouth Haven, with y^e^ Blockhowse, by Pendennis castle: St Mawes castle.
Item, St Michaels mount.
Item, St Maryes Iland with her respective coast.
Item, Gravesend Sconce.
Item, Tylberye blockhowse.
Item, y^e^ place of assembly of armes nigh Tilbery.
Item, Portesmouth described: a discourse concernyng y^e^ fortification thereof with y^e^ harborough.
Item, y^e^ description of y^e^ Spanysh shippes invasions.
Item, Heilford haven confyned.
Item, y^e^ hydrophicall course of y^e^ River of Thames.

Forein

Imprimis, a module of Vlissing: with the platt therof.[3]
Item, Briell civitas confyned.
Item, Bergen vp Soome.[4]
Item, Ostend civitas cũ territoris confyned.
Item, Zeaburge alias Rammekins.

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[1] No: 107 list is precisely similar, except for one item. See note 5
[2] See E.E. Vol. IX, p. 26, for a sketch of this Island signed by Robert Adams.
[3] See E.E. Vol. VI, plate 3, facing p. 38.
[4] See E.E. Vol. VIII, plate 14, facing p. 214.

Item, Axell cum portû, confyned.
Item, Sluys civitas.
Item, vtricht civitas.
Item, Walcheren Insula.
Item, Armude [?] civitas.
Item, Middleburgum civi:
Item, Terver alias Camure.
Item, Fare fort.
Item, Lillo Sconce.
Item, Ternens fort.
Item, Liftkins hooks.
Item, Vowde castle.
Item, Citadella Banvers.[1]
Item, a description of y^e^ bridge which y^e^ Prince of Parma made on y^e^ Schelde.
Item, Plympoole villa gal:
Item, a description of Malta civi:
Item, three other plottes whose names are not ascribed.

Labor Abût Honestas Manet."

[1] "d'Anvers." No. 107 lists this as "Citadel of Antwerp."

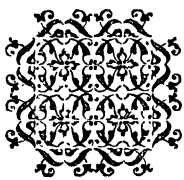
# *The Gentlemans Academie.*

OR,

# *The Booke of S. Albans:*

Containing three moſt exact and excellent Bookes: the firſt of Hawking, the ſecond of all the proper termes of Hunting, and the laſt of Armorie: all compiled by Iuliana Barnes, in the yere from the incarnation of Chriſt 1486.

*And now reduced into a better method,*
by G. M.



*L O N D O N*

Printed for Humfrey Lownes, and are to be *ſold at his ſhop in Paules church-yard.*

1595.

Reproduced by Courtesy of Messrs Maggs Bros.

For note on the works of G[ervase] M[arkham], see E.E. Vol. VIII, p. 360. His elegy on Sir Richard Grenville we have considered, Ibid, pp. 453, 466-467. At the time of the battle of Flores, Markham was serving in France under the Earl of Essex. For his paraphrase of Madame Maulette's "Devoreux" (lament for Essex's brother killed at the siege of Rouen) see Ibid, p. 449, title page of the only copy known in England. For Markham's apostrophe to the martial virtues, see Ibid, pp. 361-363, there first reproduced in facsimile from "Honour in his Perfection," 1624. Whether or no Juliana Barnes (or Berners) was author of "The Boke of St Albans" printed by Caxton in 1486, is discussed by William Blades in the Introduction to his facsimile edition, 1881 (2nd edition, 1905). The first antiquary to re-issue this book was Haslewood, 1810 (150 copies only). Despite numerous reprintings during the 16th and 17th centuries, all editions are now rare

PART VII.

"The causes that govern the events."

CHAPTER 7.

## "MUTABILITY OF FORTUNE."

SECTION 1.

# "A constant and unconquerable soul."

*(The last days of Antonio of Portugal, 1595).*

**"Great varieties both of persons and actions; much mutability of Fortune, many changes of affairs."**

*Sir John Haywarde, on the historical writings of Sir Roger Williams.* (E.E. p. 539).

**". . . I do not die forgetful of my obligations to you for the love with which you have treated my affairs . . . One of the principal personages who has always made great efforts to aid me in plans for my kingdom has been your Excellency."**

*Dom Antonio King of Portugal to the "Conde de Essex." 22 August, 1595.* (E.E. p. 454).

**". . . I think myself bound in conscience to recommend to your Excellency the task which I so greatly wished to accomplish, and for which I worked so hard during my life . . .**

**. . . Take pity upon this kingdom of Portugal, which has always looked to your country for help."**

*The same: from his deathbed to the same, 25 August, 1595.* (E.E. plate 26).

**"In the course of his foreign wanderings he suffered calamities incredible and without limit; but showed ever a constant and unconquerable soul; never wearied by labours, nor disheartened by dangers, nor deceived by specious reasonings, nor impatient under hope deferred . . . He died at Paris; in pious faith, and in the deepest poverty . . . May he rest in peace."**

*Latin Epitaph upon Dom Antonio, 18th King of Portugal, in the Convent of Poor Clares, Paris.* (E.E. p. 457).

## " ALL KINDS OF CALAMITIES."

In his private meditations, King Antonio wrote,

" I am surrounded by a thousand evils; death menaces me on every side; but though I am attacked by all kinds of calamities and afflictions, not any of these in my soul contribute to salvation.

" It is not only in my old age that I suffer many misfortunes; I began to suffer as soon as I began to live. I have been from my youth a man of sorrows, counting as many griefs as I have lived moments. And I suffer still today, because though enduring anguish without relief I have not yet learnt to repent of my faults."

He ascribes his losses and sorrows to the will of God: and, submitting to the " admirable prudence of the great and celestial Doctor," he apostrophises the " supreme goodness of the King of Kings, the Master of Heaven and Earth."

God, he believes, sent him continuous misfortune in the world to teach him to value more fully the treasures of Eternity. He tells himself that the Almighty " wounds to heal," and makes existence on earth so grievous chiefly in order to awaken the soul to " a life more beautiful, more glorious, more triumphant " than any human advantage can procure: " Grant, my God, that at the last my sorrow may be transmuted to joy, . . . teach me so to suffer as to please You and to win everlasting salvation."

*Les Pseavmes de D. Antoine Roy de Portvgal. Où le pecheur confesse ses fautes, & implore la grace de Dieu. De la traduction de P Du-Ryer. A Paris, Chez Antoine de Sommaville en la petite salle du Palais, à l'Escu de France. M.DC.XLV. Avec Privilege de Roy.* pp 4, 6, 8.[1]

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[1] It is from King Antonio's own words in his " Psalms " that we may suspect his sons to have been illegitimate, though treated by Queen Elizabeth as if lawfully born. Antonio repeatedly alludes to a misspent youth,—*des amours vaines at vicieuse . . en mesme temps que je me laissais attirer par leurs funestes douceurs, je me rendais moy mesme mon enemy & je courois volontairement à ma perte* (*Les Pseavmes* &c. Paris, 1645, p. 16) These meditations abound in self-reproach. We may think that as his conscience was clear as a patriot,—as he had refused the offer to be Viceroy of Naples under King Philip,—as he had been uncompromisingly faithful to his country, his allusions to his guilty conscience must refer to private affairs and not to his public life. But as his sons published the " Psalms " and claimed for their father " the royal virtues " of generosity and grace, valour and magnanimity, they presumably did not take literally his assertions as to his sinful disposition and deeds: " I pass my nights in sorrow, and I feel nothing but terrors and fears. My conscience presses upon me ceaselessly " (p. 37 ) In his dreams he " mounts to Heaven and sinks to Hell." He deplores that much running after " vain affections," though bringing him sorrow, has not yet taught him patience· *Ce n'a esté qu'en murmurant que j'ay supporté les maux que me sont arrivés, & j'ay plus espéré en la main des hommes que je n'ay eu de confiance en Dieu.* (p 43).

To understand his whole nature we require to study his letters, especially those dictated when he knew his days were numbered. Thus we see how the ruling passion of patriotism remained strong up to the last.

## *THE LAST LETTER OF ANTONIO, 18th KING OF PORTUGAL, 1595.*

*Dictated from his deathbed. 25th August, 1595. To the "Conde de Essex."*

*Signed in his own hand "Rey" [the King].*

*Now first reproduced from the original at Hatfield House, MS. 147, 121.*

Possibly acquired when Essex's papers were confiscated

In the blank space at the top of the letter, below the cross, slightly to one side, the modern "Hatfield House Library" stamp has been toned out in the reproduction, the object being to show the letter as it would have been when Essex received it Though published in Portuguese in the Hatfield MSS Calendar, Vol. V, p. 348, this letter does not seem to have attracted any attention It is now first translated, E E p 456

PART VII.

"The causes that govern the events."

CHAPTER 7.

"MUTABILITY OF FORTUNE."

SECTION 1.

# "A constant and unconquerable soul."

*(The last days of Antonio of Portugal, 1595).*[1]

WHEN in the summer of 1595 Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins were delayed before setting forth upon what was destined to be their final expedition, they were held back as we have seen because they could not be spared until it became clear that the Spanish attempt on the West Country was only an incursion, not yet the threatened invasion. At that very time, Antonio 18th King of Portugal, in a humble lodging in the outskirts of Paris, entered the Valley of the Shadow of Death.

Just three months before, in May, 1595, "one of the Councell" of Henry IV had given "manie reasons" showing how "greatly it did import France to make a voyage into Portugal" on Antonio's behalf.[2] The Council was not responsive. Nevertheless arrangements were made to enable him to receive a loan the promise of which had raised his hopes the previous autumn. He had then, 17th of October, explained that because of "this realm" of France "being so afflicted," the King was unable to help actively at present: "Though he may wish it ever so much, he lacks the means. And yet, despite all his difficulties, he makes me the offer to be my surety and guarantee for the sum of three or four thousand scudi." To Essex Antonio eagerly sent this news, "knowing that your Excellency has been the cause of my finding His Very Christian Majesty so favourable; and that moreover you are a strong bulwark against those who wish to calumniate me to Her Majesty, and question my faith and sincerity to her."[3]

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[1] All letters in this section, even when not actually unpublished, are translated for the first time into English. Collected from many different sources they have never before been brought into juxtaposition.

[2] *A Treatise Paraenetical*, 1598, p. 51: "there is yet living a Lord" who gave reasons etc. as supra. Possibly the Councillor may have been Philippe de Mornay, Sieur Duplessis.

[3] Hatfield MS (orig.) E.E Vol. IX Plate 19

On the 22nd of April 1595, "le Roy Dom Antoine" had received, from Henry IV, Letters Patent by which he undertook repayment of the money which the King of Portugal was authorised by him to borrow.[1] The object seems to have been to equip another expedition: this time to land in the north of Portugal, as in the project outlined to Duplessis some years earlier.[2] But before Antonio could finish taking up the loan, his health broke. In his sixty-fourth year, he was worn down by many griefs and hardships. Yet when his illness was pronounced fatal, it seemed to him that Death approached less as a deliverer than as a relentless enemy to those hopes which "neither force nor fear, nor any wrong nor injury" to himself could bring him to abandon.[3] In 1589, when desperately disappointed in the "Portingale Journey" of Drake and Norris, he had written to Lord Burghley, "I do not complain, except of my own ill-fortune, to which only I impute . . . all these disasters: hoping ever that it will please God in the end to have mercy upon me; which I pray Him very humbly."[4] And to Pope Clement VIII, four and a half years later, he had protested, "I do not continue this long, difficult and painful enterprise out of desire to possess and enjoy Kingdoms and States; God being my witness that I was never ambitious nor greedy:" But the comfort of the Portuguese under the "vexations and tyrannies they endure" lay in their hope that they might be liberated by force. Otherwise there would be nothing left for them but "harsh and perpetual captivity." Wherefore the Pope should "not think it strange" in him to "hold to the right and justice" of this cause.[5] He asks why does the Holy Father allow the King of Castile to pursue his ambitions unrebuked? Will not His Holiness admonish King Philip to give back the kingdom he took by violence? Eloquently Antonio pleads that it would be "reasonable and just" if the Pope would use his authority on behalf of the oppressed. The tone of the letter is sorrowful and gentle. In each crisis of his life up to the last he was remarkably forbearing. *Il povero Felipe* had been his manner of referring in private to his victorious cousin: an extraordinary epithet to apply to that masterful Sovereign. But though Antonio protested repeatedly against Spanish "usurpation," there does not seem to be in all his writings, nor in any publications authorised by him, a word of undignified vituperation; nor any reference to the scandals circulated against King Philip from other and less scrupulous quarters. This astonished Philip's former Secretary and bitter enemy Antonio Pérez: who, being

[1] *Briefve et Sommaire Description*, by Dom Cristovam, *de la vie et mort de Dom Antoine . . . Roy de Portugal*, etc., Paris. Licensed 5 Feb: 1629. Dedic: to the King of France. B M. 1200. b. 25.

[2] "Lettre de Dom Antonio Roi de Portugal . . . 29 Ianvier 1592", and "Sommaire du Discours envoie par le Roi de Portingal . . . pour estre communique au Roi." *Memoires de Messire Philippes de Mornay. Seigneur du Plessis Marli . . . Conseiller du Roi . Gouverneur, & Lieutenant General . . . de Samur. 1625.* Tome II, pp. 187-191.

[3] K. Antonio to Pope Sixtus V. London, 26 January, 1586-7. (B.M. 1200. b. 25. pp. 278-280).

[4] In French. Orig: Lansdowne MS. 66.64. Endorsed "The King of Portingall from Cascales." First published E.E. Vol. VIII, p. 154.

[5] 24 January, 1593-4. From London. (Printed 1607, in B.M. No: 1200 b 25,—in extenso. pp. 292-300): *Cependant ie desirerois que vostre Saincteté creust de moy que ie ne continue cette entreprise si longe, difficile & pénible pour le désir de posséder & iouir de Royaumes Estats, 'dont Dieu m'est temoin que ie nay jamais esté ambitieux ny cupidité mais qu'elle scache & entendre que si ie ne la poursuis iusques à fin, il y va de mon honneur, reputation, & conscience*, &c, &c., &c.

himself consumed with indignation over his own wrongs, was ready to go to any length in revenge. No two men could be more unlike than Dom Antonio elected King of Portugal and the "Pilgrim Spaniard" Antonio Pérez. That the late Sir Sidney Lee in his Shakespearian explanations could confound the one with the other, and impute his own confusion to Shakespeare, is the less accountable in that Pérez, writing under a transparent pseudonym had much to say as to Antonio's patience, and of the ruthlessness of Philip.[1] Though by nature sarcastic, Pérez, touching upon the character and sufferings of the last King of Portugal of the Avis dynasty, alludes to "this good Prince" without a vestige of such covert disdain as a person of his calculating nature might have been expected to feel for one whose sacrifices had led to defeat and destitution. But it may partly have been in hope of making Philip wince that Pérez drew his contrast between the chill hatred of the victor for the kinsman whom he had supplanted, and the forbearing patience of Antonio, who was never vindictive, nor would descend to devious ways. In 1597 when Pérez denounced Philip as arrogant, frigid, and pitiless, Philip lived and prospered. Antonio, whom Pérez held up as an example of fidelity to an ill-fated cause, could in no way reward him, not even by a gracious word; for it was two years since his funeral in Paris. And few can have supposed that his sons Dom Emmanuel and Dom Cristovam could succeed where their father had been baffled; so Pérez had nothing to gain by praising the dead:

> "There have beene many men who have oftentimes offered to Dom Antonio to kill Philip," but each and all were rebuked by Antonio, with the reminder that Kings "are anoynted of the Lord," and although (quoth he) "my Cousin king Philip, blinded by ambition and tyranny, do persecute me, and do seeke to take my life, . . . yet will I . . . not consent . . . that any man for the love of me should attempt to take his life. And whosoever shall dare or adventure to do it, let him looke to himselfe that he come not into my hands. Though [Philip] . . . shew himselfe a Saule against me, yet I for my part do . . . shew my selfe a David towards him."
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> On some personage [not named] informing Dom Antonio of "good newes," namely the supposed death of the King of Spain, Dom Antonio had retorted, "doest thou not know who it is of whom thou speakest unto me? he is my cosin germane. Bring me newes that I have eight or ten thousand faithfull men, and well armed, with good and sage Captaines, and all things necessary to restore Portugal to libertie, and I promise thee in the word of an honest man, to make thee so rich and honourable in my Realm as no gentleman shall goe beyond thee." By this answere he made him "know the disposition of Princes."
>
> "Do you now," adds Pérez, "see what reason I have to say that the King Dom Antonio was more Catholic, and lesse ambitious than King Philip; and that he was a man without choller and hatred, but contrariwise full of charity."[2]

Pérez is by no means so truthful that his estimates of character could be accepted on his mere word. But Antonio's own letters, not translated into English until now, reveal him as one in whom love of country, love for friends, and gratitude to benefactors were such that he could never be permanently embittered. After each dark hour, he had rallied anew; clinging to the principle of hope though tormented

[1] Proofs of Pérez's identity with the "Pilgrim Spaniard", forthcoming in Volume X, E.E.

[2] *A Treatise Paraenetical*, pp. 133-134.

by emotions bordering upon despair. And when power of revenge had been in his hands, he had rejected it, at Terceira in 1582, when advised to slay his Spanish prisoners in retaliation for the losses at St. Michaels.[1]

From Madrid the Venetian Ambassador—17th of October, 1595,—wrote to the Doge and Senate, "The news of the death of Don Antonio of Portugal which took place in Paris on the 12th of August" [actually not until the 26th] "was conveyed to the ministers by a Portuguese, who hoped for a reward which was promised him if the news proved true. He admitted that he had been in Don Antonio's service. The King shows great satisfaction at the news, and thinks that the ill-humours in Portugal, which survived during Don Antonio's life, will now die away."[2]

The English Ambassador not being in Paris, but at Lyons towards the end of August 1595, the first news seems not to have reached London through him but in a letter of Dom Cristovam *A Monsieur le Grand Tresorier d'Angleterre*. Undated, it is endorsed "Sept. 1595" [no day of the month] "Don Christouad to my L." Not in the Record Office, but among Lord Burghley's private MSS, it is now first translated and published:[3]

"Monsieur. The benefits and favours which we have all received from her Majesty are so great that it is impossible for us to recognise them in act. But because we would be too injustly ungrateful not to recognise them according to our power, and with all our hearts, the times now require that we should do what we can, in all humility, as much in general as in particular.

"It has pleased God to take out of this world the King my Lord and father, to the great regret of all his friends; and to leave us here desolate, but always fain to recognise the obligations he received in his lifetime: and which we receive daily in the person of the Lord Dom Emmanuel my brother, and the gentlemen whom he has attending upon him. And because all that we have in this world is owed to Her Majesty, on the favour of whom we depend, and wish to depend entirely, we supplicate you very humbly, Monsieur, that as you have always favoured the late King, it will please you to continue this favour towards us his children, and all this poor household: who will render you immortal grace as much and as long as any of them remain.

"It may please you, according to your customary goodness, to keep us in the favour and gracious benevolence of her Majesty, and receive the last prayers of the King my Lord and father, who would have had the Senhor Scipion de Figueredo Vasconcellos Governor of the Terceira[4] go after his death to thank the Queen, and you also. But he has fallen ill; and so cannot start at once as he should. I will hasten him as much as possible. . . . And meanwhile I beg you to accept the good intentions which we offer you, in our thankfulness for so many benefits: waiting until the hour comes when we can recognise them by means of some good service which we would render to you.

"Assuring you that as on all occasions we are yours in general, I shall be ever in particular, Monsieur,

Your very humble and very affectionate servant

Do[M] CHRISTOUAD."

[1] E.E. Vol IV, pp. 195-198.
[2] Cal: S.P.Venice, Vol. IX, (1897) p. 169
[3] Original in French. Lansdowne MS. 79. 25.
[4] Former Governor.

This is sealed with the device of a torch, with the motto *In Tenebris sufficit unus*. The next communication, uncalendared and until now not known to exist, is *A serenissime Raynha dinglaterra*, from Scipio de Figueiredo de Vasconcellos, one-time Governor of the Azores.[1] It may be "Englished" thus:

"Most Serene Lady

The King my Lord, a month before he died, wished to send me with a letter for your Majesty. But seeing that you had wanted me to remain there with my Lord Dom Emmanuel to take care of him, I gave some reasons owing to which he refrained from sending me. But this was his wish, when he knew he might soon die. And feeling himself like to pass away, he sent for me. Two or three days before his death he told me he regretted to be coming near the end of his life; and he asked me to go to your Majesty with other letters, treating of the interests of our country, commending us to your kindness, and [telling me] that you would confer favours and rewards upon such as were known to you to be faithful to the cause of Portugal. And he bade me make this journey, this being his last time of writing to you, to speak to your Majesty in his name, of his great desire to see you before he died, to tell you how grateful he felt, . . . for the many favours and graces that he had received from your Majesty.

He gave me the letters, with his eyes full of tears; and told me he felt much comfort by my going and also at the thought that I would attend on Dom Emmanuel. I was just setting out when I fell ill; and his death made me a great deal worse. But I am hoping to recover, and to go with his letters and messages which he gave me for Your Majesty, a Queen and Lady excelling all those in the world.

May God keep the person of your Majesty and give you health for many years; and increase and prosper your State. From Paris, 10 September 1595.

SCIPIO D[E] FIG[UEIRE]DO [DE VASCONCE]LL[OS.]"[2]

Two days previously, Diogo Botelho—*hum[iliss] servitore di vostre maest[a] e tropo fedele,*—had written in Italian to *Ma Ser[me] Regina d'Inghilterra ma Signora,* praying her that "having regard to the great love the King my Lord bore for her, she will deign to take his sons under her protection": deprived as they are of relief, and not having other [hope] than in the greatness and magnanimity of Her Majesty.[3] Though King Antonio's letter from his deathbed to Queen Elizabeth is nowhere to be found among our own State Papers, a copy was preserved by his sons, who ultimately published it in Paris.[4] The nearer he draws to his end, he says, the more he regrets he must die without having been able to make some adequate demonstration of the gratitude he feels and has always felt for his *trop et grandes obligations . . . à Vostre Serenissime Majesté.*

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[1] Endorsed "to y[d] Q. 10 Sep. 1595". Though in Portuguese and relating to the affairs of the late King of Portugal, this letter is found among uncalendared S.P. France (Vol XXXV. f. 238), presumably because dated from Paris.

[2] "Scipio dfig[do]" and an illegible word with "ll" towards the end.

[3] Orig. Uncalendared. S.P. France XXXV, f. 234. Endorsed "8 Sept. 1595." (Hitherto unknown).

[4] This letter, and all the other correspondence of Antonio, was unknown to Sir Sidney Lee when he confused Antonio the elected King of Portugal with Antonio Pérez ex-Secretary of State to Philip II of Spain. It was printed in *Excellent et libre discours* on the *Succession du Roy Dom Antoine* &c.; *Avec plusieurs Lettres curieuses des Papes, Rois, Princes & Monarques de la Chrestienté, sur la recognoissance dudit Dom Antonio Roy de Portugal. Utile & nécessaire aux Amateurs de Justice & Equité. A Paris, Chez Jean Micard,* &c. &c. Paris, 1607. (B.M. No: 1195 a. 9.)

The reason he has so long refrained from writing to her is because he has been oppressed with miseries and maladies ever since his departure from England. And now, "When I think how I leave my Kingdom of Portugal, under a tyranny, subject to our common enemy, and have no power to give aid, and that my hopes must end with my life, I confess to your Majesty that I regard death as too cruel." It would have been far otherwise, if instead of dying with his work unfinished, he could have fulfilled his task: Death would hurt him little if he might have "vanquished and died together."

Steadily he had laboured to liberate Portugal: "But the judgments of God are incomprehensible," and Antonio could not but wonder why Heaven's favour had been withheld from so honourable a cause, and "tyranny and the power of ungrateful persons" permitted to triumph. His broken condition making it likely that very soon "Our Lord will call me to Himself, I pray your Majesty . . . to take my sons under your protection, to help and assist them in their designs." He has commanded them to "revere and honour" her "as a mother," and also to serve her as noblemen grateful for the obligations they acknowledge *tout deux à vostre Majesty, l'un de l'honneur et de la vie, et l'autre de sa liberté.*

> To Diogo Botelho he leaves the charge of "my poor family; because of the confidence I have in the love with which he always has treated my affairs, and the certainty that he will remain the same to the end. . . . I beg your Majesty to help and favour him. . . ." thus enabling him to aid those of "my servants, who by old age or sickness" are unable to serve in the wars. To God, Whom I hope soon to see, I will pray that He will augment the strength and prosper the Royal State of Your Majesty for many years.
>
> From Paris this 22 August 1595."[1]

The same day he wrote to the King of France, and to the Estates of the United Provinces and to Prince Maurice; also to the "Conde de Essex."[2] Essex was but a couple of years older than Dom Emanuel, but Antonio writes to him as to one of his own age. He protests that the bitterness of death is in dying defeated. Believing that "great trials should breed great faith" he had always refused to despair. "But my prolonged miseries and illnesses, ceaseless afflictions of mind, sorrowful thoughts, and the other evils with which I see myself hourly surrounded, have continued in such fashion that each time I have felt less strength to resist so many tyrants."

These accumulated burdens must soon crush all bodily life; but he would not leave this earth "without your Excellency knowing that I do not die forgetful of my obligations to you, for the love with which you have treated my concerns, and the particular care with which you have employed yourself therein, on every occasion when there arose opportunity . . . One of the principal personages who has always

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[1] "Copie das cartas qua el Rey de Portugal Dom Antonio Escreueo poruqos deas antes da sua morte as Magestades del Rey Christianissimus aurique quo atreno Da M Raynha d'Inglatera os Estados Generale d'Olando, o Conde Mauricio Prinsezo d'Orange, o Conde d'Essex." All printed with French translations in *Excellent et libre discours* &c.

[2] "From Paris the 22nd of August, 1595." B.M. 387-389, 1195, a. 9. In Italian, *Pero o Conde de Essex.* French translation pp. 391-395.

made great efforts to aid me in plans for my Kingdom has been your Excellency . . . ," whose " honour and courage " have never failed.

His own laborious attempts have been long sustained and ardent; yet neither he nor Essex could avert the " grave and rigorous punishments " which have fallen upon Portugal. " Ever I relied upon God to liberate my country; and hoped Heaven would not permit the Portuguese nation, [erstwhile] so acclaimed and feared in the world, to remain subject " to the Spaniards. But though all such labours have been baffled, Essex should believe " that at all times when the Portuguese remember what I have done for them, they will remember also what they owe to the Queen's Majesty of England;" and will appreciate her " prompt and deliberate wish to help me to the restoration of my Kingdoms."

He requests Essex to do him " the great favour to assure her Majesty " of his continued " affection and good will;" for he has nothing else left that he can offer " worthy of her greatness." If at any time the Queen has thought him changed, she is to be assured that amidst all the trials he has endured he has never ceased to " know and confess " his debt to her. And not only has he been indebted to her in life, but he hopes to be still indebted to her after his death: " For as her greatness has no limit, I have confidence in her that with the same benignity as she has favoured me, so also she will favour my sons and servants." That Essex will intercede successfully with her on his behalf, he is entirely confident:

> " And as your Excellency has the habit to do good to all, with yet greater pleasure and content will you do the same to those who have been sons and servants to one who is your very true friend. Excellent Lord, may our God grant you the accomplishment of all your desires.
>
> Your very affectionate friend
>
> Dom Antonio King of Portugal."[1]

August had been for him a fatal month. On the 4th, in 1578, the defeat and death of King Sebastian at Alcacer-Kebir. On the 24th in 1580 the beginning of that fight against the Duke of Alba's forces, after which, by the evening of the 25th, the elected King of Portugal was a fugitive whom it was perilous to recognise or protect. And now Dom Antonio lingered through the 24th; and was still living on the 25th, the fifteenth anniversary of the day when, to his infinite sorrow, and despite all his zeal and valour, his army had been vanquished. On this 25th of August, 1595, his thoughts turned again to Essex; who at the time of the battle of Alcántara had been a boy of thirteen at Cambridge, studying " Isocrates on the Art of Kingly Government " in the original Greek; and who now at twenty-eight, though the youngest of the Queen's Privy Councillors, was in the eyes of foreigners the most conspicuous English peer of his generation for *vertue et sagesse*, to use the words of Henry, Duke of Bouillon, who knew him well.

Not long previously, Essex had written to Dom Antonio that if he were free to

[1] So signed in printed version issued by his sons, A.D. 1607 (B.M 1195, a. 9) His letters were oftener signed in the Portuguese fashion, " Rey " [The King].

"make proof" of his affection "in some worthy and honorable voyage for your Realm of Portugal, your Majesty would see how willingly I would hazard my life for your honour."[1] Appropriately therefore, the final action of Antonio was to send a second letter of leave-taking to Essex. Not in Italian like the majority of his letters to Englishmen, but dictated in Portuguese, it is now first translated.[2] The whole force of Antonio's character is behind it. Devotion like this—whether for a country, a person, a principle, or all three,—shows a spirit capable of sublime constancy through the long dark night of continuous misfortune.

"Most Excellent Lord.

The time has come for me to bid farewell to my friends whom I shall not see again in this life. And as you are one of the greatest and truest I possess, I wished to inform you of my present state, which is better suited to treat of the salvation of my soul than of the restoration of Kingdoms. But I consider that since I undertook the defence of this Kingdom, which they obliged me to accept, it is my duty to seek its freedom by all means I may. And as one of the principal and most important means is the favour of your Excellency, which should be decisive, I think myself bound in conscience to recommend to your Excellency the task I so greatly wished to accomplish, and for which I worked so hard during my life."

Now that it is God's will to take him away, "after so much toil," and with his hopes unfulfilled, yet to "leave nothing undone" he performs this last duty, which is to beg his friends to take pity upon "this kingdom which has always looked for help to your country." He further asks of Essex to be kind "to those who have shown most zeal in adventuring their life for this cause."

"And I am sure that if your Excellency feels that this is the case with my sons, you will the more gladly have them for your companions in this enterprise than any other person. For the Portuguese, having seen by my experience how much your Excellency loves them and desires their freedom, will receive you with far greater fervour if they are aware that you bring with you the sons of a King who died in the service of their country. And they will realise that one who has been so true a friend of both the father and his sons will likewise be a true friend of their subjects.

"In order to treat of this and other matters of which I have spoken with him, I am sending the Governor Scipio Figueiredo de Vasconcellos to England. He being a person of such merits, in whom I deservedly place such confidence, I beg you to obtain for him the most serene Queen's favour, that he may with the necessary authority be enabled to carry out the business with which he is entrusted. And if it is successful, great glory will accrue to you.

And now I go to God. May He be with you, to give you the happiness and prosperity which He can give and which your friends desire for you.

From Paris 25 of August 1595.

The very affectionate friend of Your Excellency.

THE KING."

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[1] 19 November 1594 E E. p. 275, ante.

[2] Orig: Hatfield MS. 147. 121. Now reproduced in facsimile. Plate 26. Given in Portuguese in Calendar, 1894, Vol. V. p. 348; but (with much else in these Calendars) it has been ignored during over fifty years.

The dominating passion of patriotism burnt as bright on Antonio's death-bed as during the brief eight weeks after he had refused all offers of wealth and advantage under the crown of Spain. It had been on the 17th of August 1580 that the Duke of Alba, in his capacity of King Philip's Captain-General for "the conquest of Portugal," had necessarily refused to recognise in Dom Antonio the right "to speak for the Kingdom."[1] But after fifteen years we find Antonio still speaking for the Kingdom with his last breath; with that unchanging zeal which no disaster could chill, no personal loss diminish. Characteristic is it also that instead of repeating to Essex such arguments of policy as might have seemed expedient when addressing one of the Privy Council, he contented himself with an appeal to Essex's compassion.

In the Church of the Cordeliers in Paris, in a chapel dedicated to the Virgin Mary, Antonio's body was interred. A mural tablet, inscribed in Latin, commemorated "the most serene and pious Lord the Lord Antonio, by the Grace of God first of that name and eighteenth King of Portugal," and briefly summarised his tragedy:[2]

> "The Lusitanian people, piously inspired by prayers, conferred upon thee, Antonio, the realms which were thy due. Philip, of Austrian race, drove thee forth from thy native home; he being unsatisfied by the immeasurable extent of his own dominions.
>
> "Through thickets and woods, through trackless stony wastes and dim twilight ways, thou didst escape . . . from thy country's adversary . . ."
>
> France first received the fugitive King; and in France he breathed his last: "From a hired lodging in Paris he ascended unto the stars. By his sad experience, may all men realise how insecure is human fortune."[3]

His heart was taken out of his body, and separately buried in the Convent of the nuns of St. Clare: where Latin verses led up to a tribute, in the same tongue:

> "In this strait resting place is laid the right royal heart of the most Serene King of Portugal the Lord Antonio, first of that name, who succeeded to the realm by right of birth and by election of the people, and was driven from his kingdom by force: . . . After remaining for a long while hidden in the woods, he marvellously escaped from enemies eagerly trying to take his life; and he crossed into France and England to seek help.
>
> "*In the course of his foreign wanderings he suffered calamities incredible and without limit: but showed ever a constant and unconquerable soul: never wearied by labours, nor disheartened by dangers, nor deceived by specious reasonings, nor impatient under hope deferred.*

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[1] *Documentos inéditos.* E E. Vol. IV, p 9.

[2] Now first translated. Printed in Latin from D. Germain Brice's *Descrip' de la Ville de Paris,* Paris, 1752, Vol III, p 261. Cit Vicomte A. P. de Faria's *Descendance de Don Antonio . XVIIIième Roi* etc. 1908. pp. 12-13 (B.M. 9903. v. 8).

[3] There is added *Le dit dom Anthoine est décédé l'an MDXCV, le XXVIème jour d'Aoust, agé de LXIV ans.* There is also a brief inscription to Dom Christopher who survived until 1638: and *Priez Dieu pour eulx. Requiescant in pace Amen*

"Nor was he ever found wanting in the maintenance of his just right. Even when by reason of old age his strength was failing, he, despising all other considerations, still preferred the liberty of his kingdom and of his people before all good things which might be enjoyed; and [faced] all evils which could be borne.

"The following fact, moreover, is no slight indication of the royal greatness of his soul: On examination of his body, all his organs were found wasted and decayed, excepting only his heart; which was preserved unharmed and uncorrupted, because it was in the hand of God.

"He died at Paris, in pious faith, and in the deepest poverty; in the sixty-fourth year of his age, and in the 1595th year of Our Lord's Incarnation: on the 26th of August. May he rest in peace."[1]

One of his sons claimed for him that he was the embodiment of "all Royal perfections worthy of a great Prince," merciful and pitiful; "a firm enemy to liars, . . . so generous that there was never anybody who had recourse to him, whether native born or a stranger, of no matter what rank, who was not bountifully aided." This, printed in 1629, tallies with the testimony of Edward Wotton fifty years before, when he had summed up Dom Antonio as "liberal in his expenses" and "generally beloved of the people" for his "graces of nature." But Wotton had predicted that those graces would fare ill against the martial force of Spain; popular affection being an insubstantial support when the people are weak and the adversary strong.

Dom Cristovam, however, shows no sign of supposing that his father could have done otherwise than accept the burden of royalty, which had entailed upon him such immeasurable suffering.[2] "The said King," he adds, "had such zeal for the liberty

[1] Epitaph given by De Faria in Latin, op. cit. p 14; and now first translated. De Faria adds that the author of both epitaphs was a Portuguese Franciscan, Fray Diego Carlos, son of Francisco Carlos and Clara Gómez, and so first cousin of King Antonio, "their two mothers being sisters."

An unsubstantiated rumour that Antonio's mother Violante Gómez was a Jewess seems contradicted by the assertion that she ended her days in a Convent (E.E. Vol. III, p. 204; n. 3). She might have done this as a New Christian and still have been of Jewish ancestry; but such an origin appears improbable in view of the devoted adherence not only of her son Antonio to a lost cause, but also the prolonged fidelity of his Gómez kinsfolk. The epitaph on Antonio composed by his mother's nearest surviving relative could hardly be more ardently Christian in manner and matter had they all lived in the days of the Crusades. And though Antonio's secret enemy López was—like thousands of other Portuguese—descended from Jewish refugees, it is difficult to detect in Antonio himself characteristics other than those of Christian chivalry. From first to last he underrated material advantages, and was noted for his generosity. When he arrived in England in disguise in 1581 he was at once suspected of superior rank because the payment he gave to a boatman was far in excess of the fare. And so all through his life his impulse was to give and not to get. There is no trace in him of the instinct to drive a bargain. Moreover he was apt to ascribe to other men his own chivalry; and not even fifteen years of tribulation made him worldly in a material sense. Rather he was a Knight-Errant born centuries too late. We may add that a man of half-Jewish origin would not have been elected Prior of Crato.

There is at Lambeth Palace a large folio MS. volume of pedigrees of Portuguese nobility, inscribed on the cover, "fforaign genealogies; my Lords owne writing"—i.e. Lord Burghley's. Also a MS volume on Spanish Nobility, partly in Burghley's hand, and with arms tricked. It had been intended to examine these and see whether any pedigree had been found for Violante Gómez (King Antonio's mother), but the MSS are not at present accessible.

[2] *Briefe et Sommaire Description de La Vie et Mort de Dom Antoine . . . . dix-huitième Roy de Portugal. Avec plusieurs lettres servantes à l'Histoire du Temps*, etc. Paris. 1629.

of his Kingdom" that he "left no stone unturned in his efforts for the deliverance and regeneration of Portugal."[1] How literally this is true we have now realised, all through Antonio's consecutive actions during fifteen increasingly painful years, up to his final letter to Essex (This last, not quoted by Dom Cristovam, has waited three centuries to be made known). King Antonio's "piety and virtue," continues his son, "show themselves clearly in the Confessional Psalms he left, which were found after his death."[2] These, the chief emotional outlet of a reticent man, are a reflection of his struggles, apprehensions, hopes, and disappointments during his long exile. Existence upon earth might seem to him increasingly perplexing and mysterious; but his resolute belief in the compassion of Heaven for the griefs of mortals rose triumphant over all his sorrows. "My soul," he had written towards the last, "why fearest thou to go? For it is not a severe Judge who calls, but a merciful Father, who will give proof of his affection."

Considering how his projects had been crossed, and each of his endeavours had led him only deeper and deeper into the abyss of desolation, we may wonder at such unquenchable devotion to God who seemed to have forsaken him. The soldier's virtue of endurance, the Christian virtue of faith, sustained him to the end: *C'est en vous, mon Sauveur et mon Dieu, que je mets aujourd'huy mon confiance.*[3]

In this frame of mind he died. And his sons—who had loved the "very good King" their "Lord and Father" more and more ardently as his strength was ebbing and their own hopes sinking with him,—cherished his memory as one who never failed in "royal perfections," though his crown had been a crown of thorns, and his valour of no avail.

[1] Op. cit. p. 26.
[2] Op. cit. p. 25. Title pages of Latin and English editions now first reproduced, E.E. pp. 461; 467.
[3] *Les Pseaumes de D. Antoine, Roy de Portvgal . . . Paris . . . MDCXLV.*

## A FORGOTTEN WORK OF DEVOTION.

No character study of Antonio would be complete without notice of PSALMI CONFESSIONALES *inventi in scrinio Serinss. D. Antonii huius nominis primi, & XVIII. Portugaliae Reg. propria manuscripti*, 1645. 12mo (B.M. 3455, a. 49). First published in Paris in 1609, fourteen years after his death, these Psalms were reprinted in France in 1616 and 1656 (*Bibliothèque Nationale*, Nos. D.17,303; D.23,553; and D.23,554). There was a French translation in 1654, (E.E. ante, p. 448) dedicated to the *très haute et très-illustre Princesse Françoise de Lorraine, Duchesse de Vendôme, les Pseaumes de D. Antoine Roy de Portygal. Où le pécheur confesse ses fautes, & implore la grace de Dieu. De la traduction de P. Du-Ryer. A Paris. Chez Antoine de Sommaville en la petite salle du Palais, à l'Escu de France. MDC.XLV. Avec Priuilege du roy.* 12mo. A reprint, 1657, is the earliest French version in the B.M. (No. 1361.2.59, with MS notes by Robert Southey).

Editions in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* are enumerated by the Vicomte A. P. de Faria, in his *Descendance de D. Antoine . . . 18ième Roy de Portugal . . . 1908*, p. 15. (B.M. 9903. v 8.): and he describes a MS copy in his own possession, entitled *Pseaumes en forme de Confession Composés par Dom Antoine I Roy de Portugal enterré dans l'Eglise des Cordeliers à Paris, Copie de l'Abbé Soldini secretaire due Cardinal de Rohan, Italien. Versailles.* The Latin edition of these *Psalmi Confessionales* was reissued as late as 1674: 12mo. (B.M. 4685.a.a.1.(1).)

Two English translations appeared in 1659. Possibly the sorrows of the Royal Stuarts aroused sympathy for this earlier dispossessed Monarch:

(1) *Royall Psalmes, or, Soliloquies of D. Anthony, King of Portingall. . . . [&c.]. Translated into French by P. Durier.* (8vo. B.M.E.2121(1).) Into English by Baldwin St. George. London, 1659. (E E p. 467).

(The same French translator's earlier work had already been issued in our language, viz: *The Alcoran of Mahomet, Translated out of the Arabique into French by the Sieur Du Dyer, and newly Englished.* Sm. 4to, 1649).

(2) A different version, *The Royall Penitent or The Psalmes of Don Antonio King of Portugall. In which a Sinner confesses his faults, and implores the Grace of God. Translated into English by Fr. Ch. Esqre, London. Printed by R. D. for John Dakens, near the Vine-Tavern in Holborn, 1659* (24mo. B.M.1361.a.62).

This last is dedicated "To the Lady Frances Powlet, daughter to . . . the Marquess of Winchester." The translator, Francis Chamberlain, after referring to King Antonio as having "newly learned of me to speak English," asks leave to present him unto a Person worthy of his greatness and virtues. . . ." These translations do not include *Gratiarum Actio contriti peccatoris suis impetrantis* which is published in the Latin original as *Psalmus Eucharisticus.*

PSALMI
CONFESSIONALES
INVENTI IN SCRINIO
Serenissi. D. Antonii huius nominis primi, & XVIII. Portugaliæ Reg. propria manu scripti.

*In iis peccator diuinam pro peccatis suis misericordiam implorat.*

Editio nona aucta & recognita.



LVTETIÆ,

Apud SIMEONEM PIGET, via Iacobæa ad insigne Fontis.

M. DC. XLV.

(1) Title page of "*Psalmi Confessionales*," 1645




BRITISH MUSEUM

(2) Memorial portrait, from the same, of "*Antonius I Dei Gratia Rex Portugaliae XVIII*," now first reproduced.

## *APPENDIX A*

## "HER PRINCELY FAVOUR."

### *(Queen Elizabeth and the Sons of King Antonio).*

" she embraceth them all w^th^ her Princely favour and good will."
". . *To the King of Portingale from her Ma^tie^.*"
12 Nov: 1594. Uncalendared State Papers Portugal: draft with Italian translation, *Al Carissimo Nostro Fratello il Re de Portogallo.*[1]

From the ages of about twelve and eight respectively, Antonio's sons had eaten the bread of exile; the elder, Dom Emmanuel, at fourteen accompanying him to the Azores in Strozzi's expedition in 1582; and also taking part in the enterprise of 1589, when the younger, Dom Cristovam, then aged seventeen, had been sent as a "pledge" to the Sultan Muley Hamet. In 1595, "the Kinge of Portugalls sonnes" were aged twenty-six or twenty-seven, and twenty-three.[2] How completely Antonio believed in the benevolence of the Queen of England we have gathered from his dying command to them to "revere and honour" her "as a mother" and to serve her "as noblemen grateful for the obligations they both acknowledged. . . ."[3] Seventeen days after Dom Antonio's death his younger son Dom Cristovam wrote to her from Paris, the 12th of September:—[4]

"Madame. It has pleased your Majesty always to have such regard for the King my Lord and father that you have entertained and welcomed him as your very affectionate servant. Now that it is the will of God so to afflict me as to take my Father to Himself, I hope that according to your greatness and your natural goodness, you will have no less compassion upon us his children, and on all this poor and miserable house, than you had while he

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[1] The letter in Italian was printed in Paris, 1607, with French translation, headed *Lettre que la Royne d'Angleterre Elizabeth a escrite au Roy Dom Anthoine estant en France, par le seigneur Dom Christofle son second fils.* (B.M. 1195. a. 9. pp 331-335).

[2] 1568 is the date of D. Emmanuel's birth as stated by De Faria, *Descendance de Don Antoine . . . Roi,* etc. (B.M. 9903 v. 8), and that Dom Cristovam was born in 1572 we gather from his age of 66 at his death in 1638, as given on his tomb. Brice, *Ville de Paris,* Vol. III. p. 261; and De Faria, p 14

In 1588, in the collection of portraits broken up when Queen Elizabeth sold the Earl of Leicester's household possessions after his death, was *The Picture of the King of Portugalls sonnes* (Inventory. 1588. N. & Q. Vol. II, pp. 224-226). Leicester also owned a portrait of *the Queen of Portingale.* This would have been the wife of John III (Catherine; daughter of the Emperor Charles V of whom there are several pictures in these Inventories). Catherine was last Queen of Portugal of the Avis dynasty; for King John's heir Prince John died in his teens, and John's son Sebastian, posthumously born, was never married. King Henry the Cardinal was celibate; and Dom Antonio apparently a widower when elected to the throne. Leicester's inclusion of *The King of Portugalls sonnes* in his gallery of Royal Personages was a compliment to them in their exile. As he had "the Prince of Portugall" with him in the Low Countries in 1585-6, and both brothers were in England in 1587, the picture may have been painted that year. (All efforts to trace its present whereabouts have been unavailing).

[3] B.M 1195. a.9 pp. 363-368. p. 454. ante.

[4] "A Paris ce xij Septembre 1595." Unpublished Cotton MS. Nero. B.I. f. 234. Orig: French. Sealed.

lived: when you extended your great favour to my Lord Dom Emmanuel my brother and all our household."

Telling her that nothing is left now except her grace and favour, he asks what does she wish him to do in the future? He hopes to hear from her through the *Sieur Scipion de Fig[ueire]do gouverneur de la Terceire*, who is now ill, but who as soon as he can travel will go to England: having been charged by *le feu Roy Monseigneur et père* to thank her anew for all the benefits received during so many years. The Governor of Terceira will convey to her King Antonio's dying prayer that she will vouchsafe to take his children "under the wing of her protection, and safeguard us as her very obedient servants." His last commands had been that they should look upon her Majesty as their Sovereign Lady. Again thanking her "very humbly" for all her past benefits, he repeats that *ceste pauvre maison* depends *entièrement de v[ost]re bonté*.[1]

Another letter follows, undated: explaining that to add to his griefs, the continued illness of the Sieur Scipion de Figueiredo—"whom the late King my Lord commanded to present to you his dying prayers, as I have already written,"—has delayed the bringing of the Queen's wishes to him by word of mouth. Therefore, as he is resolved not to make any decisions unless confirmed by her approval, he begs her to let him hear by letter what may be her views. It has pleased her, he repeats, to *faire tant de biens au feu Roy Mon Seigr et père, au seigr Dom Manoel mon frère, et a moy particulièrement*, that he ventures to hope she will not now withdraw her favour.[2]

The elder brother also wrote to the Queen, of his gratitude for past benefits and hope of future aid: *Le soleil ne peut cacher ses rayons ou si la vertu de vostre Mgte que reluit par tout le monde ne pouvoit passer par sur moy sans me faire sentir les effects. . . .*[3] He communicates to the "Serenissime Royne" the intention, provided she approves, "to take refuge in the United Provinces, which, like France and England, have a common enemy with us."

But "having no other wish than what depends entirely upon yours, which serves for our rule in all our counsels and enterprises, we would indeed seem ungrateful for the benefits received if in everything that pertains to ourselves we did not try to show we are in all respects your very obedient and humble servants, never doing anything that might displease you. . . ."

He asks her for letters to Prince Maurice and the States General. Whether or no such letters were written, drafts of them cannot be found; but at Hatfield there is a "Copie of her Maiesties lettre to the French King" concerning the "Prince of Portingall, 19° Januarii 1595."[4]

She begins by saying that "if the spirits of the dead could haunt the living" she fears the ghost of "the King Anthony" would follow her "in every place, if I did not acquit myself of his last request: he charging me by all the affection I had for him that I would remind you after his death of the honourable offers you made him during his life: and that it would please you to accomplish them in the persons of his orphans and sons. . . ."

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[1] ". . . . a v.Mte . . . . je le supplie encore de toutes mes plus humble affections de me vouloir continuer sa bienvillans et ce faveur et me tenir tousjours Madame pour vre très humble et très obeissant servieteur Do[m] Cristoua[m]."

[2] Ib. f. 237. Unpublished. Orig: signed.

[3] Unpublished Orig: signed "D. Manoel," and sealed. B.M. Cotton MS. Nero. B.I. f. 238

[4] In French, MS. 133. 132. Cal. VI. p. 19.

But this was not what Dom Antonio had written to Elizabeth. Dying in France he had communicated with King Henry direct. To the Queen of England his request had been that she would herself protect and guide his children.[1] She, however, was determined to delegate the task to others. To King Henry's only sister, Catherine of Navarre, she wrote:

"Madame my good Sister,[2]

The miserable estate of this poor Prince, added to the confident assurance of the late King his father that the sons would take his own place in my affection, prompts me to paint for you the true portrait of a sad orphan whose great refuge is in the royal words and favourable offers which the King your wellbeloved brother and mine, of his grace vouchsafed. . . ."

Enlisting "Madame" as the advocate to plead this cause with His Majesty, the Queen subscribes herself *Vostre très affectionée Soeur Elizabeth*. These letters were composed on the 19th and 21st of January. On the 22nd Her Majesty's condolences to the "sad orphan" ran as follows: "To y° Prince of Portugal":—[3]

"My Cousin. As such has been the care and affection We showed to the late King your father that we have not failed to make evident Our very prompt inclination to favour all who in any way followed him, who is there who can question Our care for you and your brother, who are so dear to us?"

Then apparently she considered this too cordial; so *de Nostre dit soing* is altered to *du mesme*, and *qui Nous estes si chère* is crossed out.

"As the last sighs of your Father so tenderly recommended you to Us, and as many persons have remarked on the signal proofs in you of honour and virtue, . . . extra to the great obligation you have professed to Ourselves,"—[this might seem the prelude to offers of aid: but on the contrary,] "We despatch to you this little word to persuade you to continue, in virtue of the rank held by your late Father in service of the King under the protection of whom[4] you will find yourselves hereafter as in a sanctuary."

This being too reminiscent of her own message by Edward Wotton to Dom Antonio fifteen years before,—"Our realm shall be his Sanctuary,"—she alters it to "under whom you find protection now and will find it henceforth."

"For the rest, having acquitted Ourselves of the charge we have undertaken of recommending you affectionately to him, We would have you not doubt that We will be ever ready to do you the kindness and honour, of which time and occasions can offer the opportunity. . . ."[5]

Having composed these communications, there was some delay in her allowing them to be sent; and six days later an agitated note to Sir Robert Cecil by Thomas Lake, "From the Court this 28th of January, 1595" [6] begins with what seems only a trifle but works up to the main point:

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[1] Ante p. 454.

[2] "Coppie of her Ma^ties lettre to Madame, 21 Januari 1595" (6). ½ p. Hatfield MS. 133. 133. In French, Cal: VI. p 21. Now first translated.

[3] So endorsed on draft; with date "22 Jan: 1595[6]". In French. Uncalendared State Papers Portugal, Vol. II. ("514" of some old notation). Now first translated.

[4] Literally under the shadow: *soubz l'ombre duquel*, etc.

[5] Au reste ayant quittée la charge qu'auons prinse de vous luy recommander affecteusement n'aurez à doubter que nous ne soyons tousiours preste à vous faire le bien et honneur que le temps et occasions nous y puissent présenter. Et sur ce (mon Cousin) etc.

"After I had despatched the messenger to your Honour this morning, it pleased Her Majesty to send me word that she would have the letter to Madame opened again, . . . and folded . . . like those of her own hand, and so sealed; whereupon I beseech you to return it. . . . She willed me further to let your Honour understand that she is advertised that Don Cristofero . . . is coming over: *wherewith she seemed to be displeased,* and would have your Honour, at the delivery of her letters to the Governor" [de Figueiredo] "or when he shall be with you, to insinuate so much unto him; and that seeing Her Majesty hath already dismissed Don Emmanuel and his train,[1] it would be impertinent that the other should press her anew, and *might perhaps discourage her from extending her bounty to either.*

"If there be anything he would have her to know, . . . it may come to her by other means than his own presence. In effect, her desire is that the Governor should divert him from any such purpose," even if he were to meet him on the way. "Both these messages were sent to me by Mr. John Stanhope."[2]

Whether Her Majesty had given audience or not to Figueiredo, on his arrival with letters from the late King Antonio, does not appear; but it is plain that she was not entertaining him at the Court. She seems to have handed him over to Essex, who ever since the death of Leicester in 1588 had been expected to save Her Majesty's pocket by giving hospitality to foreigners of distinction.[3]

Some softening of her humour is shown by a second letter from Lake to Secretary Cecil that same day: "Her Majesty commanded one hundred crowns to be sent to you for the Portingal, which by this bearer . . . I have sent."[4] But having parted with a little money, her heart again hardened; and that evening Stanhope wrote from the Court to Sir Robert Cecil to tell him that when Her Majesty came out from prayers she "rememberd the despatches of the Governor of Terceira" [i.e., the farewell letters of Antonio] 'which she gave me order Mr Lake should send to you."[5] Stanhope repeats that the Queen wishes "the Governor" even if he were to meet Dom Cristofero en route, to "dissuade him coming hither," and admonish him to await an answer to his brother from the French King: to whom "Her Majesty hath written to good purpose for the common cause of them both." [We have seen her letter, endeavouring to delegate to King Henry the responsibilities she considered too expensive for herself.] "She said my Lord of Essex can tell you where the Governour lieth, and she would fain Don Christofero were diverted from hence: *whose coming would only breed a new charge and trouble. . . .*"[6]

Such was Queen Elizabeth's mood after coming forth from prayers; and so little serious meaning had her expression to King Henry of her fears lest the ghost of Antonio haunt her if she did not allow the sons to inherit her affection for the father. In her resolution to delegate

[1] Seemingly the previous year, after King Antonio had asked to have his son sent to him in France.
[2] Holog: Hatfield MS. 30. 29. Cal: VI. pp. 31. 32
[3] Memo of his steward. Longleat MSS E E. ante p. 56. [4] Hatfield MS. No. 30. 32. Cal p. 32.
[5] These cannot now be found with Sir Robert's papers at Hatfield; except a letter to Essex. Nor are they in P.R.O. But K. Antonio's letters are now given ante from copies printed in Paris, 1607 No letter is in P.R.O. to the Q. from De Figueiredo that can be found, except one of Sep: 1595, first identified by present writer. Uncalendared S P. (translated ante, p. 453).
[6] Dated 28, presumably written at night, for endorsed as received 29 Jan: 1595[6]. Holog: 2½ pp. Hatfield MS. 36. 37. (Cal: VI. pp. 33-34). The rest of the letter is on other matters: Her Majesty's "very hard speeches" to Lake himself (for doing as she had previously bidden), and her "great ado" on various grievances.

to the King of France the trust Antonio had so confidently reposed in her "benignity,"—invoking what he imagined as her motherly feeling for his sons,—her pretence that *le feu Roy de Portugall* had asked nothing from her but to intercede with King Henry would have been the less convincing to Henry in that there was no need for such intercession; he having been already addressed direct, on the 22nd of August, four days before Dom Antonio's death.[1] Referring to the general obligation of Monarchs to help others who are unlawfully ejected from their kingdoms, and touching upon Henry's own previous experience of rebellious subjects joined with their country's foes, the King of Portugal had thanked him for his good will and for the intention to aid him to regain his rights: "which would have taken due effect if the incommodities of the times had not delayed the execution of this work on your Majesty's part, and for me shortened my life." He commended his sons and servants to Henry's good graces, knowing the magnanimity with which His Majesty was wont to treat the afflicted: and he related how he had charged his sons to labour in any way in their power to do service to France.

The French King, not for the first or last time, would easily have seen through Queen Elizabeth's subterfuges. But in whatsoever fashion her servants conveyed to Scipio de Figueiredo that she was not expecting Antonio's orphans in England, but considered it advisable they should remain in France, this message must have been carefully worded, for the illusion as to Her Majesty's princely compassion remained undisturbed in the minds of the two exiles. Not only did they continue to believe her most large-hearted and sympathetic, but the Duke of Bouillon, coming to her Court as Ambassador Extraordinary less than three months later, brought them over in his train. On the 15th and 16th of April, respectively, Sir George Carew noted the arrivals of both "Don Xosshero the King of Portugalls sonne" and "the King of Portugalls eldest sonne," and how they were welcomed "at Folkestone by Dover" by "the Earle of Essex" with many "Lords and gentlemen."[2]

Dom Christovam the following month embarked in Essex's flagship; and was soon to receive knighthood for prowess at Cadiz, against the forces of his father's near kinsman Philip of Spain the Second, and of Portugal Philip the First.[3]

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[1] *Copia das Cartas a Magestad del Rey Christianissimus* . . . (French translation B.M. 1195. a. 9.) pp. 358-359: *Coppie des Lettres que le Roy de Portugal . . . a escrites avant sa mort à la Majesté du très Chrestien Roy de France et de Navarre* . . .

[2] Carew's *Journall of all the particularities . . . in the voyage under . . . the two Lords General the Earle of Essex and the Lord Charles Howard* . . . First published E.E. Vols. IX—X.

[3] As already said, it has never been satisfactorily settled whether Dom Emmanuel and Dom Christopher were legitimate sons of Antonio; but Queen Elizabeth, Henry IV, Leicester and Essex treated them as if they were. Antonio having been Prior of Crato did not necessarily mean that he took celibate vows, for in 1496 King Emmanuel had obtained from the Pope a dispensation for the Portuguese Religious Knights to marry if they so desired.

About ten miles east of Portalegre, due west of Santarem, and some twenty miles from the Spanish frontier, the Priory of Crato had an illustrious past, the first Prior having been father of Nuno Alvarez, the national hero, victor of Aljubarrota, who in 1385 saved Portugal from coming under the rule of Castile. (See Aubrey F. G. Bell. *Portuguese Portraits*, Oxford, 1917; pp. 17-46). Like Thomar and Avis, Crato belonged to the Order of Christ, and the bestowal of the Priories was vested in the Crown. In contemporary references to Antonio's election as King, there is not a word about a Queen; and, if the gossip heard by Edward Wotton in 1579 is of value, the mother or mothers of Antonio's children had been of inferior rank. Antonio in his *Psalmi Confessionales* deplores the sins and follies of his youth, but only in general terms: "Lors que je . . . regarde par les yeux de l'esprit les actions de ma jeunesse, je n'y trouve rien que des causes d'horreur, et des sujets de tristesse." (*Les Pseaumes de D. Antoine Roy de Portugal . . . . A Paris . . . . MDCXLV. Avec Privilege du Roy.* p. 2. Translated from the original Latin first published 1609).

ROYALL 1626

# PSALMES,

OR,

# SOLILOQUIES

OF

## D. ANTHONY, KING

OF

## PORTINGALL.

Wherein the Sinner confeſſeth his Sinnes, and imploreth the Grace of GOD.

---

Tranſlated into French

By *P. DURIER.*

Into Engliſh by

*Baldwin* St *George*, Gent.

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*LONDON*,
Printed for *Humphrey Moſeley*, and are to be ſold at his ſhop at the *Prince's Armes* in S. *Pauls* Church-yard. 1659.
*May*

*APPENDIX B.*

## "USEFUL AND NECESSARY TO LOVERS OF JUSTICE AND EQUITY."

### *A forgotten publication. Bibliographical Notes, 1607-1712.*

"Avec plusieurs Lettres curieuses des Papes, Rois, Princes . Utiles & necessaires aux Amateurs de Justice & Equité."

Subtitle to *Excellent et libre discours sur . . . Roy Antoine, etc etc Paris, 1607*

". . . as this work concerns . . a King who . died under the protection of this Crown, I dedicate it to your Majesty."

*Dom Christopher, "Prince de Portugal", to Louis XIII, King of France 1629.*

"Don Anthoines Sonnes are beloved of the Nobility of England, France, & the Netherlands . . . all Portingall knowes that their veines & hearts streame with pure Portugall blood, yea, with the remainder of the royall blood of that Kingdome."

*Vox Coeli . . . Written by S. R N F [Thomas Scott]. Printed 1624.*

Immediately on the death of Antonio, his son Dom Cristovam *fit partir un Gentilhomme . . en aller porter la nouvelle au Roi que etait a Lion*[1] And from Lyons the Venetian Ambassador Piero Duodo, reported to the Doge and Senate, "This morning news has arrived that Dom Antonio of Portugal is dead I saw him the day before I left, quite well, in a carriage in Paris The poor gentleman died in great poverty Although the King gave him certain revenues, yet as these were not paid regularly, Dom Antonio was obliged to throw himself on the charity of others"[2]

Though the later careers of Antonio's sons, except when they revisited England, are outside the scope of the present work, we should notice that it is from a publication licensed by Henry IV that some of the foregoing correspondence, even with the Queen of England, has been derived. On "4 Jan[y]: 1607," the "Very Christian King" gave leave to Micard, "bookseller in the University of Paris," to print the collection of documents, 1579-1595, now drawn upon by the present writer: *Excellent et libre discours* on the *Succession du Roi Dom Anthoine Avec plusieurs Lettres curieuses des Papes, Rois, Princes & Monarques de la Chrestienté sur la recognoissance dudit Dom Anthoine Roy de Portugal Utiles & necessaires aux Amateurs de Justice & Equité*[3] Micard dedicated this volume *A Messeigneurs les Serenissimes Princes de Portugal, Dom Emmanuel & Dom Christofle,* with expressions of respect for their patience in affliction.

The Preface to the Reader explains that notwithstanding the rights of King Antonio's case have been and again will be recognised "by all the world," two things now make it desirable to revive his memory One, that having been a servant of this Prince, and knowing him *si parfait pour les Royalles vertuz, libéralitez & courage,* it is well to testify thereto, and the other that King Antonio's enemies have thought they could extinguish "the clarity of his justice", and then bury his memory in oblivion[4] The work ends with an undated "Table Généalogique" giving only four children of King Antonio · possibly all who were still living in 1607.

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[1] *Histoire de Dom Antonio, Roy* &c 1696. p. 110 [2] Cal: S P. Venice Vol IX (1897) p. 166-167.

[3] *A Paris, Chez Jean Micard tenant sa boutique au Palais, en la galère allant à la Chancellerie 1607* B.M. 1195. a.9.

[4] The *discours* (pp. 1-116) *de nouveau traduite dudit latin en françois* is on the same lines as the treatise issued in 1590 (B M. 1060. c. 34). The letters, pp. 117-369 are from the originals. Italian, Spanish, etc. with French translations The Italian letter of Queen Elizabeth, Nov. 1594, (pp. 318-335) tallies with that ante from draft in our uncalendared S.P.F. Whereabouts of letters not stated by Micard, but presumably they were in possession of Antonio's sons. Some of them were re-published by Dom Cristovam in 1629 (B.M. 1200 b 25).

1 Doña Phillippe Religieuse, prisonnier en Castille.

2 Doña Louyse a present en un cloistre sans etre Re[l]igieuse: aussi prisonnier en Castille.

3 Dom Emmanuel, lequel a pour femme la Princesse Emelia de la maison de Saxe du costé de sa mère, et fille du Prince d'Orange de laquelle il a en jusques aujour huy les enfans qui suivant

| | |
|---|---|
| (1) Doña Marie | (4) Doña Louyse |
| (2) Dom Emmanuel | (5) Marte |
| (3) Dom Guillaume | (6) Doña Ana |

4 Dom Cristofle qui à present est sous la protection du Roy de France nostre Sire Henry IIII."

More than twenty years later, Dom Cristovam, at the age of fifty-seven,—still 'under protection of the King of France,'—dedicated to King Henry's son and successor Louis XIII, a *Briefve et Sommaire Description De La Vie et Mort De Dom Antoine Premier du Nom et dix-huittème Roy de Portugal. Avec plusieurs Lettres servantes a l'Histoire du Temps.*[1] ". . . . d'autant que cet oeuvre concerne . . . . la personne d'un Roy, qui a eu l'honneur d'estre yssu de la maison de France, . . . et qui est mort soubs la protection de cette Couronne, je n'ay point voulu manquer de la dedier à vostre Majesté . . . ."

The modern English habit of treating Antonio as a mere "claimant," and of denying his sons the title of Prince which Queen Elizabeth accorded to them, is the less accountable in that the French King's *Lettres de Privilege* for the publication of this *Vie et Mort* of Dom Antonio, as *Roy de Portugal*, declare in print Dom Antonio's royal rank and refer to his son as "Our very dear and beloved Cousin Dom Christofle Prince of Portugal."[2] The remarkable thing is not that this book was published in 1629, but that it had been delayed so long The Council of the boy-King Louis XIII had licensed in his name, "20 Mars 1613", a pretentious general history "from the Italian" dedicated to the King by the translator, *Vostre très humble suiect et serviteur Th. D F*, in which Antonio was omitted from the table of Kings of Portugal, and the defeat of "le Bastard" by the Duke of Alba was described without reference to Antonio's previous election and coronation. The account of the French assistance in 1582 was of the most perfunctory, with no attempt to explain how came King Henry III to welcome a mere pretender. The last paragraph ends "par la mort de Dom Antoine le Roy Philippe s'est conservé ce Royaume, et ses successeurs en jouyeront . . . . comme de chose à eux légitimement appartenante."

Dom Cristovam does not refer by name to this book,—*Le Théâtre universel des Princes ou Histoire Générale de tous les Papes, Empereurs, Roys, et Monarques du Monde . . . ." etc. etc etc. 'A Paris, chez François Huby . . mdcxiii.* But its publication by license was incongruous in the same city where the translator and printer could have seen the memorial inscription to Dom Antonio in the Church of the Convent of poor Clares. . . . . *Serenissimi Regis Portogalliae D Antonii hujus nominis primi qui paterno jure, ac populo electione regno succedens,* relating how he, the last Portuguese King of Portugal, had been expelled by force of the foreign invader; but through prolonged ordeals, sufferings and disasters, had kept to the last the heart of a King—"which was in the hand of God"—*quod quis in manu Dei erat . . .*[3]

After his death, there appeared numerous editions of his Psalms: published in Latin in Paris

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[1] *A Paris. Chez Gervais Allust, pres la Chappelle sainct Michel, au Palais. MDCXXIX. Avec Privilege du Roy* (B.M. 1200 b. 25).

[2] The Privilege from *Louys par la grace de Dieu Roy de France et de Navarre* etc. is dated "Paris 5 Feb. 1629". It explains how the Prince of Portugal *nous a bien-humblement fait remonstrer, qu'il a fait dresser . . . à la requeste . . . de plusieurs gens d'honneur, une Briefe et Sommaire (title of book in full) laquelle il desirerait mettre en lumière . . . mais il craint que quelques Libraries ou Imprimeurs . . ne s'ingerent de l'imprimer . . . s'il n'a sur ce nos lettres de Privilege . . . Nous luy avons permis . . . de . . . faire imprimer . . . ledite Description . . .*

Dom Cristovam remained in France He died in Paris, 3 June 1638, aged 66. (De Faria. B.M. 9903. v. 97. p. 74).

[3] . . . *Ville de Paris* 1752, Vol. III. p. 261 E F. ante pp. 457-458

in 1609; reissued 1616 and 1645; translated into French in 1645; reprinted 1656, 1674· and on our side of the Channel two English translations both issued in 1659.[1]

A century later, a grand-niece of Scipion de Figueiredo, brought out, in Paris and Amsterdam, *Histoire de Dom Antoine Roy de Portugal Tirée des Mémoires de Dom Gomes Vasconcellos de Figueredo. Par Mad. de Saintonge. Suivant la Copie de Paris A Amsterdam Chez J. Louis de Lorme & Est. Aoger Marchands Libraries sur le Rokin. MDCLXXXVI.* The dedication "A son Altesse Royale," is signed "Gillot de Saintonge,"[2] A Preface to the Reader states,

> ". . . J'ay tiré la plus grande partie de ces Mémoires d'un manuscript que l'on trouva dans le Cabinet de mon Grandpère après sa mort. Il étoit Portugais et frère de Scipion de Vasconcellos; ils avoient eu tous deux trop de part aux malheurs de Dom Antoine, et â la confidence des Princes ses fils . . . pour n'être pas pleinement instruits de tout ce qui se passe . en France, en Angleterre . . ."

But "all that happened in France and England" in this connection forms a more complex story than Madame de Saintonge could know Moreover as she did not particularise how much of her narrative was in her grandfather's words and how much in her own, her book is unsatisfactory. Ill-judged criticism against "le General Norris" for supposed obstinacy and lack of initiative in 1589 is repeated from the earlier work of Dom Cristovam A few letters are published, including one from King Henry IV, September, 1595, to Scipion de Figueiredo. But the reason this "Histoire" is seldom quoted in the present work is because it rather represents the survival of sympathy and compassion for King Antonio than any dependable version of his life. Moreover the value of the earlier publications, those edited by Micard and Dom Cristovam, is less in the introductory narrative than in the collection of letters; for though a few of these are elsewhere to be found (those to Pope Gregory XIII had been previously published) the originals of many are now lost and so only accessible in these neglected volumes: neglected not only in England but in the 18th century falling into oblivion in France, where in 1623 and again in 1647 the legitimacy of Antonio, not merely as King by election but by right of birth had been maintained by the *Historiographes ordinaires du Roy,* Scevole and Louis de Saincte Marthe, as we have seen.[3] Some alterations were made by Francis Sandford, Rouge Dragon, when in 1662, in honour of the marriage of Charles II with Catherine of Bragança, *A Genealogical History of the Kingdom of Portugal* was dedicated to the King. Describing "these two so anciently allied Crowns," and how from Philippa of Lancaster and John the Great "descended that numerous issue which hath supplied Portugal for above three hundred years with a succession of Heroick and valiant Kings," Sandford adds that though their power had been broken for a while by the conquering power of the Castilians, it "hath been miraculously restored in the person of K. John IV" [Duke of Bragança] elected King in 1640, when the Portuguese by a sudden and ably-organised *coup d'état* cast off the yoke of Spain.

In a translation published to demonstrate the dignity of the house of Bragança, an assertion of the legitimacy of Dom Antonio's birth is not to be expected; but though in the table of Kings, "Antonio Roy de Portugal" figures as "Anthony the Bastard" there is no attempt made by Sandford to suppress in the text the pronouncement of "the Bishop of Angra the Pope's Legate" that Dom Antonio was the lawful son of his parents,[4] nor is there any slurring over of his having been elected in Portugal and acknowledged as King not only there but "by all the Towns and Fortresses of Africa, and Isles subject to the Dominion of Portugal . . ."[5] The account of "Anthony . . . . elected King", ends, following the French original, by recording that after his death "There was

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[1] E E. ante. pp. 460; 467.

[2] 12mo B M. No. 611. b.30. Frontispiece a personage on horseback; and in the background some buildings and a church with tower and spire. It is not a portrait; the equestrian figure carrying a baton, is clad in the fashion of the late 17th century; and rides away from the spectator.

[3] *Historie Généalogique* &c. (B.M. 36. f. 8) Full Title E.E. Vol. III, p. 230.

[4] p. 86. But this is doubtful. As against it, see the present Duke of Alba's *Proceso de ilegitimidad de D. Antonio, Prior de Crato,* &c. Madrid, 1925. E.E. Vol. III, p. 198; note 1; and p. 199.

[5] p. 8. EE. Vol. IV, pp. 221-228.

found in his Cabinet a Latine Paraphrase upon the penitential Psalms, with some Prayers in no vulgar stile, which gave testimony to his Piety, whose epitaph in Latine Verse hath been written by Frederick Morel, the Kings Greek Professor in the University of Paris."[1]

In these outpourings, King Antonio deplored that in his youth he had lived in pleasure.—"Hélas, je parle mal quand je dis en vivant; je parleray sans doute avec plus de vérité si je dis que je les dissipez en mourant Je pensois vivre durant le temps de mes voluptez", but he learnt that rather was that sort of pleasure "a living death" Yet his sons, who published these Psalms, gave no sign of regarding their own position as irregular; and they maintained to the end of their lives a respectful affection for their father's memory.

[1] *A Genealogical History of the Kings of Portugal And of all those illustrious Houses and that in the Masculine line are branched from that Royal Family. Containing A Discourse of their several Lives, Marriages, and Issues, Times of Birth, Death, and Places of Burial. With their Armes and Emblazons according to their several alterations, as also their Symboles and Mottoes . Written in French by Scevole and Louis de Sancte Marthe, Brethren, and Advocates in the Court of Parliament of Paris, unto the year MDCXXIII. Rendered into English, and continued unto this present Year, MDCLXII By Francis Sandford, Rouge-Dragon, Pursuivant of Armes. London, Printed by E M for the Author, Anno 1663.*

Dedicated "to the most Glorious Monarch, Charles II, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, &c." Guaranteed by Sir Edward Walker, Garter, and William Dugdale, Norroy A Preface by the translator tells of his additions to the original text, these last being "out of the Letters of Francisco Loredano, a Noble Venetian . . . Englished by an Ingenious young Gentleman not long since." Also from Antonio de Sousa de Macedo and others and "from the faithful report of some of the Nobility of the Portuguese Nation . . . I hope you will find the Satisfaction expected in the perusal of this History. Farewell. F. S."

"This book is to be sold by the Author Francis Sandford, at his Lodgings next door to the Heralds-Office, upon St Bennets-hill" &c., &c. (B.M G 1176; and 135 e 11; and 1327. i. 13).

PART VII.

"The causes that govern the events."

CHAPTER 7.

## "MUTABILITY OF FORTUNE."

SECTION 2.

# "Wonderful it is how much he lost."

*(The sorrows and sacrifices of the Premier Earl).*

**"The time will come when you shall be called of your Prince, . . . to do such services as your most noble progenitors have done; . . . to the contentation of your Prince, the benefit of your Country, the joy of your parents, and comfort of all your friends and servants . . ."**

*Dedicatory Epistle to Philip Howard, Earl of Surrey, from William Barker, prefacing a translation of Xenophon, 1568.*

**"The next point of your duty in this world . . . . is obedience and earnest dutiful love to your Soveraigne Lady, . . . which lesson we are taught out of the Scripture . . . And I charge you, Philip, with this above the rest, . . take heed how you with disobedience turn my blessing ex adverso . . . Farewell, my well-beloved Children, and God bless you, now and for evermore."**

*Thomas Duke of Norfolk, from the Tower of London. 28 January 1571-2.* Harl: MS. 787. 106 (E.E. Vol. II, pp. 137-138).

**"Upon Sunday last at eight o'clock in the morning the condemned Lord of Arundel died in the Tower in his bed of a long sickness that he had, and the same day at three o'clock in the afternoon he was buried in the Tower."**

*Letter to Peregrine Bertie, Lord Willoughby d'Eresby, 25 October, 1595.* Ancaster Papers. Hist: MSS. Comm: Rep: 1907. pp. 329-330.

**"The Most Noble Earl of Arundel Philipp Howard son and heir of the Duke of Norfolk, . . . died in durance a glorious Confessor . . . . He was the chief Earl of England, . . . . and wonderful it is how much he lost, and with what quietness of mind he endured all adversities."**

*Father Cornelius à Lapide, S.J., quoted in "The Life and Death of The Renowned Confessor Philip Howard Earl of Arundel." Undated: circa 1630. Edited from the MS. at Arundel Castle by The Duke of Norfolk, E[arl] M[arshal]. 1857.* pp. 162-164.

"The sea of Fortune doth not ever flow;
She draws her favours to the lowest ebb:
Her tides have equal times to come and go;
Her loom doth weave the fine and coarsest web;
No joy so great but runneth to an end;
No hap so hard but may in joy amend.

Not always fall of leaf, nor ever spring,
Not endless night, yet not eternal day:
The saddest birds a season find to sing,
The roughest storm a calm may soon allay.
Thus, with succeeding turns, God tempers all,
That man may hope to rise, yet fear to fall."

*St Peters Complaint, With other Poemes.*
*London, Imprinted by Iohn Wolfe. 1595.*

[Anonymous. By Robert Southwell, S.J., Confessor to the Earl and Countess of Arundel.]

PART VII.

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# "Wonderful it is how much he lost."

*(The sorrows and sacrifices of the Premier Earl).*[1]

THE Prior of Crato, elected King of Portugal, had sacrificed himself to the utmost for the principles of patriotism, to him the paramount obligation. But the spirit of religion moves different natures to forms of renunciation or of action as various as their dispositions. We must now turn to a case bearing scant resemblance to that of Dom Antonio; though King Philip's Portuguese first cousin and his English godson were both remarkable for scorning expediency, and for refusing compromise with extraneous circumstances.

Prisoner from 1585 until 1589,[2] taken forth then to be arraigned at Westminster and condemned for "High Treason,"[3] Philip Earl of Arundel and Surrey was neither executed nor pardoned; but kept captive with the sentence of death hanging over him, not to be carried out until the Queen signed the fatal warrant,—which was never. That his deliverance would come from Spain many Spaniards and some Englishmen anticipated. We have noted how a Spanish friar, who landed in Cornwall with the raiders, blessed a site for a future Abbey to be built when England should be conquered. It was not long afterwards that King Philip's godson, who had been ten years a prisoner in the Tower, was taken ill at dinner, and thought he had been poisoned.

"He had a great desire to have the assistance of Father Weston, . . . by whose means he was first reconciled to the Catholic Church: but it would by no means be permitted that

[1] A portrait of him is reproduced in colour by the Catholic Records Society in *The English Martyrs*, Vol. II, 1919. This and the pictures at Arundel Castle of Philip Earl of Surrey as a boy, and the same Philip as Earl of Arundel, subsequent to 1580 but prior to his imprisonment, seem to be the only portraits now surviving of a personage who as son and heir of the Duke of Norfolk, and heir through his mother to the ancient Earldom of Arundel, might have been expected to sit to many artists. The portraits are not satisfactory as works of art, and do not convey the charm which is said to have characterised him.

(A miniature erstwhile in the possession of the Earl of Carlisle, purporting to represent Philip Earl of Arundel, does not resemble the other pictures).

[2] E.E. Vol. V, pp. 225-240. [3] Ib: Vol. VIII, pp. 83-90.

either he or any other Priest should come to him. He desired moreover to see his brother the Lord William Howard or his Uncle the Ld Henry Howard, . . . but neither would that be granted, no nor so much as to see his brother the Ld Thomas Howard tho' both then and ever he had been a Protestant.

"The Queen had made a kind of promise, to some of his friends, . . . that before his death his wife and children should come unto him. Whereupon conceiving that now his time in this world could not be long, he writ humble letters both to her and some of the Council, petitioning the fulfilment of the supposed promise. The Lieutenant of the Tower carried his letters, and delivered them with his own hands to the Queen, and brought him this answer from her by word of mouth: That if he would but once go to their Church, his request should not only be granted, but he should moreover be restored to his honour, and estates, with as much favour as she could shew. Which message being delivered, he gave thanks to the Lieutenant for his pains, and said he could not accept her Ma^ties offer upon that condition. . . .

". . . the Lord Buckhurst . . who was then of the Queen's Council, . . . told the same in substance to his son-in-law the Ld Anthony Viscount Montague, from whose mouth I heard it, greatly condemning the good Earl of much want of wisdome and discretion for not accepting so great and gracious a favour, as he esteemed that offer to have been."[1]

As Arundel had held out during his long captivity, and at his arraignment in 1589 had emphatically proclaimed his willingness to "die for the Catholic faith," it was supremely unreasonable to ask him to capitulate on the edge of the grave. The Queen's proferred restoration to her good graces took a form she must have known him too well to suppose he would accept. The offer may strike us as coldly ironical; but remembering her harshness in 1584 at the time of the death of Lord Leicester's only son,—Leicester a Protestant and her ardent champion,[2]—recalling also her unsympathetic attitude towards married people, it would have been astonishing had she felt to a "Popish Recusant" a form of tenderness she lacked even towards her own most renowned defenders. Her refusal bore more heavily upon Lady Arundel than upon the dying prisoner, though he had repented his harsh conduct to his wife during the days of his prosperity when his "unkindnesse" had been so notorious that it could not be denied even after his death when his biography was written as that of a "glorious Confessor and Martyr."[3] But Lady Arundel, having once given her love, never wavered. With an acute capacity for suffering, she combined self-forgetfulness, courage, and courtesy. Her utterances in times of extreme misery are those of one whose dignity no misfortune can break, whose temper no persecution can sour. The respectful admiration of her biographer is justified by her letters. The more we know of her, the more strange it appears that her husband, married to her in boyhood, was not only indifferent but antagonistic, until his own calamities awakened him to seek the forgiveness she was eager to accord.

Though she had joined the forbidden Church considerably before he did, it does not appear to have been her example which influenced him. And when in the fervour of his conversion he decided to escape from England and live abroad, he

[1] *Life and Death of the Renowned Confessor* etc. pp. 114-116
[2] E.E. Vol. V, p. 175. [3] Ibid. p 226.

confided his intended departure to his brother but concealed it from his wife. And though she was then expecting her second child, the question of how his departure abroad would affect her health and happiness does not appear to have been considered. It had been only after his succession to his grandfather's ancient Earldom of Arundel that he expressed a wish for children, and, after living apart from his wife for years, returned to her for a short while. The Queen's displeasure had been then vented not on Arundel but on his Countess whom she had ordered "to be taken from her own house and carried to Wiston in Sussex, the dwelling place of Sir Thomas Shirley," where the first child, Lady Elizabeth Howard, was born. At Wiston Lady Arundel "remained prisoner for the space of a year or more . . ."[1]

"True it is, she was courteously used by that Knight and his Lady . . ," though by the Queen's orders "special care was taken that none that was suspected for a Priest should come within sight of her: which was no small addition to her sufferings."[2] She had petitioned her husband for leave to have the child baptized by a priest; but he refused. This baby though christened by a clergyman of the Church of England, was brought up as a Catholic after 1585. The first biographer of both her parents, who derived his information from Lady Arundel herself, describes the little girl's "skill in embroidering," and her proficiency in learning: Besides "writing very well, she not only understood the Latin and Italian tongues, but could render in English very readily on the first sight anything written in either of these languages." Exceedingly "dutiful to her Mother," and of "modest and mild disposition," when at "about sixteen" she died of consumption Lady Arundel took comfort in the thought that even in so brief a life she had learnt the lessons of adversity, and would win her reward in Heaven.[3] At the time of her birth, however, her sex must have been a disappointment; and there is no indication that her father took any interest in her, or protested as to the way his wife was compelled to live in what amounted to imprisonment. When he was arrested and confined to his own house, and he began to mediate upon the wrongs sustained by his ancestors and by himself,—even then the Queen's severity to his wife seems not to have been resented by him, for there is no word about it in his indignant letter to Her Majesty in the spring of 1585. His only reference to Lady Arundel is that the new Act of Parliament drives him abroad to live away from property, friends and wife. (But all his acquaintances knew that he had lived very seldom with her when free to do so).

After many years in the Tower, and expressions of regret for the sorrow he had caused her, especially in the days when he had been engrossed in "vanities,"

[1] Sir Thos Shirley, of an ancient noble family, was born circa 1542 He rebuilt Wiston Place handsomely, and fell into debt. After serving in the Low Countries as Treasurer at War, he incurred the Queen's displeasure, apparently for his debts to the Crown. She seized his estates and goods, except Wiston which was settled on his wife. Two inventories of his possessions in 1588 (Lansdowne MS 58. 25 and 109. 98) were printed by Evelyn Philip Shirley in *Stemmata Shirleiana* 2nd ed: 1873. pp 252-253.

[2] *The Lyfe of . . . the Lady Anne Countesse of Arundell and Surrey,* etc. by her chaplain.

[3] Ib: p. 244.

he told her by letter that if he were released and should outlive her, he intended to renounce the world and "become Religious" [a monk]; "for thus," he says "I call God to witness that if it were not in respect of you, . . . everybody should well see" his indifference to earthly matters. And "if you should not do well, I would, if the Queen took me not away by a violent death, voluntarily sequester myself from this sea of misery . . ."[1] The same biographer enshrines Lady Arundel's piety and that of Arundel; but whereas Arundel's preoccupation with the salvation of his soul seems sometimes to have led to oblivion of other people's feelings, his long-despised wife was an incarnation of vivid human sympathy: "she rejoiced as much to hear of any good done by others, which she could not do, as if she had done it herself:"

> "Many times have I seen her . . . as glad when she heard of some good success which happened to persons that were mere strangers to her, and again as much or more troubled with the news of their temporal losses as if they had been her own. . . ."[2]
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> Not long before Arundel's death, "when he was so weak . . , that he was scarce able without help to walk, . . . pointing his finger towards the Tower Hill, he told his servants, when these supported him, that had it been God's will he desired much more to have died for his faith upon that hill, than in his bed and chamber; . . . and that though he had often consulted the Physicians, . . . it was not so much out of any great desire of living long, . . . as to conserve himself untill he should see if it were God's holy pleasure that he should die publickly for his Religion."[3]

This reads almost as if he deplored the Queen's abstention from signing his death warrant. But his wife regarded the sparing of his life in 1589 as an act of special mercy: and of all her sorrows, relates her biographer, "the Earl's death was the greatest grief she ever had."

> "The last night of his life he spent for the most part in prayer," and the next morning seeing his servants weeping by his bedside he bade them not grieve that he had "come to the end of this miserable and mortal life." His death was "upon Sunday the 19th of October 1595" at about twelve noon, "in which hour he was also born into this world, arraign'd, condemn'd, and adjudg'd unto death. . . .[4] some have thought . . . that he had some foreknowledge of the day of his death" because, about a week before, in making notes in his Calendar "what Prayers and Devotions he intended . . upon each day of the week . . . when he came to the Sunday on which he dy'd he there made a pause, 'Hitherto and no further, this is enough.' and so writ no more. . . ."
>
> "His Vertues . . . were so excellent . . .that not only the Catholicks of this kingdom, . . . . but of many others were much edified thereby. . . . And in other nations some both of learning and dignity have left large Enconiums written in his praise:" especially "the Jesuit Father Cornelius à Lapide in his Commentaries upon the 10th Chaper of the Epistle to the Hebrews . . . 34 verse, where he speaks of him in this manner: 'The Most Noble Earl of Arundel . . . being taken when he was flying into France for the Catholick Religion, was cast into the Tower of London, and afterwards arraigned and condemned, and after ten years and a half imprisonment, . . . he died in durance a glorious Confessor, yea a Martyr. He was the chief Earl of England, and of a most Noble Family: and wonderfull it is how much he lost, and with what quietness of mind he endured all adversities. . . . His delight

[1] *The Life and Death of the Renowned Confessor Philip Howard Earl of Arundel,* etc. Cap. xxiv, "His charity and good Desires" p. 159-160

[2] *Life of . . . Countesse of Arundell* . pp 315-316 [3] Ibid p. 157.

[4] Ib· His arraignment was 14 April, 1589. E E Vol. VIII. p 89

was in nothing but in God and the contemplation of heavenly things. . . .' That which this Author saith of the Earl that he was a glorious Confessor of the Catholic Faith, yea a Martyr, is the general persuasion of all learned Catholick men, both of our own and other nations."[1]

The fate of Philip Earl of Arundel and Surrey was indeed far other than the Duke of Norfolk expected, when from the Tower in 1571-2 he besought the Queen's leave to select a " second father " for his children, and chose Lord Burghley, whom young Philip was bidden to obey as he would have obeyed his own father. Likewise the Duke admonished him to regard his duty to God and his duty to Queen and country as part of the same obligation; and above all to beware of " Papistry."[2] When in 1568 a translation of Xenophon had been dedicated to Philip, Earl of Surrey, by his tutor William Barker, " the time will come," predicted Barker, " when you shall be called of your Prince . . . to do such services as your noble progenitors have done . . . to the contentation of your Prince, the benefit of your Country, the joy of your parents, and the comfort of all your friends and servants." Nobody then foresaw that this heir to many ancient glories was never to draw sword except in the tiltyard; and that ten years of captivity were ahead of him; captivity from which he could have won release had he consented to rejoin the State Church and accept the Queen as Head thereof.

In the early stages of Arundel's imprisonment his wife had written to him that if she were fated to survive him, she would never marry again; which assurance he refused to accept as a " binding promise."[3] The same biographer, who had lived in her household, relates also that when " half a year after the death of Father Robert Southwell of the Society of Jesus, her spiritual Director, who was executed at Tyburn for the Catholick Faith, it pleased God to take also out of this wretched world into His heavenly kingdom, the noble Earl her Husband, upon the nineteenth of October, 1595," this loss " caus'd so great grief into her mind that the effect thereof did much prejudice her corporal health"[4]

It had been to Father Southwell that Arundel had written in 1589 after his arraignment and condemnation, protesting his innocence of treason, and recapitulating his theological convictions.[5]

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[1] *Life* etc Chapter XXV, pp 161-164 The biographer concludes " As such therefore we all ought to esteem him, and . . . commend ourselves to his holy Prayers and Intercessions, that thereby we may obtain so much grace of Almighty God that here we may imitate his excellent vertues and in heaven enjoy his happy company for all eternity. Amen Finis "

Arundel's beatification took place in 1929.

[2] E E. Vol. II, p 135

[3] *Life of . . . the Lady Anne Countesse of Arundell* (circa 1631) pp. 199-201.

[4] *Life*, &c. cap VII.

[5] E.E. Vol. VIII, p. 88 Southwell's Works have often been reprinted: *St Peters Complaint, With other Poemes London, Imprinted by Iohn Wolfe. 1595* (Reissued the same year) *At London Printed by I R for G C. 1597* Again by G. C[awood] in 1599; and in 1602 *Saint Peters Complaint Newlie augmented With other Poems* Other editions, 1607-9(?), 1615, 1620, 1630, in London; and in Edinburgh [1599 ?] *Printed by Robert Wald-graue Printer to the Kings Majestie. Cum Privilegio Regio.* For complete list with several facsimile title pages, see James H. McDonald, *" The Poems and Prose Writings of Robert Southwell, S.J A Bibliographical Study." Oxford Printed for presentation to members of the Roxburghe Club MCMXXXVII* and see E E. IX, pp 485-487.

After the accession of James the First, "a nobleman" [no name mentioned] came "with a numerous and splendid retinue" to woo Lady Arundel; but in vain.[1] For thirty-five years she lived a faithful widow to the husband who in the days of his prosperity had notoriously neglected her, and who only awoke to the value of her affection after prison doors had closed upon him for the sake of the Church which she had been first of the two to join.

Though Arundel passed away without the Queen expressly revoking the death-warrant she had refrained from signing, his only son Thomas had not been deprived of the courtesy title of Lord Maltravers. Neither was Maltravers separated from his mother. As we see in her "Life," written by the priest in her household already quoted:

> "Queen Elizabeth intended several times to have taken him away from her after his Father's death, and given his education to some Protestant, . . . but by her diligent endeavour it never took effect; and she was resolved rather to have sent him secretly into some foreign country with hazard both of his person, he being then weak and sickly, and of her incurring the Queen's highest displeasure, than to have exposed him to the danger of perversion."

But "diligent endeavour" on Lady Arundel's part—unassisted—would hardly have sufficed; and it appears more likely that it was by the influence of Essex that Elizabeth was prevailed upon to leave to the widow her only surviving child, who afterwards testified that he had been "much beholding" to "Robert Earl of Essex," and that Essex used to tell him he would be like a "Winter Pear" which is none the worse because it ripens slowly. Essex was akin to the Howards;[2] but even had the "Winter Pear" been the child of some poor and obscure sufferer, misfortune was of itself enough to touch Essex's heart.[3] To the delicate boy he gave encouragement to hope to grow into "a great and wise man." Long after Essex's head was smitten from his body, and official attempts had been made to wipe out all memory of his "noble acts," Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, used to tell how these words of comfort had been his incentive to look upward and onward through an overshadowed youth, until he reached independent and powerful manhood.[4]

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[1] *Life* &c.

[2] Through Lady Elizabeth Howard, mother of Queen Anne Boleyn; and of Lady Mary Boleyn who was grandmother of Walter, Earl of Essex.

[3] After his execution an elegy upon him, called *A Poore Mans Pittance*, laments that widows and orphans had lost in the "good Earle" their kindest friend. (E.E, under date).

[4] ". . . all the remaining part of Queen Elizabeth's reign . . . his mother . . . being a Lady of great and eminent Virtues, was not negligent in his education, and yet so wary (the Family being under a Cloud) as not to expose him, being her only Child, to travel abroad or to appear in much Conversation at home." But "Robert Earl of Essex (to whom this Earl hath often told me he was in his Youth much beholding) was wont to call him the Winter Pear, often saying if he lived he would be a great and wise man."

*A Short View of the Life of the Most Noble and Excellent Tho. Howard, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, Earl Marshal of England, etc. By Sir Edward Walker, Knight, Garter Principal King of Arms* In *"Historical Discourses"* Written circa 1650 Printed 1705 p. 210.

## "THE WINTER PEAR."

The worst misfortunes of Thomas Earl of Arundel ended with Queen Elizabeth's life. King James not only restored him to the Earldoms of Arundel and Surrey, created him Earl Marshal of England, and confirmed his election as Knight of the Garter, but also permitted him to have his father's bones taken out of a traitor's grave in the Tower, and buried among the ancestral tombs at Framlingham.

He married Lady Aletheia Talbot, daughter and eventually co-heiress of Gilbert, 7th Earl of Shrewsbury, K.G.;[1] and his letters to her, preserved at Arundel Castle, breathe a most contented affection: "My owne harte" and "my dearest hart" he called her, and wished that there were "no more dissembling in any body than there is betweene thee and mee; then there should need none of this adoe, but everyebodyes deedes and sayings should agree with theyre meaninges." And "My infinite love to you," and "I could write all night unto you," he ended one of his letters.[2]

Brought up as he had been in the most whole-hearted submission to the Vatican it is the more surprising that after travels in Italy he was received on Christmas Day 1616 into the Church of England. His mother's biographer, writing after her death, considered that it was "partly through fear, partly through desire of favour (meeting also with some bad counsellers)" that Arundel had "accommodated himself to the times, . . . to the incredible grief of his mother." But his subsequent courageous actions as Lieutenant-General for the King, make "fear" an unconvincing explanation. As to "accommodating himself to the times," he joined the Church of England when it was tottering to its fall. and lived to see its Archbishop beheaded on a false charge of treason, and to mourn for Great Britain torn with internecine strife.

Arundel's excellent Laws and Ordinances of War for 1639 are now almost forgotten.[3] That they are so worded as to demonstrate strong religious feeling is overlooked by such historians as allot all piety either to Roman Catholics or to Puritans and omit to read the writings of members of the Established Church. As for "desire of favour," though Arundel served the Crown, yet when his eldest son clandestinely married Lady Elizabeth Stuart, and incurred the King's displeasure, Arundel defended the young lovers, and wrote to reassure his daughter-in-law, signing himself "yr most affectionate ffather and Servante."[4]

He had been in his third year when King Philip's Armada was defeated in 1588; and he was thirty-three in 1618 when Sir Walter Raleigh was executed, under our *Rex pacificus*,

[1] For that 7th Earl's portrait see E.E. Vol. VIII, plate 6.

[2] In extenso, Hervey's *Life of Thomas Howard Earl of Arundel*, 1921. pp. 45-46, 48-49, 90, 93-94, 96-97, 105-106, 154-155, 162-163: for which see also plates I, IX, X, XIII, XVIII for excellent portraits of him. His interest in schemes for colonisation is fully set forth in that work

[3] *Lawes and Ordinances of Warre, for the better Government of His Malesties Army Royall, in the present Expedition for the Northern parts, and the safety of the Kingdome Under the conduct of his Excellencie, The Right Honorable Thomas Earl of Arundel and Surrey, Earl Marshall of England, etc and General of His Majesties Forces. Imprinted at Newcastle by Robert Barker, Printer to the Kings most Excellent Majestie: And by the Assignes of John Bill. 1639* (sm quarto 22 pp. and 1 blank at end)

[4] Hervey, op cit. p 244

to please the Spanish Ambassador. At the age of sixty-one, Arundel died of "a burning fever" during the Civil War. (The same year, 1646, and in the same month of September, Essex's son Robert, the 3rd and last Devereux Earl, was buried in Westminster Abbey, after having been General of the Parliamentary army. Oliver Cromwell walked in the funeral procession as a Major).

Thomas, 26th Earl of Arundel left behind him "a memory as honoured as ever anyone did," to use Viscount Stafford's words at the time. His Will ends, "I desire great care to be had for collecting all the material for an History to be written of my Noble Auncestors, whereby their good memory may be preserved, and those that shall succeed may be invited to be virtuous, or at least ashamed to be vicious."[1] Now chiefly renowned for his collection of Greek and Roman antiquities, his earnest and thoughtful face, as set on canvas by Vandyke and Rubens, remains attractive to lovers of the Fine Arts.

[1] Hervey: p. 455.

## NOTE: "IN SAD AND ASHIE WEEDS."

### *Traditional Lament of Anne, Countess of Arundel, and some poems by her husband.*

At the end of the eighteenth century, Lodge, the Norroy Herald, reprinted verses beginning "In sad and ashie weedes I sigh" which he stated were to be seen "on the cover of a letter in the handwriting of Anne Countess of Arundel by whom they were probably composed." He criticised them as abounding in "the imperfect beauties as well as the common errors of a strong but untaught poetical fancy":[1] a phrase which might equally apply to many other Elizabethan lyrics, whether written by great personages or by Street balladists. Lodge did not specify where he saw the MS. And though the attribution to Lady Arundel comes also from Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford,[2] such verses were sought in vain in 1925 among the MSS. at Arundel Castle, by the Duke of Norfolk's Librarian, Mr R. C Wilton.

Set to a tune composed for the virginals, they are included in Chappell's *Old English Popular Music*[3] Without being aware of any alleged connection with the widow of Philip Earl of Arundel, the editors describe them as "from the original ballad, printed in *The Crowne Garland of Golden Roses*, 1631" [the year after Lady Arundel's death], and there entitled "*The good Shepherd's Sorrow for the death of his beloved Sonne.*" But in this poem the reference to "my Sunne" which "from his sphere doth goe" is intended in a sense other than the compiler of *The Crowne Garland* supposed:

"In sable robes of night my dayes
  Of joy consumèd be;
My sorrowe sees no light; my lights
  Through sorrowe nothing see.
For now my Sunne his course hath runne,
  And from his sphere doth goe,
To endless bed of folded lead:
  And who can blame my woe?

[1] Lodge's *Illustrations of British History*, Vol. III, 2nd ed: 1838. pp. 240-241.
[2] *Royal and Noble Authors*, Park's ed: Vol. II, pp. 260-261.
[3] Ed: Wooldridge, Vol. I. p. 156.

My flocks I now forsake, that soe
My sheepe my greefe maye knowe;
The lillies loth to take that since
His death presumed to growe.
I envie aire because it dare
Still breathe, and he not soe,
Hate earthe that doth entombe his youth:
And who can blame my woe?

Not I, poor I alone (Alone,
How can this sorrowe be?)
Not only men make moan, but more
Than men make moan with me:
The gods of greenes, the mountain Queenes,
The fairy-circled rowe,
The Muses nine and powers divine
Do all condole my woe."

Despite the Elizabethan fashion among noble personages of calling themselves shepherds and shepherdesses when they wandered into verse, it does not seem likely that this song emanated from Lady Arundel, who would have invoked saints and angels rather than gods and fairies. But that it has been ascribed to her is at least a tribute to her inviolable constancy and fidelity, during the long and dreary widowhood which followed upon her sorrow-stricken married life.

While questioning the attribution of this elegy, there seems no reason to doubt the authorship of two poems said to be by her husband in the Tower. One is "A Hymn wherein the praises of all creatures are offered to the Creator," the second a Meditation upon Heaven:[1]

"The sky, the land, the sea,
And all on earth below,
The glory of Thy worthy Name
Do with their praises show.
The winter yields thee praise,
The summer doth the same,
The Sun, the Moon and Stars and all
Do magnify thy Name."[2]

The other begins, "No eye hath seen what joys the Saints obtain," and describes a vision of the Virgin Mary; and then

"Next above her, and on a higher throne,
Our Saviour in His Manhood sitteth here,
From Whom proceeds all perfect joy above,
And in whose face all glory doth appear.

. . . . .

O worthy place where such a Lord is chief,

. . . . . .

O happy saints, which never taste of grief."

There is not in either poem any bitter or resentful expression, and whether written by or for the Premier Earl of England, the verses denote a most unworldly nature.[3]

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[1] Vide *The Month*, articles by Fr Herbert Thurston, S. J. October 1894; March 1895; January 1896; and *Arundel Hymn Book*, edited by Henry Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshal; and Charles T. Gatty London, 1905

[2] 5 verses, similar in spirit.

[3] Pierre Janelle in his *Robert Southwell the Writer* &c (Sheed and Ward, London, 1935), p. 42, states of Arundel that "He revolted against the paganism and unbelief which prevailed at court. He is a notable instance of the frequent 'conversion' among the aristocracy of Elizabeth's time, conversions not from Protestantism to Catholicism, but from a life without God to a life with God . . ."

The *Vie Abominable* &c. is not named in Monsieur Janelle's Bibliography; and the Works of Edmund Spenser are included; but the above idea of the Elizabethan Court appears to be derived not from

Spenser or any courtier but from the 1584-85 libels (see E.E. Vol V, pp. 139-169). However much the pillars of the Established Church—Burghley, Walsingham, Hatton, Leicester, Drake, Sidney, Essex, clashed with Rome on certain points of dogma and policy, no one acquainted with their correspondence, or with the books dedicated to them, could see in them "unbelief" or "paganism" It is significant that Sidney's dying legacy to his country was the *Trewnesse of Christian Religion* (E.E Vol. VII, pp 145-160) and that the book ran into three editions

Though each side then applied the word "religion" to the Church he himself adhered to, nevertheless at this distance of time it should be possible for Catholic pens to be fair to Protestants and vice versa. It is not necessary to the case for Arundel or Southwell to blacken collectively the Elizabethan men of action: Janelle (p 114) denounces "the gaudy pageantry of Elizabethan paganism, its worship of self, its boisterous love of action for its own sake, its brute physical daring, its unbridled sensuousness."

(As to the qualities [in theory] for a Protestant statesman, see E E. Vol VIII, p 267; and of a soldier see Vol. VIII, pp 361-363)

"Love of action for its own sake" is a strange way of describing the prolonged war (1585-1604) which England was obliged to wage to avert being absorbed into *todas las Espanas* When the war is ignored, and an attempt is made to estimate the England of Elizabeth without becoming familiar with Spain, an incomplete view is inevitable The Portuguese and Spanish Empires had set the example of "love of action." But far from Sir Walter Raleigh, a typical Elizabethan, loving action "for its own sake" we shall find him complaining bitterly of the discomforts and hardships endured (E E Vol. IX, pp. 577-8) Nor have we seen anything "boisterous" in Sir Humphrey Gilbert's "Chivalry, policy, and philosophy," (E E. Vol II, pp 208-220) And De Valdés, when he trusted Drake's word as a gentleman, certainly saw nothing "brutish" in the daring of the Vice-Admiral of England Contrast the politeness of De Valdés and Brantôme about Drake (E E Vol. VII, p. 336, and Vol IX, p xxxiv), and the courtesy of De Castro to Hawkins (E E. Vol IX, pp. 197-198), with the hostile attitude of certain modern Catholic civilians towards men whom the Spaniards who fought them could respect. (Spanish men of letters were not always so gracious. We will presently consider the "*Dragontea*" of Lope de Vega, E F pp 562-566)

## POETRY AND CAREER OF ROBERT SOUTHWELL, S.J.

We have seen how by Statute 27th Elizabeth [1585] it was enacted that "all Jesuits, Seminary Priests, or any ecclesiastical persons born within the Queen's dominions" who "come into or remain in any of the said Queen's Dominions, shall be adjudged guilty of High Treason": penalty, death.[1] This was one of the consequences of continued adherence by the Vatican to Pope Pius's Bull forbidding Catholics to acknowledge the authority of "Elizabeth the pretended Queen";[2] and it makes clear why Colleges had to be founded in Spain for English and Irish Catholic scholars;[3] also why priests who ventured into England after 1585 came disguised as laymen and under assumed names. Though to know of a Jesuit's presence and not denounce him was a punishable offence, yet Robert Southwell not only penetrated into England, but for several years was chaplain to the Countess of Arundel.[4]

Born in 1561, he was eldest son and heir of John Southwell of Barham Hall, Suffolk, descended from Sir John de Southwell, Seneschal of Guienne under Edward the First, who, in virtue of valuable services, granted to Sir John the Castle of Bordeaux for his life Originating in Nottingham, the Southwells had spread to Norfolk, Suffolk, Sussex, Surrey and Essex, and subsequently to Ireland.[5] Had Robert Southwell chosen to adhere to the Established Church and seek advancement at home, instead of being educated at Douai,

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[1] E.E Vol. V, pp. 231-232 [2] E E Vol. II, pp 43-51

[3] E.E Vol VIII, pp. xlix, and plates 2, 3 Vol IX, plate 9.

[4] The anonymous biographies of Philip, Earl of Arundel and of his Countess are quoted in E E. from the version published in 1857 by the then Duke of Norfolk But the Rev. C. A. Newdigate, S.J., examined at Arundel Castle another MS. of the life of the Countess, an 8vo volume of 97 pages, containing an extra chapter *Of Father Southwel's coming to live with her.* This was printed in *The Month*, Vol CLVIII (1931), pp. 246-254. Father Newdigate ascertained the date of the *Life* from a hitherto unnoticed note at the end of the 8vo MS. "This Relation was written in the year of our Lord 1635, and ended ye 15th of June, five years, two months and two days after ye death of ye Countesse."

For comparison of the 8vo and 4to MSS, and some verbal alterations in the latter, vide *The Month* the same volume of which contains also a series of articles by Father Leo Hicks, S J, on "Father Persons, S.J., and the Seminaries in Spain."

[5] The family of Southwell of Barham was carried on by the Jesuit's youngest brother Edmund, whose descendant Sir Thomas Southwell, M P. for Limerick, was created Baron Southwell in 1717. This 1st Baron's grandson and heir was raised to the rank of Viscount in 1776.

In 1872, Grosart issued *The complete poems of Robert Southwell* In 1937 *The Poems and Prose Writings of Robert Southwell, S J. A Bibliographical Study By James H McDonald of the Congregation of Holy Cross the University of Notre Dame* was presented to the Roxburghe Club · a beautiful volume with facsimile title-pages and full collations The editor, however, says nothing of Southwell's parentage and connections This family is represented in our Peerage by Robert Southwell, 6th Viscount Southwell, serving in His Majesty's Navy during the war of 1939-45. He did not possess any portrait of the renowned Jesuit; and a portrait which used to be in the Jesuit College at Freiburg (Switzerland) is only now known through a crayon sketch made from it by Mr Charles Weld, preserved at Stonyhurst. This was reproduced in 1872 in Father John Morris's edition of the *Hundred Meditations* and in 1926 in Christabel M. Hood's *Book of Robert Southwell* Enquiries made in 1937 for the present writer in Rome and Spain as to a possible portrait had no result; the President of the Board of the Prado Gallery then stating that though such a portrait may formerly have existed at the English College in Spain it has not survived

becoming prefect of Studies at the English College in Rome, and volunteering for the Spanish-created Company of Jesus, his ancestry and relationships would have been favourable to a prosperous career in England. Father Cresswell and Father Parsons (or Persons) both seem to have wielded more political power as Jesuits in Spain than they would ever have been likely to acquire as laymen in the England of their time. But Southwell had his heritage of an estate to lose by his choice of a vocation. His works reflect a gentle pious and refined nature, inspired by faith as steadfast as ardent; but his poems were so little political that almost immediately after the Queen's renewed Proclamation against "Seminarists," there appeared in the Stationers Register 8th of November, 1591, "under the [h]and of the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury," a license for printing "a booke entituled Mary magdalens funerall teares"; which was reissued in 1592 and 1594, anonymously, as before.[1]

The Archbishop of Canterbury was one of the Privy Council whose business it was to approve or disapprove of applications for licenses to print; so it is both a tribute to the Elizabethan patrons of edifying literature and to Southwell as a poet that his *Saint Peters Complaint* was printed three times during 1595 without the Queen's Ministers realising that the author was the Jesuit condemned to death that very year. Except in a prose answer to the Edict of 1591,[2] and *An Epistle of Comfort,* to those *in durance for the Catholicke Faith,*[3] there is little in Southwell's writings to indicate that his lot was set in an era when politics and religion, inextricably intertwined, resulted in war.

"How can I live that have my life denied?
What can I hope that lost my hope in fear?
What truth to one that Truth itself defied?
What good in him that did his God forswear?

. . . . .

I vaunted erst though all his friends had failed
Alone with Christ all fortunes to have tried,
And lo! I craven first of all was quailed,
Excelling none but in untruth and pride.

. . . . .

With mercy, Jesu, measure my offence
Let deep remorse thy due revenge abate;
Let tears appease when trespass doth incense;
Let mildness temper thy deservèd hate.
Let grace forgive, let love forget my fall.
With fear I crave, with hope I humbly call."

Such are the words which Father Southwell put in the mouth of St. Peter.[4] But he himself

[1] In 1602 it was printed anew, this time by James Roberts for William Leake, who brought it out again in 1609. The editions published at St Omer were of much later date, 1616, 1620, 1630, 1636. McDonald's "Bibliographical Study."

[2] B.M. No: 3935. a. a. 33. E.E. ante, pp. 96-97.

[3] "Imprinted at Paris" (nominally; but possibly at some private press in England).

[4] *Saint Peters Complaint* Spelling now modernised from Stonyhurst MS. A. V. 27, stanzas i, ii and xii, McDonald's *Bibliographical Study,* pp. 141-143.

did not quail under imprisonment and torture, nor yet when meeting death on the scaffold,—a possibility which must have been present to his mind from the moment he had landed in England in valiant and deliberate defiance of the Statute of 1585.[1]

[1] The term Catholic martyr is exact, in that a martyr is one who dies for his faith. But Queen Elizabeth repeatedly emphasised that whereas her sister Mary had condemned many Protestants to death for their theological views without any intermixture of sedition, she, Elizabeth, only sentenced Catholics to die for breach of her known and declared Statutes. This contrast is not apparent in *Robert Southwell the Writer A study in religious inspiration by Pierre Janelle Docteur ès-Lettres Chargé de Cours à l'Université de Clermont.* London, Sheed and Ward, 1935. The author says (p. 281) that his aim has been "mainly to account for the inspiration and artistic success or failure of Southwell's works, by the religious ideal which they embody." This has manifestly been a labour of love as well as an assiduous exercise in scholarship. But as the Bull and Declaration of Pope Pius V are not taken into consideration, the reader may be perplexed why the Queen and her Ministers evolved such drastic measures against Jesuits and proclaimed their entry into England treasonable. As to Spanish matter, Fray Luis de Granada is mentioned: also the *Meditaciones devotissimas del amor de Dios* (1572) of Diego de Estella (which, however, Southwell seems to have translated not from Spanish but from Italian). The work of Diego de Yepez, (*Historia particular de la persecución de Inglaterra,* Madrid, 1599), is drawn upon. But there is no mention either of *Documentos inéditos,* nor of the English Calendars of State Papers Spanish. The historical side of the work of Monsieur Janelle is slight, as compared with the thoroughness of his literary analysis.

PART VII.

"The causes that govern the events."

CHAPTER 7.

"THE MUTABILITY OF FORTUNE."

SECTION 3.

# "The Imperial Crowne of this lande."

*(Foreign-inspired Controversy as to the Succession).*

**"I most humbly intreate yor lordeshippe yt it would please yow to consyder" how national security would be helped by "ye setlinge of ye succession of the imperiall crowne of this lande."**

*Peter Wentworth, M.P. to the Lord High Treasurer, Lord Burghley: 27th September, 1591 (S.P. Dom: Eliz: CCLX. No. 21)*

**". . . God hath placed your Lordship as it were on a high stage . . . never man had greater favour of the beholders, nor was more like to obtaine a singular applause of the people: all mens eyes are fixed upon you . . . . that the glorie of the English nation by your noble deeds may be increased."**

*Dedication to Robert, Earl of Essex of 'The Practice, Proceedings and Lawes of armes . . . confirmed both by ancient and moderne examples . . . . By Matthew Sutcliffe . . . . London . 1593."* (B.M. No. 713, c. 5.) E.E. p. 111)

**"I thought no man more fit than your Honour to dedicate these two books unto, which treat of the Succession of the Crown of England: for no man is in more high and eminent place or dignity at this day in our realm than yourself: whether we respect your nobility, or calling, or favour with your Prince, or high liking of the people: and consequently no man more like to have a greater part or sway in deciding of this great affair . . . to the publick benefit of your country."**

*"To the Right Honourable the Earl of Essex, one of Her Majesties Privie Counsell and of the Noble Order of the Garter:" dedicating "A Conference About the Next Succession to the Crowne of England,"* December 31st, 1593.

**". . . judge by thinges past of thinges to come, and by that which hath been of that which may be."**

*Polimanteia, or the means lawfull and unlawfull to judge of the fall of a Commonwealth . . . . Whereto is added A letter from England to her three Daughters, Cambridge, Oxford, Innes of Court . . . . perswading them to a constant unitie . . . . for the defence of our dread soveraigne and native cuntry . . . . 1595.*

## "A PERFECT AND EXACT ARBOR AND GENEALOGIE OF THE KINGES QUEENES AND PRINCES OF THE BLOOD ROYALL OF ENGLAND"

*From A Conference About the Next Succession to the Crowne of England . . . Directed to the Right Honorable Earle of Essex one of her Maiesties Privie Counsell and of the Noble Order of the Garter . . . .* 1594[1]

Printed abroad in 1594, no copy is known to have come into England until late in 1595. The "Arbor and genealogie" is frequently missing both from the edition of 1594 and the reprint, 1681. Without it, the nature of the work is less easily comprehended, as the arguments in the text are exceedingly elaborate in the manner dear to an age when all men were interested in historical precedents. A seeming regard for Queen Elizabeth is a rhetorical device The "Conference" was in itself a defiance, she, through her Parliament of 1571, having made it High Treason for any subject to attempt to decide who should be her successor. Moreover as she had accepted Dom Antonio as her "brother" Sovereign, and ordered that the House of Commons be informed of his rank as a Monarch anointed and crowned, the setting of his name in the Arbor only as "Anthony illegitimate sonne of Luys," without any reference to his election as King of Portugal, would have shown at a glance that the compiler was under the influence of Spain. Though numerous "pretenders" are named, including the Earl of Huntingdon, and the sons of Margaret Countess of Derby, this is only in order to pronounce the Infanta of Spain the more suitable future ruler of England. In case any reader doubts the validity of the argument, the example of William the Conqueror is invoked, and the sword proclaimed the most decisive factor in dynastic controversies.

Despite the double dedication to Essex,—viz: on the title page and in a long epistle dated "last of December 1593,"—he is not included among the peers of Royal descent whose claims are analysed. The assertion that no man is more likely than himself to have a large share in deciding the Succession, is presumably a reference to his popularity with the Army. But as even Father Parsons can scarcely have believed that Essex would bring English troops over to the cause of Spain, the dedication appears to have been an attempt to cause the Queen to distrust him: an object in which it failed at the time, but succeeded later For Camden's retrospective and inaccurate commentary upon this publication (the coming of which into England he antedates) we will substitute direct quotation, and some letters written at the time.[2]

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[1] In E E. Vol. I, p. xlii, line 22, the present historian, not then having the book to hand, alluded to it as *A Conference regarding the Succession to the Crown of England,* whereas it is *A Conference about the Next Succession to the Crowne of England.* This slight difference in the wording of the title was only noticed on re-examining the work in both editions.

[2] The inscriptions on the Table of Claimants in the edition of 1594 run as follows:

[1] "A Perfect and exact Arbor and genealogie of al the Kynges Queenes and Princes of the blood royal of Englād, from the tyme of William the conqueror unto our tyme, whereby are to be seene, the groundes of al the pretenders to the same Crowne, at this daye, according to the booke of M. R Doleman set forthe by the sayde pretenders and their several claymes, this present yeare, 1594."

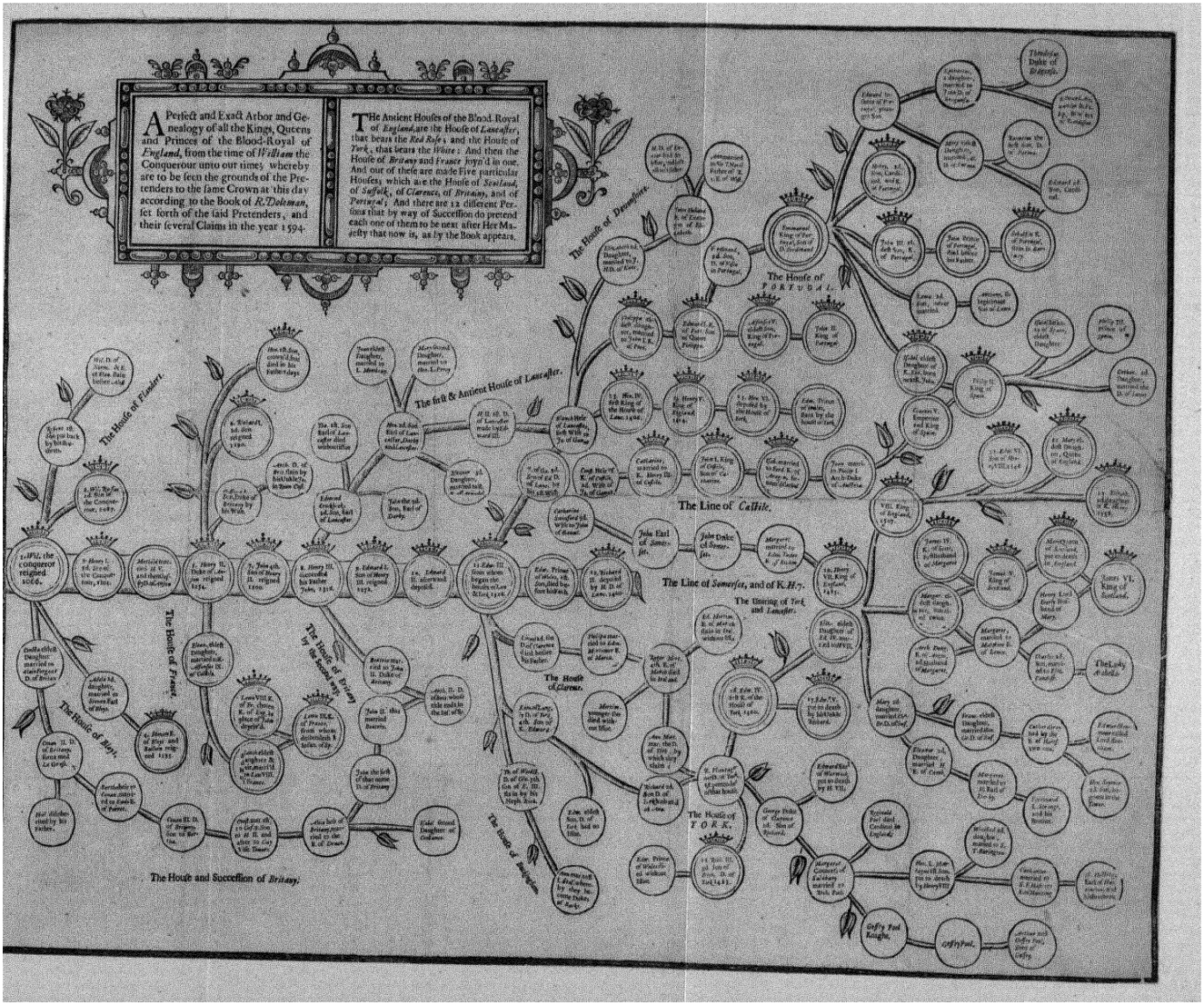
[2] "The ancient howses of the blood royal of England are the howse of Lancaster that beareth the redd rose, and the howse of Yorke that beareth the whyte, and then the howse of Britanie and France joyned in one. And out of these are made five particular howses, which are, the howse of Scotlād, of Suffolke, of Clarence, of Britanie, and of Portugal, and in these twelve different persons that by way of succession do pretende eeche one of the to be the next after hir Maistie that now is as by the book appeareth."

The Table is set at the beginning of the volume. (B.M. G. 15425) A MS. note in the B M. copy, in a late 17th century hand, states "This book was writ by father Parsons a jesuit." A note in a later hand cites Wood's *Athen· Oxon.* I 358, &c as ascribing it collectively to Cardinal Allen, Sir Francis Englefield, and Father Parsons. A third note should be added, that there need be no doubt as to Father Parsons' authorship, which was testified by Cardinal d'Ossat (E.E. Vol IX, p. 504).

Whereas the edition of 1594 states that the claimants are represented in "this present yeare, 1594," in the reprint in 1681 these words are altered to "the year 1594." Inscriptions are printed in 1681 with more capital letters than in the original. The chart in the British Museum copy, 1594, was photographed in 1927 for this History, but during the war of 1939-45 the negative was destroyed by misadventure. There was then only a 1681 edition easily accessible; and from that second edition, the chart was re-photographed and collotyped, there being no difference whatsoever between the actual charts.

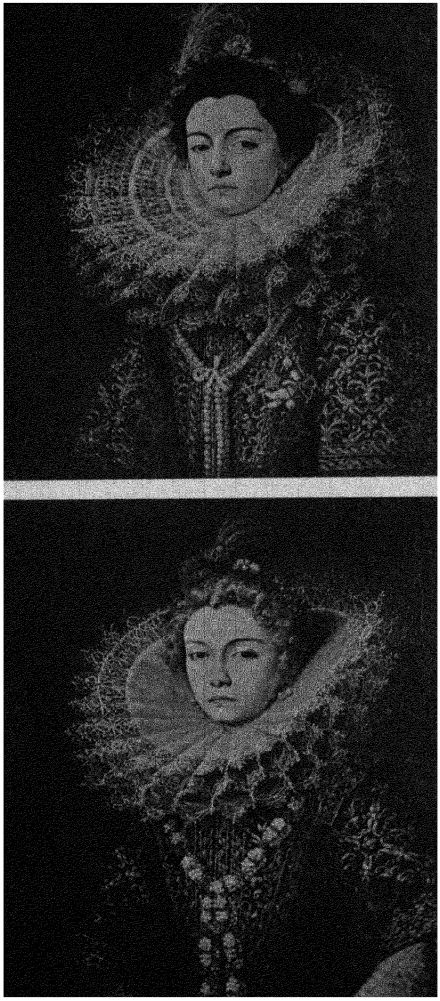
## *"A PERFECT AND EXACT ARBOR AND GENEALOGIE OF THE KINGES QUEENES AND PRINCES OF THE BLOOD ROYALL OF ENGLAND"*

*Table from "A Conference About the Next Succession" &c 1594,* as reprinted 1681 Original size of chart, 18 x 14½ inches (See Note, p 490, opposite)


A Perfect and Exact Arbor and Genealogy of all the Kings, Queens and Princes of the Blood-Royal of England, from the time of William the Conquerour unto our times; whereby are to be seen the grounds of the Pretenders to the same Crown at this day according to the Book of R. Dolman, set forth of the said Pretenders, and their several Claims in the year 1594.
The Antient Houses of the Blood Royal of England, are the House of Lancaster, that bears the Red Rose; and the House of York, that bears the White: And then the House of Britany and France joyn'd in one. And out of these are made Five particular Houses, which are the House of Scotland, of Suffolk, of Clarence, of Britany, and of Portugal. And there are 12 different Persons that by way of Succession do pretend each one of them to be next after Her Majesty that now is, as by the Book appears.
The House of Somerset.
The House of Flanders.
The first & Antient House of Lancaster.
The House of Britany.
The House of France.
The House of Clarence.
The House of Britany by the second way.
The House of Stuart.
The House of Buckingham.
The House of YORK.
The House of PORTUGAL.
The Line of Callile.
The Line of Somerset, and of K.H.7.
The Uniting of York and Lancaster.
The House and Succession of Britany.

*THE INFANTA ISABEL AND THE INFANTA CATALINA.*

*From the originals in the possession of His Majesty The King at Hampton Court Palace*



PART VII.

"The causes that govern the events."

CHAPTER 7.

"THE MUTABILITY OF FORTUNE."

SECTION 3.

# "The Imperial Crowne of this lande."

*(Foreign-inspired Controversy as to the Succession).*

WE might think that the death of the Premier Earl of England, after ten years captivity, would have excited widespread interest; but the event is set down without comment among items of news despatched to Peregrine Bertie, Lord Willoughby d'Eresby, on the 25th of October 1595:

"Upon Sunday last at eight o'clock in the morning the condemned Lord of Arundel died in the Tower in his bed, of a long sickness that he had, and the same day at three o'clock in the afternoon he was buried in the Tower. Also upon Monday last in the morning Sir Thomas Heneage died, and it is said he is dead twenty thousand pounds in her Majesty's debt. . . .

"This week news is come to the Court out of Spain that the King goeth on with their great preparations against England, to be here shortly after Christmas. . . . God make us able to withstand them. And for the late good hope that we had here of some good end of the troubles in Ireland, [it] is now altered, for of late there is a letter intercepted in Ireland written by the Earl of Tyrone to the King of Spayne for aid, which showeth that Tyrone means to make no peace, and yet he continueth still in parley; . . . so here is no hope of any good end of these troubles until all Irish rebels by main force be overthrown. . . .

"Letters are come to the Court from Sir Francis Drake written at the Grand Canaries . . . and at that time all his ships were together in good order, and all his men in every ship in very good health, . . . and his letter was written about a month past. . . ."[1]

The main topic of shocked discussion at the Court in the ensuing weeks was "a very vile book, printed at Antwerp, touching the Succession of the Crown, defaming her Majesty."[2] Though issued in English, this seems to have been intended for exiles abroad rather than for circulation at home. Nobody in England appears to have known of its existence until this late autumn of 1595, when Robert Beale, Lady

[1] *Hist. MSS. Comm: Rep: on the MSS. of the Earl of Ancaster, preserved at Grimsthorpe.* (1907). pp. 329-330. This letter from Drake has now been sought in vain in the P.R.O. and elsewhere.

[2] *Letters and Memorials,* (Sidney MSS.), 1746, Vol. I, p. 350.

Walsingham's brother-in-law wrote as above; and though he had not himself seen it, he had heard "also that it is dedicated to the Earl of Essex, of an intent surely to bring him in jealousy and disgrace him."[1] And Rowland Whyte sent word to Sir Robert Sidney that "Upon Monday last, 1500"—cypher number for the Queen—"showed 1000"—[Essex]—"a printed book: In it there is, I hear, dangerous praises of 1000, of his valour and worthiness, which does him harm here. At his coming from Court he was observed to look pale and wan, being exceedingly troubled at this piece of villainy done unto him."[2]

Essex might well be perturbed; for the book in question was nothing less than a plausible, audacious, and resolute brief for the Infanta Isabel:

*A Conference About the Next Succession to the Crowne of England: Divided in to Two Parts. Whereof the first conteyneth the discourse of a Civill Lawyer, how and in what manner propinquinty of bloud is to be preferred. And the second the speech of a Temporall Lawyer, about the particular titles of all such as do or may pretende within Ingland or without, to the next Succession. Wherevnto is also added a new & perfect arbor or genealogie of the discents of all the kinges and Princes of Ingland, from the conquest vnto this day, whereby each mans Pretence is made more plain. Directed to the Right Honorable the earle of Essex, of her Majesties priuy councell, & of the noble order of the Garter. Published by R. Doleman. Imprinted at N. with Licence XCIIII."*

Such is the full title of a book now oftener mentioned than examined.[3] As any copies brought into England were at once confiscated, the first edition is one of the rarest of Sixteenth Century controversial works. Even the 1681 reprint is scarce.[4] But the trouble is less in the rarity of the volume than in the way the circumstances which give rise to it have been misunderstood for lack of intimacy with the secret diplomacy of Spain. An eminent French Professor, who claims for William Stanley, 6th Earl of Derby, the authorship of the Shakespeare plays, brings forward this "Conference" as if it had been chiefly concerned with the House of Stanley. He mentions that there is a dedication to the Earl of Essex on the title page; but dismisses it as of no importance; and omits to state how that brief dedication is followed by a

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Then follows a eulogy of the virtues of Essex's grandfather "Sir Walter Devereux"—which should be Sir Richard,—and of his great grandfather "Sir Henry Devereux Visconde Fery"—which should be Walter Devereux, Lord Ferrers of Chartley, Viscount Hereford. These lapses of memory as to names and titles, and the Spanish rendering "Visconde," may be noticed. After reference to the Devereux "match with the heir of the most famous and noble house of the Bouchier Earls of Essex," the writer comes to the main point, viz: that for "public utility."

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> As "it is not convenient for your Honour to be unskilful in a matter which concerneth your person and the whole realm as much as this doth," the publisher "judged that no hands were fitter to receive the same, nor any protection more secure or plausible than that of your Honour, whom God long preserve in all true honour and felicitie, to the comfort of your Lordships faithful servants and clients, and to the publick benefit of your country
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like to have a greater part or sway in deciding of this affair,"—was to set him up as a target for poisoned arrows of envy from his equals and suspicion from the Queen. In the thirteenth year of her reign, by Act of Parliament, the Queen had made it treason to publish any book suggesting that any special person should be her successor.[1]

In 1591, when Essex and the English forces were at the siege of Rouen, Peter Wentworth, M.P., had been bold enough to protest that the Queen was endangering both the Church and the Commonwealth by postponing " ye setlinge of ye succession of the imperiall crowne of this lande."

" Your wisdom cannot but be fully persuaded," he wrote to Burghley, " that neither the church of God nor this worthy realme can (by any possibility in the judgment of man) be preserved unless the successor be settled before her Majesties death." For her to appoint her successor would be " a most certain mean " of security, and would further increase " the fervent love of her subjects, whose welfares and preservations stand only thereupon." What Wentworth dreaded, and others with him, was that the " papists will never (untill the successor be settled) cease daily to practise the cutting asunder of the line of her Maties life," and that civil and foreign war would ensue.[2]

The Tudor dynasty had come to regard the Crown of England as personal property to be bequeathed as the Sovereign chose. Equally typical is it of the degree of autocracy attained by the Queen that none of her Ministers succeeded in persuading her to consent to Wentworth's reasonable and respectful demand, for which he was imprisoned in the Tower.

To have appointed James VI of Scots her successor, confirming by Act of Parliament his hereditary right,—not merely through his Tudor great-grandmother but in virtue of his descent from the Saxon Kings—would have set the mind of the nation at rest, and have shown Spain that the future reckoning would not be only with Court factions in England but with a United Great Britain. Such an announcement also would have prevented the Powers of Europe from taking seriously the Infanta's claim; and should have silenced on the Continent the recurrent rumours that the Earl of Huntingdon or the Earl of Derby, or some other peer with Plantagenet blood, might be put forward as rival candidates for the Crown, if the Queen were to die without naming a successor. During her forty-four and a half years' rule, Elizabeth Regina made many an eloquent speech on her devotion to her " faithful people," but she only met their wishes when those wishes coincided with hers. On this vital matter of the Succession she kept them all in suspense up to the last.

Rowland Whyte's private information to Sir Robert Sidney in November 1595 was that " My Lord of Essex is very sick and continues very ill. He is mightily

[1] *Statutes at Large*. ed. Pickering, 1763. Vol. VI.

[2] S.P. Dom. Eliz. CCLX. No. 21. From original 27 Sept: 1591. Only epitomised in Calendar 1591-94

crossed in all things; for Bacon is gone without the place of Solicitor . . . The Queen herself keeps the Seal, and my Lord Treasurer, as occasion serves, doth seal and despatch all business."[1]

The frustration of Essex's efforts to aid Francis Bacon reminds us that the Queen, though she could pay Essex the compliment of going to see him when he was ill, as firmly resisted his wishes as to Bacon in 1594 and 1595, as in the totally different case of Davison in 1590. Whyte touches lightly upon Bacon's affairs, but continues about the "Conference," "The book I spake of is dedicated to my Lord Essex and printed beyond sea; and tis thought to be treason to have it. To write of these things are dangerous in so perilous a time."[2]

A copy in a contemporary binding emblazoned with the arms of Catherine of Navarre, only sister of King Henry IV of France,[3] indicates the interest this "Conference" aroused on the Continent: where it circulated for a year or more before penetrating to England. In the "Biographical Dictionary of English Catholics"[4] the statement is made that "The book created a tremendous sensation, and Parliament made it high treason for anyone to have a copy in his possession." But Parliament was not sitting when it was published in 1594, nor when copies were smuggled into England in 1595. After the Parliament of 1592-3, no Parliament met until 1597.[5]

"It has been said that the printer was hanged, drawn and quartered," continues the modern writer above quoted. We may add that to hang, draw and quarter the printer, it would first have been necessary to know who he was, and capture him. The printer's identity was never discovered; and the writer of the article admits that it is "doubtful" whether he was hanged, "as the book was probably printed at St. Omer."[6]

"Two thousand copies were reported to have been printed." By whom reported

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[1] *Letters and Memorials* Vol I. p. 357. 5 Nov 1595

[2] Ib. Vol. I p. 358.

[3] Formerly in the Library of the late Professor Fergusson of Glasgow

[4] Vol. 5. p. 280.

[5] From Camden's error of ascribing the date of publication to the year 1593,—instead of 1594 as plainly stated on the title page and in reference to the *Arbor*,—may have arisen the confusion between the issuing and a statement in the Preface where the spring of 1593 is given as the time of the conversations (Spelling now normalised):—

> "There chanced not long ago (I mean in the month of April and May of this last Year 93) to meet in Amsterdam in Holland certain gentlemen of divers nations, qualities and affections, as well in religion as otherwise: (yet the most part English and Irish) and they had been in divers countries, studied different arts, and followed unlike professions some of soldiers, some of lawyers both temporal and Civil, others of mere travellers to learn experience and policy: And for that the advices which daily came from England at that time, (the Parliament being then in hand) gave occasion to discourse of English affairs, they fell into divers points concerning the same. Yet none was treated so largely or so seriously as was the matter of succession and competitors to the Crown . . . ."

Parliament was dissolved on 10th of April; so "April and May" as the time of Parliament being "in hand" is a lapse of memory.

[6] Op cit.

is not specified; and actually it was rumoured at the time to have been printed at Antwerp, a town under Spanish control.[1]

In 1598 we shall find Essex referring to Father Parsons as the writer; and Parsons was chief of the group of Englishmen who openly proposed the Infanta of Spain as a suitable Queen of England. It does not necessarily follow that the signature "R. Doleman" to the dedication was a pseudonym: for previously, 12th of May 1582, Dr William Allen, writing from Rheims, alludes to "a certayne yonge gentleman of the ynnes of Court called Dolman" who was to have been his messenger.[2]

Father Parsons, like Cardinal Allen, maintained that the Spanish succession would be for the glory of God and the welfare of the country; so the "Conference" represented a vehement and sincere conviction. But that such a production could be dedicated to the Queen's Master of the Horse was an incongruity at which she might well be amazed, and Essex look "pale and wan."[3] The reasons for the dedication we shall try to fathom, after surveying the book itself. Read from cover to cover, its elaboration is now fatiguing, but was not then so regarded. Elizabethans had an insatiable appetite for historical discussion. Surveying classical, mediæval, and more recent precedents,—purporting scholastically and "indifferently" to analyse the religious, moral, political and genealogical aspects of the precedents under consideration,—the Conference had an illusory air of impartiality. It is not now fashionable to approach burning controversies via a panorama of world-history, including the question whether David was justified in putting aside his eldest son in favour of Solomon, and to what extent the tragedy of Lucretia was the real cause of the dethronement of King Tarquin. But we must view the "Conference" as it appeared to readers at the time,[4] when the dynastic Wars of the Roses had still a sinister

[1] Beale to Sir R Sidney pp 491-492 ante.

[2] *Letters & Memorials of Cardinal Allen*, London, 1882, p 135

[3] *Letters & Memorials* (Sidney MSS) Vol I, p 357

[4] In the quotations infra the spelling is modernised, the point being not the orthography but the arguments. The 1594 edition is size 6¼ × 4¼ inches; 1681 edition is in larger print; Part I, 179 pages; Part II, 202 pages; the quotations now are from the latter edition, but have been collated with that of 1594 The wording of the two title pages is almost similar except that "Directed" to Essex is altered to "Dedicated" in 1681 The first edition being exceedingly rare, the collation is now given below for convenience of bibliographers —

(1) title page with Essex's name
(2) Verso of title page, "The Somme of bothe the parties more in particvler"
(3) Sig. 2 "To the Right Honourable the Earle of Essex, of her Maiesties Privy Covncil" &c
(4) Dedicatory letter continued (in italics)
(5) Dedicatory letter continued (in italics) Dated "from my chamber in Amsterdame this last of December 1593 Your honours most affectione R Doleman"
(6) "The Contents of the First Part". (running on to p 7)
(7) "The Contents of the Second Booke".
(8) Ditto continued
(9) Sig B "The Preface, conteyning the occasion of this treatis, with the subject, purpose & partes thereof".

Preface, 10, 11 (b2); 12, 13 (B3); 14, 15 (B4); 16, 17 (B5); Text, Part I Pp. 1—220
(221) Sig. Q 4 "The Preface to the second parte"
Text ensuing in italics, p 222, p. 223 (Q5); 224
The 225th page is numbered again from p 1 for Part II, headed

(Continued on next page)

interest: and when not only the great nobles but every citizen held that each man's future prosperity depended upon the individual character of the Sovereign.

The arguments employed are intricate; but the appearance of dispassionate discussion is well sustained: it is " a doubtful case,"—" uncertain and disputable,"—" ambiguous; and God only knoweth who shall prevail."[1] But alluding to the alleged claimants amongst royal-descended English peers, " a Captain there present " remarks that " the times standing as they do, or at leastwise as they are like to stand when this matter must come to trial," it is " not you Lawyers but we Soldiers " who must " determine this title."[2] In all the lengthy conversations there is no word against Monarchy as such: " a Kingdom is the most perfect commonwealth among all other, and the very first; . . . it hath most commodities and least inconveniences."[3] " *Democratia* or popular government " and " *aristocratia* " selection of the fittest, are duly considered; and the authority of the Crown pronounced superior to either. It is, however, asserted that national prosperity depends less on the form of government than upon the nature of the man who exercises the chief power: and after pages of eulogy of Kings, as resembling God in " wise, discreet and just Government," it is suggested that Monarchs being mortal may err; and, if erring, may be deposed, " As nothing under God is more honourable, amiable, profitable or sovereign than a good Prince, so nothing is more pestilent or bringeth so great destruction as an evil Prince." The next step is to relate stories of Princes who failed to be worthy of their trust and were removed to make way for other and more efficient Kings.[4] The fall of Richard II is taken as a precedent; the rival virtues and faults of the Houses of Lancaster and York are analysed; and the duties of Kings defined: " The King of France in his Coronation is newly apparelled three times in one day, once as a priest, and then as a Judge, and last as a King armed: Thereby to signify three things committed to his charge, first Religion, then Justice, then Manhood and Chivalry for the Defence of the Realm."[5] This leads up to the assertion that religion being the first and most vital necessity, " an Infidel or

" Of the divers Books and treatises that have bin written heretofore about the titles of such as pretend to the crowne of Ingland, and what they do conteyne in favour or disfavour of sundry pretenders." Pages 1 to 227 (p 228 blank).

Among Lord Burghley's papers in 1585 are some observations on " sundry Discourses and some Libells spread abroad to the disturbance of this State," in which " so curious a deduction of the Spanish King's Line from the Duke of Lancaster " is noticed as emphasised in King Philip's pedigree, as if his were the " only branch of forregn or ancient Houses drawn from the blood Royal of England ", whereas others " sprang out of the self-same branch of Lancaster are concealed, being not once mentioned," although there are other Catholics with that descent as well as the King of Spain [meaning presumably King Antonio] " A thing which cannot be imputed to Ignorance, but sheer Malice; for that the knowledge thereof need not to be had out of Heraldes private Notes, but [is in] antient Chronicles common to the whole World " *State Papers*, ed Murdin 1759 p 543.

[1] End of paragraph of Pt. I. Cap. 9 p 175 [2] 6th page of Preface (not numbered)

[3] Part I. Cap II. p. 12.

[4] Eight years later there appeared in print *An Answer to the first part of a certaine Conference, concerning Succession, published not long since under the name of R Doleman* London. for Simon Waterson. This was by Sir John Haywarde (of whom more later) He firmly denied that subjects had any right to depose their Sovereign.

[5] Cap. 9 p 161

Heretick " should never be preferred to the Crown, no matter what his propinquity in blood. It is then more than hinted that English Protestants, Roman Catholics, and Puritans, will not be able to agree as to who should rule England; and as there are " Peers and Nobles of the Royal Blood of England " who may have " Pretentions, Rights, Interests and Titles to the Crown," the question is not likely to be restricted to the King of Scots representing Margaret Tudor, sister of Henry VIII, or to the Infanta of Spain in virtue of her descent from John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, son of King Edward III. Perhaps because conscious of the genealogical feebleness of the Infanta's claim, the disputants agree that force is the most decisive argument:

> " No man is ignorant, said the Lawyer, how William the Conqueror came to the Crown of England, which was indeed by dint of Sword, though he pretended that he was chosen by Will and Testament of King Edward the Confessor. But howsoever this were, his posterity hath endured to this day, and two-and-twenty Princes of his race have worn the English Crown after him for the space of more than five hundred years; and how many more may yet do the same, God only knoweth."[1]

But how often the Conqueror's descendants had disputed for the succession, the " Conference " proceeds to show. Many of the facts were cited from chronicles then in authorised circulation, and thus not to be branded treasonable. But the writer indulges in plain speaking about Henry VIII, who surpassed " all the rest in cruelty toward his own kindred, for he weeded out almost all that ever he could find of the Blood Royal of York, and this either for emulation or causes of mere suspicion only."[2] The list of Henry's victims follows: first he beheaded the Duke of Suffolk, " son of his own Aunt Lady Elizabeth that was sister to King Edward the fourth." Then came the beheading of Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham; and of Henry Courtenay, Marquess of Exeter; and others of near kin to the Crown; and later Lady Margaret Plantagenet, Countess of Salisbury, who, after the judicial murder of her brother Edward, Earl of Warwick, by Henry VII, became by blood the rightful heiress to the Crown which Henry had usurped. The moral—that the Tudors were a race of heavy-handed upstarts,—could not be expected to pass unrebuked by Queen Elizabeth. Though her father had beheaded her mother, and branded herself illegitimate,—thereby leaving her a heritage of trouble,—these facts were never mentioned at Court; and Elizabeth's wish to obliterate the memory of them is indicated in one of her portraits, in which—with a feather fan in her right hand, a red book in her left, and a small dog tucked under her right arm,—she wears a miniature of her father challengingly on her breast.[3] To call it " cruelty " for a Monarch to behead his own nobles according to his " will and pleasure," and to argue that either a tyrant or a weakling might be dethroned, was a form of free thought which Queen Elizabeth could not be expected to endure. Had she not at that time trusted in Essex's devotion, the dedication to him of such a book would utterly have wrecked him; but he was able to convince her that he never saw or heard of it until shown it by herself.

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[1] Part II Cap 2 p. 10

[2] Part II, Cap 4 p 78. ed· 1681

[3] Three-quarters length portrait, in a dark dress. The property of Mr J. P Whale Ure Exhibited " Shakespeare's England," Earl's Court, London, 1912

The motive for the dedication is open to more than one reading. According to the " Machiavellian " system, the bold salutation of Essex as most likely to decide the matter of the next succession was an artful method of arousing Queen Elizabeth's suspicion against him; and if she were unjustly to punish him for ambitions not yet formulated, such ambitions—it may have been hoped—might yet be born of resentment and suffering; and then so fostered that the Champion of England might at last be induced to lend ear to the whispers of Spain. We know, on Essex's own authority, that he was afterwards offered by Philip II lavish " honours " and recompense if he would desist from opposition; so the Dedication may have been part of an organised effort to compromise him. As the accusation of traffic with Spain—though not true—had wrought the ruin of Sir John Perrott, Essex had cause to be " infinitely troubled " by the Dedication of a work in which all the heavy guns of polemics and precedents were advanced to promote the claim of the Infanta.

The Scots were classed as more foreign and antagonistic to England than Spain was, and more likely to cling to their old alliance with the French, whom circumstances had frequently made enemies of England. Comparing the assertions in the " Conference " with news from Madrid, we need entertain no doubt as to the Spanish influences at work. On the 23rd of September 1595 the Venetian Ambassador in Spain, Augustino Nani, had written in cipher to the Doge and Senate as to rumours " that the Queen of England is far from well;"

> " and this fleet is held in readiness so that if anyone should succeed to the throne of England the Spanish may make a dash for that country, where they hope to find many disaffected Catholics in revolt. The Spanish would aid in fomenting the confusion; and for this purpose they say his Majesty is spending large sums of money in fostering secret relations in England. There are many English and Scottish here at Court and they are all plotting and designing how to employ the unrivaled power of this great Sovereign not merely for the protection of his dominions, but for their aggrandisement."[1]

In the Conference it is argued that the King of Scots had so small a group of advocates south of the Tweed that they would not be powerful enough to bring about the union of the Crowns. It was bold in the extreme to address such assertions to Essex, the chief champion of that union. Comparatively slight importance is attached in the " Conference " to Lady Arabella Stuart, first cousin of King James: it is Essex's cousin Henry Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon (descended from George, Duke of Clarence,) and the sons of the Countess of Derby who are nominated as most likely to compete for the burden of ruling their country. But no brief was held for either, both being mentioned only in order to urge the superiority of the Infanta. That despite their royal descent, Queen Elizabeth did not regard the Houses of Hastings and Stanley as intending to set up regal pretensions, may be inferred from the fact that they did not arouse her jealousy. But though in 1595 Essex stood so high in her

[1] *Calendar S.P. Venice* Vol IX (1897). pp. 167-168.

favour that she recognised the Dedication as a deliberate attempt to turn her against him, this book, with its precedent of the dethronement of Richard II, was to be a source of mischief from 1595 onwards.[1] Nevertheless we may question whether the "Machiavellian" reading of the Dedication is justifiable. Dated "From my Chamber in Amsterdam" the epistle—as we have seen—is signed "Your Honours most Affectionate R. Doleman." The Dolemans were Yorkshire Recusants, one of whom had tried to contrive the escape of Queen Mary of Scots from Chartley. Essex's kindness to individual "Papists" whose "valour and worthiness" he appreciated, seems to have led some of them to imagine political motives behind the personal courtesies of one whose natural instinct was to pity any man he believed to be oppressed. Such compassion was in the end to be most artfully twisted against him and made to wear semblance of disregard of his Sovereign's interests,—which few men had championed more ardently than he. But the hour of his ruin had not yet come; nor could it, so long as his "pilot" Burghley lived. Rowland Whyte's next news from the Court to Sir Robert Sidney,[2] on the 12th of November, was that "My Lord of Essex hath put off the melancholy he fell into by a printed book delivered to the Queen, wherein the harm that was meant him, by Her Majesty's gracious favour and wisdom, is turned to his good and strengthens her love unto him; for I hear that within these four days many letters sent to herself from foreign countries were delivered only to my Lord of Essex, and he to answer them."

This was nothing new; for ever since Walsingham's death, the Queen, keeping the office of Principal Secretary vacant, had caused her foreign correspondence to be undertaken usually by the Lord Treasurer, sometimes by Essex; and occasionally by Sir Robert Cecil. That from April 1590 until the summer of 1596 she declined to nominate any Principal Secretary, but that the business of the Kingdom was carried on none the less, is typical of an age when the Sovereign could create an office or dispense with it, and could call or prorogue or dissolve Parliament, according to her "will and pleasure." This system, arbitrary as it seems to us, does not appear to have displeased her subjects. And even Essex, who in 1590-92 had suffered so much from her caprices, could in November 1595, for her Coronation anniversary, celebrate her "vertues" in a song to the "divine Majesty" which Protestant England tried to see in Henry VIII's daughter. For when the globe was circumnavigated by a resolute West Country mariner, and Spain's world-power thus defied, the majority in our

[1] Its effects and its Richard II precedent spring to life even now, in conjectured parallels between Essex and Henry Bolingbroke, a character with whom he had little in common, except Plantagenet ancestry and martial ability Since the above was written, the *Revue Anglo-Américaine* for April 1925, publishes a remarkable article by Monsieur J Lambin, *Succession, Pamplets et Théâtre sous Elisabeth La "Doleman" Conference, 1594* M. Lambin emphasises that "un problème domine, plus encore peut-être que celui de la religion officielle, toute la politique intérieure du règne d'Elisabeth le problème de la succession au trône." From this text follows an interesting piece of criticism; but if M Lambin's studies are re-issued in book form, all references to Essex (especially on p 312) call for amplification and revision; for Essex was never a "pretendant" to the Crown, though actually executed on that charge. The present Continental idea of Essex's character is not based on his own writings, but on De Thou's conjectures, and on English 19th century opinion, derived from fragments instead of from the whole of the evidence.

[2] *Letters and Memorials* Vol. I p 260

nation held absolute Monarchy to be the one form of rule capable of resisting adversaries abroad and procuring peace at home.

" Seated between the Old World and the New,
A Land there is no other land may touch,
Where reigns a Queen in Peace and Honour true;
Stories and fables do describe no such.

" Never did Atlas such a Burden bear
As she in holding up the World opprest,
Supplying with her vertue everywhere
Weakness of friends, error of Servants best."[1]

The Queen's admirer is admonished by Essex

" To consider whom he serves, and first of all to seek to dignify himself in worth and merit; for it is not a small piece of wood, though well kindled, that will make a great fire." He is " to add to his own merits, diligence and application; for it is not a dead fire (though never so great), but a fire continually blown, that will melt hard metal." Nor must " remembrance of past grievances or past contentions " ever discourage him from present and future service.

On the 17th of November 1595—the Queen being sixty-two and about to enter the thirty-eighth year of her reign,—a magnificent tournament was held in honour of " England's empress,"—

" Elizabeth by miracles preserved
From perils imminent and infinite."[2]

George Peele, not knowing the Court well enough to be familiar with its undercurrents of malice and envy, saw in the pageant of " Astraea's earthly heaven " so much majesty and splendour, such unalloyed delights, that if we read his verses without any inner knowledge, we would imagine Court and country an Arcadia of " golden days,"

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[1] S P D Eliz: CCLIV No 67 " Oracle " from *A device for the E of Essex for the Entertainment of the Queen*, 2¾ pp and No· 68, 2 pp in French, copy in the hand of Essex's Secretary Edward Reynolds Familiar since 1869 in Cal: S P D Eliz 1595-97, pp. 130-134 Vide also Nichols's *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, Vol. III, p 371; and Devereux, *Earls of Essex*, Vol II, p. 502

Following the biographers of Francis Bacon, it has become a habit to allude to these verses as " written by Bacon for Essex ". As some of Bacon's advocates claim for him not only all the works of Shakespeare but most of Spenser, some of Sidney, and even of Nashe and other lesser men of letters,—and latterly the works of Cervantes,—it is perhaps meant as a compliment that they also adopt the " Device " of Essex. Essex was not, however, the man to take praise for some one else's writings, though he might omit to claim the credit for his own· and Bacon's biographers have been unaware of the numerous Elizabethan references to Essex's writings (See E F Vol VIII, pp. 174; 298-299; 585. Vol. IX, pp 129-132)

[2] *Anglorum Feriae, Englands Hollydayes, celebrated the 17th of Novemb last 1595, beginning happyly the 38 yeare of the raigne of our sovereign Ladie Queen Elizabeth. By George Peele, Mr of Arte in Oxforde*: dedicated to " the Right Honourable and worthy Lady Katherine, Countess of Huntingdon," [wife of Essex's cousin, and sister of the late Earl of Leicester]. MS. in the British Museum. *The Works of George Peele*, Vol. II. ed: A. H. Bullen, 1888.

"Passing in number and in happiness
The best that ever earthly prince enjoy'd
By suffrance of the brightest King of Kings."

To "our fair Queen," Peele gave all the credit not only for her sway of "the massy sceptre," but for the prowess of the sword which drove the daring foe

"Back to his den, tired with successless arms,
Wearied with wars by land and wrack by sea."

And he apostrophised joyously "the day of England's happiness, . . ."

"Her day of birth, beginning of our bliss;
Set down the day in characters of gold,
And mark it with a stone as white as milk,
That cheerful sunny day Wear eglantine,
And wreaths of roses red and white put on
In honour of the day, you lovely nymphs,
And paeans sing, and sweet melodious songs;
Along the chalky cliffs of Albion
Lead England's lovely shepheards in a dance
O'er hill and dale, and downs and daisy plots . . ."

Not all Queen Elizabeth's subjects could glorify her thus. The Catholic Recusants felt far otherwise. But Peele cheerfully chanted of the times

"Wherein we live in safety under her,
Wherein she reigns in honour over us:
So may she long and ever may she so,
Untouched of traitrous hand or treacherous foe."

Actually the foe was preparing to strike anew, and certain of the warrior-courtiers breaking lances against each other were soon to be arming to meet the forces of Spain: of which Peele may have had some premonition when he described the Queen as guarded by

"troops of loyal English Knights in arms
Right richly mounted and appointed all, . . ,
Ready to do their duties and devoir
Against the mightiest enemy she hath."

Among this "stirring company of Knights" the "renowned Cumberland" (George, 3rd Earl) was conspicuous: "in gilded armour dight," he being Her Majesty's official champion in all the tournaments since the resignation of the venerable Sir Henry Lee in 1590.[1]

[1] For Cumberland's portrait see E.E. Vol. VIII, plate 10.

"Behold he stands impatient of delay,
Awaiting there his friendly foe's approach.
Daring he stands, true knight and challenger,
And hardly brooks the time of their address
That shortly came in duty all devote,
To solace with their martial exercise
Their princely Mistress, to whose worthiness
That day's device and days of all their lives
Right humbly were and purely dedicate.
The first that led, in cheerful colours clad,
In innocent white and fair carnation[1]
Was he whose wisdom in his younger years
And love to arms make him so far renowned,
The noble Earl of Essex and of Ewe."

[Essex was no longer young for an Elizabethan, twenty-nine was then almost middle age; but that he had "taken a charter of the people's hearts" from his early youth, we know from many another source.]

"His mute approach and action of his mutes
Said that he was solicited diversely;
One way to follow war and war's designs—
And well he may, for skill he can full well
Of war's adventures, 'larms, and stratagems;
Another way t' apply him to the care
Of commonweal-affairs, and show the way
To help to underbear with grave advice
The weighty beam whereon the state depends:
Well may he this way or the other take,
And both shall his nobility become;
The gravity and greatness of the one
Shall beautify the other's worthiness;
His senate robes shall beautify his arms,
His chivalry nobilitate his name."

Writing thus, one month after the death of the captive Earl of Arundel, little could Peele have foreseen that four years later Essex would also be a prisoner; forbidden to write to his wife or see his new-born daughter; that within seventeen months of Essex's fall, Cumberland would be superintending his execution inside the Tower of London; and that his severed head and body would be buried "in a horrid traitor's grave," next those of Thomas Duke of Norfolk his kinsman, and near the body of the Duke's son Philip, Earl of Arundel, in the Church of St. Peter-ad-Vincula.

[1] "White and Carnation," i.e. *argent* and *gules*: the heraldic "tinctures" of the Devereux arms.

## POSTSCRIPT: "CE BEAU LIVRE"

### *Cardinal d'Ossat to Henry IV.*

An important letter of Cardinal d'Ossat from Rome to the King of France, in which he mentions Father Parsons as having written the "Conference" under the auspices of Spain, was originally reserved for Volume XII, where chronologically it belongs. But there now ensue such portions as should put beyond doubt an authorship which need never have been questioned had not this testimony escaped notice.

". . il plaira à V. M. se souvenir que dès l'an 1594 fut imprimé un livre en langage Anglois, que les Espagnols firent faire par un Jésuite Anglois, appellé *Personius*,[1] & courir par l'Angleterre, par les Pais-bas; & par tout ailleurs, où ils pensèrent que ledit livre pourroit servir à leur intention: laquelle a été & est de montrer & persuader au monde que depuis plusieurs centaines d'ans, il n'y a eû en Angleterre aucun Roi ni Reine légitime, ledit livre les excluant tous, pour avoir été ou criminels de Leze-Majesté, ou déshéritiez, ou bâtards, ou hérétiques, ou pour quelque autre tel defaut. Et par conséquent il excluoit aussi de la succession dudit Royaume après la mort de la Reine qui regne à present, tous ceux qui sont aujourd'hui du Sang Royal d'Angleterre, & les plus proches de ladite Reine, comme le Roi d'Ecosse, & l' Arbelle, qui lui appartiennent de plus près; & puis les Comtes de Derby, de Hartford, de Hasting, & les sieurs Artus et Garfrid Poles, frères, ausquels tous ledit livre ne laisse d'objecter encore d'autres défauts propres & particuliers à eux-mêmes, pour les exclure encore d'autant plus de ladite succession. outre les défauts, qu'il presupose avoir été en ceux qui ont regné és derniers temps.

Quand ce beau livre a ainsi exclus de la Couronne d'Angleterre tous les Ecossois & Anglois, il tâche de montrer que le vrai droit de succéder à ladite Couronne est dévolu au feu Roi d'Espagne, qui vivoit alors, & à ses enfans, & y fait venir ledit droit par deux divers chemins, en distant que la succession d'Angleterre est dévolue à deux Maisons; à savoir, à la Maison de Bretagne, & à la Maison de Portugal. A la Maison de Bretagne, à cause de Madame Constance, fille-ainée de Guillaume le Conquerant, Roi d'Angleterre, laquelle fut mariée à Alain Fergeant I Duc de Bretagne: duquel mariage ledit livre prétend que soient descendus tous ceux de la Maison de Bretagne jusques à ce jourdhui. A la Maison de Portugal,[2] à cause de Madame Philippe," &c., &c.

After reciting the pedigree of that Lancastrian Princess, he adds,

"Or est-il, dit ledit livre, que tous les droits & prétensions de la Maison de Bretagne sont tombez en la personne de l'Infante d'Espagne, mariée à l'Archiduc Albert. Donc le droit aussi de succeder à la Couronne d'Angleterre apartient aussi à ladite Infante," &c. &c.

[1] As "Persons" and as "Personius" this controversialist signed his letters to France and Spain. But the Elizabethan Protestants called him "Parsons" The Catholic Record Society in 1942 printed *Letters and Memorials of Father Robert Persons, S.J. Vol I (to 1588). Edited by L. Hicks, S.J.* (Vol. II has not yet appeared.)

[2] King Philip represented Portugal through his mother, for whose portrait see E.E. Vol. IV, plate 1.

Admitting to King Henry that some of these arguments are "contre tout droit et coutume & en partie fausses," the Cardinal emphasises how widespread is this teaching, especially in the Colleges at Douai and St. Omer:

> "le principal soin qu'on a esdits Collèges & Seminaires c'est de catechiser, nourrir, & élever ledits jeunes gentilshommes Anglois en cette creance & ferme foi, que le feu Roi d'Espagne avoit, & que ses enfans ont aujourdhui le vrai droit de succeder à la Couronne d'Angleterre."

We will return to this letter in connection with the Cardinal's comments on the enterprise by which the forces of King Philip III, under Don Juan del Aguila, with the aid of the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell, hoped to win Ireland as a base of operations against England. The present writer has studied the campaign of 1601 as it appeared to Englishmen, Irishmen, and Spaniards at the time; and will be offering a more detailed rendering of the events than has hitherto appeared in any of the countries concerned. Meanwhile, the foregoing quotation should put an end to the story started in the 17th century that the "Conference" was a combination of writings by various hands, including Cardinal Allen and Sir Francis Englefield. They may have made suggestions; but "Personius" required no aid, and should be given the full responsibility for a discourse which from 1594 till 1603 remained of European interest.[1]

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[1] Cardinal d'Ossat's Letters were the product of an observant and astute mind in an age when diplomacy was a fine art. First published in 1627, the version here used is that issued at Amsterdam (Chez Pierre Humbert) 1708, *Letres du Cardinal d'Ossat, Avec des Notes Historiques & Politiques de Mr. Amelot de la Houssaie Nouvelle Edition corrigée sur la Manuscrit original, considérablement augmentée & enrichie de nouvelles Notes de Mr. Amelot de la Houssaie, qui ne se trouvent point dans la dernière Edition de Paris de 1697* &c (Where "le Comte d'Essex" is concerned the notes are remarkably misleading as we shall see in a later volume).

The acumen of Henry IV in judging character is shown in his recognition of the ability of Arnauld d'Ossat who had started life without powerful relatives, or any friends save those he made by his own merits. His parentage is uncertain. At the age of nine he had been left "sans parens, sans biens, sans amis, sans autre connoissance que celle de sa misère" But he attracted the attention of a gentleman of rank who educated him with his own son In 1600 the King appointed him to the Bishopric of Bayeux and sent him as Ambassador to Rome Born 23rd August 1536 (the year Queen Elizabeth's mother was beheaded) and surviving until 13th March 1604-5, his experiences cover a particularly eventful period of French and Papal history.

## POSTSCRIPT: PETER WENTWORTH'S "PITHIE EXHORTATION," 1593.

A hitherto unnoticed example of how even a careful student can lose his way when occupied with minor happenings to the exclusion of major issues, occurs in an article by the Reverend Arthur Dimock called "The Conspiracy of Dr Lopez", recommended by Sir Sidney Lee[1] Mr Dimock's remark upon the difficulty of understanding what motive anyone could have had for assassinating Queen Elizabeth merely to open the way to King James is a basic misreading of the situation. Not to place James VI on the throne but to open the door for the Infanta of Spain was the object of the plotters. In character and capacity the Infanta Isabel was superior to James; so her champions were wont to declare. But whereas acceptance of James held out a prospect of uniting an island often rent in the past by fratricidal wars,—and the Scottish King's accession would bring into being the "Great Britain" to which prophetic minds looked forward,—the Infanta's "succession" threatened the reduction of England to the status of a province of Spain: a condition previously experienced during the days of Philip and Mary Mr Dimock's assumption that there would have been nothing gained by Queen Elizabeth's death in 1594, except to hasten the Coronation of James, shows him unaware that James's claim was hotly disputed on the Continent. Even so far back as 1569 not only had King Philip planned the subjugation and conversion of England but in 1571 the names of the *seigneurs Anglois et estrangers* who were regarded as rival candidates for the Crown were bandied about in France and elsewhere and this while Queen Elizabeth had been young enough to marry.[2] As she grew older, and one matrimonial project after another had been discussed and discarded, it was manifest that the

> "most renownèd Virgin Queen
> Whose like on earth was never seen,"

meant to reign alone The Succession question therefore grew increasingly urgent. At the very time when the treasons of López and the other "Portingales" were discovered, there was languishing among State prisoners in the Tower of London, Peter Wentworth M P., whose offence had been his "Pithie Exhortation" to Her Majesty that she would put an end to all doubts at home, and weaken the power of conspirators abroad, by declaring her choice of a successor In common with the majority of Protestant Englishmen, Wentworth held that this successor should be King James VI, who genealogically and geographically had so reasonable a claim that Wentworth pleaded for recognition of it during the Queen's lifetime, as the best way to delight her subjects and daunt her enemies

Elizabeth can hardly have intended any other successor than James; yet Wentworth's advocacy of the Scots King's cause brought upon him her heavy displeasure; especially as he had spoken in the House of Commons to the same effect.[3]

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[1] *English Historical Review* (1894), Vol. IV. p. 440 et seq.

[2] *Un Cathalogue des pretendans la couronne apres la royne d'Anglaterre* B.M. Royal MS. 16. E. XXXVI.

[3] The Succession to the Crown of England had been a theme for speculation in a printed reference book purporting to summarise the conditions of the civilised world: *Thesoro Politico cioe Relatsoni Instrvttioni Trattati, Discorsi Varii Pertinente alla cognitione, & intelligenza delli statt, interessi, & dipenenze di ptu gran Principe del Mondo. Nuouamente impresso a beneffitio di chi fideletta intendere, & pertinentemente discorrere li negotij di Stato. Nell' Academia Italiana di Colonia l'Anno 1589.* (Sig· Cc. iiij et seq)

The King of Scots is cited as having the best claim in right of descent from the elder daughter of *Henrico settimo*. But "Arabella" [Lady Arabella Stuart]; *il Conte de Huntington* [Huntingdon], and *la Casata del Conde Darby*, are put forward; also the King of Spain; and the Duke of Parma. [Essex is not among the English peers suggested].

It must have appeared to Wentworth unreasonable for his Sovereign to prohibit any reference in England to a matter so openly discussed on the Continent. [The Italian commentator, *inter alia*, asserted that Queen Elizabeth giving "honour and a pension" to "Don Antonio di Portugallo" was not for love of the Portuguese, but for what she might gain].

In the Acts of the Privy Council,[1] 29th of May 1593, there had been a letter to the Lieutenant of the Tower,

> "Forasmuch as we are credibly informed that Mr Peter Wentworth is by means of his long close imprisonment much impaired in health," he being old and infirm, the Council bids the Lieutenant permit him "at convenient times . . the liberty of the Tower," and to allow his "sons, friends, and physicians to repair unto him for his better comfort and recovery," though only "in the presence of yourself or of your servant."

In November the same year he petitioned to be released from the Tower, and, in a letter to the Council, defended his innocence of any but the best intentions in having written on the forbidden topic. He says: " . . I did make a little volume to satisfye her highnes of the necessetye and benefitt of the se[tt]lling thereof, . . . sixe yeares before this Parliament or thereabout. And the booke came a yeare and a halfe [ago] unto yor honnors hands, and to her Maties (as I suppose) before the laste parliment "[2]

The last Parliament had been that of 1592-3, in which Spanish ambitions were exposed anew But the Queen was implacable. and Wentworth was kept a prisoner to the end of his days. His "Pithie Exhortation" was not printed until after his death; and even then without licence[3]

Early in her reign, Elizabeth had set her face against any advice from Parliament as to the succession. In 1566, Principal Secretary Sir William Cecil in his memoranda—having set down under date of 14th of September that "The Grand Turk dyed" [the famous and long-lived Solyman the Magnificent], and that on the 30th "Parliment began at Westminster",—added the following significant statements[4]

> "*October 6* Certen lewd Bills throwne abroade against the Q. Majesty for not assenting to have the Matter of Succession procede in Parlement; and Bills also to charg Sir William Cecill the Secretary with the Occasion thereof.
>
> *27.* Certen Lords, viz the Erl[s] of Pembroke and Lecester was excluded the Presence Chamber for furdering the Proposit[ion] of the Succession to be declared by Parlement, without the Queen's allowance. . .
>
> *Nov. 14* The Queen had before hir thirty Lords and 30 Commoners to receave hir Answer concerning ther Petition for the Succession and for Mariadg Dalton was blamed for speaking in the Commons House.
>
> Command gyven to the Parlement not to treat of the Succession. Nota: In this Parlement Tyme the Q. Majesty did remit a Part of the Offer of a Subsidy by the Commons, who offered largely to the end to have had the Succession established."

As the highly favoured Leicester, Master of the Horse, could be excluded from Her Majesty's presence for daring to further the Proposition that she should name her successor, and this in 1566, it may be understood how much more she resented any such suggestion in 1592-3, by which time all her prejudices had set and hardened, and her temper had become excessively peremptory from long exercise of her absolute "will and pleasure".

The Succession Controversy in all its bearings is interwoven with English and European politics; and most likely stimulated the Shakespearian plays on the Wars of the Roses,—the nearest

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[1] Vol. XXIV (1901), p. 269.

[2] Petitions. B.M. Add. MS. 24664. f. 44[b]. 17th century copy of *A Pithie Exhortation to her Maiestie for establishing her successor to the crowne.* Purchased by the B.M. from the Tenison Free Library. Contains copies of three petitions of Peter Wentworth, dated from the Tower, 8 Nov: 1593; 10th Aug: and 18th Sept: 1595.

[3] "Imprinted 1598" No name of printer or place of printing.

[4] Chronological Notes: *State Papers,* ed: Murdin. (1759). p. 762.

approach it was safe to make on the stage to dynastic tragedies. That Wentworth's "zealous affection" for "his Prince and his Country" moved him to a "supplication" costing him his liberty, is not only characteristic of the times but of the Queen. In 1598 some unnamed but courageous person was daringly to print

> "the two treatises . . written by M.[ister] Wentworth, whose zealous affection to the preservation of Religion, his Prince and countrie hath been made better known . . . . by his patient . . . . endurance for so good a cause . . the former . . by the advice of some friends he preferred to hir Maiestie in forme of a supplication . . The latter . . . he sent to some privie friends . . . I have published both not so much to procure . praise to the dead, . . as to worke a due regarde of righte and equitie . . that he might now without danger openlie proclaime the same . . . . . after his death [1]

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[1] Preface to the "good Reader". There is no dedication, and nothing by which to identify the publisher of *A Pithie Exhortation to her Maiestie for establishing her successor to the crowne Whereto is added a discourse containing the author's opinion of the true and lawfull successor to her Maiestie Both compiled by Peter Wentworth Esquire . Imprinted 1598.* (B.M. No. 808. C. 2)

There are two title pages, the other being *A Treatise containing Mr. Wentworth's judgment concerning the person of the true and lawfull successor to these Realmes of England and Ireland Wherein the Title is briefliie and plainlie set down Dolman's objections refuted, and inconveniences removed. Made two yeeres before his death, but published a yeere after his death, for the publicke benefite of this Realme.*

There is also in B M (Royal MS. 17 B XI) *Of Succession to the Crowne of England* by Henry Hooke, from Lincoln (*verbi divini minister*, f. 3); but it is more cautiously worded than Wentworth's treatise and whereas Wentworth died in prison, Hooke was able to present his essay to King James (Latin dedication f. 12). His work, a refutation of the claims of the Infanta, seems never to have been printed.

Since the above was set up in type there has been published *The Elizabethan House of Commons by J. E. Neale Astor Professor of History in the University of London,* (Jonathan Cape, 1949) Professor Neale (p 408) calls Peter Wentworth "irrepressible" and dismisses with a pen-stroke his "ill-fated Succession campaign"; thus giving no notion of the courage, loyalty, and sufferings of Wentworth, nor of the importance of the Controversy, "The famous Jesuit Father Parsons" is mentioned (p. 40) but not so as to bring home to the reader that it was Parsons who was "irrepressible." Wentworth paid dearly for his patriotic efforts. and as he hazarded his own career in what he believed to be the best interests of Crown and Country he deserves the respect of posterity. But such respect can only be fully rendered when we have understood the menace embodied in Father Parsons' "Conference," inspired and supported as it was by the majesty and might of Spain

Appended to Professor Neale's work is an excellent map of "The Parliamentary Boroughs, 1584, showing the residence of Members Compiled by Miss Hazel Matthews for her M.A. thesis." But unfortunately Professor Neale has taken much of his "biographical information" from the *Dictionary of National Biography,* manifestly not having noticed the warning of Mr Julius P. Gilson, Keeper of the MSS in the British Museum, that the D N.B renderings of Elizabethan biography were inadequate, and that independent investigation would be necessary. (See E.E. Vol. I, (1933-4), p 111) Acting on Mr Gilson's advice, the present writer found the D.N.B. versions of the three Devereux Earls, of Robert Dudley Earl of Leicester, and of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, especially defective: Indeed, that all the articles signed S.L L. (Sidney L. Lee) had been drawn uncritically from easily accessible printed matter, seldom if ever tested in relation to original documents. For an example of Sir Sidney Lee's lack of method, combined with claim to omnipotence, see E E. Vol IX, pp. 247-267, and for Professor Neale's too great trust in Lee's rash pronouncements, see F F. Vol IX, pp 289-290.

## *LADY DOROTHY, WIFE OF HENRY PERCY, 9th EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND, K.G.*

### *Second daughter of Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, Viscount Hereford, K.G.; and widow of Sir Thomas Perrott.*

*From the original at Syon House, in possession of the Duke of Northumberland*

Canvas, 30½ x 21½ inches, Crimson background Golden hair, fair complexion; large dark eyes; white garment with black overdress; lace headdress She wears two carnations A blue-grey parrot is perched on her left wrist, which is resting on a crimson-covered table

In unpublished Catalogue (No: 224), it had been entered as "Lettice Knollys Countess of Leicester." But on comparison with the actual portrait of the latter, when Viscountess Hereford, (E.E. Vol III, plate 4), and after considering also a contemporary verbal description of the appearance of Lady Dorothy Devereux, Her Grace Helen Duchess of Northumberland has agreed that this portrait represents the wife of Henry Percy, 9th Earl of Northumberland, and not his mother-in-law as hitherto assumed.

## " SHARPER THAN THE SWORD."

*Analysis of misleading methods.*

" . . . . . Slander
Whose edge is sharper than the sword . . . .
Maids, maidens, nay, the secrets of the grave
The viperous slander enters."
Shakespeare: *" Cymbeline,"* III. ii.

In many private and some public libraries, among works on genealogy and heraldry, few are more sumptuous in appearance than the two stately white-and-gold-clad volumes of the édition de luxe of an illustrated " History of the House of Percy," 1902, by Gerald Brenan. The Percy Earls and Dukes are so interwoven with the story of England, their alliances were and are so eminent, their possessions and honours so great, that in a work dealing with this renowned house we reasonably look for precision, decorum, justice, dignity, and truth. Error in this connection is more far-reaching than when the affairs of merely private persons are misrepresented, for to circulate fallacies about the Percies is in some cases also to misrepresent the Sovereign.

We have seen that the controversy as to the Succession to the Crown of England was a European question. Mr Brenan asserts that one of the competitors was Henry Percy 9th Earl of Northumberland, son of the 8th Earl who perished in the Tower, and nephew to the courageous but yet more ill-starred 7th Earl who had been executed as one of the leaders in the Northern Rising on behalf of the Pope and Mary Queen of Scots. Brenan states that the 9th Earl was considered by his " friends " (unnamed) a suitable husband for Lady Arabella Stuart, first cousin of King James of Scots and a possible successor to the Crown of England. To which the answer is that had Queen Elizabeth believed Northumberland plotting to found a Percy-cum-Stuart dynasty, arraignment by his peers at Westminster and a lodging in the Tower would have been his lot, with death on the scaffold, instead of election as a Knight of the Garter. Mr. Brenan alleges that even failing alliance with Lady Arabella, Northumberland was " at least seventh in the order of succession;" and he further declares that " the project of settling the Crown upon Lady Arabella and marrying her to Northumberland was well received in England," but " Elizabeth's jealousy caught fire, and she decided to put a stop to the affair before it went any further."

Any ruler would have objected to such a " project;" and considering that Queen Elizabeth did not even allow the Houses of Parliament to discuss the Succession, it is extraordinary to imply that she should have excused Northumberland had he formed a scheme to " settle the crown upon Lady Arabella," and elect himself King Consort. Mr Brenan forgets that as the law then stood under Elizabeth Regina there was nobody

empowered to settle the Succession except Her Majesty's own self.[1] But to continue this peculiar tale:[2]

> "Arabella Stuart was at once imprisoned, or at least 'placed under close restraint,' while the Queen hastened to procure for Northumberland a wife less liable to involve him in dangerous designs. So eager was the royal matchmaker in the quest that she apparently overlooked the important matter of suitability, and chose for the Earl a consort wholly unfitted to fill that position. There is even a serious doubt whether Lady Dorothy Devereux, otherwise Perrott (the person thus rashly selected), was free to enter the bonds of matrimony; for in the words of a contemporary, she was *'nor maid, nor wife, nor yet a widow.'*[3] Her first husband, Sir Thomas Perrott, was still living, and no record exists to show their union had ever been set aside. Young as she was, her name had been made notorious by the tongue of scandal . . . Believers in heredity may find the best excuses for Lady Dorothy's faults and follies in the nature of the stock from which she sprang."

But Lady Dorothy was not young at the time of her second marriage; she was nearly thirty, which then counted as middle-aged;[4] nor had her name "been made notorious by the tongue of scandal." This is an achievement for which Mr Brenan himself is largely responsible. As for "the stock from which she sprang," it was sung even by street balladists as "famous of old for worthie deedes;" and in 1571 Walter Earl of Essex had been named on the Continent as a sufficiently near relation of the Queen to be among possible candidates for the Succession. But Mr Brenan's contempt for Lady Dorothy's father extends to his administration in Ulster, this critic obviously not being aware that the Irish enterprise at which he scoffs was arranged in detail by the Lord Treasurer Burghley[5]. But even without any such knowedge, Mr Brenan could have consulted the letters of Sir Henry Sidney, Lord Deputy of Ireland, and the State Papers; instead of which his manner of dealing with the Ulster expedition is to allege that Essex "squandered most of his great fortune in a futile attempt to conquer the north of Ireland" and would "probably have utterly ruined himself and his children but for his early death."

Readers would infer from this that Essex was indifferent to the future of his children; whereas there are few letters from a dying father more expressive of anxiety and affection than those in which he appealed on their behalf to the Queen.[6] But having represented one of Queen Elizabeth's most devoted and pious "martialists" as a reckless prodigal. Mr Brenan revives the hoary slander as to Essex's career being cut short by "poison administered by Leicester's agents." To this he adds that Lady Essex was "engaged in an adulterous intrigue with the Earl of Leicester during her husband's lifetime:" which last charge we are expected to believe merely on Brenan's assertion that Essex's wife was "certainly at Kenilworth" while her Lord was in Ireland.[7] But Lettice, Countess of Essex,

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[1] E.E ante, p 494

[2] "The House of Percy," (1902) Vol. II, pp. 49-50

[3] Name of the alleged contemporary not specified.

[4] Francis Bacon actually refers to himself as "ancient" at the age of 31. E.E. ante. p. 330.

[5] Unpublished Longleat MSS. Burghley's holograph Instructions and Articles. E.E. Vol. III, plate 3.

[6] E.E. Vol. III, pp 33-34.

[7] "The House of Percy," Vol. II, pp. 49-50.

is not among those mentioned in Laneham's eye-witness account of the revels at Kenilworth, for the sufficient reason that she was then at Chartley preparing to receive the Queen. The " authority " for the alleged iniquities of Lady Dorothy's mother is an anonymous pamphlet of 1584-5, which Sir Philip Sidney described as prompted by " the Devil the father of lies," and which Queen Elizabeth denounced, both personally and through Lord Burghley and her other Councillors, in good set terms.[1]

There follows from Mr Brenan another page and a half of defamation of character; and " so much for the immediate relatives of Lady Dorothy Devereux," he says; but resumes the mangling of the Devereux reputations in general and that of Lady Dorothy in particular for six and a half more pages; in support of which vituperation he invokes " those familiar with history."

Now at last the challenge is taken up; and what ensues should be the more carefully read because the offence exposed is not peculiar to Brenan, but is typical of a kind of pseudo-history which a trusting and ill-informed public has tolerated too long. Amidst his mistaken allegations, however, is one undeniable fact: viz. that on July 17th, 1583, Lady Dorothy Devereux made a " stolen match " with Sir Thomas Perrott.[2] Strype states that the Bishop of London was " blamed for his too hastily and negligently granting Licences for marriage without due examination concerning the consent of the Parents, Guardians and Friends of the Parties to be married. The Occasion whereof was that in July 1583 some Noble Person's son or daughter was matched unequally and unhappily by means of one of these licences."[3]

That the Bishop of London was rebuked is true; but the marriage of Perrott and Lady Dorothy was not unhappy; and Sir Thomas's aspirations had been confided to and approved by the bride's elder sister Lady Penelope Rich. To call the match " unequal," though Lady Dorothy was a daughter of the Plantagenet-descended House of Devereux, and Perrott the son of a Knight, is nevertheless misleading; for Perrott's father came of an ancient and eminent family, even if he was not, as afterwards alleged, " a surreptitious child of the blood royal," namely an illegitimate half-brother of Lady Dorothy's cousin Queen Elizabeth.[4]

Strype after alluding on page 197 to the hasty licence by which " some Noble Person's Son or Daughter " was unequally matched, gives on page 326 the names of Lady Dorothy Devereux and Sir Thomas Perrott in this connection; and was scandalised that Sir Thomas brought to Broxbourne a strange minister who read the service " in his cloak, with his Riding Boots and Spurs." But the booted and spurred minister was Sir Thomas's chaplain, and so respectable that Lord Burghley interceded for him with the Queen after he had been imprisoned with Sir Thomas. This we learn from Lady Dorothy's affectionate thanks to the Lord High Treasurer, in a letter which Mr Brenan omitted to consult, though Lady

[1] E E. Vol. V, p. 151

[2] Date in Chester's " London Marriage Licences 1521-1869." Ed: Foster. London 1887. p. 1043

[3] " Historical Collections of the Life and Acts of the Reverend Father in God, John Aylmer, Lord Bishop of London in the reign of Queen Elizabeth." By John Strype, M.A. 1701. Chapter XI, p. 197.

[4] Naunton " Fragmenta Regalia," 1641. (1824). E F. p 79. See actual pedigree, E.F. Vol IX, facing p. 84.

Dorothy, as one of the principal persons concerned, should surely have been allowed to speak for herself:[1]

> "Your Lo[rdship's] favourable care of me heretofore, as well for my fathers sake who bequeathed us unto your honourable overseeing, . . . as also thes[e] latter causes of myne that have allmost alltogether passed thorrowe your Lo[rdship's] handes," inspired good hope in Burghley's continued "exercyse of frendshipe."

Nor did she rely in vain. But Mr Brenan, though purporting to have examined all the "evidence," did not attempt to consult Burghley's papers.

As to the unceremonious nature of this wedding, its clandestine haste—like the marriage of Sir Robert Sidney, and also of Essex,—was in order to get it safely accomplished before the Queen could interpose her veto. Her objection to marriage of those in her own circle—especially Maids of Honour, of whom Lady Dorothy was one,—had by 1583 become so pronounced that neither Lady Dorothy nor Sir Thomas Perrott need be blamed for omitting to ask a permission likely to be refused.

> "In spite of opposition from the Council and examination by Justices of the Peace," states Mr Brenan, "Sir Thomas Perrott carried off his newly made bride in triumph . . . There is no record of the marriage having been pronounced null and void; indeed we may assume that such was not the case, from the fact that long subsequently (in 1603) Lady Northumberland was granted portion of the money settled upon her by 'her former husband Sir Thomas Perrott'."

In reference to the Privy Council, Mr Brenan should have mentioned that the entire official "record" of the Council's transactions for the year in question has long since perished.[2] Having stated that "there is no record of this marriage being pronounced null and void," he none the less continues to treat the ceremony as negligible. Lady Dorothy, he states, deserted Perrott: but though "a separation took place no evidence can be discovered of any divorce. Perhaps they looked upon their union as irregular and invalid, and therefore believed no divorce necessary."

Mr Brenan's allusion to not being able to discover the "evidence" has been held to indicate that he searched for particulars; whereas he avoided the essential MSS; and though most of those are accessible in public collections he selected for his oracle a modern retailer of printed gossip:

> "'The usual statement' says Sinclair *(More Percy Anecdotes, Old and New)* 'is that after *Sir Thomas's death* she (Lady Perrott) married her second husband (the Earl of Northumberland).[3] But that is *glaringly incorrect*, as she must have been married to the Earl about 1594, and *Sir Thomas lived till 1611*'."

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[1] "To the right honorable my very good lorde the tresorer of englande." Holograph. Lansdowne MS. 39. ff. 172-173. E E. Vol. IX, plate 30, facing p. 520.

[2] In the "Acts of the Privy Council" Vol. XIII ends with 1582. The printed Vol. XIV opens in 1586. The theory is that these missing volumes of MS. were accidentally destroyed by fire.

[3] Meaning by "Lady Perrott" Lady Dorothy Perrott. To correct the peerages as "glaringly incorrect" and then blunder as to the title of an Earl's daughter is characteristic of the author of "More Percy Anecdotes."

This last assertion Mr Brenan accepts without enquiry; reiterating that Perrott " certainly survived his wife's second marriage to Northumberland."[1]

Up to the present it has passed unremarked that if this were true, Algernon, the proud 10th Earl of Northumberland, would have been illegitimate; Queen Elizabeth would have been forcing upon Lady Dorothy the crime of bigamy; and Henry, 9th Earl of Northumberland would have been wronging his posterity to an extent incredible for a man who left it in writing how careful he had been in his selection of a suitable consort. Yet so eager is Mr Brenan to strip Lady Dorothy of every rag of reputation, and to rebuke the Queen's " eagerness in matchmaking "—a form of zeal seldom ascribed to that Sovereign either before or since,—that he forgets how, except in the case of Catharine of Aragón whose marriage was annulled, and Anne of Cleves whose marriage was never consummated, even Henry VIII considered it necessary to behead one wife before he could marry another. If an English King might not legally have two wives at once, it follows that neither should an English subject in those days have two husbands.[2]

As to Mr Brenan's assertion that Lady Dorothy's violent " temper " led her to repudiate in 1587 the man she had married in haste in 1583, husbands were not thus casually to be put aside in the 16th century. In assuming Lady Dorothy to have forsaken her spouse merely because in July 1587 she was not accompanied by him when visiting her step-father's brother the Earl of Warwick and his wife at North Hall, Mr Brenan forgets that Sir Thomas Perrott,—distinguished officer who had walked side by side with Sir Francis Drake in Sir Philip Sidney's funeral procession,—was one of the " voluntaries " who had championed the cause of the Northern Netherlands against the Spanish King, and had won honour in the charge at Zutphen. Considering that Lady Dorothy's brother, Essex, at the time of her visit to North Hall was trying to escape from the Court and return to the front to take part in the struggle for Sluys, Mr Brenan might well have realised that Lady Dorothy came unaccompanied to North Hall not because she had deserted her husband but because her husband was in his proper place at the front,—serving under her step-father Leicester, then military and civil Governor-General of the United Provinces.

Not content with making Essex's mother a wanton and his sister a bigamist Mr Brenan brands with bastardy Essex's brother. On the strength of an alleged visit of Lettice, Countess of Essex to Kenilworth in 1575, when actually she was at Chartley,[3] Mr Brenan takes upon himself to declare that Leicester was commonly believed to be the father of her second Devereux son. There is sufficient reason why nobody believed any such thing. From the Jacobean peerage, Milles's " Catalogue of Honor," (1610,) we see that the son whose birth Mr Brenan asserts to have been the result of an intrigue in the summer of 1575, was at that date close on six years old, having been born at Chartley on " the last

[1] " House of Percy." Vol. II, p. 57.

[2] The case of Lady Jane Grey's sister, Lady Katherine Grey, who ranked among heirs to the throne is not analogous. Her first marriage was annulled, though there was no infidelity on either side.

[3] E.E. Vol. III, pp. 3—4.

day of October, 1569."[1] Denial of the legitimacy of Essex's brother appears never to have been attempted until the 20th century; and then only by Mr Brenan, who did not even give Walter Devereux his right name but calls him "Sir Charles Devereux" killed outside Rouen. (The names of English Knights in the French campaign of 1591 are ascertainable to a man. There was no "Sir Charles Devereux.")

Far from Lady Dorothy's "temper" causing strife between her and Sir Thomas Perrott, as Brenan alleges, the harmony between husband and wife remained unbroken; and we shall presently call up Sir Thomas to speak for himself. But even without the Perrott documents—which are numerous and accessible,—it might have been realised how unlikely it was that the ardent and fiery Perrott would allow his wife to replace him in his lifetime, or that the haughty Northumberland would tolerate as the mother of his heir a woman who was "*nor wife, nor maid, nor yet widow.*"

Mr Brenan could have turned to the "Fragmenta Regalia" of Sir Robert Naunton, King James's Master of the Court of Wards: who, though often repeating mere gossip, had good opportunity to know about Sir Thomas and Lady Dorothy Perrott, he being the husband of their only surviving child.[2] We have seen how Sir Thomas's father, Sir John Perrott, Lord Deputy of Ireland, accused of High Treason, was condemned to death by a servile jury. There need be no doubt as to the ex-Lord Deputy's entire innocence of disloyalty; and it was apparently Essex and Burghley who prevailed with the Queen not to sign the death-warrant. Nevertheless Sir John Perrott was kept a prisoner until he died.

> "Certain it is that he lived not long in the Tower," observes Naunton; "and that shortly after his discease, Sir Thomas Perrott his son—then of no meane esteeme with the Queene, having before married my Lord of Essex his sister, since Countess of Northumberland,—had restitution of his land; though after his death also, which immediately followed, the Crown resumed the estate and took advantage of the former attainder."[3]

The statement that Sir Thomas's death "immediately followed" his obtaining the "restitution of his land" has escaped Brenan's notice. Naunton does not mention dates. Sir John Perrott died in September 1592; and even allowing for Naunton's frequent inexactitudes, he could hardly have described Sir Thomas's death as having "immediately followed" the restitution of his lands if, as Messrs Sinclair and Brenan allege, he had remained in life another eighteen years.

We require to find both the date of his death, and the date of Lady Dorothy's second marriage. Let us seek the last first. It is generally described as unknown, and does not appear in any Peerage, nor in any History of the House of Percy. But from the birth of the first child in 1596 it seems reasonable to locate the wedding in 1595; probably prior to

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[1] At this date October 1569, his elder brother the future Earl of Essex was not quite three, and Lady Dorothy slightly over four. Her birthday was September 17th, 1565. Lady Penelope was the eldest, born in 1563.

[2] Lady Dorothy's granddaughter Penelope Naunton became wife of the 5th Earl of Pembroke, son and heir of the 4th Earl by his wife Lady Susan de Vere, daughter of Edward, 17th Earl of Oxford and granddaughter of Sir W. Cecil, 1st Lord Burghley.

[3] "Fragmenta Regalia," 1641 Reprint 1824. p. 89.

April the 14th, on which date Northumberland stood godfather, in Lady Walsingham's house to Essex's baby son, baptised Henry.[1] The most suitable place to seek reference to this marriage is among the Devereux MSS. Remembering that in 1596 Essex gave a wedding party at Essex House for the Earl of Worcester's daughters, we may infer that he would hardly have failed to provide festivities for his sister's marriage. Therefore let us look at his household accounts, which seem never to have been examined until now. In the hands of his steward Gelly Meyrick the following entry is conspicuous in a list of "Rewardes" during 1595:

"Itm to the Players at Essex house at the Marriag of therle of Northumberland given p[er] Mr. Lyndley and repayd by me."[2] } £10

There is no month or day named; so let us continue reading the accounts: From June 27th to July 27th 1595, are noted the costs of a journey of Lady Essex to and from Petworth, Northumberland's home in Sussex.[3] She would hardly have gone thither before he had a wife to receive her: and accordingly, in a different section of the Accounts, under "Lawe," are entries on the 21st of July showing Essex paying bills on behalf of the Countess of Northumberland, while his wife was at Petworth.[4]

The question whether Lady Northumberland was or was not a bigamist, as alleged by Sinclair and Brenan, can now be settled once and for all, if we can ascertain at what time her first husband died. Prior to defaming her and denouncing the Peerages for "glaring error" in describing her as Perrott's "widow," the reasonable thing for Brenan to have done would have been to go to Somerset House, and find Sir Thomas Perrott's Will; for the date at which the Will was proved would have put the matter beyond controversy. Before we pass, however, to Sir Thomas's Will, drawn up on his death-bed, and here to be first published, let us make his acquaintance in the ardour of his "Love and Longing" before he won his Lady. Most appropriately Lady Dorothy's vindication comes today from the husband who has been so absurdly stated to have lived and looked on for sixteen years after she bigamously married Henry, Earl of Northumberland!

"I know my Lady Dorothy to be worthy of all titles that may be given to any Lady, and one whom the greatest and the proudest-minded in England may think himself happy to serve," wrote Perrott to Lady Dorothy's sister: and "undoubtedly it is an assurance of my own worth that makes me dare to aspire to her love."

Having satisfied himself that he could depend upon Lady Penelope's sympathy,—"I understand by my cousin Taseborow how great a happiness it hath pleased your

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[1] Register of St Olave's, Hart Street

[2] Longleat Devereux MSS. Vol. III, f. 84 [3] Ib· f 80

[4] "Itm to Mr ffanshawe for two plees £6. 13 4. and to Mr Attorney 6li. 8d. for the Contesse of Northumberland } £7
21 July Itm to Mr Nightingale ffor writing certeine plees for Comtesse Northumberland p acq 21 July 1595 } £2

*Unpublished Devereux MSS.* Vol. III, f. 89b, f. 90.

Ladyship to wish me,"—he begs her "to recommend my service, zeal, and love unto my Lady your sister," and tell her "that I only desire her self not any thing that is hers; though I will glory to be an acceptable servant of her House. Touching my estate, I have to spend and give; and though perhaps condemned to be too lavish in both, yet assure her that I will not exceed in anything hereafter so much as in loving and pleasing her.

"Touching my faults, I will forbear to speak of them; and desire my Lady Dorothy —would God it were permitted to me to give her another title,—to make hereafter a favourable report of them unto you . . But I trouble your Ladyship: pardon me: it is Love's boldness . . ."[1]

From this glimpse of him as a lover, we must come now to his death-bed, ten and a half years later.

"This is the last will of me Sir Thomas Perrott, made the twelfth day of February, 1593.[2] Imprimis I give unto my well-beloved wife the Lady Dorothy Perrott all my goods and chattels and all my plate, jewels, and implements of household whatsoever. And also my lands for term of years, of any lands, tenements, parsonages, tithes or other hereditaments whatsoever within the Realm of England or Wales . . to my said wife for her own sole and proper use for ever."

Afterwards the estates are to pass to his daughter Penelope. His wife is sole executrix. There are four annuities of ten pounds a year each—apparently to servants—which he asks Lady Dorothy to pay. The one surviving child, Penelope, is left absolutely under control of her mother, into whose hands all power is put without qualification. The "overseers" of the Will, as "constituted and ordained" by Perrott, were his wife's brother Robert, Earl of Essex, and her brother-in-law Robert, Lord Rich: "upon assured trust" that they would "have an honourable care" for the performance of his wishes "and for the protection of his well-beloved wife and child."

This Will, made during his last illness, and dated the 12th of the month was proved on the 15th, at the request of Lady Dorothy Perrott, in the Prerogative Court at Canterbury, before William Lewin, erstwhile M.P. for Rochester, Master in Chancery and a High Commissioner for "causes ecclesiastical."

Lewin had matriculated at Cambridge in 1559 and taken his M.A. degree in 1565, the year Lady Dorothy Devereux was born. Joining the household of Principal Secretary Sir William Cecil, he had acted for a while as tutor to Anne Cecil, the future Countess of Oxford. Being a friend of Gabriel Harvey, (whose "Ciceronianus" he prefaced in 1577 with a Latin epistle,) and a correspondent of the renowned schoolmaster and linguist John Sturm, he is linked with Elizabethan literature as well as history. His effigy tomb with

[1] Calendared; but unpublished; Endorsed twice, in different hands, as "Copy of Ltre to Lady Rich," "1583. June ?" S.P. Dom: Eliz: Vol. CLXI, No: 22, f. 66. It is, however, not a copy; but a much corrected first draft in Perrott's own hand. He has made numerous slight verbal alterations; and he uses capital letters for "Love," "Longing," "Zeal," "Grace" and "Glory." The hand being compared with that of a letter from him to the Council; allowing for the difference between a scribbled draft and a carefully penned epistle, the writing is found to be the same.

[2] (1594 N S) Somerset House: No. 14 Dixy. Wills proved at Canterbury.

his wife, in Otterden Church, Kent, is of remarkable dignity; and still more impressive is that of his early-dying son, Sir Justinian Lewin, besides whose recumbent figure in armour kneel a beautiful young widow and a pathetically solemn little daughter aged about four. The inscription, by its heading "To GOD AND POSTERITY," conveys vividly the spirit of that age: words now purposely cited, because there could be no nobler rebuke to Brenan's methods than this reminder of the reliance placed by Elizabethans upon the justice of those to come.

The epitaph sets forth how Sir Justinian for "many eminent and gracefull parts both of bodie and minde" was "worthilie beloved of all;" how he died in his 34th year, "having issue one onely daughter named Elizabeth, by Elizabeth his wife one of the daughters of Sir Arthur Capell in ye Countye of Hartforde." She, to the memory of her husband's "manifold meritts" and because of "her deere love unto him, hath sadly erected this grateful monument."

This is far more representative of domestic life of that time than Brenan's scandals. Though the present writer has not yet been able to locate Sir Thomas Perrott's tomb, Perrott and his wife can be rescued for ever from the misrepresentations of Sinclair and Brenan; for the whole elaborate edifice of calumny against Lady Dorothy is overthrown by the tardy publication of the main points from her husband's Will.[1]

It is to be hoped that Brenan's "History of the House of Percy" in any future edition may be subjected to drastic revision; not only in the case above specified, but in all the random vituperation there heaped upon the House of Devereux.

Northumberland was by no means a model husband; and his cynical scorn for women —not a matter of hearsay but left on record by himself,—astonished his wife, whose previous husband as well as her father and brother were of a very different disposition. But when, in the reign of James I, Northumberland was unjustly accused of treason, and condemned to prison and an enormous fine, it was his wife who fought his battles at the Court, with a degree of courage and persistence not emulated by any of his men relations. Mr Brenan admits her devotion during her Lord's long imprisonment. None the less he continues to harp on her supposed crime as a bigamist, and again alleges Sir Thomas Perrott to have been living until James of Scots had been eight years on the throne of England.

Had Brenan looked for Sir Thomas Perrott's Will, he would have seen that Lady Dorothy's first husband departed this life more than nine years before the death of Queen Elizabeth.

That Perrott's widow was not happy in her second marriage appears by private letters

[1] It is likely that Lady Dorothy Devereux had met Thomas Perrott in her childhood, because Lamphey Palace (or Castle) belonging to her father Walter Earl of Essex, is near Carew Castle the home of Sir John Perrott. Local tradition even in our own day maintained that Robert Earl of Essex had been "brought up" there as a boy. Actually he appears to have spent more of his time at Chartley in Staffordshire; but his uncle George Devereux lived at Lamphey; and it is reasonable to suppose that the children of Walter Earl of Essex would frequently have visited this property which the Devereux family seem to have received from the Crown at the time of the dissolution of the monasteries.

to her from her brother Essex, after she had walked out of Northumberland's house, on one particular occasion in what she believed to be a state of justifiable indignation. Essex expressed his hope that the " terrible tales " she had heard might prove untrue.[1]

That she kept her brother's regard to the end may be deduced from his christening his last child Dorothy (in December 1600) after this sister in defence of whom he had first faced the Queen's wrath thirteen years before.

That " the Countess of Northumberland, always reputed a very honourable lady,"— to use the words of Anthony Bacon,[2] was under any stigma when Northumberland married her, or that scandal was brought against her in her own day is entirely untrue.

The " Beautie and Vertue " of " Dorothie, Countesse of Northumberland," were being sung in 1595 by Gervase Markham, when he dedicated to her and her sister his translation of *" Devoreux "* already quoted.[3] That from earliest youth she had been " made notorious by the tongue of scandal " was the fancy of Brenan, who had not seen either the brief contemporary allusions to her in her childhood, nor her own subsequent letters. Far from being smirched with scandal, she had been suggested in 1581-2 as a suitable wife for Philip Sidney: and this by the kinsman who best valued him and was most eager for his happiness.[4]

What has caused the gross misrepresentations—including unfairness to the Queen,— is the basically wrong system of picking up shreds and patches from modern journalistic productions, instead of making systematic examination among the MSS of Her Majesty's intimates, especially Burghley's notes, which often throw light upon hitherto uncomprehended happenings. In Lady Dorothy's letter in September 1583,—she being then eighteen—she had besought the Lord Treasurer in his " honourable goodness " to help her and Sir Thomas in their " undeserved necessity," by interceding for them so that their marriage need not reduce them to such alarming poverty as the Queen's displeasure threatened. Not only was Burghley her powerful and true friend then in her first troubles, but nearly ten years later it was he who again softened the Queen's wrath against the family of Perrott. On the 13th of June 1593 Her Majesty arrived at Theobalds on a visit to the Lord Treasurer who entertained her until the 21st. He chose this time, when his Sovereign was his guest, to intercede for his old friend's daughter; and the result, as noted by himself, was " A grant to the Lady Dorothy Perrott for thirty one Years of the Landes in the County of Pembrook &c. yielding £215. 15s. Rent, and of the Interest of the Lease of Lougherne."[5]

From a considerable amount of unpublished matter in the Record Office dealing with the finances of Sir John Perrott and his son and daughter-in-law, we need only here take one Patent Roll, which would have sufficed of itself to prevent Mr Brenan launching his

[1] Particulars, E.E Vol XI, under date.
[2] To Lady Bacon, 25 June (1596). Birch, *" Elizabeth,"* Vol. II, p. 42
[3] E.E Vol. VIII, p 440, n 3
[4] Viz Lord Leicester Holog· Longleat MS; first published in E E Vol. V, p. 70.
[5] State Papers: ed: Murdin (1759). p. 804 Dated 13 June 1593. A Patent Roll embodying this with other concessions was signed in the following year.

bigamy story. Issued in the 26th year of the Queen's reign, June 1594, it describes " Domine Dorothee Perrott " as *Vidua nuper uxori Thome Perrott militis defuncti:* which would have informed Mr. Brenan of Sir Thomas Perrott's death, and have saved him from charging Queen Elizabeth not only with countenancing but compelling bigamy,—which *inter alia* would have been a breach of her own laws.[1]

Though " The History of the House of Percy " was published at the beginning of this century, not until now have Mr Brenan's assertions been put side by side with the documents he should have examined. Those interested in the Queen's grace to Lady Dorothy—procured by Lord Burghley, whom Brenan represents as her foe,—should consult Patent Roll 36 Eliz: part 2, end of June, wherein Her Majesty *pro diversis bonis causis et considerationibus nos ad presens specialiter moventibus de gracia nostra speciali, ac ex certa scientia et mero motu nostris* " (the usual formula when a grant was made without money payment) gives to *Domine Dorothie Perrott, vidua* (Lady Dorothy Perrott widow) 20 acres of land and 8 of Pasture, also a tenement and 25 acres formerly in possession of Sir John Perrott, in " Sagyston " Co. Pembroke; and other parcels of lands in Sagiston, Yarbaston, Milton Cockland, &c., &c., Co. Pembroke; with lands from the Queen's own lordship in Haverford West and certain monastic lands acquired from the Crown by Sir John Perrott. And further: " whereas the Dean and Chapter of Westminster by deed of 18th April fifth Elizabeth, let to the said Sir John Perrott for 99 years . . . the rectory of Lahorne, Co. Carmarthen, at £31 yearly, and the residue of the same lease came to the Queen by the attainder of the said Sir John," Her Majesty has given the residue of the lease to Lady Dorothy for what remains of the specified term of years, without need of her making any payment to the Queen or her successors.

Though the Patent Roll has laid unread till now, Lord Burghley's diary had been in print since 1759. Mr. Brenan's failure to consult either the diary, or the Burghley papers in the Lansdowne MSS, is typical of the defective method which led both him and his readers far away from the essential facts.[2]

[1] For the aid of future students it is advisable to emphasise that unpublished Wills and Patent Rolls, at Somerset House and the Public Record Office respectively, are the A B.C. of " research," a word now too often misapplied to a few fragments quarried out of printed Calendars. The difficulty as to the Perrott family in Queen Elizabeth's time is not paucity of material but a quantity.

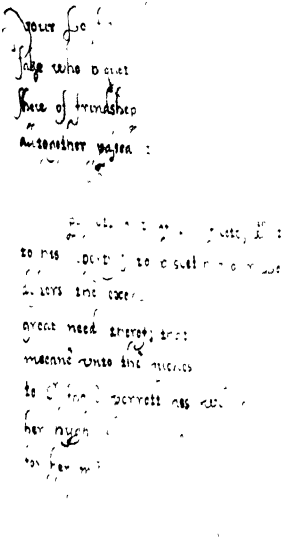
[2] In E.E. Vol. IV, p. 71, note 1, it was stated that the case of Lady Dorothy Devereux would be clarified in Vol. VII; and so it was (pp. 92-96) up to 1587, the Volume ending in 1588. Numerous descendants of both marriages of Lady Dorothy Devereux should be interested now to see their ancestress further cleared from scandals invented in the 19th century. But the matter is more than biographical or genealogical. The foregoing examination should help to convince educationalists of the need for reforming a system which permits the repeated echoing of baseless fabrications.

## *HOLOGRAPH LETTER OF LADY DOROTHY PERROTT.*

### *" To the right honorable my very good Lorde the Tresorer of englande."*

Now first published in facsimile from original, Lansdowne MS 39 (41) ff 172-173 Endorsed by a secretary "Sept 1583 The Lady Dorothy Parrott" A second endorsement reveals the hitherto unknown reason for the Queen's animus against Lady Dorothy, as first divulged in E.E. Vol VII, (1940), pp. 95-96 Lord Burghley dockets the letter on the back as asking him *" To intercede with yr Queen on her and her husbands behalf, who had maryed, being a Mayd of honour, without yr Queens consent"*

*(30) E M Tenison's 'Elizabethan England"*



## NOTE: FURTHER MISUNDERSTANDINGS AS TO THE EARL AND COUNTESS OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

The foregoing facts as to Dorothy, Countess of Northumberland, are the more necessary to be exhumed in that although no scandal is attached to her name in the privately printed "Annals of the House of Percy," by Edward Barrington de Fonblanque, London, 1887,—where she is correctly described as "widow of Sir Thomas Perrott,"—she is accused of "violent temper" and of "seeking redress for domestic grievances out of doors. . . ."[1]

> "We find her," says De Fonblanque, "in correspondence on the subject of her family troubles, with the Queen, Sir Francis Bacon,[2] and Lord Burghley, while, to make matters worse, she ostentatiously took the side of her brother Essex in political questions in direct opposition to her husband."

This sentence embodies much confusion. Her letter to Lord Burghley as to her troubles in 1583 we have already seen—twelve years prior to her marriage with Northumberland,—and it was not while in correspondence with Burghley but some seventeen years later that Lord Henry Howard alleged her to have had words with her husband on political matters. It was Anthony Bacon—not Francis—who made mischief between her and Northumberland by repeating some offensive gossip, which Essex hoped was not true. To these matters we will come in their chronological place. Meanwhile it suffices to say that though De Fonblanque's monumental work is the embodiment of devoted scholarship as to the Percy family, his "mad" Essex is the product of 19th century misapprehension.

While admitting that after Northumberland's fall and imprisonment his wife championed him resolutely at the Court, De Fonblanque allows her little credit for fidelity to her vow to take for better for worse a husband who proved exceedingly uncongenial. Northumberland's own references to women in general, and to her in particular,—included by De Fonblanque,—show a complacent egoism and complete absence of chivalry:[3]

> "In my choise of a wife," he wrote to his son, "it was long ere I made it: I had lived thirty-one years ere I took one: my resolution being grounded on this consideration of choice:
>
> "First that my wife should neither be ugly in body nor in mind.
>
> "Secondly that she should bring her meat in her mouth to maintain her expense.
>
> "Lastly that her friends should be of that consequence that they might appear to be steps for to better your fortune. . . .

---

[1] Vol. II, pp. 204-206

[2] Never Sir Francis during the Queen's reign. Knighted by James I.

[3] The Instructions and Advice to his son are preserved in extenso in MS at Petworth, and were printed during the 19th century: the first in "Archæologia," Vol. XXVII, and the latter in "The Antiquaries Repository," Vol. IV. A reprint has appeared in our time, edited by Dr Harrison.

"My first end I attained to: the last I missed and grew out of hope within one or two years; for Essex and I were at wars within that time, and hindrances grew rather than love."

This, written retrospectively, may be contrasted with what we shall yet see of Essex's dealings. His sister having been accustomed to a devoted father, an affectionate brother, and an adoring first husband, was bewildered to find in her Lord an attitude towards women not only the antithesis of the current romances but entirely different from her own previous experience. In his Advice to his son, after denouncing feminine intellect as mostly only fit for "nursery" talk, and women as unable to acquire "true Ortography," Northumberland added,

"If any doe excell their Fellowes in matter of Languages (as some Ladies do), if it be in French, you shall commonly fynd it no further improved than to the study of an 'Amadis'; if in Italian, to the reading of Ariosto; if in Spanish to looking upon a 'Diana de Monte Maior'; if in English, our natural Tongue, to an 'Arcadia.'" . . .

When we recall that Sir Philip Sidney had praised "Amadis de Gaule"—as having inculcated "courtesy, liberality and especially courage"—and that *La Diana* also was as popular with men as with women, and that Sidney's "Arcadia" remained in favour during a century after his death, we may infer that Northumberland's dislike of these romances arose from their embodiment of a chivalry which to his acrimonious temper was as exasperating as incomprehensible. "They serve best who serve because they love," wrote Sidney in "Arcadia"; but we search Northumberland's career in vain for any such emotion; and even in early youth his mother found him difficult to control. It was she and not his wife who complained about him to Lord Burghley.[1]

Though the "Wizard Earl" possessed scientific and literary tastes,—the list of books he read when prisoner in the Tower shows a wide range of interests, historical, martial, philosophical, and astrological,—his own writings are conspicuously unamiable. Whether towards his equals or inferiors he was apt to be irritable and acrimonious, in marked contrast to the ancestral "Hotspur," or the ill-starred 7th Earl, who when warned of the treacherous intentions of his Scottish "friends" was unable to believe that men of noble name and exalted rank could possibly betray him. This trustfulness was his undoing. When the sister of the Regent of Scotland had attempted to break it to him that her brother meant to hand him over to the English Warden, a balladist depicts him as answering,

"Now nay, now nay, thou goodly lady,
The Regent is a noble Lord;
Ne for the gold in all England
The Douglas would not break his word.

. . . . . .

When the Regent was a banisht man
With me he did fair welcome find;
And whether weal or woe betide
I still shall find him true and kind."[2]

Another rhymster deplores that Northumberland

[1] Vide her letter to Burghley, 5 Dec· 1587. De Fonblanque. Vol. II, pp. 190-192.
[2] Percy's "Reliques of Ancient English Poetry," Vol. I, and De Fonblanque, Vol. II, p. 112.

"after promise manifold
Was last betraied for English Gold.
Who shall hereafter trust a Scot,
Or who will do that nation good
That so themselves do stayne and blot?"[1]

The misfortunes which had befallen the 6th, 7th and 8th Earls might partly account for the distrustful attitude of their successor towards mankind in general; but he resembled neither his ancestors nor his descendants. Ungracious and arrogant, he was unlike as possible to the popular idea of a nobleman in days when "liberality and bounty," magnanimity and grace, were expected from all of his rank.[2] But 19th century writers unjustly ascribe ill-temper to his long-suffering wife; and even in the eyes of De Fonblanque, her steadfast loyalty to her husband after his fall seems to be outweighed by some malevolent expressions of Lord Henry Howard,—to whose elaborate double-dealing we shall be obliged to recur when we come to the political complications which followed upon the death of Burghley.[3]

[1] Contemporary ballad by a Lancashire man, Singleton, a Catholic recusant imprisoned in York. B.M Cotton MS. Calig: B. IV. 243, and Alnwick Castle MSS. (De Fonblanque, Vol. II, p. 110). For the 7th Earl and the Northern Rising, see also E E. Vol. II, pp 21-42.

[2] The unchivalrous character of Henry the 9th Earl seems the more incongruous in that he was a Knight of the Garter. De Fonblanque in 1887 (Vol. II, p. 573) noted that "the Percy roll of Knights of the Garter, unprecedented in number in any other non-royal family of England, commences with the first Earl of Northumberland, his brother the Earl of Worcester, and his son Hotspur: and comprises the 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 9th and 10th Earls, and the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 6th Dukes of Northumberland."

[3] De Fonblanque refers to Burghley as "Cecil" long after he became a peer; and treats him as an enemy to the Northumberland Earls: but it was not Burghley but Sir Robert Cecil who turned against the 9th Earl. In Vol. II of the "Annals" De Fonblanque giving particulars, (p 228) transfers the blame backwards to Burghley:

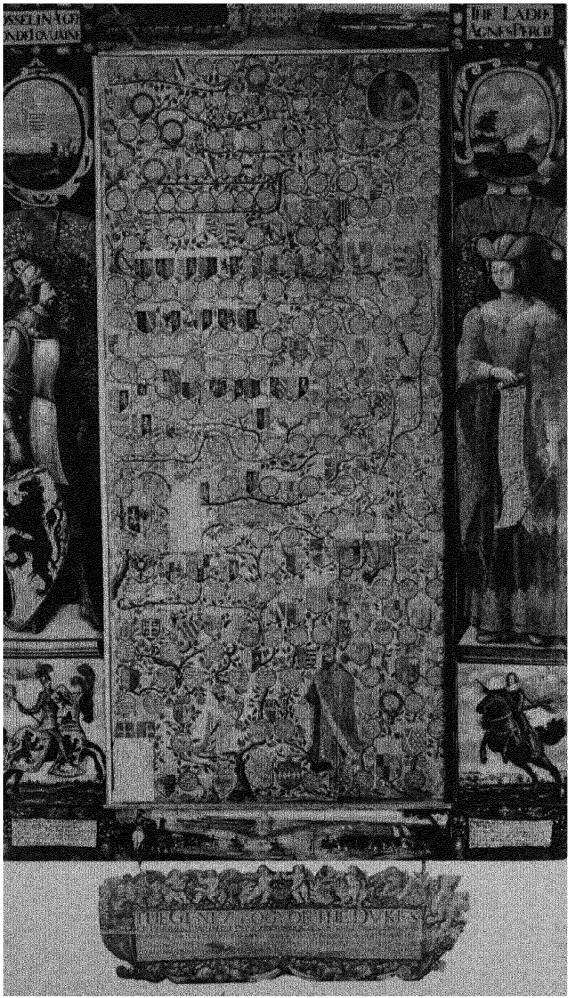
> "This correspondence" [of Sir Robert Cecil with James VI] "from first to last serves to afford a painful illustration of the duplicity which a father's careful training in the tortuous statecraft of the time, had engrafted upon a naturally scheming and secretive though in other respects honest nature"
>
> But we shall see after 1598 that Sir Robert, under the influence of Lord Henry Howard, was persuaded to depart from his father's policy and methods.

## *" THE GENEALOGY OF THE DVKES OF BRABANT WITH THE PRINCELY ANTIQUITY OF THE LORDS PERCY*

*Showing the first titles this most noble Prince Henry Earl of Northumberlund hath to the houses of Brabant, Lorraine and Limbourg," etc , etc.*

*Now first published from the original in possession of the Duke of Northumberland at Syon House*

On vellum, in colours Notice the view of " Sion " and the Thames at the top of the pedigree (The original is on a large scale, and extends from floor to ceiling It is hoped ultimately to reproduce it as a portfolio plate if conditions of production become less difficult)



PART VII.

"The causes that govern the events."

CHAPTER 7.

"THE MUTABILITY OF FORTUNE."

SECTION 4.

# "For the safety of your Queen and Country."

*(Happenings at home and abroad; 1595).*

**". . . look ahead, and see with what a storm you are threatened; . . . consider what you should do for the safety of your Queen and Country."**

*Henry de La Tour d'Auvergne, Duke of Bouillon and Viscount of Turenne, to Robert Earl of Essex.* (Original, Hatfield MSS. E.E. p. 533).

**"Your Honour (be it spoken without envy) like England's Cedar, is sprung up to preserve with your shadowe the humblest in all professions from hatreds malice . . . thus all rely, noble Lord, upon your favour."**

*"W.C." [William Covell?] to the Earl of Essex, dedicating to him "Polimanteia" &c., 1595.* (E.E., p. 536).

**"I receive nothing but with my Sovereign's privity, nor send anything to you but by Her Majesty's direction."**

*Essex to the Lord Chancellor of Scotland.* (Lambeth MS. 651, f. 203, E.E. p. 534).

## "ENGLAND CANNOT PERISH BUT BY ENGLISHMEN."

Such is one of the marginal assertions in "*Politmanteia*" 1595; and the author exhorts his countrymen,

"Then band yourselves, Honorable Lords, wise Prelates, brave Captaines, and worthie Gentlemen, resolute Soldiers, trustie Citizens, and painful Cominaltie," and "rather hazard the last drop of your dearest blood than by treacherous dealing the least wrong may bee offered to her sacred Majestie . . ."

To be lenient to traitors at home "or fondly to credit those abroad, can bring no other benefit to the land but this, a contempt of our authoritie, a certaine danger to the Princes person; . . . for gracious clemencie, a worthy vertue to a subject but dangerous to a traitor, gives them but leisure to fortifie themselves; grants them but time to renew their force, and the storm is no sooner past but there is present feare of as great a tempest. For it is great simplicitie to suppose, and at least the extremitie of follie to believe, that those who are once plunged in the gulf of treason, and have thoroughly plotted for a kingdom's conquest, can possibly be reclaimed with the greatest kindness."

But "true Englishmen" are resolute, loyal, and "all friends" with each other:—

". . . excepting treasons bloune into the heartes of her subjects by forraine enemies, England hath been free from danger, as far from distresse, in as great prosperitie, as ever was Iland in so bad an age. . . .

"The Ambassadors of Carthage justly boasted that their nobilitie was valiant to fight, their Cominaltie to take paynes, and their philosophers to teach." But "was there ever countrie (I except not Carthage in his best estate) where either the Nobilitie is more valiant, the Cominaltie more laborious, or the teachers more profound, than in England at this day?"

In such a vein is "Loyalties speech." And whoever "W.C." was—whether William Clark or William Covell—he prided himself on being a representative Englishman; wherefore it is the more significant that his ardently patriotic effusion was dedicated to Essex.

Eloquently he, "W.C.," adjures English poets to do justice to the valour and scholarship of our nation, especially to "Fames glorie, the Muses eldest son, . . . the everywhere beloved Earle of Essex."

# POLIMANTEIA,

*OR,*

*The meanes lawfull and vnlawfull, to*
IVDGE OF THE FALL OF A
*COMMON-WEALTH, AGAINST*
the friuolous and fooliſh conie-
*ctures of this age.*

Whereunto is added,

*A letter from* England *to her three daughters,*
*Cambridge, Oxford, Innes of Court,* and to all the
reſt of her inhabitants: perſwading them to a
conſtant vnitie of what religion ſoeuer they
*are, for the defence of our dread ſoueraigne,*
and natiue country: moſt requiſite for
this time wherein wee
now liue.

*Inuidæ quod neque eas imitari carpere noli:*
*Nil niſi cum ſumptu mentem oculoſq; iuuat.*



*Printed by* Iohn Legate, *Printer to the Vniuerſitie*
*of Cambridge.* 1595.

And are to be ſold at the ſigne of the Sunne in Paules
Church-yard in London.

After dedication to "Robert Devorax Earle of Essex and Ewe" &c. the contents are (1) Polimanteia (2) Letter from England to her three daughters: Cambridge, Oxford and the Inns of Court. (3) Religion's speech to England's Children. (4) Loyalty's speech.

Grosart reprinted this treatise in his "Elizabethan England in Gentle and Simple Life" (62 copies only). B.M 2326. g. 14(1). But it is oftener mentioned as containing one of the earliest references to Shakespeare in a list of poets, p. 44, than plainly described as what it is: viz; the expression of an ardent patriotism, the object being to rally all ranks to an increased active resistance against foreign aggression.

PART VII.

"The causes that govern the events."

CHAPTER 7

"THE MUTABILITY OF FORTUNE."

SECTION 4.

# "For the safety of your Queen and Country."

*(Happenings at home and abroad; 1595).*

SOON after the "Conference" advocating the claims of the Infanta had invoked painful excitement, news came to London of the serious illness of one of those whose ancestry had caused him to be named abroad among chief competitors for the Crown. Twenty-five years previously, the Spanish Ambassador had believed that the Protestants in England might make a King of that "great heretic" Henry Earl of Huntingdon. Actually if the English Protestants had cherished any such intention, Huntingdon's head would not long have remained on his shoulders. But neither he nor the other royal-descended noblemen nominated in the "Conference" showed any craving for the perilous glories of a Crown. According to Father Parsons (as we have seen) the choice lay between the elder daughter of King Philip and one of the English high personages of Plantagenet descent. Rivalry between these English "pretendants" was predicted in the "Conference" as likely to provoke war; whereas it was urged that to accept the Spanish Princess would procure peace. Though such peace might have to be established by the extermination of potential rivals, the hope was cherished abroad that all other claimants would recognise the Infanta's merits and surrender their pretensions. This was so unpatriotic a solution to be suggested by a writer of English birth that to us it seems chimerical; but not so did it appear in the Sixteenth Century when the whole world recognised the power of Philip of Spain.

There was a possibility, also, of the King of Scots embracing the Church of his mother; in which case he would have become the rival of the Infanta, and war between Spain and Scotland might have ensued. It was calculated that if this occurred, and if Queen Elizabeth died suddenly, the English Protestant peers would

select a Monarch from among themselves; and if the claims of heredity were to be paramount, Henry Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon, represented the old dynasty, through his great-grandmother Lady Margaret Plantagenet, Countess of Salisbury, only daughter of George, Duke of Clarence.[1] The way Henry VIII had turned against Lady Salisbury and had beheaded her in her old age, on a fabricated charge of treason, was rightly denounced by Father Parsons as an act of atrocious cruelty. But there is no sign that her great-grandson had any desire to avenge it upon the King's descendants; for he had well served Henry's son Edward VI; and how thoroughly Queen Elizabeth relied upon him is shown by her making him Lord President of the North; in which capacity, had he so chosen, he could have conspired with Scotland.

On the 16th of December, 1595, Rowland Whyte from the Court was writing to Sir Robert Sidney in Flushing, that " word came hither yesterday in haste that my Lord of Huntingdon was left in York so sick that it is now feared he is dead. The Queen sent my Lord of Essex in post unto him, and, as I hear, to see things well ordered in those quarters until the Queen can find a trusty President."[2] The austere face in Lord Huntingdon's picture in the National Portrait Gallery does not now give an impression of geniality. But " the crie of the poore " for this " Souldier and Counsellor grave " celebrated his generosity in affectionate doggrel:

> " His gates were still open the stranger to feede,
> And comfort the succourless alwaies in need . . .
> The naked he clothed with garments from cold,
> And frankly bestowed his silver and gold,"
> especially upon " souldiers wounded in warres,
> That pike and the bullet hath lamèd with scarres . . .
> He built up no palace, nor purchaste no towne "

with his great wealth, " But gave it to schollars " at both Universities.

> " To commons and countrie he lived a good friend,
> And gave to the needie what God did him send . . .
> He likewise provided in time of great neede
> If England were forcèd with warres to proceed,
> Both men and munition with horses for warre. . . ."[3]

His funeral cost £1,400, inclusive of " alms to the poor " and " liveries for sixty poore men," one man for each year of his age.[4] " From London, Saturday the 20th of December 1595," Rowland Whyte tells Sir Robert Sidney how " My Lord of Essex mourns for my Lord of Huntingdon, and takes his death very grievous."[5]

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[1] See E.E. Vol. V, table facing p. 62.

[2] Collins, *Letters and Memorials*. Vol. I, pp. 378-379.

[3] *The crie of the poore for the death of the right Honourable Earle of Huntingdon . . . . Printed at London . . . 1596.* Reprinted . . . *Black Letter Ballads and Broadsides.* London. 1867, pp. 222-231. As his only son predeceased him, he was succeeded by his brother Sir George Hastings; who was granted administration of the estate, June 3, 1596.

[4] Note in *Blackletter Ballads and Broadsides.* 1867. p. 312.

[5] *Letters and Memorials.* Vol. I. p. 379.

Another of Essex's friends of the older generation was dead before Christmas: Sir Roger Williams. Stricken with a "hot burning ague," he who had survived so many wars could hardly believe himself fated to die in bed. None but "my Lord of Essex . . . could make him take a feeling of his end," relates Whyte, adding that Essex "indeed saved his soul."[1]

As Devereux in 1853 made this remark the pretext for a jest at the notion of either Sir Roger or Essex troubling about spiritual concerns, and this ill-judged derision has echoed and re-echoed, let us call up as a witness to Sir Roger's habit of mind a Frenchman, whose "History of the Civill Warres . . . until 1591" had been issued in London while Essex was still commanding the English forces in France with Sir Roger under him as Marshal of the Army. Ending in October 1591, and printed the same year, there is not so much in this book about the "most honourable and famous Earle" as about Williams, who had been sent to Normandy before Essex's Commission was signed. Among the most spirited parts of the narrative is a description of how Sir Roger persuaded the Vidame de Chartres with 400 Frenchmen to come with him and his troops from Dieppe and attack Cinqcens:

> "The sayd Lord" [De Chartres] bade his men "Fight in behalfe of their Lawful King, . . . and God doubtless will prosper the same. . . . Sir Roger in like sort, like a true Christian Knight, encouraged his souldiers," declaring that though they were so few and the foe "a great multitude, skilfull, stout, hardie, and trayned up in Martiall Discipline, yet considering that their cause is but an execrable rebellion, . . . they are but a multitude of traitors. . . ."
>
> As to his own men and those of the Vidame, "he concluded that the God of Battailes will so fight for them that their eyes shall have their desire, . . which when he had finished to speake he prayeth unto the Lord with great confidence. And when he had ended prayer, he made them to promise each unto the other to die every man rather than they would flye one foote. Those things being done, they marched forward with great courage, displayed their Ensignes, shooke up their Drummes, and with their Trumpets sounded defiance."
>
> Then "these valiant English Souldiers gave a fierce charge upon the enemie, and assaulted them in such sort as if they had not travailed all night[2]. This fight continued two houres space, the English men still heartening the Frenchmen." [The writer is a Frenchman]. "At length they entered the Barricadoes of the enemie, Sir Roger being one of the foremost, . . ."
>
> The town was captured with relatively small loss to the attacking force: and "having obtayned this wonderful victorie, upon their knees in the same place [they] gave thanks to God which had subdued their enemies, and with singing of Psalmes gave the praise unto the highest."[3]

It was amid such services, and not in sickness at home, that Sir Roger might

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[1] *Ibid.*

[2] They had made a night march from Dieppe to this surprise attack.

[3] *The True History of the Civill Warres of France betweene the French King Henry the 4 and the Leaguers. Gathered from the yere of our Lord 1585 until this present October 1591. By Anthony Colynet . . . Printed at London for Thomas Woodcock dwelling in Pauls Churchyard, at the signe of the black Bear.* Book 9; pp. 533-535, Blackletter, except Latin Preface in roman type and Dedic: to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and address in italics "To the Christian Reader." B.M. No. 286. d. 37.

have expected to end his career. Short of this, nothing could have been more appropriate than for his last hours to be solaced by his favourite pupil, who had also been his "singular best Lorde and Generall to serve to the death," to whom he had dedicated, five years previously, his "Briefe Discourse of Warre." He died in Essex's arms, "at three oclock after midnight, at Baynards Castle by the Thames side."[1] Having no wife or child, Sir Roger left to Essex everything he possessed. "His jewels are valued at £1000," relates Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sidney." "'Tis said he hath £1,200 out at interest. For ready gold he hath £200, and £60 in silver. His plate is worth £60; his garments £30; his horses £60 . . . He desired to be buried in Pauls; and I hear my Lord of Essex means to have it done in good martial sort."[2] And on St. Stephen's Day, from London, Whyte writes to the "Lord Governor of Flushing," Sir Robert Sidney, that "My Lady of Essex was with my Lady" [Barbara, Lady Sidney] "upon Christmas Eve, and stayed three hours . . . Sir Roger Williams is buried."[3]

His funeral had been on December the 23rd, in St. Paul's Cathedral, with Essex as chief mourner. But no matter how grievous the deaths of Huntingdon and Williams were to Essex, Whyte, who had again been at the Court, wrote from "London this St. John's Day at night" describing how "nothing is so much thought upon as dancing and playing . . ."[4] The Queen is "in very good health;" and throughout her reign, until within a few months of her end we hear repeatedly of "dauncing" at the Court.

The deaths of Leicester in September, 1588, Walsingham in April 1590, Huntingdon and Sir Roger Williams in December, 1595, deprived Essex of four of his staunchest friends of the older generation; and tended to load heavier burdens upon his shoulders. His ultimate tragedy is so extraordinary, that, as the easiest way of accounting for it, the blame now is commonly thrown upon Essex himself, he being held up as an example of inconsistency and "levity of purpose."[5] But after we come

[1] Baynards Castle, Blackfriars, seems then to have been the town house of Sir Philip Sidney's sister the Countess of Pembroke and her husband. Under the heading of "A London and Westminster Directory" Captain B. M. Ward in *The Seventeenth Earl of Oxford*, London, 1928, pp. 383-384, gave a note on residences of the chief personages. Also, pp 372-382 "An Elizabethan Court Circular," viz: a dated list of the Royal Household, the Queen's Ministers, Naval and Military Commanders, and foreign Ambassadors His book being easily accessible, a similar list is deleted from E E. as no longer necessary, except the E E table of Spanish Ambassadors, 1558-1584 Vol. V, pp. 41-42; and list of peers, p. 198.

[2] *Letters and Memorials* Vol I, p 377 Sir Roger's will was sought in vain in 1925 at Somerset House; there is no indication of it having been proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. He may have left his property to Essex by a deed of gift. The only will that can be found is one made in haste in 1589 in his own hand, nearly illegible; now at Hatfield.

During 1595 there died not only Sir Roger Williams. One of his most gallant officers "Frank Allen" whom he had specially commended during the defence of Sluys (E E. Vol. VII, p. 115) was buried in Westminster Abbey, his tomb being inscribed *Franciscus Allen ob virtutem bellicam & fortitudinem spectatam in Belgio & Gallia equestri dignitate ornatus. Obijt xxvi Martii 1595.*

[Camden] *Reges, Reginae, Nobilis* &c 1606, p 68

[3] *Letters and Memorials*. Vol. I, p 385

[4] Ibid: p. 385-6.

[5] Especially Corbett, *Successors of Drake*, 1900.

to know the long-hidden facts, the well-worn axiom that truth is stranger than fiction will be illustrated anew. A strenuous soldier-statesman, renowned both at home and abroad, his prominence carried with it a corresponding weight of responsibility. Let us look at some of the letters from Henry de La Tour d'Auvergne, Duc de Bouillon, who, though twelve years his senior, regarded him as a second self,—"mon cher comte . . . mon second moimesme."[1] Though the Duke knew Essex too well to doubt his concentration on the main business of the life-and-death struggle against Spain, he was aware of adverse influences near the Queen, and therefore reiterated his exhortations as to the need for England and France to combine more and more actively against King Philip who intended to gather his forces again and strike yet harder than before:

> ". . . look ahead," the Duke adjured Essex, "and see with what a storm you are threatened; and for the present and the future consider what you should do for the safety of your Queen and Country, and the maintenance of our religion . . . my dear Earl, let us assure ourselves that God means to do His work, in which we shall be happy if we can serve Him. It is in this that we may seek our repose. The best thing about the Spanish war is that it has served to unite France and England. . . . As for me, assure yourself of the constancy of my purposes. . . ."[2]

Henry, Duc de Bouillon, Prince de Sedan, is so much less remembered now than his second son, the famous Maréchal Vicomte de Turenne, that we need to remind ourselves how experienced he was in "warfare and the State." Steady opposition to Spain, and imperviousness to Spanish gold—to the seductions of which some of his countrymen had been susceptible,—made him a special object for resentment. In war he fared accordingly. *A St Riquier ce 22 Juillet 1595* he had written to Essex, "The King expressly commanded me to come to Picardy, in which I have satisfied him: though abandoning my own interests and exposing to ruin all my territories of Sedan, which the enemy burnt for me two days after I left."[3] Eleven days later, telling Essex that he has appealed to Queen Elizabeth for more men, money and powder, he asked him to "help France and your friends."[4]

What was happening in France was an indication of what might befall England, as Sir William Unton had previously reminded the House of Commons:[5] and there was every reason why the Queen's aid should be continued. Though Philip erstwhile had waged war on Henry of Navarre as a heretic, Henry's reconcilement with the

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[1] These letters, now at Hatfield House, are all in French; some are copies in the hand of Essex's Secretary Reynolds, possibly made for the convenience of Burghley when he and Essex together in 1594-1595 were carrying out—without the name and pay—the work of Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. The most interesting are in Vol. XIII Addenda, of the Hatfield MSS Cal 1915, but the editorial remarks in the preface require revision, he having the conventional modern ideas as to Essex's "folly" which he has allowed to outweigh the Duke's explicit testimonies to Essex's "wisdom".

[2] Now first translated from Hatfield MSS 135. 188 Cal: XIII, pp. 528-529, in French, Cipher; signed by the Duke: *Excusez sy elle n'es de ma main, . A Paris ce 2 de Mars 1595* (Feb: 20 o.s.) 1596. For his embassy to England see E E. Vol. VIII, pp. 293-312; & his portrait Ib. Plate 20

[3] Hatfield MS. 135, 190 Cal: XIII pp. 533-534.

[4] "A Pequinny, 2 Aôust 1595 Novo stilo" Hatfield MS. 135. 192 Cal: XIII pp 534-535

[5] In March 1592-3. E E ante p 104

Pope had not resulted in Spain sheathing the sword. Lord Burghley had observed to the Earl of Shrewsbury six years before—even while Henry III of Valois was still reigning,—that it was the business of "true Englishmen" to keep themselves allied with whosoever would fight against the enemies of England.[1] Equally it was the object of King Philip to sow discord between the Allies.

The system under which Burghley and Essex secretly obtained foreign information kept them aware of the diplomatic measures by which Philip strove to supplement the fighting. That the Spanish King, the Irish Chiefs, and some of the English Roman Catholics abroad wished to stir up strife between Scotland and England made England's relations with Scotland the more crucial; and Essex had become so conspicuous that certain Caledonians looked to him as next after Burghley the most influential Privy Councillor. The Scottish Lord Chancellor attempted independently to approach him. Essex handed the letter to the Queen. His response, at the same time a reassurance and a rebuke, is exceedingly tactful. But though it has been in print since 1754[2] the delusion in our day as to Essex being a "rash" inconsequent blunderer has prevented it being read as the recipient would have read it: namely as the utterance of the Queen's near kinsman, already renowned, and expected to become more and more potent:

"To the right honourable and my very good Lord the L: Chancellor of Scotland:

My very good Lord

Though I hold your Lordship's person in that account as I shall take it for a great honour to me to be beloved of you, and would willingly meet with your Lordship's kindness, and pay you with the like, *yet from your Lordship, as from a subject to another Prince, yea so great a subject both in place and trust, I receive nothing but with my Sovereign's privity, nor send any thing to you but by her Majesty's direction.*

"Therefore her Majesty having read your Lordship's letter directed to me, hath given me commission to give you this answer: that there can be nothing more welcome to her Majesty than such a correspondence, by which the amity betwixt these two Crowns may be maintained; nor than such an amity, by which God's true religion may the better be fostered.

"Your Lordship well knoweth that her Majesty hath exceeded the office of a Confederate, and been as watchful in care and as liberal in expense for the good of that State, as if it had been her own. And if any Prince this day in Europe hath shewed zeal to Religion, surely it is her Majesty, who hath so many and so mighty enemies for her religion. Therefore, as your Lordship giveth assurance that there shall be no defect of the King's part, so I am sure you cannot doubt of her Majesty's, who, what changes soever she sees round about her, may only give this word, *semper eadem*. Her Majesty will take in good part such account as your lordship by your own letters, or Sir Richard Cockburne's, shall give of the affairs of that State; and she will have answer from time to time to be made unto you.

"In me your Lordship shall find faithful delivery in all that I receive from you. And so commending your Lordship to God's best protection, I rest

At your Lordship's commandment,

ESSEX."

[1] Talbot Papers, I.11; Lodge's *Illustrations* (1838). Vol. II, p 373

[2] Birch, "Elizabeth" Vol. I, p. 276. Checked by E. M. T. in 1927 from Lambeth MS. (copy) 651, f. 203.

This had been dated from the Court at Greenwich, " this 11th of August 1595;" and the following January Essex's further communication shows a similar combination of candour and courtesy:[1]

> " I must assure your Lordship that your last letter hath not only taken away all jealousy[2] which was conceived here, but established you more in my Sovereign's favour than ever, . . . now your clear and frank dealing hath dispersed all mists that were cast betwixt you and us. . . . Your Lordship knows I cannot refuse anything that is sent unto me wherein her Majesty's service is pretended; nor dare I forbear to send such answers as I am commanded."

He had however smoothed away any ill-feeling, and " assured my Sovereign that they that put those doubts into Her Majesty's conceit do hope with these practices to rob her as well of the devotion of so honourable a person as your Lordship of the favour of so excellent a Princess."

(Though the Queen was apt to waver in preparations against Spain, yet in the early part of 1595-6 she seemed in a reasonable frame of mind. Essex would in any case have kept up her prestige with Scotland, but he appears genuinely to have been hopeful as to her intention and the ability of England to confront King Philip.)

> " I neither believe them that do make this fleet so wonderful great, nor them that think, now his money and his malice is increased, that he will do nothing. He will not dare to invade England or Scotland till he have joined his great fleet that comes from Spain with his disciplined army in the Low Countries . . . and ere ever they shall be able to join, your Lordship shall hear of many blows given. For Her Majesty doth arm the seas, and is resolved in April to draw out her ships, and with them to keep the mouth of the Narrow Seas, so as she shall be able to succour any place that shall be attempted."

If she had kept to this resolution, her Allies would not in April have lost Calais to the forces of King Philip. At the moment of writing, however, Essex seems to have thought he had convinced her. Whether the King of Spain " come to us or near us," " we are prepared and resolved to fight with him both by sea and land; for Her Majesty is for both royally provided, and will suffer no place that is now friend to be made Spanish without giving battle." He concludes with a reference to Drake's reputed exploits at " St. John de Porto Rico . . . but we hear nothing from our men, and therefore I dare not bid your Lordship believe it."

The continuous reflection of Essex's popularity can be seen in many a dedication. The Universities were centres of patriotism; and " Polimanteia," published at Cambridge in 1595, was an eloquent attempt to unite all Englishmen in the common cause against Spain: " Can they prefer unknown before those who are known . . . straungers before domestical, . . . A Spanyard before an Englishman, and Philip before our dread Sovereign?"

" The everywhere beloved Earl of Essex " is held up as " England's Scipio " and

[1] To the Earl of Mar, 12 Jan: 1595(6). Lambeth, Tenison MSS. Bacon Papers, VIII, 200, Birch Vol. I. 377-9

[2] The word here used (as often in Elizabethan English) to denote " suspicion."

Mars, Minerva's favourite, and "the Muses eldest son."[1] Each writer saluted Essex from his own point of view; whether Spenser, Andrew Willett, Richard Harvey, Matthew Sutcliffe, Thomas Newton, Hugh Platt, Thomas Watson, Robert Greene, Sir Roger Williams, Albericus Gentilis, George Chapman, John Mundy, Andrew Maunsell, or the rival fencing masters Saviolo and Silver. Poets, swordsmen, historians, controversialists, musicians, classical scholars, theologians, grammarians, heralds, botanists, and others, approach him with an evident reliance upon his sympathy with all "good labours."[2]

> "It is easie to gesse (honourable Lord) why schollars flocke under the patronage of men in your place; their condition is so weake that unless men truly honourable doe defend them they are most of all in this age distressed." Nevertheless, "it is not that which moved me at this time," but "to offer signes of love and dutie where both are deserved in so high a measure"
>
> "I take upon me England's person, and speake like a Commonwealthe Your honour (be it spoken without envie) like England's Cedar is sprung up to preserve with your shadowe the humblest in all professions from hatred's malice The warlike and brave soldier thinkes himselfe (and that in truth is) graced to be tearmed but your follower. The worthy and kind passionate Courtier deemes (and worthily) this his honour, to be your favourite The sober and devout student, that despised doth walk melancholy, takes himselfe (and not without cause) fortunate to be tearmed your schollar.
>
> "Thus all relye, noble Lord, upon your favour."[3]

This and the accompanying assurance of "deep affection" as far as soldiers and scholars were concerned was literally true. (The comparison of Essex to "England's Cedar," stretching out friendly arms to protect even "the humblest in all professions," pleased Lady Essex, who in one of her most touching poems after his death lamented the fall of "my Cedar.")

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1 'Polimanteia"

| | |
|---|---|
| "*Of the warres in Flaunders, (&c) on the Sea 1588* | sing of warres & of learned valour. of Minervas foe-daunting shield: of Mars-conquering honour: of the Courts Loadstarre: of Englands |
| *In Fraunce.* | Scipio: of France his ayde: of Fames glorie: of the Muses eldest son: of Arts |
| *the every where beloved Earle of Essex* | ornament: of vertues miracle: of Religions champion: of thrice honourable and worthilie-worthie-honoured-noble Essex. |
| *In Trinitie College* | (Daughter Cambridge) he was some time thy care, thou now art become his . . " |

[2] The present writer has brought together as complete a collection of Essex dedications as at this distance of time can be acquired. It is hoped ultimately to issue them to subscribers: with facsimile title pages, short biographical notices of the writers; and bibliographical particulars: forming a miscellany of Elizabethan literature in its characteristic many-sidedness.

[3] *Polimanteia, or, the means lawfull and unlawfull to judge of the fall of a Common-wealth, against the frivolous and foolish conjectures of this age.* (B M No G 537 8vo) Titlepage E.E. p 527. Dedication signed "Your honours in all duty most affectionate W C" Identified in the British Museum Catalogue with William Covell; elsewhere disputed if he or William Clerk was the author. In list of poets Shakespeare is included, *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece* having appeared in his name in 1593 and 1594.

"Polimanteia," thus dedicated, was a plea that all Englishmen "of what religion soever they are" should unite for the defence of Queen and Country. In Elizabethan England any such perfect unity was impeded on the one hand by the papal dispensation of Her Majesty's Catholic subjects from their allegiance, and on the other by her penal laws against "Papists." But "the defence of our dread Soveraigne and native country" against the ambition of magnificent Spain was the perpetual necessity for her Protestant champions, while "the balance of Europe" depended mainly upon what line of action King Philip chose to take.

From Paris, on the 21st of December, an Englishman wrote to Essex, ". . . The prattlings of the people, . . are generally to desire peace, be it with never so dishonourable condition; their present necessities urging them to leave the boast of their ancient valours, and to seek capitulation with their greatest enemies. Those I have talked with, I find, have no remembrance of the supports they have had by neighbour nations; and if they may purchase quiet, they care not how others fare."

There follows the astonishing statement that King Henry is not now popular: ". . . his clemency to preserve them is in their fickle natures almost forgotten . . ." Whether there would be peace between France and Spain was uncertain. Some were of opinion that King Philip, knowing "how France is wasted and consumed" would not attempt a treaty; "but will annoy them by continual war, thereby the easier to secure his usurped places . . . The Spaniards' preparation by sea is confirmed from all places to be 200 sail, and that they be in a great readiness . . . ."[1]

Upon this note ended the year 1595; during which the adversary had been in readiness not only in the Old World but in the New,—as Sir John Hawkins and Sir Francis Drake had found to their cost, in the enterprise from which they were destined never to return.

[1] Ersfield to the E. of Essex. 2 pp. no year; endorsed "95." Hatfield MSS. 199 32 Cal: XIII. pp. 548-549.

*APPENDIX*

## " KNOWLEDGE, JUDGMENT, AND SINCERITY "

### *Sir John Haywarde's criticism upon historians:*

*with his appreciation of Sir Roger Williams's "Actions of the Lowe Countries," 1618.*[1]

" Albeit in all histories three things are especially required, order, poyse, and truth, yet for divers causes it hapneth that in many, one of these do faile." Some men, writing of ancient times, have " stuffed their stories with most senseless fictions," and " Others have written of countries farre distant by them never seene." Their work based only " upon vulgar reports " becomes " easily entangled with untruths." And even writers who treat of " their own countries and times " are not necessarily to be trusted:

> " For some busie themselves much in those things which the popular multitude doe applaud: making wordie (I cannot say worthy) reports of beare-baitings, . . . maskes, mayings, etc. And if they speake of any publicke, affaires, they discerne nothing but the outside: not unlike beggars, who traverse over many countries from dore to dore, . . . but observe nothing. . . ." Such historians daily " attend certain Kings in India, and whatsoever they doe, whether eate, drinke, sleepe, disport . . . they barely wright downe, and nothing else."

The popular sort, who wish to " write rather pleasingly than truly," either omit or deface the most solid facts. The time-serving do not show things as they were or are, but " extoll, depresse, deprave immoderately " to suit their own convenience. But sometimes writers arise whose " knowledge, judgment, and sincerity " fit them to narrate and teach. These are of everlasting value. So wrote Sir John Haywarde, in his prelude to Sir Roger Williams' " Actions of the Low Countries " when first printed in 1618, twenty-three years after Sir Roger's death. ". . . The author of this historie," says Haywarde, is worthy to be ranged with the few who wrote truly of what they well understood: " Of endless industrie, always in action, either with his sword or with his pen, he was well known to be a man who both knew and durst; his courage no less free from indiscretion than from fear."

No testimony could be clearer; and Haywarde had been a follower of Essex in whose arms Sir Roger died. But the editor of the 1809 reprint ignored Haywarde's Introduction and stated in his prefatory note that Sir Roger's " conduct was not always so unquestionable as his courage," and echoing the allegation of Anthony à Wood that Sir Roger might have been one of the best soldiers in his day " if his discretion could have but well tempered his hot

[1] Though by the date of publication this should come in the Jacobean Epilogue, yet as the writer died in 1595 and the " actions " were performed and written in Elizabeth's day, this decides the placing of the work.

furious valour, which was the reason that Q. Elizabeth would not commit any place or employment of good trust to his care."[1]

This means that Wood, at Oxford in the 17th Century, was copying Camden, whom the editor of Somers' Tracts also invoked to describe Sir Roger: "*He first tried his fortune in the army under the Duke of Alva.*" On the contrary, he fought against the Duke of Alba and under Sir Humphrey Gilbert. "*. . . he was perhaps in no way inferior to the best soldiers of that age*"—[which taken literally would mean not inferior to the Great Duke himself, to Don John of Austria, to Grand Master de La Valette, the Sultan Solyman the Magnificent, and the Duke of Parma] "*could he have put bounds to his courage which ran away with his conduct and discretion.*" But though Sir Roger never presumed to regard himself as ranking with the renowned Generals aforesaid, the reproach as to his indiscretion is not only the exact opposite to what Hayward stated, but also to the assertion of Lord Leicester, who knighted Sir Roger in 1586, commending him as of wisdom equal to his valour.

To be emancipated from false oracles, and to attain the "knowledge, judgment and sincerity, order, poyse, and truth" advised by Haywarde, should be the aim of each historian Otherwise we lose what King Alfred the Great held up to his subjects as his and their best inspiration: the example of "the mighty men of old." Sir John Haywarde (himself aspiring to the laurels of a historian) stated of Sir Roger's way of writing,

> "It is faithful and free:" and the reader will find "sieges, assaults, surprises, ambushes, skirmishes, battailes, likely described. Great varieties both of persons and actions; much mutability of fortune, many chances in affaires: Admirable advices; unexpected events, ponderous judgement; a phraze in a souldiers stile, sinewie and sweet; full both of perspicuitie and grace. In a word I esteem it a complete historie, if it were compleate; I meane if it extended to all the actions wherein the author did serve. But whether the residue was never written, or whether it be perished, or whether it resteth in any other hand, I remaine doubtfull." . . . "This piece coming to me in a ragged hand, much maimed both in sense and phrase, I have restored it so neare as I could both to the stile and meaning of the author."[2]

If students on passing from Haywarde's description to the text find it less easy reading than they expect, the reason is that whereas to Haywarde all the martialists whose deeds are cited were men, today they are only names. To judge of the degree of justice, or otherwise, of Sir Roger's criticisms of the English, Spanish, "Almayne," Dutch, Walloon, French, and Flemish soldiers and their leaders, we require an intimate knowledge of the wars, the famous persons, and the policy behind them. These posthumously published fragments do not contain within themselves everything necessary for the perfect comprehension thereof. Being written to and for Sir Roger's own contemporaries,—to whom the events were still within living memory, and by whom valour, whether in friend or foe, was held in universal honour,—less explanation was required than for us, bred largely on histories "making things seeme

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[1] *Athenae.* Vol. I, p. 282. Scott's ed: 1809, of Lord Somers' Tracts, Vol I, p 329

[2] The present writer notices that Sir Roger in dedicating his "*Briefe Discourse of Warre*" to his "singular best Lord" Essex, in 1590, had protested "In troth, but for the negligence of a servant that lost part of my discourse, I would not have printed anything without the whole." &c. (E E. Vol. VIII, p. 198). The "ragged" MS found and printed in 1618 may be the lost part of that "Discourse"; a solution not occurring to Haywarde.

not as they are, but as they would have them; no otherwise almost than comedies and tragedies are fashioned by their authors."

Very different was Sir Roger Williams; and he "wrote so modestly of himself" that readers who do not know his services may imagine he was "rather a looker-on than a partaker in the hot medlies whereof he doth write"; but among the discerning, "his attributing so little to himself will make other attribute the more to him." In estimating his contemporaries, Sir Roger shows his "generous disposition;" "neither forbearing the errours of his friends, nor forgetting the vigilancy and valoure of his enemies; but carrying himselfe with an even hand betweene them. . . . [And] for that it comprizeth some actions of the time wherein I have lived," Sir John Hayward desired to leave this work "as a large memorial to posteritie."[1]

[1] Arber's Stationers Register, Vol. III, p. 56, records licence for a ballad on *The deathe of Sir Roger Williams,* by John Danter, 1595(6). The *Bibliographer,* Vol. 6. (1884), p. 113.

Sir John Smythe's epistolatory protests against Sir Roger William's views and writings can be studied in *Original Letters of Eminent Literary Men* &c. &c. edited by Sir Henry Ellis, R.A., F.R.S., Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries and Principal Librarian of the British Museum London. Camden Society, 1843. pp. 48-65; 88-97. The present writer had not thought of seeking a military correspondence under the above heading, or would have drawn attention to these letters when alluding to Smythe in E.E. Vol VII. pp 307-308 They show an ardent zeal for methods which unhappily had become obsolete

# THE ACTIONS OF *The Lowe Countries.*

WRITTEN
By Sr. *Roger Williams*
KNIGHT.



*LONDON,*
Printed by *Humfrey Lownes*, for
*Mathew Lownes.* 1618.
(***)

Title page from B M G 5957 Issued twenty-three years after Williams' death A Preface by Sir John Haywarde describes the MS as "in a ragged hand and much marred both in sense and in phrase." He adds "Whether the residue was never written, or whether it resteth in any other hand I remain doubtful" The aim of publishing it was to try and discover the other portion See E E note 2, p 539

# NOTE: ANCESTRY OF SIR ROGER WILLIAMS, LEGENDARY AND ACTUAL

That Brutus, son of Silvius and grandson of Æneas, landed at Totnes, after the fall of Troy, and colonised Britain, as described by Geoffrey of Monmouth, was widely believed both at home and abroad as we have seen.[1] When Sir Roger Williams was serving in the French war it added considerably to his martial prestige that he was equipped with a pedigree in which his alleged descent from Brutus was set forth on a parchment roll illuminated with heraldic insignia ascribed to the ancient legendary Kings, and with authentic armorial bearings of forebears nearer his own day.[2]

It begins with what is said to be the only known "portrait of Sir Roger," in plate armour, with helmet and plume, carrying a baton; and in his left hand a shield with arms ascribed to Brutus, viz. "*Or*, a lion rampant *gules*, on its breast three crowns of the first." But the figure and face appear merely conventional, and therefore the "portrait" was rejected for E.E. The pedigree ends with Sir Roger's coat of arms: quarterly 1 & 4, "*Argent* a dragon's head erased *Vert*, holding in the mouth a sinister hand couped at the wrist, proper, 2 & 3, a chevron of the last between three wolves' heads erased *or*" Traditionally Brutus had three sons

(1) Loegrin (Locrinus) King of England; (Lloegyr is to this day the Welsh name for England):

(2) Camber King of Wales, who gave to Wales the name of Cymru or Cambria;

(3) Albanecht, or Alban (Albanactus) King of Scotland

Sir Roger Williams' family purported to descend from Camber, through a number of tribal Kings, culminating in Rhys Goch (Risius Rufus) whose son married Ionet, daughter of Howel of Carleon Howel surrendered to Henry II in 1172, and was knighted, and confirmed in possession of his estates.[3]

From Howel onwards the pedigree becomes concerned with persons whose existence can be proved; down to Thomas Williams who married Eleanor, daughter of Sir Roger Vaughan, and was father of Sir Roger Williams. A few years after Sir Roger Williams's death without issue in 1595, his brother Walter sold the estate of Penrhos to one of the Morgans. The descendants of Walter became extinct, but the late Major Addams-Williams of Llangibby Castle represented the family through another branch, and his widow (a sister of the present Viscount Hereford) was a pioneer subscriber to "Elizabethan England."

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[1] E E. Vol. IX, pp. 415-416, and plate 22, and presumably the belief is being revived, as in a list of current publications in 1946 we see a pamphlet by William James called *From Troy to Britain*.

[2] The roll is described by the compiler:—"Haec est Genealogia et Armorum propria et genuina Praeclari Viri Domini Rogeri Williams, Equitis Aurati, linea pure at paterna propagati a Cambro, Tertio filio victoriosisimi Regis Brvti, primi fortunatissimi, famosissimique huius Insulae Brytaniae Conquestoris, circa Annum ante natum Christvm, 1008, veluti supra plenius apparere p't industria operaque Thomas Jones, Generosi, Cambrobrytani, de Fountaingate in Cambria. Descripta, A° 1591."

The first and last portions were reproduced in colour in *Proceedings of the Monmouthshire and Carleon Antiquarian Association For the years 1927-28*, pp. 26-31.

[3] Bradney, "History of Monmouthshire," Vol. III, pp. 87-90.

PART VII.

"The causes that govern the events."

CHAPTER 7.

"THE MUTABILITY OF FORTUNE."

SECTION 5.

# Buena Guerra: "In dealing with the Spanish Nation."

*(The final act in the drama of Hawkins and Drake).*

**"Letters are come to the Court from Sir Francis Drake written at the Grand Canaries . . . and at that time all his ships were together in very good order, and all his men in every ship in very good health . . . "**

*News sent to Peregrine Bertie, Lord Willoughby d'Eresby, 25 October, 1595. Hist. MSS. Comm: Report on the Earl of Ancaster's MSS. (1907) pp. 329-330.*

**" Necessary for his Majesty's reputation to face the enemy and fight."**

*Decision of the Spanish Council of War, November 1595. "Relación de lo Suzedido en San Juan de Puerto Rico de las Indias con la Armada Inglesa del cargo de Francisco Draque y Juan Aquines . . . ." B.M. Add. MS. 13964.*

**". . . como ai en esa ciudad soldaldos y caballeros, no dudo del buen uso de nuestra gente dandoles libertad por birtud de buena guerra, lo qual espero y asi lo hare lo propio en todo mui a servicio de V.S., saluo la causa que hay por medio.**

**De la Capitana de la Serenisima Majestad de la Reina de Ynglaterra, mi S[eñor]a, á 23 de Nouiembre 1595 años."**

**[". . . as in that city there are soldiers and gentlemen, I have no doubt that our men will receive good usage and be set free in virtue of honourable warfare. This I hope, and I will do the same. In all things at the service of your Excellency, excepting the cause that is between us.**

**From the Flagship of the Most Serene Majesty the Queen of England my [Sovereign] Lady. 23rd of November 1595."]**

*Sir Francis Drake to Don Pedro Xuarez, Governor and Captain General of Porto Rico.* Contemporary copy; Liria MSS: *"Nuevos autógrafos de Cristóbal Colón y Relaciones de Ultramar. Los publica La Duquesa de Berwick y de Alba Condesa de Siruela. Madrid, 1902,"* pp. 79-80.

*" Written by one of the Schollers of Winchester Schoole."*[1]

" Sir Drake, whom well the worlds end knows,
Which thou didst compasse round,
And whom both Poles of Heaven once saw,
Which North and South do bound;

The Starres above will make thee knowne,
If men here silent were:
The Sun himselfe cannot forget
His Fellow travailer.

*Digna ratis quae stet radiantibus inclyta Stellis,*
*Supremo Coeli vertice digna ratis."*

A certain modern novelist turned biographer imagined Drake as overbearing and underbred; but might with advantage read the dedicatory letter to him from Robert Norman shortly after his return from his Circumnavigation voyage. " as you went out, so are you come home, familiar with your friends, courteous to your acquaintance, remembering all, forgetting none, still of one mind, will, and affection, the prosperous event of your dangerous voyage notwithstanding."

*" The Voyage of the wandering Knight" &c., &c " Devised by Iohn Cartheme, a French-man and translated out of French into English, by William Goodyear of Southampton, Merchant" &c., &c.*

*" Dedicated to the Right Worshipful Sir Frances Drake, Knight. Imprinted at London by Thomas Este," &c., 1584.*

Catalogue No. 77 of Messrs William Robinson Ltd, 16, Pall Mall, S W.1. Item 120. pp 126-127.

[1] Camden's " Annals." Book 2, p 115

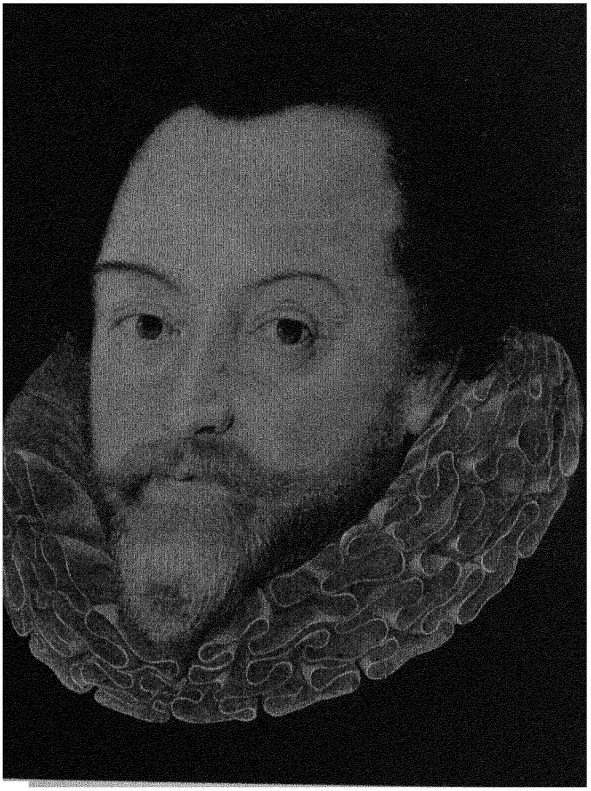
## *SIR FRANCIS DRAKE.*

### *Head, from three-quarter length painting now in the National Maritime Museum*

Eyes, steel grey; hair dark brown, crisp and curly; beard and moustache golden. Sir Francis stands near a table with a globe thereon. Clad plainly in black, with no relief except a jewelled pendant and a decorated belt, his swordhilt is visible but not conspicuous In the dexter corner (facing the spectator's left) appears the new coat of arms devised by the Heralds in 1581, blazoned with helmet and mantling. Motto, *Sic parvis magna* No crest. (For a Dutch print of Drake, undated, with the hereditary "Waver dragon" crest and quartering the ancestral dragon arms with the new arms, see E.E. Vol. IV, plate 10, and descriptive matter pp. 99-100).

The painting is dated but not signed The date which looks like 1594 proved on close examination to be 1591. Vide Professor Sir Geoffrey Callender's description of the picture, with two illustrations, in "*The Mariners' Mirror,*" Vol. xviii, pp 359-362.

As to the Buckland Abbey portrait of Drake and one in the Plymouth Art Gallery,—both dated 1594 and both with arms and crest,—Sir Geoffrey conjectured them to be possibly late adaptations by Cornelius Johnson (not Janssen) based upon the picture now in the National Maritime Museum Whether the frequent Spanish references to Drake as *el dragón* were suggested by the hereditary dragon crest which he used in preference to his new personal crest, we cannot say But this seems probable, as Charles Fitz-Geffrey in his *Sir Francis Drake His honorable Lifes commendation, and his Tragical Deathes lamentation,* 1596, refers to him as "England's Dragon," both in the dedicatory sonnet to Lady Drake and in the poem ensuing



PART VII.

"The causes that govern the events."

CHAPTER 7.

"THE MUTABILITY OF FORTUNE."

SECTION 5.

# Buena Guerra: "In dealing with the Spanish Nation."

*(The final act in the drama of Hawkins and Drake).*[1]

FROM Paris, 21st of October, 1595, the Venetian Ambassador wrote to the Doge and Senate, partly in cipher, reporting a conversation with Antonio Pérez, King Philip's renegade ex-secretary. "He confirms the departure of Drake a few days ago, with about seventy ships, all well furnished; and declares Drake is bound for Cape St. Vincent, where if he arrives in time, he may have the good fortune to fall in with the fleet." [Drake had departed actually at the end of August.]

Pérez then condemned the shortsightedness of the Low Countries in refusing aid to King Henry IV because they were jealous of his growing power. Surely the weight of Spain was such that even if the French King had all France submissive and peaceful "he could still be no match for his Catholic Majesty of Spain, . . . perhaps the most powerful Monarch that the world had ever seen."[2]

Though letters reported in October to have arrived in London from Drake are not now to be found, if we turn to adversary sources we can obtain ample particulars of the events ensuing. The testimony of his foes at the time is more edifying than much we get from his professed admirers to-day. Upon censures brought in 1927 against our greatest mariner by an English landsman there is no need to expatiate. And speculation as to whether Hawkins would have captured Puerto Rico if not accompanied by Drake, or Drake if not impeded by Hawkins, is the less relevant in that King Philip's Governor of that town knew what instructions had been given by the Queen's Generals to the Captains when they were leaving Plymouth, Puerto Rico being then named as the port "wherein we mean to stay ten days." So Drake

[1] This section was read by Professor Sir Geoffrey Callender (one of the early subscribers to "Elizabethan England") He pronounced that it elucidated the events and removed misunderstandings

[2] Cal. S.P. Venice, Vol. IX, p. 169.

and Hawkins were equally handicapped by the fact that whereas they had relied on a surprise attack, the Governor of Puerto Rico was forewarned in ample time to take all necessary measures for defence.[1]

The Spanish Admiral Gonzálo Mendez, was eager to scour the seas for the English. With him was Don Pedro Tello de Gusmán. Mendez sank one of the small craft which had been driven apart from Drake's fleet; and Gusmán, in pursuing the other, sighted nine more of Drake's, and so set his own course for Puerto Rico to inform the Governor that the English fleet was approaching.

At this juncture, says the Spanish official "Relación," the General commanding the forces was ill at Puerto Rico. But he "summoned the Bishops and Governor and many officers to his bedside," and held a Council of War. It was agreed that some of the naval guns should be landed; that two ships be sunk across the harbour. Also that the stock of silver should not yet be moved from the fortress; though, if necessary, they decided to sink it rather than allow it to be captured and taken to England. It was further arranged that "the frigates should be above the sunken vessels, . . . to resist the enemy's entry."

"The Bishop said mass and addressed a sermon to the troops, urging them to serve God and their King." Orders were sent to San Domingo, Cartagena and Santa Marta, that a look-out should be kept for Drake and Hawkins; and, on the 15th of November (5th English Style) news arrived from the Governor of the Canary Islands that the English had passed that way.

The silver at Puerto Rico was then embarked in light frigates, to serve as a rearguard to the force, because "the men would be disheartened if they had no silver to defend;" and it was judged "necessary for His Majesty's reputation to face the enemy and fight."

Meanwhile some of the Englishmen captured in the bark "Francis" had answered all questions the Spaniards chose to ask. The *Relación* notes how they "declared that the Queen of England's fleet of 25 ships, of which 6 were galleons was fitting out launches in the vicinity of Guadalupe; and that there were two squadrons, with Francis Drake and John Hawkins in command, Drake directing

[1] In the Alba MSS there used to be a contemporary *Relación del viaje de las cinco fragatas y suceso de Puerto Rico en que demas de contener en ella todo lo de la primera Relación mas cumplidamente, se ponen otras muchas cosas y particularidades que despues aca se han savido y la carta de Francisco Draque al gobernador y lo demas que hizo en aquella ysla. 1595.*

This was given in extenso, Madrid, 1902, in *Nuevos autógrafos de Cristobal Colón y Relaciones de Ultramar. Los publica La Duquesa de Berwick y de Alba Condesa de Siruela*, pp. 72-80. The Spanish side of the story has been neglected by our historians, though B.M. Add: MS. 13964 is *Relación de lo Suzedido en San Juan de Puerto Rico de las Indies, con la Armada Inglesa del cargo de Francisco Draque y Juan Achines.*

This last having been printed in the Hakluyt Society's volume *Sir Francis Drake his Voyage 1595*, 1849, and in Inigo Abbad y Lasierrai's *Historia de la Isla de Puerto Rico*, 1866, it is difficult to account for the way in which Drake's final authentic utterance—his spirited letter *al gobernador Pedro Xuarez, Coronel Gobernador y Capitan general de Puerto Rico*—has been unanimously ignored by modern English historians, biographers, and critics, whether friendly or hostile.

the course and the operations, . . . and his Lieutenant on land being 'Thomas Vasquez Arfit'" [Sir Thomas Baskerville].

They said there were three thousand Foot, and that the Mariners were fifteen thousand, well supplied with Artillery. That they were making for Puerto Rico these English seamen expressly declared. It was therefore plain to the Spaniards that there had been no essential change of plan since leaving Plymouth.[1]

At dawn on Wednesday the 22nd of November, (12th, English Style) the Spaniards, waiting in Puerto Rico, discerned twenty-three English ships and a caravel; " the Queen's six galleons of 800 tons, and two warships of the same tonnage; the remaining ships of 300 and 150 tons, and 40 launches," says the *Relación*.

The alarm was given; and each Spanish officer and man " cheerfully went to his post." There was little wind, so the English fleet " sailed slowly." The foe records, without acrimony, that Drake contrived to take up a position " never hitherto used as an anchorage," and that from thence he sent launches to reconnoitre the coast. On the night of the 23rd (13th) Drake attacked the port with twenty-five launches, " each conveying fifty to sixty men well armed," intending to burn the Spanish frigates. The English " came up close to the ramparts right under our Artillery," Drake himself in one of the launches entering the mouth of the harbour. But the Spaniards did not know he was there in person until too late to try and capture him.

Though the night was dark, the launches were seen, and the artillery from fort St. Elena and from the frigates began to play upon them. But, says the Spanish narrator, the English " attacked our principal frigates, setting fire to the bows. and throwing many fire bombs." The defenders " diligently put out the fire before it caused any damage "; and went on " fighting with artillery, muskets, and stones."

Again and again the English attacked the other frigates; and when for the third time the " Madalena " was set on fire, her crew could not extinguish it. Ten seamen perished in the flames, and the others saved themselves by jumping overboard. " The fighting lasted an hour, and was the most furious we had known," relates the adversary: " The flames from the burning frigate lit up the whole port."

This apparent advantage for the English was quickly turned against them; for the bright light enabled the Spaniards to see how to plant their artillery. They then directed their fire so effectually that Drake and his men " retired with a loss of nine

[1] The prisoners gave all the information desired. (Of the treachery of one of them there will be more to divulge in a later volume). As stated in the *Relación* (Alba MSS, *" Nuevos Autografos"* &c, p. 73) *Primeramente que hauia salido de Pleamua a 8 de Setiembre de dicho año en compania de una armada cuyos generales eran Francisco Draque y Juan Aquines* &c., &c, their intended route was specified; the tonnage of their ships; the numbers of their forces: *2,900 marineros y artilleros y 3000 soldados, entre los quales auia muchos capitanes y caballeros entretenidos que eran generales de la guerra en tierra Tomas Vazqueto* [Sir Thomas Baskerville] *y Nicolas Clifort· pero todos subordinados a Francisco Draque y a Juan Aquines que ambos traian igual poder y comisión de la Reina.* But whereas the adversary left on record that the expedition was commissioned by the Queen, in *" Drake and the Tudor Navy,"* 1898, Sir Francis is called by Corbett a corsair, though—we must repeat—no man is a corsair who hoists his flag in a royal ship.

or ten launches, and more than four hundred men," while the Spanish casualties amounted only "to fifty men killed or burned, some wounded," and the frigate "Madalena" destroyed. So says the Spanish *Relación*. According to the English narrative,

> "with twenty-five pinnaces, boats and shallops manned and furnished with fireworks and small shot, we went into the road within the great castles, and in despite of them fired the five zabras or frigates,[1] all ships of two hundred tons the piece or more, quite burning the Rear-Admiral down to the water, which was the greatest ship of them all: And also mightily spoiled the Admiral and Vice-Admiral, notwithstanding the castles and ships gave us a hundred-and-eighty-and five great shot, besides small shot abundance. They had also sunk a great ship in the mouth of the Channel, and rafted it over with her masts almost to the very forts and castles so as they thought it impregnable. The frigates had in each of them twenty pieces of brass and a hundred barrels of powder."

The women, children and "unable persons" had been sent away "into the woods," leaving "none but the soldiers and fighting men in the town."

"The fight on our side was hot and dangerous, wherein we lost some forty or fifty men,[2] and as many injured. There were also numerous Spaniards lost "aboard the frigates, with burning, drowning, and killing," and some taken prisoner.

The ensuing days were spent by Drake reconnoitring in his launches; the Spaniards all the while continuing to strengthen the defences of the port. By the morning of Sunday the English had vanished, having departed under cover of night. The Governor of Puerto Rico then sent "to the furthest part of the east coast to see whether they had passed that way, as it was understood that they intended to go to San Domingo." The *Relación* states, "we afterwards heard that we had killed *Juan a Quines"* (Sir John Hawkins) "the General in command of one of the Squadrons, and two of the most important gentlemen who came with him, and that one cannon ball had blown away the table at which Francisco Draque was dining, and had killed one of the personages who were with him."

It is true that Sir Nicholas Clifford and Brutus Browne were mortally wounded;[3] but the death of Sir John Hawkins did not come from Spanish cannon, but previously from fever.[4] The day before he died he added a codicil to his Will, and was still

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[1] Printed "of frigates" in MacLehose's Hakluyt, Vol. X, p. 230.

[2] Not 400 as alleged in the *Relación*.

[3] Charles FitzGeffrey wrote soon afterwards of Clifford's

> "high-resolved mind,
> Victorious, venturous, virtuous, valorous";

and deplored the invention of gunnery, by which also Sir Philip Sidney "England's Mars and Muse," and "Heroique Devereux" (Essex's brother), and Frobisher at Brest had all come to their end.

[4] The English narrative, "The voyage truely discoursed" &c., related: "At 2 of the clock we came to anchor at the easternmost side of the chief town called Puerto Rico, in a sandy bay 2 miles off: where we received from their forts and places where they planted Ordinance some 28 great shot, the last of which struk the Admiral [flagship] . . . . into the steerage, the General Drake being there at supper; and strake the stool from under him but hurt him not: but hurt at the same table Sir Nicholas Clifford, Mr Browne, Captain Stratford with one or two more. Sir Nicholas Clifford and master Browne died of their hurts."

MacLehose's Hakluyt, Vol. X, p. 230.

hoping to survive to see England again and make a presentation to the Queen in person.[1]

The English discourse tells how on the 17th "we were becalmed;" and on the 18th "anchored a little to the southward of the South-west point of the island."

The boatswain of the burning "Madalena" had been rescued and taken away by one of Drake's launches. On the 11th of December (English Style) he arrived back at Puerto Rico, bringing a characteristically courteous note from Drake to the Governor:[2]

"Understanding that your Excellency is the most important gentleman in this place, and a soldier, I write this brief letter to state that on all occasions in dealing with the Spanish nation I have treated them with honour and clemency, setting people free; not a few but many; and when our men set fire to the frigates, a number of Spaniards were saved from the fury of the flames; nor did the vanquished suffer any harm at our hands, but on the contrary were well treated.[3]

"Through them I learnt that the flagship of Don Pedro Tello captured a small vessel of our fleet, aboard of which were some twenty-five or more Englishmen. If these are given good and fair treatment, as I expect, I shall continue to behave in my accustomed manner. Though if otherwise, I shall be obliged to act as never before[4]

But as in that city there are soldiers and gentlemen, I have no doubt that our men will receive good usage and be set free in virtue of honourable warfare.[5] This I hope; and I will do the same. In all things at the service of your Excellency, excepting the cause that is between us.

From the Flagship of her Sacred Majesty the Queen of England, my [Sovereign] Lady, the 23rd day of November 1595.

FRANCIS DRAKE."[6]

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[1] E.E. p. 558

[2] *Carta de Fncisco Draque, a Pedro Xuarez, Coronel Gobernador de Puerto Rico.*

[3] As the bearer could testify; he being one of those rescued.

[4] In "Drake and the Tudor Navy" (1898), Drake's descent on Las Palmas is described as "ignominious failure and lost prestige." As to Don Pedro's capture of the "Francis," Corbett takes for granted it was the loss of the "Francis" which decided Drake's next action. "To Drake the whole meaning of the disaster was at once apparent," etc., etc., Vol. II, pp. 416-17. The origin of this may be the remarks of Maynarde, written after Drake's death (E.E., p. 555) But from Drake's letter it seems that he only learnt for certain of the capture of the "Francis" after he himself took Spanish prisoners. In any case, to lose one "small vessel" is hardly a "disaster" a word which would be more appropriate if the whole fleet had been sunk, burnt, or captured.

[5] Set free for ransom or exchange.

[6] There are slight verbal and orthographical variations but no difference in the matter and meaning, between the copy printed in 1866 by Inigo Abbad y Lasierra, below, in *Hstoria . . . de San Juan Bautista, de Puerto-Rico* (p. 166. B.M. 10480. n. 18) and that in the Lina MS, which omits *estilo de Ingalaterra* from the date.

"Carta de Francisco Draque a Pedro Xuarez.
Coronel Gobernador [y Capitan General] de Puerto-Rico.

Entendiendo ser V S^a caballero principal y soldado, escribo esta breve dando a entender como siempre en todas las ocasiones que se me han ofrecido con la nación española les he tratado con mucha honra y clemencia, dando libertad a sus personas, no a pocos, mas a muchos, ayst que al

[Continued over

Of this letter the English narrative says nothing: we are indebted to the adversary for preserving the last known direct utterance of Sir Francis; which certainly shows none of the dismal depression overshadowing the final scenes in Corbett's "Drake and the Tudor Navy."

On the 1st day of December in the morning,—returning now to the English version of events,

> "We embarked all our soldiers for Rio de la Hache, which is a town twenty leagues to the westward, one of the ancientest in all the Maine, though not very big. . . Our men took it by ten o'clock of the night. . . The sixth day the Spaniards came in to talk about the ransom of the town;" but, their offers being inadequate, "that night Sir Thomas Baskerville marched up into the country to overrun those parts; and the General [Drake] the same night with some hundred and fifty men went by water six leagues to the eastward, and took the Rancherie, a fisher town where they drag for pearl. The people all fled except some sixteen or twenty soldiers which fought but little."

Drake chased and captured a brigantine, with a cargo of wheat, maize, "and some silver and pearl but of small value."

On the 7th (17th) Captain Yorke of the "Hope" died, and Drake's brother Thomas took his place as Captain of that ship. On the 10th the Spaniards "concluded for the ransom of the town," and on the 14th brought it in pearls; but not to Drake's satisfaction. He rejected their offers and sent back the pearls, giving the enemy "four hours respite to clear themselves and their treasure."

On the 16th (26th) the Governor of the town parleyed with Drake, and told him the pearls had been sent "without his command or consent" and that he did not mean to offer any ransom. So the next day Sir Thomas Baskerville marched "some four leagues into the Country" to Tapia, which he captured; and burnt several villages in the vicinity: coming back with prisoners and pillage. On the 18th (28th) "the Rancherie and the Town of Rio de la Hacha were burnt clean down to the ground,"—except the churches, and "a lady's house," she having written to Drake explaining that she had not been able to go away. On the 19th (29th) the English weighed anchor; and next attacked and took Santa Marta, "the people all being

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tiempo que nuestra jente puso fuego a las fragatas, se salvaron ciertos españoles en la furia del fuego, no haciendoles agravio despues de vencidos sino muy buena guerra.

Por ellos ha sabido como la capitana de Don Pedro Tello prendio un navichuelo de nuestra armada andode habia veinte y cinco Ingleses o mas; haciendo con ellos buen tratamiento y guerra limpia, quedo en el propio ser como que solia, mas habiendo otra cosa, forzosamente hare lo que seamas en mi cupo; mas como hay en esa ciudad soldados y caballeros, no dudo del buen suceso de nuestra jente dandoles libertad por virtud de buena guerra; lo cual espero y asi lo haro lo propio; en todo quedo al servicio de V.Sª salvo la causa que hay de por medio.

—De la capitana de la Serma Magestad de la Reina de Yngalaterra, mi Señora, a 23 de Noviembre de 1595, estilo de Ingalaterra, Francisco Draque."

The Liria version *Nuevos Autografos* &c. 1902 (pp. 78-90) prints "cavallero *municipal*" instead of "*principal*" and "*sino* a muchos" instead of "*mas* a muchos," "27 ingles" instead of "veinte y *cinco*" and "en todo *mui* a servicio" &c. instead of "en todo *quedo* a servicio" &c.

fled, except a few Spaniards, negroes and Indians, which in a bravado at our landing gave us some 30 or 40 shot, and so ran away . . . The 21st the General caused the town to be burnt," after which he departed with his forces.

"The 27th we came to the mouth of Nombre de Dios, and by one of the clock took the town," the people having all disappeared, "except some 100 Spaniards which kept the fort and played upon us; . . . but, seeing our resolution, . . . they all fled, and took to the woods. The town was big, having large streets, houses very high, all built of timber," but only one Church, "very fair and large . . . Nothing was left in the town of value," the inhabitants having carried their goods into safety; but on a hill above the town was "a little watch house" from which Drake's men carried off some bars of gold and silver; also money in coin.

"The town was situated in a watery soil, and subject much to rain, very unhealthy as any place in the Indies." And though it had "great store of oranges, plantains, cassavy-roots and other such fruits," these were "dangerous to be eaten, . . . breeding of diseases." Drake's men marched eastward of the town, up beside the river; but were set upon from an ambush with bows and arrows, losing one officer killed and several men wounded.

On the 29th of December Sir Thomas Baskerville "with 750 armed men, besides chirurgeons and provand boys, went for Panama."[1]

> "The last of December the General [Drake] burnt half the town [of Nombre de Dios,] and the first of January burnt the rest, with all the frigates, barks and galiots which were in the harbour and on the beach. . . The second of January Sir Thomas returned with his soldiers, both weary and hungry," after a long and difficult march of "some ten leagues" during which in a sudden surprise attack they lost "some twenty or more of us, amongst whom was Captain Marchant, Quarter Master General; and Ensign Sampson, Maurice Williams one of Her Majesty's Guard; besides divers hurt, as M. Captain Nicholas Baskerville a valiant gentleman . . .
>
> Our soldiers had no victuals left, nor any means to get more; which consideration caused Sir Thomas to return and give over his attempt . . ."

Drake then called a council of war, and pointing on a map to Truxillo in Honduras and to the group of settlements around the Lake of Nicaragua he asked the Council which they would prefer. Sir Thomas Baskerville suggested they should attempt both.[2]

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[1] "Provand"; Provender, provision, ammunition. From Provand, Flemish; and provende, French.

> "Of no more soul, nor fitness for the world,
> Than camels in their war, who have their provand
> Only for bearing burdens."
>
> Shakespeare, "Coriolanus," II, i.

Many other examples appear in Elizabethan and Jacobean prose and verse.

[2] Though Drake's career was approaching its end, this fact was not yet suspected in Europe. From Madrid, 23rd December 1595, the Venetian Ambassador reported to the Doge and Senate, "There is some news, not quite certain, that Drake is off Havana; and the Spanish are more afraid that he

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Drake led the way across Mosquito Gulf. But the winds were contrary; and as he tried to set his course westward the heavy weather drove the fleet to shelter behind the island of Escudo de Veragua,—one of those fever-breeding spots where "even Nature wears a harlot's smile." As—15th of January—Drake set his men "on work" to prepare the pinnaces in which he meant at a change of the wind to go up the San Juan river, he was suddenly taken ill. By the time he weighed anchor, the poison of the fatal island was in his blood.

The English narrator briefly stated that, "On the 23rd we set sail and stood up again for Puerto Bello, which is put three leagues to the westwards of Nombre de Dios."

Shortly before departing from Plymouth, Drake had made his Will, beginning,

> "Forasmuch as all men are born to die, . . . and for that we are here but stewards for the time, to dispose of such things as God has lent us as may be best for the glory of His Heavenly Majesty and the welfare of our own souls,"—as "I, Sir Francis Drake of Buckland . . . knight, am now called into action by Her Majesty, wherein I am to hazard my life as well in the defence of Christ's Gospel as for the good of my Prince and country,"

all intended bequests are specified: His household goods to his wife, and remainders of various leases of lands which were to pass to his brother Thomas at her death. To this he added at sea, on the 27th of January, the day before his death, "I Frauncys Drake . . . knight, General of her Maiesties Fleete now in service for the West Indyes," constitute brother Thomas Drake executor, and bequeathe to Cousin Francis Drake son of Richard Drake of Esher, one of the Equerries of the Queen's Stable, Yarcombe Manor in Devon, "subject to payment of my debts."[1] And to "Jonas

will sack the city than that he will make himself master of the forts, especially as His Majesty's fleet cannot be in time to stop him. For although it is quite ready, the bad weather hinders it from sailing from Lisbon." Cal: S.P. Venice Vol. IX (1897) p. 177. And again, on the 15th of January, "Don Francesco Vigilianeda, who is in command of twenty-five ships which sailed from Lisbon for the West Indies on the 2nd instant, is said to have special orders from His Majesty to meet and attack Drake, and the departure of the Spanish fleet leads people to fear that it cannot arrive in time to prevent Drake from inflicting severe damage. All the same they hope it will at least secure the safe arrival of the gold flotilla. The alarm is augmented by the rumour that a large number of ships will shortly put out from England. These are to effect a juncture in France, not merely to hinder Spanish commerce but also to harry the territories of His Majesty. His Majesty is pushing on the construction of one hundred ships in Biscay, Galicia, Lisbon and Seville; some of them are quite ready. Whether the result will correspond to the preparations I do not venture to say . . ."

The next Venetian despatch, 21st January (p. 1813) reports "news that Drake has landed at Havana and captured the town. The Governor has withdrawn into the Castle which the Spaniards say cannot easily be captured, especially as the fleet under Vigilianeda will soon be there . . ."

[1] Notice bequest to son of Cousin Richard Drake of Esher, who was brother of the head of the family, Sir Bernard Drake of Ashe; and it was in Richard Drake's house at Esher that Sir Francis had interned Don Pedro de Valdés in 1588 (E.E. Vol. VII, p. 331; p. 337). But although in 1911 in *The Family and Heirs of Sir Francis Drake*, the relationship and friendship of Sir Francis and the Drakes of Ashe was emphasised, a biography by a popular novelist (A. E. W. Mason) deprived Drake of his pedigree, and the author thereof was not repentant when duly corrected by J. F. Ruthven. F.R.G.S., and referred by him to the above named work and to E.E. Vol. IV, pp. 99-100.

Bodenham, Gentleman, the Manor of Sampford Speney."[1]

Laconically it is noted in the English narrative that on "the 28th at 4 of the clock in the morning Sir Francis Drake departed this life."

Shortly before his death he had seemed to rally, rising and apparelling himself and "uttering some speeches,"—to what effect not recorded. Within an hour of this final effort his long and arduous career had ended.

"The same day we anchored at Puerto Bello." Thence also "the people had fled," carrying away their treasures. Off Puerto Rico ensued "the solemn burial of our General Sir Francis, in the sea."

Soon the Spaniards were rejoicing that he was no more. He was a wizard, said his adversaries; a dragon to whom the Devil gave superhuman power. He was a genius, we say, born to raise England to that pinnacle of fame of which King Alfred the Great had dreamed when he encouraged the study of geography, and granted rewards and honours to merchants who built and equipped stout ships to carry the English name into far-off lands. Though Drake planted no colonies, nor added an acre of territory to the Queen's "realms and dominions," he above all others had acquired for Englishmen the reputation of "unconquered courages and aspiring minds" which [as Thomas Churchyard declared] dare "fly in the face of fortune," and, in the service of Sovereign and Country, defy "the whole world whatsoever." Or, as Cardinal Bentivoglio expressed it, Drake was "the most esteemed among the English for Sea Affairs, and famous likewise throughout other countries . . . for the many enterprises he with great boldness had effected."[2] And though this last venture did not answer expectations, his renown was to be celebrated not only in English and Latin elegies but in a Castilian epic, which while exulting over the downfall of the "Dragón"—and heaping him with reproaches,—nevertheless remains memorable as an extraordinary tribute to the magic of his name.[3]

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[1] In "The voyage truely discoursed" &c. (MacLehose's Hakluyt 1904, Vol. X, pp. 239-240) it is stated that Drake "made his brother Thomas Drake and captaine Jonas Bodenham executors, and Mr Thomas Drake's sonne his heir to all his lands, except one manor which he gave to Captain Bodenham," This would make him seem to have forgotten Lady Drake; so the present writer judged it necessary to unearth the actual Will and Codicil as above quoted from unpublished original, P.P.C. 1. Drake. Proved, 17 May, 1596.

[2] *History of the Warres of Flanders,* English version. Pt II, p. 218.

[3] *La Dragontea de Lope de Vega Carpio,* E E. pp. 562-566.

On 10th February, from Paris, the Venetian Ambassador wrote to the Doge and Senate, "News from Nantes that Drake has taken Porto Rico, fortified it, and left one thousand soldiers in it. He has returned to England." Cal. S.P. Venice, Vol. IX (1897) p. 183. On the 28th February, the Venetian Ambassador in Spain reported "Drake is said to have been sighted off Porto Rico with a fleet of sixty-six small ships. It seems that he attempted to land there, but was repulsed with great loss; especially through the death of John Hawkins (*Jackines*) who was in command. Drake is said to have sailed further on . . . The rumour that he sacked Havana is dying away." (Ib: pp. 184-185). By the 18th April the news reached Madrid that Drake had been repulsed. On the 4th May from Madrid the same Ambassador wrote (p. 199) "Drake's retreat from Panama is confirmed; but when off Porto Rico he seized several barrels of silver to the value of fifty thousand crowns." Also that

"the depositions of some English prisoners showed that Drake has orders to return to England within the month of May."

Not until the 14th May (p. 201) did there reach Madrid "News from Havana that Drake's fleet has met the fleet of His Majesty," and that "Drake himself died in January at Nombre de Dios." This was announced in a letter "by Don Bernardino Delgadiglio d'Aviglianeda (sic), at present General of his Catholic Majesty's fleet in the Indies, and addressed to his nephew and dated from Havana, 28 March, 1596." He reports Drake as having "cast anchor in the port of Nombre de Dios in Sept. and there he died A Colonel who was on board took command," &c. (pp. 202-203).

Such tidings "caused extreme satisfaction and rejoicing throughout the country." King Philip, who had been seriously ill, "shows the keenest delight, and declares that this good news will help him to get well rapidly"

## *(a) MINIATURE OF SIR FRANCIS DRAKE.*

### *Formerly in the collection of the Duke of Buccleuch; and now in the National Maritime Museum.*

Inscribed *ÆTATIS SUÆ* 42 *anno DMI* 1581 Vive ut vivas

[Though the authenticity of this item was questioned in 1946, the late Professor Sir Geoffrey Callender is most unlikely to have been mistaken in its identity]

## *(b) DRAKE'S SILVER MAP*

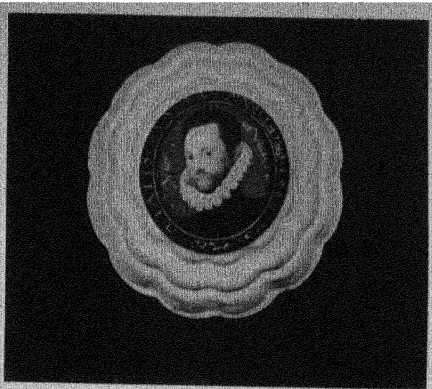
### *now in the National Maritime Museum.*

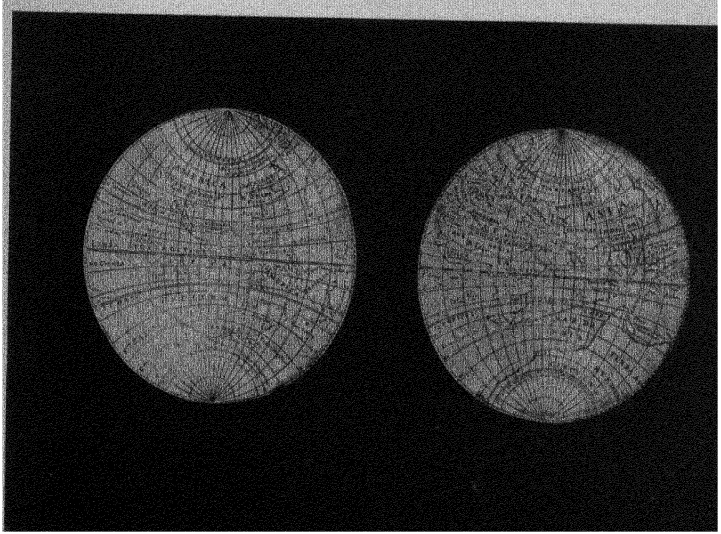
Described fully in the "Annual Report" of the Society for Nautical Research, 1934, pp 160-161, this contemporary world-map "consist of a thin disk of silver seventy millimetres in diameter and of uniform thickness throughout It contains 110 geographical names and eight inscriptions, including *Terra Australis nundum cognita*

"The eastern hemisphere is shown on one face, and the western hemisphere on the other The land surface is left plain, and the sea is stippled Drake's route on his voyage of circumnavigation is shown by a dotted line and by three minute representations of the 'Golden Hind' under full sail (off N Brazil, California, and St Helena)" Six out of eight inscriptions deal with the Voyage of Circumnavigation and three refer to Drake personally; two other events are mislated, so "the mind behind the medallion was more interested in cartography than in chronology"

Some half dozen examples of this map are known several having been discovered since Mr Miller Christy issued his monograph, the first to draw attention to this item

Chronologically the miniature should have appeared in Volume IV of "*Elizabethan England*" in which the present writer announced the discovery that as early as 1581 Lord Burghley wished Drake to be put in command of a "very great and royal war" against Spain And the map might suitably have appeared in Volume V But as the photographs were not procured until 1946 it has been judged better to set them with the elegiac poems on Drake, (1596, 1598), than to omit them





## NOTE A. " IDLE WORDS AND ILL-COMPARED SENTENCES."

In the foregoing Section it has not been necessary to linger over details already familiar, but to emphasise the letter of Sir Francis Drake to the Governor of Puerto Rico. Though included in the addenda to *Sir Francis Drake His Voyage 1595* issued for the Hakluyt Society, in 1849, it was not mentioned in *Drake and the Tudor Navy*, 1898, or in *The Successors of Drake*, 1900. Considering that the volume in which it was printed stands first on Corbett's list of authorities for the final voyage, it appears the more strange that instead of quoting these vigorous expressions direct from the pen of our greatest Admiral, Corbett gave a fanciful description of Drake's supposed deep gloom; basing his ideas not upon what Drake said and did but upon the commentary of Thomas Maynarde, who on his own confession, was but "a yonge seaman" and who apologised—as well he might, for his narrative containing "many idle words and ill-compared sentences"[1]

Maynarde (p 2) says of his own awkward attempt at history, "It was done on the sea, which I think can alter any disposition Your loves, I thinke, can pardon these faltes . . .." His editor in 1849 unfortunately did more than pardon the faults; he became infected with them. Even while describing Maynarde as "illiterate," the narrow compass of Maynarde's inconsequent and untrained mind was accepted as the measure of Sir Francis Drake's genius. This set a fashion; and modern English descriptions of Drake's voyage with Hawkins commonly consist of echoes of Maynarde's criticisms,—frequently without quotation marks, so that each new depreciator is credited with original discoveries of Drake's defects! The editor in 1849 (p vi), refers to Maynarde's "quaintest language" [which was ordinary Elizabethan English of poor quality], and adds,

> "It cannot be denied that it tends to dispel much of the romance which has hitherto coloured so brilliantly the history of the naval hero . . . It may be not without advantage to learn, from the example of one so justly celebrated as Drake, what sordid motives may be cloaked under the pretence of national glory, and how mistrustfully we ought to listen to the professedly generous instigators of war and rapine"

Rather how "mistrustfully we ought to listen" to instructors who thus belittle eminent men because unable to comprehend their services Corbett could have seen this by comparing the style and matter of Maynarde with the Spanish adversary's manly *Relación*, printed in the same volume.

The Spanish Governor writes as the "gentleman and soldier" which Drake understood him to be, but Maynarde's chief object after his two leaders were dead was to find fault with them. As it

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[1] Hakluyt Soc: Vol. IV, 1849, p. 23. Corbett in *Drake and the Tudor Navy*, Vol. II, Chapter xi, "*The Last Voyage*" refers to Drake's "contempt for the Spanish power" (pp. 414-415) and alleges that "in the failure to grasp that Spain had become a great sea power . . . . lay the fatal misconception that overhung the whole expedition . . . For five years he had been kept out of touch with the enemy . . . He could only judge by the experience of his first great expedition, and there was nothing to tell him that all it had done, as Monson says, was to waken rather than weaken the enemy. But so it was," &c., &c.

We have seen (E E. Vol. VIII, pp 201-203) how unsafe it is to depend upon the reminiscences of Monson, written long after the events; and Corbett imputes to Drake his own misunderstandings. ". . . that Spain had become a great sea power" in 1595 is an unhappy phrase, considering that Spain had commanded the seas since long before Drake rose to fame. "For five years he had been kept out of touch with the enemy" is a statement based on the erroneous ideas prompting the chapter headed "Drake in disgrace." During the time when Corbett depicts Drake as under a cloud after the Portugal campaign, he, on the contrary, had satisfactorily answered the questions of the Privy Council, and was very well appreciated. Moreover he was conspicuous in the Parliament of 1592-3 (E.E. Vol IX, pp. 103; 423).

is not likely that a person of so little importance as Thomas Maynarde would have been in the confidence either of Sir Francis Drake or of Sir John Hawkins, and as many of Maynarde's observations are what our ancestors would have called "prattle," it is unfortunate that his fatuous generalities exercised disproportionate influence upon 19th and 20th century pens. On questioning Sir Francis, Maynarde received (or says he received) the answer, "God hath many things in store for us; and I knowe many means to do her Majestie good service and to make us riche for we must have gold before we see England" As the service was cut short by Drake's death, we might expect Maynarde to have expressed grief or regret; but (p. 19) his epitaph on the most famous seaman is that "it fared with him as with some careless living man who prodigally consumes his time, fondly perswadinge himselfe that the nurse that fedde him in his childhood will likewise nourish him in his owld age," &c &c

This, and the other maunderings of Maynarde, should henceforth be dismissed as little to the purpose In place of the "idle words" of a mean and confused English underling, the reader is at last supplied instead with the coherent statements of an efficient adversary,—with Sir Francis Drake's own letter, the last, apparently, that he ever wrote, and one of the most characteristic[1]

[1] Since the foregoing was written, there has been published in Seville, 1947, *Los viajes de John Hawkins a America (1562-1595)* by Antonio Rumeu de Armas. Unfortunately, though *Elizabethan England* is in the Real Academia de la Historia, Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan, Escorial, Museo Naval, and several other Spanish libraries, Señor Rumeu de Armas has depended upon Corbett, and J. A. Williamson; and also has taken as a reliable witness Maynarde whose quips are not worthy of serious consideration. Though referring to Sir Richard Hawkins' *"Observations"* (1622) Señor Reumeu de Armas has not noticed the conversation reported by Hawkins with Don Beltrán de Castro, in which De Castro admits that Hawkins is as lawfully commissioned as himself. Corbett having set the example of referring to Drake as a "Prince of Corsairs" it is comprehensible but much to be regretted that instead of being guided by Don Beltrán de Castro, the Spanish historian in 1947 opens his *Prólogo* with reference to the *navigante y corsario ingles* and (p. xv) describes Queen Elizabeth's seamen as *corarios y piratas,* and their exploits as *la pirateria* His Plate VIII, map of London, is captioned as *emporio de las empresas commerciales y piraticas inglesas.* The work is excellently illustrated; attractively printed; and manifestly the author is not aware of the point which had seemed to be settled once and for all by Don Beltrán de Castro (and accepted by the Council of State):—that no man can be a pirate who holds his Sovereign's commission. It is to be hoped that there may be a second edition in which the author will eliminate the epithets *pirata* and *corsario* which mar an otherwise careful study of times so eventful for both our nations.

## NOTE B. "THE VOYAGE TRUELY DISCOURSED," 1595.

As to the English narrative, quoted in the foregoing section as *The voyage truely discoursed,* Hakluyt published it in the second edition of *The Principal Navigations* &c: *The voyage truely discoursed, made by sir Francis Drake and sir John Hawkins . . . . for some speciall service on the Islands and maine of the West Indies, with sixe of the Queene's ships, and 21 other shippes and barkes, containing 2500 men and boyes, in the yeere 1595. In which voyage both the foresaid knights died by sicknesse*

This is followed by some Spanish news, quoted and then answered by Henry Savile; the answer confirmed by Sir Thomas Baskerville, who challenges to a duel "Don Bernaldino Degadillo de Avenellada, General of the Spanish Fleet," giving him the choice of weapons, and offering to meet him in any neutral country. What especially offended the English was the assertion that *Francisco Draque murio en Nombre de Dios, de pena de aver perdido tantos Baxeles y gente, aunque despues se supo mas por estenso* To which Savile retorted that Drake did not die at Nombre de Dios but "betwixt the Island of Escudo and Puerto Bello," and that assuredly his death was not from grief for losses, as "we had none, one small pinnace exepted." He died of "the fluxe" of which he had

been ill for eight days before he "yielded up his spirit like a Christian to his Creator, quietly in his cabin."

Savile's corrections of what he calls "A Libell of Spanish lies" are in an angry tone, in remarkable contrast to Drake's own manners and to the polite amenities then usual in *buena guerra*. The student can see it all for himself in Mac Lehose's Hakluyt, Vol. X, (1904) pp 226-265 The frontispiece to that volume is the very interesting portrait of *Franciscus Dracus Nobiliss eques Anglue Aet· sua 43*, enlarged from the Dutch chart of Jodocus Hondius It is inscribed *Effigies fortiss. Ducis Francisci Draci ad vivum, una cum delinuatione admirandae ipsius navigationis quam Id Decemb. 1577 ex Anglia incepit. 4° vero Kalen Octob. 1580 feliciss. absolvit* (Though the shield for arms is blank this does not mean that Hondius doubted Drake's right to armorial insignia, for the "*nobiliss.*" in the inscription sufficiently denotes his standing).

While nearly every English writer on Drake and Hawkins has studied and commented upon the "Libell of Spanish lies", it seems remarkable that they have paid more attention to such defective matter than to the Spanish *Relación*, so valuable in enabling us to see the events at Puerto Rico through the eyes of opponents who did not indulge in vituperative language, but fought fairly, to uphold "His Majesty's reputation," without rancour or discourtesy.[1]

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[1] In *The Times Literary Supplement*, 6 November 1930, in reviewing Philip Gosse's *Sir John Hawkins*, Spain is described as "a very ill-armed colonial power," and the supposed "wretched quality" of the Spanish fleets is emphasised; from which we see that both author and reviewer were under the usual 19th-20th century misapprehensions. Also it was alleged that "the creed of Sir John Hawkins was hazy." On the contrary, he made a detailed statement of it in his Will. (E E Vol. IX, p 558) and nothing could be clearer. The grafting of 20th century confusion onto 16th century theology is typical of the methods which have led our public far away from the Elizabethan era while purporting to take them into it. An assertion in the same article that Hawkins "plainly neither loved nor trusted" Drake, is also unjustifiable. There is but one safe way to ascertain what the men of the 16th century believed and felt; namely from their own words. But James A Williamson's "*Age of Drake*" only quotes Hawkins' words once, and Drake's letters not at all.

Also misleading were certain retrospective remarks by Camden, *Annals*, Book 2, p. 115: as to Drake's circumnavigation voyage:

> "Drake being now returned, nothing troubled him more than that some principall men at the Court rejected the gold which he offered them, as being gotten by Pyracie. Nevertheless the vulgar sort of people honoured him with admiration and praises, who thought it no less honorable to have enlarged the borders of the English glory than of their Empire."

Observe that the "principal men" are not named: but the above sentence may be the origin of the assertion in Corbett's *Drake and the Tudor Navy* (1898) that Burghley was dreading the return of "the pirate". On the contrary, he was soon suggesting that Drake be put in command of "a very great and royal" War. (E.E. Vol. IV. pp. 108-109). This latter fact is one of the major discoveries made by the present writer; and it was published in 1934. But the spurious Burghley of 19th century misconception still holds the field. The master of a preparatory school in 1937 confessed that he "dared not" use *Elizabethan England* because its documents upset the current text books! They do. But are the great dead to be thus sacrificed, and vital truths suppressed? If so, what do we mean by "education"?

*APPENDIX A.*

## "MY TRUE ZEAL AND LOYALTY."

## WILL OF SIR JOHN HAWKINS. 1594-1595.[1]

The bequests in Sir John Hawkins's Will, 3rd March 1594, over and above those to his wife and relations, begin with his "most dread Sovereign Lady the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty," to whom as a testimony of "true zeal and loyalty" he bequeathed a jewel. To Lord Burghley, £100; to the Lord High Admiral, a diamond worth £100, or that sum in gold. To Sir John Fortescue, Chancellor of the Exchequer, £50. "*To my very good Cousin Sir Francis Drake Kn^t^ my best jewel which is a cross of emorodes*" [emeralds]. There follows a long list of mementoes for other friends; and legacies to servants. His London house was left to his wife for her lifetime, and afterwards to Richard Hawkins and his heirs male. On the 16th of June 1595 Sir John added a codicil and another at sea on the 8th of November. We will take the latter first:

> "In the name of God, Amen In my Last Will and Testament left with my wife I made declaration of my faith and hope of salvation. . . .[2] That Will, I do mean to stand"; and "that there shall be knowledge given by the space of one whole year and a day where I have had most conversation and habitation: that is to say in Plymouth, in London in Saint Dunstans-in-the-East, and at Deptford Strond, the minister of those places shall publish that my will is that whatsoever wrong I have done to any man, if there shall be showed any just . . . cause, he shall be restored to his contentment.
>
> "For the faults or offences which I might have committed against Her Majesty, I do give unto her two thousand pounds (if she will take it) for that she hath in her possession of mine a far greater sum which I do release unto her. This I mean with God's grace to perform if He of His mercy send me home."

From this last, which seems to have hitherto escaped notice, we can infer that Hawkins —though taking the precaution of putting his further intentions in writing,—was still looking forward to returning safely to England. But if otherwise fated, he relied on his wife, "of all love," to see his wishes observed. "All the money, plate and provisions which I have in the ship" were to be kept for her use. His first Will, dated 3rd of March 37th Elizabeth (1594), had made his son co-executor with Lady Hawkins, and heir to considerable landed property. But in the Codicil of 16th of June, 1595, he had added,

> ". . . forasmuch as the said Richard Hawkins is supposed to be taken and detained prisoner in the Indias, . . . if the said Richard Hawkins shall not return into this realm of England within a space of three years, . . . after the 20th day of December next coming after the date of my said Will, . . . then . . . the said Dame Margaret my wife" shall be "sole executrix . . ." and all legacies to Richard "be void saving only the sum of three thousand pounds I will my said executrix shall pay for and towards his redemption and ransom, if

[1] Spelling now modernised from Original. P.P.C. 26 Drake. Proved 28 April 1596. This Will was printed in 1888 in "Plymouth Armada Heroes," pp. 72-76, with Codicil of 16th June 1595; but without the codicil of 8th November.

[2] "I believe in God the Father . . . I believe all the articles of faith which are mentioned by the book of the Old and New Testament, . . . and in all the Lord hath promised."

therewith only, or therewith together with other supply or means, he may be redeemed; and not otherwise."

We have seen that the attitude of Richard Hawkins's step-mother does not appear to have been friendly. And whereas, on surrendering to Don Beltrán de Castro he expected to be swiftly ransomed, he was fated to drag out many years as a prisoner in Spain. It may be that the terms of his father's Will,—by which, if Richard's absence were prolonged beyond a certain date, his stepmother was to acquire sole power and most of the possessions,—made it substantially to her advantage that he should not be released.

But the devotion of Lady Hawkins to Sir John was expressed in the monument she erected to his memory; and on it she alluded to her predecessor, his first wife Katherine Gonson. But had she felt real sympathy for Richard it should not have been difficult for her to arrange for his ransom. Her husband's entire confidence in her is evident from his first Will in which he bequeathes to the children of his brother William Hawkins

"a full fifth part of all such adventure and portion of mine as shall return to my use, profit, and benefit, from the seas, in mine and Sir Francis Drake's Voyage, and the like fifth part of mine adventure and portion which I have at the seas with my said son Richard Hawkins in the ship called the *Daintie*, and in the rest of his ships. And the like part of all mine adventure which I have at seas with Sir Walter Rawleigh Knt in his ship called the *Roebuck* or *Malcontent*," &c., &c. "*And I do refer it to the further discretion of my well-beloved wife to enlarge the said portions and to bestow more on the said children as God shall bless the returns of the said adventure· which I hope she will liberally do if the same adventures by the death of my said son do happen to come wholly to her.*"[1]

In the codicil of 16th June 1595, he had added legacies "to the two eldest sons" of the Lord High Admiral of England, "the debt which his Lordship oweth me . . . being near £700." And to William Cecil, son of Sir Robert Cecil, £500. All bequests to his servants were to be doubled.

His hospital at Chatham, endowed by him in perpetuity, flourishes to this day.[2]

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[1] Captured 21st June, 1594, Richard Hawkins was still a prisoner 30 June and 26 July 1602, writing to Sir Robert Cecil protesting against his step-mother detaining the money bequeathed by his father for his ransom. (E.E. under date).

[2] In *A Perambulation of Kent*, 2nd ed· 1596, p 365, under Chatham,—after describing Henry VIII's Hospital of Saint Bartholomew,—Lambarde says, "In the confines of this parish, towards Rochester also, was now lately builded a receptacle for ten or moe aged Mariners and Shipwrights, which (after the founders name) her Majestie our soueraign in her letters Patents of the incorporation, dated 27. August, 36. of her Reigne, would be called The Hospitall of Iohn Haukins Knight in Chatham."

See also Miss Hawkins's *Plymouth Armada Heroes*, 1888, pp. 56-57: "From an old inscription cut in the wall, the building was finished in 1592." According to the Charter of Incorporation, there were to be 26 "Governors" viz: The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Rochester, the Lord High Admiral, the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports; the Dean of Rochester; the Treasurer, Comptroller, Surveyor and clerk of the Accounts of the Navy; six principal Master Mariners, two principal shipwrights; the Master and Wardens of Trinity House, and their successors. Miss Hawkins stated that "Twelve pensioners are still living in Sir John Hawkins's Hospital at Chatham . . . In the Council room over the fireplace, is a portrait in oils of the founder; also two hatchments": for which see her plate facing p. 57 op. cit: showing also the chest with three locks in which the Charter was kept. The above-named portrait has been acquired by the National Maritime Museum; it is on panel, inscribed "Anno 1581. Ætatis suae 44" [or 42] Half length, showing one hand, on which are two rings.

For a miniature of Sir John Hawkins, see E E Vol. II, plate 14; for facsimile of his handwriting in 1571, plate 15, facing p. 116. For other references to him, see E.E. Vol. I, pp. 281-303; Vol. II, pp. 101-123; Vol. IV, p. 114; Vol. V. pp. 97; 107-110; 181: Vol. VII, pp. 256-257; 312-314. 317-320.

*APPENDIX B.*

## "MAGNANIMOUS DRAKE."

### *Fitz-Geffrey's forgotten tribute, 1596.*

Of contemporary testimonies one of the most important is *Sir Francis Drake, his Honorable Lifes Commendation and his Tragical Deaths Lamentation.*[1]

> "Whom dead yet all men's thoughts alive do make;
> For who could think that Death could conquer Drake,"—

"magnanimous Drake" who had so often challenged "the choicest martiallists of warlike Spain." As Sir Francis is acclaimed by Fitz-Geffrey as "England's Dragon," we may wonder whether it was this epic, printed twice at Oxford in 1596, which provoked Lope de Vega to produce *La Dragontea*, 1598?

Though reissued by Sir Egerton Bridges in 1819, the English poem does not appear to have been known to any of Drake's biographers.

Says Fitz-Geffrey—himself a West Country parson,—

> "Not of the vulgar, base, inglorious sort,
> But such did follow wars as ruled in peace,
> Whose very names their fortune did import,
> Such rare adherents did to Drake resort."

> "What say they? Death doth grief and sorrow end?
> O, how they are deceived in saying so.
> Death only did this grief and sorrow send;
> Death was the only agent of our woe.
> Death was our dreary and our dismal foe:
> For had not Death himself subdued Drake,
> The world beside could not him captive make.

> "This only comfort unto us in life,
> (O simple comfort in so great distress)
> That no proud Spaniard hath his life bereft
> No man may boast he caused our wretchedness,
> Nor triumph he subdued earth's worthiness:
> But only Death our Treasure have bereaven."

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[1] *Conamur tenues grandia At Oxford Printed by Ioseph Barnes and are to be sold in Pouls Churchyard at the signe of the Bible, 1596.* (Reprinted by Sir Egerton Bridges, B.M. C. 57. 12). Dedication to Drake's widow, signed "Your Ladiships vertues devoted, Charles Fitz Geffrey." Born about 1575, he was M.A. of Broadgates Hall, Oxford, one of the poets who lamented the death in 1591 of "heroique Devereux" Essex's brother (E.E. Vol. VIII, p. 445). Mentioned in *Palladis Tamia*, 1594, and quoted in *England's Parnassus*, 1600; author of a volume of Latin epigrams and epitaphs, and of *The Blessed Birthday*, 1634. A cleric of the Church of England, incumbent of St Dominic's in Cornwall; an admirer of Essex. We shall hear of him again.

This appears to have been some consolation also in the case of Hawkins,—that both these leaders were taken away by the Will of God and not by the hand of man. Moreover Hawkins like Drake, "for his country died."

> "So Drake, the pilgrim of the world, intending
> A vowèd voyage unto Honour's shrine,
> At length his pilgrimage in Heaven had ending:
> . . . .
> There did a never-dying life renew
> Bidding base earth and all the world adieu."

Though Drake's mortal form was buried beneath a distant Ocean, his soul was deathless,—

> "A fearful comet in the sight of Spain,
> Shall unto us a radiant light remain.
>
> "He who alive to them a dragon was
> Shall be a dragon unto them again;
> For with his death his terror shall not pass,
> But still amid the air he shall remain
> A dreadful meteor in the eye of Spain;
> And, as a fiery dragon, shall portend
> England's success and Spain's disastrous end."

Actually Spain, very far from a "disastrous end," was not to lose her Colonial Empire until the Nineteenth Century. But Fitz-Geffrey—taking pride in Essex being still on earth—though mourning for England's sad bereavement in losing both Hawkins and Drake within so short a time, apostrophised those champions joyously,

> "Live, O live for ever, ever-living spirits . . .
> Heaven have your souls, the earth your fame inherits.
> Though earth shall end, your praise shall still remain."

To Fitz-Geffrey's 2nd edition is added a Preface to the "Courteous or captious Reader," dated 17 November, 1596, in which of "honoured and admired" Sir Francis Drake, "England's dragon," it is said that "the best cannot write too loftily, nor the loftiest too worthily, nor the worthiest sufficiently; who better deserveth a Homer than Achilles, a Virgil than Æneas, an Ennius than the great African," &c. Fitz-Geffrey apologises for daring to treat such a theme. But commendatory verses by one of his friends reminded him that he was the namesake of Geoffrey Chaucer; and suggested that "If grave Pythagoras' sage saw be true" perhaps "old Geoffrey's spirit" could live again in Charles Fitz-Geffrey. Poetry then was still a vocation; and Elizabethan poets were cheerfully confident that Posterity would value the champions both of Mars and of the Muses.




Lope de Vega from a print by Pedro Perret,
first published in *Triunfos divinos con otras rimas sacras. Madrid. Viuda de Alonso Martin. 1625.*

Born in 1562, Lope de Vega was 26 in 1588 when he volunteered for the expedition against England. He was 33 at the time of Drake's death; and survived until 1625. He is said to have written more than a thousand plays, many of which were never printed and have been lost to posterity. An enormous number of his works remain, and he ranks as "the father of Spanish drama," one of the most vigorous and voluminous writers in all time. In *La España del Siglo de Oro*, 1940, p. 147, Don Angel González Palencia sums him up as *caracter vehemente y apasionada*, words especially applicable to the emotions overflowing in *La Dragontea*,—intense patriotism, fiery theological ardour and Spanish pride: qualities which account for the favour in which he stood with the Duke of Alba. The present Duke, in a *Discurso* to the *Real Academia Española* (Madrid, 1943, p. 38) mentioned that an original receipt in his possession proves that in 1591 Lope de Vega was "on the pay roll of the House of Alba, as gentleman in waiting and secretary to the then Duke, Don Antonio de Toledo, at the time of the Duke's marriage, at Alba de Tormes, to Doña Mencia de Mendoza, daughter of the Duke of Infantado." Lope's prolonged sojourn at Alba, "and the prolific work of his genius while living there, are well known; as also that it was the only period of his life free from extraneous troubles . . ."

## *APPENDIX C.*

## "LA DRAGONTEA."

There appeared in 1598 *La Dragontea de Lope de Vega Carpio. Al Principe nuestro Señor. En Valẽcia por Pedro Patricio Mey.* The title page decorated in red, with a prostrate dragon lying on its back while an eagle swoops down upon it,—*Tandem Aquila vincit* inscribed below, and at the side *& conculcabis leonem & draconem Psal 90*—makes clear at a glance the intended moral.

After a dedicatory letter, to the Prince of Asturias, is a *Prólogo de Don Francisco de Borja. Comendador mayor de Montesa,* discoursing on poetry in its various aspects, especially *estilo se llama Heroico . . . como la de Homero, y Virgilio, y el Tasso, que tratando de gente célebre.* Other commendations ensue, notably a sonnet by the Duke of Osuna addressed to the Prince of Asturias, and verses in Latin and Spanish by *Frey Miguel Cejuda del habito de Calatrava:*

"Quiso la inglesa nación
Dejar a España ultrajada,
Y a tan altiva intención,
Vuestra pluma, y una espada
Le dan la satisfacción.
El fiero orgullo reporta,
Y España, porque le importa
Por su defensa recibe,
Pluma que tan bien escribe,
Y espada que tan bien corta"[1]

Though the poet had fought in the Armada in 1588, the overthrow of the *Invencible* does not figure in his epic, and Lope's vehement wrath against Drake is in remarkable contrast to the manner of Don Pedro de Valdés when describing to Philip II how the Vice-Admiral of England, as a gentleman, accorded him the honours of *buena guerra*[2] And though it is a compliment to Drake—*Capitán Dragón famoso*—to be made the theme of a Spanish rhetorical poem in ten cantos, Lope de Vega took "poetic license" to follow his own inclinations; and his *cossurio* Drake, of origin *pobre y sin favor* bears scant resemblance to the original[3]

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[1] That Spain would need for her defence a gifted pen and a piercing sword is, in plain prose, the gist of this eloquent apostrophe to Lope de Vega, who had used both with considerable vigour.

[2] E E. Vol. VII, pp. 335-337.

[3] In depreciating Drake's family and position, presumably Lope de Vega was not aware that Drake's wife was the only daughter and heiress of Sir George Sydenham of Combe Sydenham, who (in those days of exact observance of "degree") would certainly not have been allowed to marry a "corsario"

She was Drake's second wife, married, it is supposed, in the summer of 1585 when he was M.P. for Bossiney (Tintagel). The Sydenhams claimed to have originated in Roger de Arundel who came to England with William the Conqueror, the name being changed to "de Sydenham" in the time of King John when the family settled at Combe Sydenham in Somersetshire. Richard de Sydenham was Judge of the Common Pleas in the reign of Richard II. His younger son Simon de Sydenham, Archdeacon of Wells and Bishop of Chichester (1431-37) was sent by Henry VI as Ambassador to the Emperor Ferdinand, who gave him a golden cup as a memento. His eldest brother Henry had a son and grandson both M P s and Sheriffs. The latter married an heiress; and this branch "was for three centuries one of the leading families of Somersetshire." Elizabeth Sydenham, when she married Drake, had a life interest in the manors of Buckland, Sherford, Yarcombe, and Samford Spiney, as well as being heiress to the estate of Combe Sydenham.

Vide *The History of the Sydenham Family, collected from Family Documents, Pedigrees, Deeds & Copious Memoranda By the late Dr G. F Sydenham, of Dulverton. Edited by A. T. Cameron, M A., F.S.A (Scot.), Vicar of St Michael and All Angels, Nottingham. With Illustrations and a Chart Pedigree of the Senior (Dulverton) branch of the Family. Privately Printed in Great Britain at 36 Pemberton Road, East Molesey, Surrey, by E. Dwelly, mcmxxviij,* pp. 523-617.

Nevertheless the narrative poem remains ever interesting as an example of Spanish pride in *historias de heroicas, y católicas hazanas.*[1]

We have already observed that neither King Philip nor De Valdés made the mistake of classing as a pirate one who held the Commission of his Sovereign.[2] Nor did the Governor of Puerto Rico so term Drake in 1595: the official Spanish narrative emphasised the "*Comisión de la Reina*".

Drake's biographers seem not to have noticed in *Quodlibets*, London, 1628, a poem on "the Great and Famous ever to be honoured Knight Sir Francis Drake" by Robert Hayman, who as a boy had been noticed by Sir Francis:

> "Glory of his age, After-ages wonder,
> Excelling all those that excell'd before . . .
> Valiant, just, wise, milde godly Drake."

They further have overlooked a most remarkable tribute from Brantôme, who, as a pious Catholic, can not be accused of loading the rhetorical dice in favour of the heretical Queen's defender. Surveying "the lives of the Most Illustrious Men and great Foreign Captains" in his own time,—from the Emperor Charles V downwards,—Brantôme describes Drake as "*famous at sea beyond any who has arisen during more than two hundred years*" This is doubly striking, in that it occurs in a section enumerating the virtues of the Spanish Captain-General, the renowned Don Alonzo de Bazán, 1st Marqués de Santa Cruz.[3]

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[1] Canto X is headed *Muere Francisco Draque, eligen los ingleses por su general al coronel don Thomas Basbile, a quien don Alonso de Sotemayor inquieta desde tierra. Finalmente se hace a la vela, y de cincuenta y cuatro velas con que entró en el puerto de la ciudad de Nombre de Dios, sale de Puerto Belo con diez y ocho, y llega a Angalaterra con solas cinco*

Actually Baskerville brought the fleet safely home, but eloquence rather than accuracy was Lope's strong point.

[2] The latest editors have unfortunately accepted the "corsario" epithet in an otherwise admirably produced edition of *La Dragontea de Lope de Vega Carpio La publica el Museo Naval en commemoración del III Centenario del Fénix de los Ingenios. Prólogo de D Gregorio Marañon. 1935*, Volume I being the text of the poem and Volume II *Repertorio de documentos existentes en las colecciones de manuscritos del Museo Naval y que se refieren a las empresas del Draque contra España* (1568-1594). *Imprenta Aldecoa, Burgos* There was to have been issued a third volume *El vocubulario marítimo de Lope en La Dragontea por Cástor Ibáñez de Aldecoa y Julio F Guillén, del Museo Naval*, but *el manuscrito del tercero se perdió durante la revolución roja* The 1st volume is dated on the colophon "*30 de Mayo de 1935*" The second, 274 pp, contains Introduction by Don V. Fernández Asis. *Documentos* pp 37-199, *Bibliografía*, pp. 197-221. Indices, pp. 223-274. This edition is limited to 400 numbered copies. The Bibliography includes articles in *The Mariners Mirror* (such as Professor Callender's "Drake and his detractors," Vol. VII, 1921); and is alphabetically arranged under the author's names; in some cases the titles are slightly abbreviated.

[3] ". . . le Milord Drach [Drake] Anglois, le plus fameux homme de dessus cet mer qui ait este il y a plus de deux cent ans; & qui a bien donné de l'affaire en Espagne" Observe that far from treating Drake as a "nobody," he elevates him from a Knight to a Peer.

*Memoires de Messire Pierre de Bourdeille, Seigneur de Brantome, Contenans Le Vies de Hommes Illustres & grands Capitaines estrangers de son temps*, Leyden, 1665. p. 383. Dedication "A la Reyne Marguerite" dated "De Brantome le dernier de Mars 1604." E E. ante p. xxxiv.

# LA DRAGONTEA
## DE LOPE DE VEGA
## CARPIO.

Al Principe nueſtro Señor.




En Valẽcia por Pedro Patricio Mey. 1598

Title page of the first edition of *La Dragontea*, 1598.

*APPENDIX D.*

## DRAKE'S FINAL VOYAGE DELINEATED, 1595-6.

## CONTEMPORARY CARTOGRAPHY.

Of special interest to Englishmen and Spaniards is *Un Atlas inconnu de la Dernière Expédition de Drake (vues prises de son bord.) Par M. Ch de La Roncière (Extrait du Bulletin de géographie historique et descriptive. No. 3 1909. Paris Imprimerie Nationale. 1909.)* This gives a selected seventeen maps beautifully reproduced from the originals now in the Bibliothèque Nationale. They were identified by M. de La Roncière, when, on examination of the annotations, he found in folio 17 a reference to the death of Drake in such terms as to show that this cartographer was with him afloat: *La croix de Saint Georges, qui flotte au grand mât, ne laisse aucun doute sur l'identité de vaissaux; c'était alors comme aujour-d'hui l'insigne du navire admiral.*

The maps include the island of Fuerteventura; the isle of Martinique; la Dominique; los Santos; Montserrat, Redonda, Santo Eustachio, Santo Cristoforo, and Saba; also a view of Nombre de Dios: but there is no map reproduced of Puerto Rico.[1]

M. de La Roncière says (p. 10): *Le mercredi, 28 janvier 1596, la Défiance était en vue de Puerto Bello, vis-à-vis de l'îlot de Buena Ventura, à six lieus en mer. Le peintre du bord venait d'achever une "description" très précise de la côte, où une différence de teintes souligne les divers plans perspectifs, le pavillon amiral flottait encore, dans son dessin, à le cime du mât, quand une nouvelle terrifiante lui fut apportée,*

as shown by a memo on the drawing: "This morninge when the description notid or taken of this lande, beinge the 28. of Januarie 1595. beinge Wednes daie in the morninge. S[r] Frauncis Dracke Died of the bludie flix righte of the Ilande de Buena Ventura. som 6 Leagues at sea whom now resteth with the Lorde."

The cartographical record was continued under Sir Thomas Baskerville:

*jusqu 'au Morro Hermoso et au cap de la Canoas, à huit lieues de Carthagène* (fol.: 18) and Via Santiago de Cuba (fol: 19). Baskerville and the fleet made their way, *en contournant Cuba par le Nord. Le peintre de la "Défiance" releva les profils de la côte septentrionale de l'île (fol: 19-20), notamment les monts que leur forme pittoresque a fait surnommer les Orgues, les Organos, et les crêtes dentelées comme un couronne qui se profilent à 14 milles de la Havane. L'escadre anglais revint dès lors paisiblement à travers l'Atlantique par les*

[1] The present historian wrote in 1939 to Monsieur Charles Bourel de La Roncière for permission to reproduce one of this series but received no answer. The outbreak of the World War and the sad plight of France prevented repetition of a request which may have miscarried in the post. But students can see the book in the British Museum (No: 10841. t. 16).

*Açores, Florès et Corvo, relevées le 8 avril (f. 22), et enfin les Sorlingues (fol: 22 v°) la dernière vue figuree dans notre atlas.*[1]

In the early stages of Drake's career, his Spanish prisoner, Don Francisco de Zarate had been perturbed to find that the English leader of men carried afloat a skilled cartographer whose services he employed to the utmost advantage to depict the coasts of the *Nuevo Mundo.*[2]

The 1595-96 series of drawings are anonymous. Had they been by Boazio they would presumably have been signed according to his custom. But whosoever was employed, these sketches form a unique memorial of Drake's last voyage; wherefore all patriotic Englishmen and every student of cartography should be grateful to M. de la Roncière for his discovery.[3]

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[1] Op: cit: p 11 The size of the original is not stated. There follow reproductions of Nos: 1-17, i.e. those before Drake's death. "phototypies" by Berthand, Paris: viz: (1) "Matenino"; (2) "Forteventura", (3) La dominica; (4) Los Santos, (5) Goa de lupe; (6) Monserate (with La Redondela); (7) Curacao; (8) Christmas Ilande; (9) Sainte Christopher (with Broken Ilandes, and Dcrecheo); (10) Estacia (with Saba); (11) Las Moeies; (12) Parte of . . . . Tera Firma, the Cape of Concibacoa with the land roninge towards Cape Lanela; (13) Nombre de Dios; (14) Parte of the lande of veragua (with) Land to the West of Nombre de Dios (and) Escudo Ilande; (15) Escudo Ilande; (16) Parte of description . . . of west coaste or lande of the great Baie of Veragua (with parte of the necke of lande to the west of Nombre de Dios (sic); (17) Tera Firma (Puerto Bello. Buena Ventura).

[2] *Archivo General de Indias.* Patronata E I C 5 12 21, nú. 19.

[3] Charles de L Roncière has since been author, with Georges Clerc-Rampal, of *Histoire de la Marine Française illustrée,* issued up to 31st May 1934 to subscribers, and afterwards to the general public at an increased price. This vast work extended from the Norman Conquest of England and Sicily, to the recent times of aviation. As said by the publishers (Larousse, Paris), *il y a là une documentation qui n'avait jamais encore été mise a la portée du public et grâce à laquelle ou s'expliquera bien des questions qui seraient sans celà difficiles a comprendre. Mieux encore, cette histoire de notre marine met en lumière des faits extrémement curieux jusqu'ics ignorées du public, et présenté en maints endroits des points de vue neufs qui bouleverseront bien des idées generalement admises.*

When Professor Callender stated much the same as to *Elizabethan England,* the present writer was informed by several men of letters that as all the vexed questions had been "settled long ago," new documentation was not "in demand" and would not be acceptable!

*APPENDIX E.*

## " DRAKE IN SPANISH POETRY."

In 1906 there was issued in Paris *Drake dans la poésie espanole (1570-1732). Thème pour le doctorat d'Université presentée à la Faculté des lettres de l'Université de Paris par John Arthur Ray, M.A., de l'Université de Yale* Though it was an excellent idea to undertake such a survey, Mr Ray's opening sentence, p. xv, as to *les pirateries de Drake* shows him accepting literally the rhetoric of Lope de Vega, from whose epic he gives well-chosen quotations but without any reference to the very different manner in which Drake was treated in 1596 by Fitz-Geffrey, whose work is not included in his Bibliography. Though mentioning Queen Elizabeth as giving Drake " the means to equip a fleet," 1577, and as knighting him on his return, Mr Ray failed to realise that pirates were not knighted but hanged; and in alluding to Drake's capture of *le vaisseau du capitaine Zarate* during the circumnavigation voyage, he seems not to have noticed Don Francisco de Zarate's own narrative which portrays Drake as dignified, ceremonious, and respected.[1]

Though explaining the Spanish nickname " Dragón " for Drake as a probable reference to his coat of arms,[2] Mr Ray introduces Drake as coming of a *famille assez pauvre,* an echo of Lope de Vega's *pobre y sin favor* But every Elizabethan heraldry book specified gentility not as a matter of fortune but of honour; and Mr G. R. G. Conway discovered in our time that when Drake's cousin young John Drake, aged fifteen, was interrogated by the Inquisition in Mexico he began by informing the Inquisitors that his family and kinsfolk had been *caballeros* for many generations, both paternally and maternally. The Tavistock Drakes were cadets of the Drakes of Ashe, who prided themselves on the antiquity of their family; and the Drakes of Ashe were among the ancestors of the present Duke of Berwick and Alba, and of the Dukes of Marlborough and of Winston Churchill. [3]

While noticing that Lope *fait nulle part dans la " Dragontea " de l'Invincible Armada,* Mr Ray adds *et il faut croire que cet omission est intentionée, que Lope dut savoir que Drake se trouvait parmi les capitaines anglais qui la combattrent* But the phrase that Drake " was to be found among the Captains " is not sufficiently emphatic to designate the Second-in Command, who in Spanish despatches at the time was treated almost as if he had been the Admiral Commanding in chief.[4]

Mr Ray considers that Lope's rendering is *la plus exacte* he could have produced *avec l'information qu'il possèdent.* But the poet could have consulted Don Pedro de Valdés as to the official position and family connections of Drake, and need not have turned him into a Scotsman,—*pirata de Escocia, Caledona fiero; El dragón de Escocia,* interspersed with *dragón britano,* and *dragón ingles* as if an Englishman and a Scot were synonymous; instead of which, even within Drake's memory, Scots and

[1] E.E. Vol. VII, p. 62, note 3.

[2] *En excudo de plata dragón roya,* says Lope. For print of Drake with the dragon arms and crest, see E.E. Vol. IV, plate 10.

[3] E.E. Vol. VII, p. 331.

[4] E.E. Vol. VII, p. 344. In the *Museo Naval* Memorial Edition of *La Dragontea* 1935, Vol. II, *Documentos,* pp. 168-193, are printed several prose narratives of the doings of " *la Armada Inglesa,*" in 1595, under " *dos Generales que son Juan Aquines y Francisco Drake,*" whom the anonymous narrator incongruously terms *corsarios* even while doing justice to their renown: p. 189, *Corsarios famosos tan conocidos, y pue han hecho cosas tan famosas, mayormente el Francisco Drake.* A list ensues of the English officers, not always easy to recognise in their Espaniolated form. Sir Thomas Baskerville is *Coronel Tomás Vasquevielit,* Captain York is *Capitan Yarch,* &c., &c. (pp. 190-191). Unfortunately the editor of this valuable *Repertoria* of documents repeatedly applied to Drake and Hawkins the term *pirata* against which Don Beltrán de Castro so emphatically and effectually protested in the case of Hawkins' son. (E.E. Vol. IX, pp 200; 207; 222)

English had been bitter enemies. And King Philip never abandoned hope of using the Caledonian nation against the English.

Among Spanish 16th century compositions listed and touched upon by Mr Ray is one of which an excellent reissue has since been made available, under the careful editorship of Don Angel González Palencia: *Discurso de el Capitán Francisco Draque, que compuso Joan de Castellanos Beneficiado de Tunja 156-2. Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan, Madrid MCMXXII.*[1]

Castellanos expended much eloquence in deploring Drake's exploit of 1586:—

"I sing, with profoundest sighs from the depths of a broken heart, of a case so hard, so sad, and so full of suffering, an attack so full of fury, a calamity which was notorious in certain ports of the New World.

"Give to me, my Muse, such courage that with truthful sincerity I may make known some part of my sentiments in so bitter a tragedy, and tell of the destruction and desolation brought about, with his Lutheran following, by the English Captain, named Francisco This is our pious intent[2]

"For such an enterprise the fellow had to be astute, wise, and wideawake; and in Spain I was told that he had been page to the extremely noble Duchess of Feria, whose lineage proved to be English[3] Also, many said that he was a nephew of Juan Acle,[4] who was a sea-robber."[5]

This rendering of *el Capitán Francisco Draque de nación ingles* we have already considered under its date, and it remains significant that Spaniards expended such fiery energy upon the denunciation of the adversary. Indeed, these rebukes are a form of inverted compliment, showing the vivid impression produced upon that race of famous warriors by the maritime champion of heretical *Isabel de Inglaterra*[6]

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[1] E E, Vol. VII, pp 62-63 See also *The Mariner's Mirror*, Vol. IX (1923) pp. 16-28, article on Castellanos by Professor Callender.

[2] Given in Spanish, E.E. Vol. VII, p. 62.

[3] Jane Dormer, first cousin to Sir Philip Sidney. Married in Queen Mary's time to the Count (subsequently Duke) of Feria. For her efforts and his to win Hawkins for Spain, see E.E. Vol. II, pp. 105-109. Her portraits are forthcoming in E E. Vol. X.

[4] John Hawkins.

[5] *Astuto dizen ser y varon sage*
*y animoso para qualquier empresa,*
*y en Hespaña me dicen que fué page*
*de la generosisima duquesa*
*de Feria, que tambien, querto a linage,*
*esta señora consta ser inglesa,*
*tampien, afirmam muchos ser sobrino*
*de Joan Acle, que fué ladron marino*

[6] As these sheets are passing through the press there is being exhibited on loan in London a miniature of Sir Francis Drake by Nicholas Hilliard, painted "to the order of the Archduke Ferdinand II of Tirol (died 1595) for his collection of portraits of famous men. Inscribed *D. Frn. Drak. Oceani indict. utrisque. explorator Magnvs. Aetatis Suae 42. Anno Dni. 1581.*"

Catalogue of "Exhibition of Armour of Kings and Captains from the National Collection of Austria" [i.e. the former Imperial Collection rearranged in 1889 by the Emperor Francis Joseph.] "H.M. Tower of London 12th May—7th August, 1949." p. 29. No: 105.

# Sir Francis Drake Revived.

Who is or may be a Pattern to ſtirre up all Heroicke and active SPIRITS of theſe Times, to benefit their Countrey and eternize their Names by like Noble ATTEMPTS.

Being a Summary and true Relation of foure ſeverall *VOYAGES* made by the ſaid Sir FRANCIS DRAKE to the *WEST-INDIES*.

*VIZ.*

His dangerous adventuring for GOLD and SILVER with the gaining thereof. And the ſurprizing of *Nombre de dios* by himſelfe and two and fifty Men.
His Encompaſſing the WORLD.
His Voyage made with *Chriſtopher Carleill*, *Martin Frobuſher*, *Francis Knollis*, and others. Their taking the Townes of Saint *Jago*, *Sancto Domingo*, *Carthagena* and Saint *Auguſtine*.
His laſt Voyage (in which he dyed) being accompanied with Sir *John Hawkins*, Sir *Thomas Baskerfield*, Sir *Nicholas Clifford*, with others. His manner of Buriall.

Collected out of the Notes of the ſaid Sir *Francis Drake*; Maſter *Philip Nichols*, Maſter *Francis Fletcher*, Preachers; and the Notes of divers other Gentlemen (who went in the ſaid Voyages) carefully compared together.

Printed at *London* for *Nicholas Bourne*, dwelling at the South entrance of the royall Exchange, 1653.

Reproduced by courtesy of Messrs Maggs Bros.

That a work first published in 1638 reappeared fifteen years later, with enlargements and a new title page, is one of many indications of the durability of Drake's renown. See E.E., p. 573, Note 2.

*APPENDIX F.*

## "SIR FRANCIS DRAKE REVIVED."

Thirty-two years after Drake's death his nearest representative dedicated to King Charles I, *Sir Francis Drake Revived*, &c., based on reports written by several companions of his Voyage of 1572-73. *Reviewed by Sir Francis Drake himselfe before his death, and much holpen and enlarged by divers Notes with his owne hand here and there Inserted. Set forth by Sir Francis Drake Baronet (his Nephew) now living.*[1] This is not included by Mr. Ray among English books in his Drake bibliography. He says (p 35) "losing the favour of Elizabeth after his failures at Cadiz and Lisbon, Drake retired into private life." (Actually Drake's attack on Cadiz in 1587 was one of his glories). Let us observe that "The Dedicatory Epistle intended to Q. Elizabeth, Written by Sir Francis Drake, Deceased," is dated "Jan. 1, 1592" ('93 N.S.) during the time he retrospectively is fancied to have been in "disgrace." It shows no sign of any such consciousness; and, while duly respectful is firm as to the "rightfulness" of actions which 20th century English writers miscall "piratical."

"To the Queenes Most Excellent Majestie, my most dread Soveraigne.

Madam, seeing divers have diversely reported and written of these Voyages and Actions which I have attempted & made, everie one endeavouring to bring to light whatsoever inklings or conjectures they have had whereby many untruths have been published, and the certain truths concealed, as I have thought it necessarie myselfe, as in a Card,[2] to pricke the principall points of the Counsailes taken, attempts made, and success had, during the whole course of my employment in these services against the Spaniards, not as setting Sayle for maintaining my reputation in mens judgement, but only as sitting at Helme if occasion shall be, for conducting like Actions hereafter, So I have accounted it my duetie to present this Discourse to Your Majestie as of right, either for it selfe, being the first fruites of your servants Pen, or for the matter, being *service done by your poor vassal against your Great Enemie*, at such times, in such places, and after such sort, as may seem strange to those that are not acquainted with the whole carriage thereof, but will be a *pleasing remembrance to your Highnesse*, who take the apparent height of the Almightes favour towards you, by these events, as truest instruments, humbly submitting myself to your Gracious censure, both in writing and presenting, *that posteritie be not deprived of such helpe as may happily be gained hereby, and our present Age (at least) may be satisfied in the rightfulness of these Actions* which hitherto have been silenced, and your Servants labour not seeme altogether lost, not onely in Travell by Sea and Land, but also in writing the Report thereof, a worke to him no less troublesome, yet made pleasant and sweete, in that it hath beene, is and shall bee for your Majesties content; to whom I have devoted my selfe, live or die.

FRANCIS DRAKE."

[1] "London. Printed for Nicholas Bourne," &c. 1638. Reprinted 1932, for the Hakluyt Society, and Series, Vol. LXXI. Edited by I. A. Wright, B.A.; F.R.Hist.S.; Comendadora, Order of Alfonso XII; Fellow of the Dutch Royal Historical Society, Utrecht.

[2] Map or chart.

The points now italicised are characteristic. But presumably Sir Francis never had leisure to complete the " worke " with his pen, as his later and most vital enterprises are not included in the first edition; but were added to that of 1653. His nephew in 1628 addresses " the courteous Reader " with a reminder how Sir Francis was one of twelve children, the greater number living and dying at sea, but the youngest dying ashore as heir to the " worthily gotten " property of the Queen's Admiral.

The 19th century notion that Drake when in Ireland was " hiding " from the Privy Council is answered by the present writer, who revealed that Drake was chosen after Burghley made the proviso that the officers for the Irish venture were to be carefully selected.[1]. The fallacy as to his Irish adventure need never have arisen, considering that in 1628 " *his excellent service both by Sea and Land in Ireland under Walter Earle of Essex,*" was proudly noted by the other Sir Francis in the list of honourable achievements:

> " His next voyage about the World. Another wherein he took Saint Iago, Carthagena, Saint Domingo, Saint Augustino; his doings at Cadiz,[2] . . . his stirrings in Eightie seven; his remarkable Actions in Eightie eight; his endeavours in the Portingall imployment; his last enterprise determined by death, and his filling Plimouth with a plentiful streame of fresh water."

His nephew's aim was to stir up the Reader " to the worship of God and service of our King and Countrey by his example."[3] This at a time when the failure in 1625 of the English expedition to Cadiz was fresh in the remembrance of Europe,[4] and while King Charles the First was struggling unsuccessfully against heavy odds to restore the Royal Navy to its former strength and glory.[5]

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[1] E.E. Vol. III, p. 18

[2] Which Mr Ray mistakes for a defeat, not comparing Lope de Vega's rendering with the English contemporary despatches.

[3] There was subsequently " sold by E. Tracy, at the Three Bibles on London bridge " a small quarto, 24 pp, " The Voyages & Travels Of that Renowned Captain, Sir Francis Drake, into the West-Indies, and Round the World; Giving a perfect relation of his strange Adventures, and many wonderful discoveries, his Fight with the Spaniard " &c. &c &c; " both pleasant and profitable to the Reader." No date, but conjectured as circa 1715 Messrs. Maggs Bros' " Voyages and Travels," Vol I, Part II (1947), Item 165: wood-cut reproduction of title page facing p. 53.

[4] Particulars forthcoming in E.E. Epilogue; with English and Spanish illustrations

[5] Among landsmen to-day, John Hampden is frequently held up as an example of patriotism for objecting to the King's " ship money " tax; one guinea a year towards the upkeep of the R.N.; and the King is gibbetted as a tyrant for imposing this tax on inland counties, when Hampden considered the taxpayers living on the coast should meet the total costs! (And this when there was no income tax). For a practical view of ship-money, see Professor Callender's *Naval Side of British History* (1924) pp. 86-88; 93. And in 1949 Dr Esmé Wingfield-Stratford exposed anew " the Hampden legend."

## *APPENDIX G.*

## "THIS PYTHAGOREAN SHIP."

*The Golden Hind,* in which Drake had circumnagivated the globe, remained on view at Deptford,[1] until in the next century, having gradually decayed, she was broken up Soon after Charles II's Restoration a chair was made from her timbers:

*Sella Ex Reliquijs tabulatorum Navis Dracanae*
*Fabricata Et a Joanne Davisio Deptfordiensi*
*Arm Navalium armamentorum Custode Regio*
*Bibliothecae Oxoniensi dedicata 1662*[2]

In Jacobean style, it is decorated with winged angel-heads and with pillars The seat is supported by pseudo-Gothic arches and pillars On the summit of the back, under the head of a cherub, is fixed a plate, upon which is the above-quoted Latin inscription commemorating Davis's gift. Pendant from it is a larger plate, shaped like a shield, inscribed with the following verses by Abraham Cowley:

*Orbe prerrato, Solarisque aemula Currûs*
*Quem valuit totum noscere, digna Polo,*
*Eligit hunc Portum sapiens, rerumque peritia,*
*Formam induta novam Pythagorea Ratis*
*Non poterat meritis tribus Navisque Dracique*
*Nobilius pretium, nobiliorve Locus*
*Nam sedet Æterna compostus uterque Quiete,*
*Et Dracus in Caelo Navis et Oxonij.*

On the other side of the shield are the same verses Englished,

*Upon the Chair made out of Sir Francis Drake's ship presented to the University Library of Oxford, by John Davis, of Deptford, Esquire.*

"To this great Ship, which round the Globe has run,
And matcht in Race the Chariot of the Sun,
This Pythagorean Ship (for it may claime
Without Presumption so deserv'd a Name,
By knowledge once, and transformation now)
In her new shape, this sacred Port allow.
Drake & his Ship, could not haue wisht from Fate
A more blest Station, or more blest Estate.
For Lo! a Seate of endles Rest is giv'n
To her in Oxford, and to him in Heav'n."

A. Cowley.

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[1] See *The Mariner's Mirror* for January, 1941, p. 77. Professor Sir Geoffrey Callender's transcript of the expenses for docking the ship in 1581.

[2] "A chair constructed from remnants of the planking of the ship of Drake, and presented by John Davis of Deptford, H.M. Custodian of Armaments, to the Library at Oxford, 1662."

See *The Bodleian Quarterly,* Vol. VI, 1931, pp 273-274, for a full description, including particulars as to coats of arms "now almost completely worn away," &c. Further particulars, B.Q.R., III, pp. 127; 152.

# THE DISCOVERIE OF THE LARGE, RICH, AND BEVVTIFVL EMPYRE OF GVIANA, WITH a relation of the great and Golden Citie *of* Manoa *(which the Spanyards call* El *Dorado)* And of the Prouinces of *Emeria, Arromaia, Amapaia*, and other Countries, with their riuers, adioyning.

Performed in the yeare 1595. by Sir *W. Ralegh* Knight, Captaine of her *Maieſties Guard, Lo. Warden* of the Stanneries, and her Highneſſe Lieutenant generall of the Countie of Cornewall.



*Imprinted at London by Robert Robinſon.*
1596.

By courtesy of Messrs. Maggs Bros.; from their "Voyages and Travels," Part vii., 1941, Catalogue No. 706. Item 681; priced at £52 10s. 0d.

## "TO SERVE HER MAJESTY AND MY COUNTRY."

### *Raleigh as to Guiana and El Dorado. 1596.*

*"The Discoverie of the large, rich, and beautiful Empyre of Guiana, with a relation of the Great and Golden Citie of Manoa (which the Spanyards call El Dorado) And of the Prouinces of Emeria, Arromaia, Amapaia, and other Countries, with their riuers, adioyning. Performed in the yeare 1595, by Sir W. Ralegh Knight, Capitaine of her Maiesties Guard, Lo. Warden of the Stanneries, and her Highnesse Lieutenant generall of the Countie of Cornewall,"* was "Imprinted at London by Robert Robinson, 1596,"[1] and reprinted in full in the second edition of Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations,* 1598-9.[2] Opinions used to differ as to whether Raleigh himself drew the chart, which was shown at the Tercentenary Exhibition held in 1895 in honour of his voyage to Guiana. But since Mr. (subsequently Sir George) Warner emphasised the resemblance between the writing on the chart and that of Raleigh in certain of his letters, and also that Raleigh had alluded to a "large Chart or map which I have not yet finished," there has been no doubt as to this being his handiwork.[3] The AA block on the title page of the treatise is what some Baconians allege to be the secret sign of Francis Bacon's authorship.[4]

But John Stow states in his "Annales" that "The whole relation of this enterprise of Sir Walter Rawleigh is written by himselfe, and since translated almost into all languages, and into Latin, exquisitely by Theodor de Brie, in his three volumes of the Nauigations of latter ages."[5]

As with many Elizabethan publications, the dedicatory epistle gives the key to the whole: "To the right Honourable my singular good Lord and kinsman Charles Howard, Knight of the Garter, Baron and Councillor, and of the Admirals of England the most renowned; and to the right Honorable Sir Robert Cecyll knight, Counceller in her Highnesse Privie Councill." Invoking their "Noble protection," the tone is mournful and apologetic; conspicuously different from Raleigh's rendering of Grenville's last fight which remains one of the most graphic examples extant of heroical prose.[6] Though the dedicatory letter is addressed to Howard and Cecil, it seems intended for the Queen: otherwise the manner would have been abnormally humble for so haughty a soul: "I found your love sought me out in the darkest shadow of adversity, and the same affection which accompanied my better fortune soared not away from me in my many miseries. . . . It is true that my errors were great, so that they might

[1] The title page of the second issue, 1596, here reproduced, also appeared in *A Bibliography of Sir Walter Ralegh Knt. By T. N. Brushfield, M.D., F S A. 2nd edition,* Exeter, James G. Commin, 1908; in which facing p. 28 is a reduced version of the Map of the North portion of South America, showing the Rivers Amazon and Orinoco, with the fabled city of Manoa between them This woodcut is based upon Raleigh's large vellum map-chart, B.M. Add. MS. 17, 940 A. As the map has been many times reproduced, and is available on British Museum post cards, it would be superfluous to include it in the present work.

[2] See Brushfield, op. cit pp. 27-32.

[3] Ib: p. 30 [4] In regard to which see E.E Vol. VII, p. 308, note 2.

[5] Stow, Ed: 1631: p. 1019 The full titles of most of the foreign editions were printed by W. Eames in his *Bibliographical List,* but are not repeated by Brushfield.

[6] E.E. Vol. VIII, pp. 458 (n. 1); 461-464.

have yielded very grievous effects, &c., &c., &c., meaning obviously his loss of the Queen's favour.[1] He protests his desire and hope to "appease so powerful displeasure."

> "I did therefore, even in the winter of my life, undertake those travels fitter for bodies less blasted with misfortunes, for men of greater ability and for minds of better encouragement, . . . I have been accompanied with many sorrows, with labour, hunger, heat, sickness and peril. . . . They have grossly belied me that forejudged that I would rather be a servant of the Spanish King than return; and the rest were mistaken who would have persuaded [others] that I was too easeful and sensual to undertake a journey of so great travail."—

and so forth; excuses which would have been superfluous unless intended to placate the offended Queen. The long Epistle culminates in a plea for "a better Indies for Her Majesty than the King of Spain hath." But even if "so mighty an Empire" be rejected, "I hope Her Majesty will yet take my humble desire and my labour therein in gracious part; . . ." This last apparently she did; for though she was not carried away by the glamour of El Dorado, the restoration of Raleigh to her favour seems to have been brought about through Howard and Cecil. [And nobody could have foreseen that Cecil in a few years was so subtly to be worked upon by a third person to distrust and fear Sir Walter Raleigh that his former friendship would turn to bitter antagonism, and accelerate the fall which Raleigh relied on him to avert.]

The Guiana "Discoverie" has been so often reissued that it will here suffice to touch upon the main points in Raleigh's Address "to the Reader."

> ". . . for mine own part, I am not so much in love with these long voyages as to devise thereby to cozen myself, . . . to be subjected to perils, to diseases, to ill savours, to be parched and withered, and withal to sustain the care and labour of such an enterprise except the same had more comfort than the fetching of marcasite in Guiana, or buying of gold in Barbary. . . . I had no other respect or desire than to serve her Majesty and my country thereby."

He then invokes memories of the Emperor Charles V; and as to "the Spanish King now living" he exclaims, "What territories he hath purchased, what he hath added to the acts of his predecessors, how many Kingdoms he hath endangered; how many armies, garrisons and navies he hath and doth maintain!" Moreover though in 1588 Philip had lost "above 100 sail of great ships with their artillery," he had soon rallied: and "beginneth again like a storm to threaten shipwreck to us all."

Raleigh was not of opinion that King Philip's power arose from trade from Spain: not from "Seville oranges, nor from ought else that either Spain, Portugal, or any of his other provinces produce: *It is his Indian gold that endangereth and disturbeth all the nations of Europe:* It purchaseth intelligence, creepeth into counsels" to constitute a perpetual threat to the other Monarchies of Europe. "If the Spanish King can keep us from foreign enterprises," either by threat of invasion "or by besieging us in Britain, Ireland, or elsewhere," our extreme peril would result from his wealth: for "those Princes which abound in treasure have great advantages over the rest" if they can "constrain them to a defensive war. . . ."

Taking the view that "Fortune is as likely to prevail as Virtue," Raleigh urged the need "to advance all these attempts that might either promise return of profit to ourselves" or at least hinder the trade of "the Spanish nation." The main point of this discourse is that

> "The Empire now by me discovered shall suffice to enable Her Majesty and the whole Kingdom" to possess "no less quantities of treasure than the King of Spain hath in all

[1] E.E. Vol IX. pp. 34-35.

the Indies East and West . . . *and if Her Maiesty will undertake it, I will be content to lose her Highness' favour and good opinion for ever, and my life withal, if the same be not found rather to exceed than to equal whatsoever is in this discourse promised or declared.*"

He concluded by appealing to "men of quality and virtue" to give "good acceptance" to his ideas, "as themselves would look to be rewarded in the like."

"And my life withal!" This reads tragically now, knowing as we do how Guiana and the dream of El Dorado were in the end to lure Raleigh to his ruin. But in 1596, when England was at war with Spain,—and had been for the previous eleven years,—this appeal brought him widespread renown. The "Discoverie" [so-called] was not only reissued three times during 1596, but afterwards translated into Latin, French, Italian, and German. It remains one of the best known products of an age of high hopes, vivid imaginings, daring ventures and superlative energies.[1]

[1] As it was first published in 1596, and Sir Humphrey Gilbert's "Discourse" in 1566 (E.E. Vol. III, pp. 87-106) it is unfair to acclaim Raleigh as the pioneer of Elizabethan enterprise and relegate his elder half-brother to comparative obscurity. (See E E. Vol. II, pp. 209-222 and Vol. IV, pp. 237-289). But whereas there only survives one flat and inartistic painting of Gilbert (E.E. Vol. IV, plate 18), portraits of Raleigh are so many and so magnificent that the retrospective importance of the half-brothers seems to have been determined more by clothes than by chronology. Stebbing in his *Life of Ralegh* observes (p. 40), "He was fond of exquisite armour, gorgeous rainment, embroideries, furs, diamonds, and great jewels . . . He loved architecture, and buildings, gardens, pictures, books, furniture, and immense retinues of servants. . . It was a sumptuous age everwhere." And again (p. 29) alluding to his portraits: "in magnificent apparel, pearls and silver armour, haughty and subtle, tanned, hardened and worn, with voyages to the Spanish Main, and fighting at Cadiz . . . the soldier, sailor, scholar, courtier, orator, historian and philosopher."

"Drake and Raleigh" to-day are commonly coupled as if equally famous, but *el Capitan Francisco Draque de nación ingles* was celebrated in a Spanish epic nine years before his death (E E. Vol. VII, pp. 62-63) and his portrait was circulated in the Netherlands during his lifetime as "the noble Knight" &c; whereas no portrait of Raleigh seems to have been issued even in England until 1617, in the second edition of his *Historie of the World in Five Bookes*. This engraving by Simon Passe has been chosen by Mr V. T. Harlow as the frontispiece for his *Ralegh's Last Voyage* (Argonaut Press, 1932). Mr Harlow has also edited *The Discoverie of Guiana*,—formerly (in 1848) produced by the Hakluyt Society under the editorship of Sir Robert Schomburgh.

Raleigh's portraits, authentic and otherwise, having been the theme of a monograph issued by the Walpole Society, they do not require tabulation here. For his picture from the National Portrait Gallery, see E.E. Vol. VII, plate 10; and another painting is forthcoming in Vol. XI.

PART VII.

"The causes that govern the events."

CHAPTER 7.

"THE MUTABILITY OF FORTUNE."

SECTION 6.

# "Time for Her Majesty to draw her sword."

*(Queen Elizabeth's promise to relieve Calais, April, 1596).*

**"It is time for Her Majesty to draw her sword."**

*Robert Earl of Essex K.G., P.C., to the Lords of the Council, when the Archduke Albert was besieging Calais. 4th April, 1596.* (Orig: S.P.D. Eliz: Vol. CCLVII. no: 10.)

**"Of the special trust and confidence We have in the fidelity, wisdom, valour, experience, providence, integrity and singular diligence of Our . . . Cousin and Councillor Robert Earl of Essex and Ewe," the said Earl is appointed "Our Lieutenant General" with "full power and authority to molest, damnify, depress, overcome, subdue, slay and kill" the enemy "as cause of our service shall require."**

*Queen Elizabeth's Commission for the relief of Calais besieged by the Spaniards. 13th April, 1596.* (Unpublished original now reproduced).

**"At the importunate request of Our good brother the French King, upon information received from him . . . of the citadel of the said town not being yet yielded, . . . there is hope that timely succour arriving may rescue both it and the town."**

*The same Commission.*

**"I . . . surely am of opinion that the citadel being relieved the town will be regained; and if for want of Her Majesty's succours it shall be lost, by judgment of the world the blame will be imputed to her."**

*Lord Treasurer Burghley. Private letter to his son Sir Robert Cecil, on hearing of the Queen's holding back the forces raised under the Earl of Essex for the relief of Calais.* (Hatfield MSS. 39. 111. Cal: VI. 141.)

**"I wish myself in another world, where I might not hear the complaints that all through Christendom will run upon us . . . To my Sovereign I am and ever will be infinitely obedient; but I protest I apprehend her dishonour and danger as [if] the pangs of death were gripping my heart."**

*To the Lord Treasurer from General the Earl of Essex, K.G., P.C., 14th April 1596, when the Queen had forbidden him to embark.* (Original. S.P. Dom: Eliz: Vol. CCLVII. no: 34.)

## " PEACE EVERYWHERE EXCEPT WITH ENGLAND."

### *The Threat to Calais seen through Venetian Eyes.*

Walsingham had said in 1589 that it was for the Italian Princes and the Queen of England to maintain " the balance of Europe." Those were days when the Venetian Navy was still renowned for service at Lepanto, and when Venice had an Envoy resident at nearly every Christian Court except England, and sent representatives even to the Grand Turk. Persistently Queen Elizabeth's Ministers strove to maintain harmonious relations with the Doge and Senate, in hope that Venice might attempt to attain independence of Rome and Spain, though on ostensibly friendly terms with both. From Paris the Venetian Ambassador wrote at great length to the Doge and Council upon the European complications and inferred " from the Spanish policy, of bringing about peace

> everywhere except with England, that the King of Spain is entirely bent on the ruin of that country," and that his fleet is " intended for Ireland." But the Queen has " a fleet ready which is far more powerful than the one that routed the Duke of Medina Sidonia; she has armed the whole kingdom; every day there are musters and reviews; all the ports are placed in a state of defence."

So stated Monsieur de Sancy to the Venetian, adding that he hoped for an accord between his own Sovereign and England, though he feared that the Spaniards were only awaiting the arrival of the Cardinal [Archduke Albert] in Flanders in order to send the Armada to Ireland, to prevent the Queen despatching land forces to aid France.

" The English Agent told me that there is news that Drake has burned Cadiz, and that now he will go to the Indies to fortify the positions captured from the Spaniards last year." This on the 9th of December 1595; and on the 16th the same Ambassador was reporting that " the troops under the Cardinal of Austria are beginning to move. They are reckoned at less than ten thousand foot and six hundred horse. They say here that they will have at least ten thousand more from the States and [from] the Queen of England, but they don't believe it."[1]

The Ambassador was much mistaken when early in December he wrote that the Lord Treasurer of England was " very ill-disposed towards the Crown of France and uses all his influence to prevent the Queen from taking an active part. . . ." [Actually Burghley had been and was at the time one of the chief promoters of the French alliance]. " There is a strong suspicion that he has been bought with Spanish gold." [We shall see that he remained the unpurchasable adversary of Spain up to the last.]

> " The other great nobleman, a prime favourite with the Queen, is of the contrary opinion, urging that every effort should be made to extinguish the fire in one's neighbour's house so as to prevent one's own from being burned." [This was Essex.]

The Lord Treasurer is represented as urging economy; but the Queen is " well aware that the French will be beaten if they are not helped." She had recently asked Henry IV to

[1] Cal: S.P. Venice; ed: H. F. Brown. Vol. IX. (1897), pp. 175-176.

"give her Calais," she knowing that "if the Spanish attacked Calais in force the French are incapable of holding the place as she could do," &c.[1]

The tale as to Burghley and Essex being at variance may have been set about by persons who wished to deprive Essex of Burghley's support and to sow discord between them. [It was not until closely examining the complete correspondence of these two that the present historian discovered their long-sustained friendly relations.] Extracts from Venetian despatches are not offered as representing the situation—for as to England they are often wide of the mark,—but as showing the views of a foreign diplomatist at a time when Venice still played a prominent part in European affairs. Commenting on the rebellion breaking out again in Ireland under Tyrone, and assuming Drake still to be alive and afloat,—"some say he is on his way back to England, or to Havana, others that he is on his way to attack Panama,"[2]—the Venetian envoys, whether writing from Madrid or Paris, remark on the preparedness of the English fleet and the public uncertainty as to England's policy. On the 13th April, 1596, the Venetian Ambassador in France, Piero Duodo, sent to the Doge and Senate from Paris a despatch reflecting the conflicting rumours:

> ". . . The Queen continues to muster her fleet, which is now lying, fully equipped, in the port of Plymouth. M. de Bellièvre tells me that there are as many as fifteen thousand men on board. This has created a serious impression here, as these ministers take it that the affairs of France are totally abandoned by the Queen. However, in four or five days M. de Sanci will go to England to endeavour to arrange a conference. . . . The Queen has recalled two thousand four hundred veterans which she had in the Netherlands. . . . It is said that the Queen also intended to recall her troops in His Majesty's service. . . . The Earl of Essex is to take the command. He is in high favour with the Queen, and has always been well disposed towards the King of France.[3] M. de Bellièvre tells me he fears that this appointment is a suggestion of the Lord Treasurer, who is hostile to France, in order to divert the Queen from sending aid to his Majesty, and to rid himself of the Earl of Essex on the pretext of this honorable appointment, which would leave him absolute master in the Council. All the same, on excellent authority, I have it that the Earl himself suggested the expedition, without any participation on the part of the Lord Treasurer and that he and the Queen alone knew its object. . . . It is generally supposed that their object lies in Spain; some have suggested Africa. It is a fact that the flower of English nobility is on board, for as they say, 'he is no true son of a good mother who is not ready to march.' The French are doing all they can to dissuade the English from the expedition, and to divert these forces to their own aid."[4]

On the same date the Ambassador added, "There is news from England that Francis Drake and John Hawkins have been seriously worsted in the Indies by the Spanish." From Spain the Ambassador sent the Doge and Senate tidings that "Drake has been forced to give up his enterprise and embark again."[5] [But no foreboding of Drake's death seems yet to have arisen.] On the 20th of April from Paris the Venetian Ambassador wrote as to the situation in France:[6]

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[1] Cal: S.P. Venice, Vol. IX, pp. 174-175.
[2] Ib: p. 190. Madrid, 8th April.
[3] See his services in France in 1591. E.E. Vol. VIII.
[4] Paris 13 April. Cipher deciphered. Cal: pp. 191-192.
[5] Cal: p. 192. [6] Ib: pp. 193-194.

"While the Spanish were on their way to Montreuil, . . . they suddenly changed their plan and threw themselves on Calais. Although this design of theirs has been known here for months, nevertheless when the news came it caused great anxiety, . . . for they argue that in face of the King's forces by land and the Queen of England's fleet by sea, the Spaniards would not have taken this step without good ground for thinking it would end favourably, either thanks to some secret understanding inside Calais itself or by closing the routes through which succour can reach the town.

"The fortress is entirely surrounded by marshes, and can be reached by one bridge only, called Nieullai [Nieullet]; if that is guarded by land they say no one can rescue the fort. At the mouth of the harbour is another fort called Risbank [Risban], of small importance as far as strength goes, but very important if the Spanish should capture it, for they could then exclude succour from the sea. There was a report that the Spanish had already begun to bombard, but later information shows that one among the many Frenchmen in the Spanish army, perceiving what the design of the Spaniards was, broke away from camp and running day and night, reached Calais in time to give warning. The Governor immediately fired guns to call the peasants into the town, as the custom is, and in less than two hours one thousand two hundred of them had entered Calais with abundant provisions. . . . When his Majesty was informed of this threat to Calais, he set out with two thousand five hundred horse and four infantry regiments, namely Navarre, Champagne, Picardy and the Guards, numbering about three thousand men in all. He sent the Duke of Bouillon to occupy Ardres. . . .

"Should the Spanish succeed in their enterprise it would undoubtedly be more prejudicial to England than to France; for Calais is distant from Dover the nearest point of England not more than thirty Italian miles at the most. The French are of opinion that this time the enemy have done more good than harm, for the Queen of England, roused by the danger, will be obliged to come to a resolve to assist the King, a thing she would not do for love. . . . M. de Sanci left for England on Easter Monday at two p.m. in extraordinary haste, in order to urge the despatch of assistance. . . ."

We will next consider the progress of events from the English side of the Channel.[1]

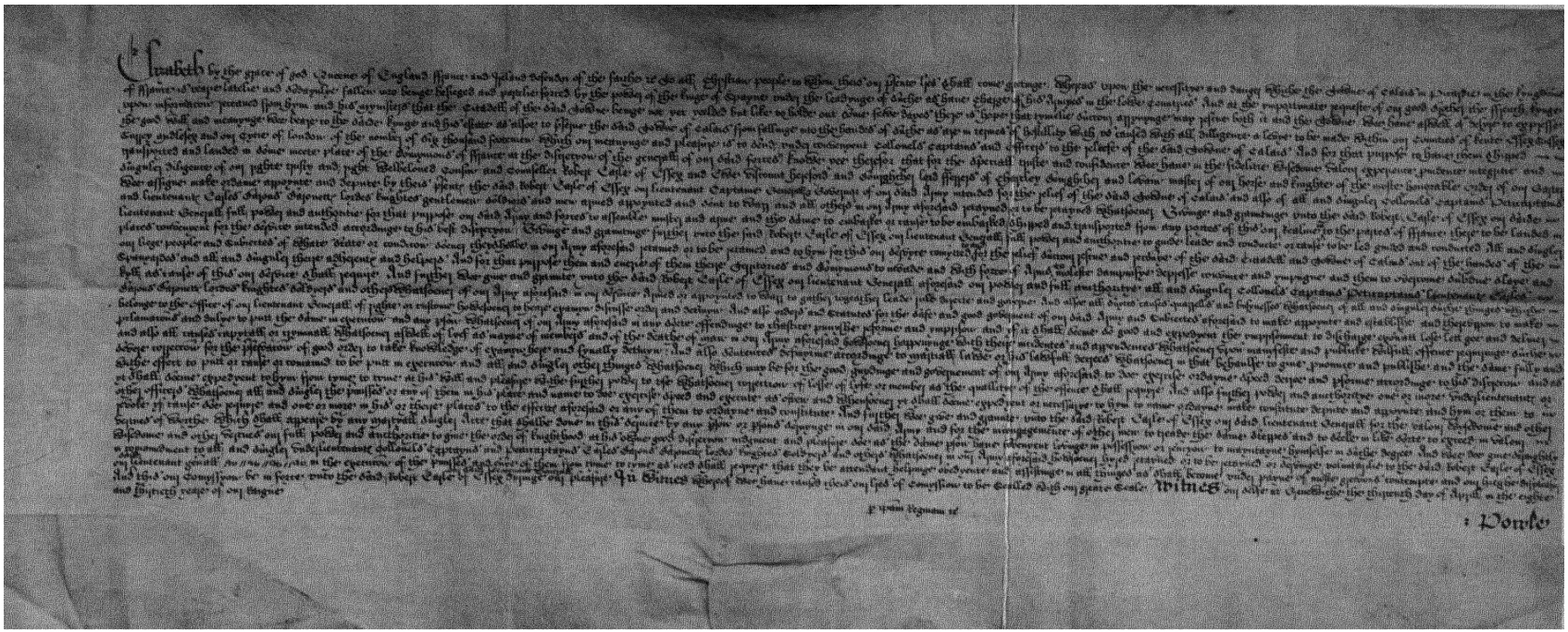
[1] Hitherto estimated from Calendar epitomes of English State Papers; but now from the originals.

## *COMMISSION OF QUEEN ELIZABETH TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.*

### *Now first published and reproduced from the original at Longleat: in possession of the Marquess of Bath.*

In virtue "of the special trust We have in the fidelity, wisdom, valour, experience, providence, integrity and singular diligence" of the said Earl, he is appointed Lieutenant General "for the relief, succour, rescue, and recovery" of Calais "out of the hands of the Spaniards": With authority to "molest, damnify . slay and kill" 13th of April 1596.

This Commission still bears intact the Great Seal. not included in the collotype It is exactly similar to the seal shown on Essex's Commission of 16th March 1596, which will be reproduced in E E. Vol X, plate 2.



PART VII.

"The causes that govern the events."

CHAPTER 7

"THE MUTABILITY OF FORTUNE."

SECTION 6

# "Time for Her Majesty to draw her sword."

*(Queen Elizabeth's promise to relieve Calais, April, 1596).*

HOW slowly news travelled we may realise by seeing that though Drake died at the end of January, by the 16th of March no tidings to that effect had yet reached England. Sir John Gilbert wrote then to Sir Walter Raleigh:[1]

"My good brother.

"Here are arrived three flyboats from San Lucars,[2] who report that there are there 20 sails of man-of-war making ready, but not with haste: whereof 5 of them are of the greatest ships of Spain. There came out of St Lucars in their company certain ships which went for Lisbon, loaden with 1400 tons of corn, to be baked into biscuit for the King's provision. And there came at that time two other great ships to St Lucars of 600 tons apiece, to load corn and to return to Lisbon. They further report that the King lost 6 hulks of 200 tons apiece, which are gone for the 'Dell ateradero' full of men women and children," whereof there were 1400 soldiers. There arrived at St Lucars about 5[3] weeks past 3 of the King's frigates, which brought from St John de Porto Rico[4] 2 millions and a half of silver, as the report was among the merchants; and that Sir Francis Drake reached there outward at that time they were a-loading of the Treasure. He entered the harbour with his pinnaces and fired one of the frigates. Sir Frances could not enter the harbours with his ships for they had sunk a frigate in the harbours, and by that means [he] lost both town, treasure and frigates.

"This is all that I can at this present advertise you of: and so leaving to trouble you, I commit you to the protection of the Almighty. From Greenway this 16th of March, 1595.

Yours for ever to be commanded

JOHN GILBERT."[5]

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[1] "To my ho[noured] good brother syr Watter raylyghe knyght Lo[rd] Warden off the stanerryes and captayne of her majesty's garde." S.P.D. Vol. CCLVI. No. 96. Spelling now modernised from holograph.

[2] "saynt Lukas." [3] Altered from 3. [4] "saynt John de porteryka."

[5] Docketed "Sr Jo. Gilbert to Sr Wa: Raleghe. Advertisement of three Spa: Frigatts come from St Jo: de Porto Rico wth two myllions and a half of sylver. Sr Fr. Drake frustrated of his purpose to enter that haven by ye sinking of a frigatt in ye harbours mouthe. Preparation of shipping at St Lucar, and byskett at Lysbon. Sixe hulks lost going to Dorrado."

The Queen's policy was by no means as resolute as Essex's letter to Lord Mar would lead us to think, if we were not already familiar with her habit of changing her mind.[1] Her commission to Essex and Howard of Effingham as Lieutenants-General and Governors of her Navy and Armies for the defence of the realm against the declared enemies of Her Majesty and her dominions was not drawn up until March the 16th. On that day Sir Robert Cecil wrote to Mr Windebank, Clerk of the Signet, "I send two Commissions for ye Erle and my L. Admiral;" and "If her Majesty sign them," Windebank is to send them "privately" to the Great Seal, as it is "not fit" that contents should yet be publicly known.[2] Before the end of the month the City of London realised that Calais was threatened by an army of twelve thousand Foot and three thousand Horse.[3]

The English fleet and Army were in "good readiness": seventeen vessels of war, three pinnaces, ten double flyboats as "victuallers," with a total of four thousand four hundred and ninety men aboard. The first two squadrons of the Navy were to be commanded by the Earl of Essex, and Lord Howard of Effingham, Admirals; the third and fourth by Lord Thomas Howard Vice Admiral and Sir Walter Raleigh Rear Admiral. So Burghley advised, in a memorandum addressed "To the Queen's onelie most faire handes, from a simple weake head," on March the 20th.[4]

As to the land forces, to overcome Her Majesty's hesitation, Essex made himself responsible for equipping one thousand five hundred men with their armour. On the 3rd April at nine a.m. from Dover he reported to the Council that he had sent Sir Coniers Clifford (one of his Rouen Knights,) in a small boat towards Calais, with letters to the Governor of the town, and also had sent for news to the Governor of

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[1] E.E. p. 534-535

[2] S P. Dom. Eliz: CCLVI. No. 95. In printed Calendar for 1595-97, p 188, the editor (Mrs M. E. Green) filled in "ye Erle" as "Cumberland." Actually there was never any question of George Earl of Cumberland—or any Earl except Essex—commanding this expedition. The mistake is the less accountable as Burghley on March 20 made notes as to *the voyage of the Navy under the Earl of Essex and the Lord Admiral.* In the Record Office copy of the Calendar the editorial "Cumberland" is corrected to "Essex." Nevertheless Dr G. C. Williamson in his *George, Third Earl of Cumberland . . . A Study from original Documents,* Cambridge, 1920, p. 159, stated that

"Lord Burghley himself wrote on March 16, sending to Windebank . . . . two Commissions for *Cumberland* and the Lord High Admiral . . . . The Clerk duly presented them, and, *to his amazement, the Queen signed at once and then, instead of keeping the contents secret, told Essex she had done so* Then began the usual vacillation. It was on a Sunday she signed, but in Church in the middle of the sermon the Queen signalled for Windebank and told him he was to stay 'those things which she had signed', and to send for Cecil as she desired to consult him further. We need not follow out all the details . . ."

(But the right name for the General is more than a "detail").

[3] Birch, *"Elizabeth"* Vol. I p 462.

[4] S.P. Dom· Eliz: Vol. CCLVI. No. 99. Also see No. 103, March 23, "Answers to eight questions put to the Earl of Essex and the Lord Admiral"; and (104) "Answers to similar questions as to the land service" Calendared Vol. IV. S.P. Dom: 1595-1597, but not printed in full. No. 103(3) Vol. CCLVI, gives an estimate of the expenses. That 4,490 men for 5 months were only to receive 14/- a man per month now appears to us a preposterously low rate of pay; but it is difficult to give the exact equivalent in modern coin. As to chaplains, the Crown had not the expense of paying them; Essex and Howard each provided three, and the Colonels of the troops aboard were expected each to furnish one. Ib: No. 104. See also Nos 105, 106, 107.

Boulogne.[1] If the tide prevented getting near enough to Calais, he had ordered his "ancient" [i.e. ensign] to swim in, rather than be baffled. At the same time he wrote to Sir Anthony Shirley.

"Cousin. The news of the siege of Calais hath made me be posted down to this place, whence I have sent Sir Conyers Clifford to see whether he can go in, and see the state of the town; and I have also sent a gentleman to Bullen [Boulogne] to see what doth become of the King and of his Army, and what means they do propose on that side to succour Calais. I do look for answer from both places by to-morrow morning, and on Monday will return to Greenwich, from whence I will send you some money the next day, for if I had had but one hour more of stay in London I would have furnished you, but upon Wednesday you shall hear from me at furthest.

"I pray you send me word both here and to the Court in what forwardness you are, for my stay here is uncertain. And so, wishing to you as to myself, I rest your most affectionate Cousin, ESSEX."[2]

In another letter to the Council he urged the necessity of bringing cornships to the relief of Calais;[3] and the same day at three p.m. he wrote protesting against delays, and emphasising that if the Queen intended to succour Calais she should permit him and the Lord Admiral to take prompt action. On the 4th he heard that the enemy ships were on both sides of Calais Haven: and pleaded that if the town were to be saved there was not a moment to lose, as every day the difficulties must increase.[4] He hoped it would not be necessary for him to ride from Dover to the Court for his instructions, as it would be a pity to waste on this journey the time which would be better spent in getting across the Channel.[5] At ten at night he writes to Lord Burghley, "The best mode of relieving [Calais] is by entering the haven on the east side, before the ravelin is taken" by the enemy. But if that cannot be done, "I hope to do it some other way, with small loss . . . But I beseech your Lordship, plead for me, that I neither be so disgraced as that any other shall direct the succours; or that while I am toiling, and breaking both my body and mind to do Her Majesty service, that our great business be crossed by practice" [that is, by trickery or intrigue] "of any."[6]

Next, he relates to the Privy Council that when he was on the road between Canterbury and Sittingbourne, intending to come in person to the Queen, he met "the Lord Admiral's packet" with news that Her Majesty had now resolved to aid the "neighbour town" of Calais. He therefore was returning to Dover to use "extraordinary diligence," and hasten the Deputy Lieutenants of Kent to send in their men. After studying the map of Calais, and talking with his mariners, he thought that if he were unhampered by delays and cramping instructions, Calais

[1] S P.D.E. Vol. CCLVII. No. 3

[2] Directed "For her Majesty's affairs. To my very loving Cousin Sir Anthony Shirley, at Southampton Wheresoever this letter is brought all along the Coast, let the officer of the town send it away with all speed. Essex." Lambeth (Tenison) MSS. Bacon Papers, 636. 267. (Devereux, *Earls of Essex*, 1853).

[3] S.P.D.E. CCLVII. No. 4. [4] Ib: No. 7. [5] Ib: No 8

[6] Ib: No. 9. With enclosure received by Essex from the Count of St Pol, Governor of Picardy; dated "Boulogne Road, midnight, Easter Eve, 1596."

might be relieved with relatively small hazard. Though "all this day the enemy hath battered a ravelin" to the east of Calais, the garrison "promise to hold out at least two days."

*"It is time for Her Majesty to draw her sword; for our doing nothing, and the enemies being so undertaking, strikes a terror into the people of these parts, and I fear me as much in other quarters of the realm."*

This letter, while appearing to be given in full by Mrs. Green in the Calendar, has been printed with such editorial alterations as to be exceedingly misleading. For instance Essex is represented as saying he would relieve Calais and "not lose a man."

No General would make so absurd a promise. What he actually states is that if prompt action can be taken there will be relatively less loss of "men" than if English delays give the enemy an increased advantage.[1] Dispensing with sleep, Essex was "toiling all night" to get victuals for the soldiers whom he hoped were to be shipped at once to Calais. Early in the morning he wrote to Burghley commending the Lieutenant of Dover for special efficiency: "I pray payment on his certificate; the men here are very poor, and should be encouraged in this kind of service."[2]

The Queen's solicitude for the Army took the awkward form of bidding Essex beware of hazarding his men unduly [lest she be put to the expense of replacing them]. Answering that her confidence in him "doubles the edge of my wits and the strength of my industry," he promises, with a touch of gentle irony, "to be a careful nurse to preserve her valiant subjects."[3] He was justly proud of his own regiment, "a brave company of gallant gentlemen to make the head of our army."[4]

The news from Calais had induced the Queen, on March the 30th, to command the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London to raise a number of able-bodied men in the City for immediate service. This order had been countermanded from the Court the same afternoon; but on Easter Day, April the 11th, it was repeated, and the hastily raised troops set out that night for Dover where they were to put themselves under the command of Essex.[5] It was not made public that the previous day, Saturday the 10th, the French envoy, Nicolas de Harlay, Sieur de Sancy, had arrived with the news that the citadel of Calais and part of the town were in the hands of

[1] Essex to the Council: 4th April, 1596. S.P. Dom: Eliz: Vol. CCLVII. No. 10. Where Essex writes the news brought to him is that "all this day the enemy hath battered a ravelin", etc. the printed version (Cal. IV. p. 199) merely is "the enemy is battering a ravelin"; and where Essex says the garrison "promise to hold out *at least* two days", this has been cut down in print to "two days". By omission of the words *"at least"* the reader would assume two days to be the utmost limit the Governor of Calais had undertaken to hold out. In naval and military correspondence the Calendar versions, even if appearing to be in extenso, should always be checked from the originals. Essex and Burghley are the two Privy Councillors whose utterances have been the most blurred by hitherto undetected curtailments.

[2] "Dover, 2 p.m. April 5". S.P. Dom. CCLVII, No. 13.

[3] Ib: No. 12. To Sir R. Cecil.

[4] A. Bacon to Sir A. Shirley. Lambeth MSS. (Tenison); Bacon Papers, X, 226. (Birch, I. 458.)

[5] Birch, *"Eliz:"* Vol. I. 462-463.

the foe. He implored immediate reinforcements in hope of dislodging the invader. But the Queen at Greenwich declined to give him audience. All she would do was send Sir Robert Sidney to Boulogne to King Henry, repeating her offer of aid, only on condition that Calais should be put under her own control! Henry protested that if he must be plundered it was more reasonable that his enemies and not his allies should be the offenders. But of this, or of the fall of the citadel, Essex, though he was at Court on Easter Sunday, seems not to have been permitted by the Queen to know.[1]

Monsieur de Sancy had thought she might be able to comprehend that the safety of England as well as of France depended on conformity of measures when both countries were threatened by so dangerous an enemy.[2] In January King Henry had reminded Her Majesty's Ambassador, Sir Henry Unton, that Picardy being so near England it was surely to England's interest to aid him, when he had a powerful foe in the person of the Cardinal Archduke preparing to invade his kingdom. He needed "men and means, not conferences, treaties, and delays." The treaties between the Crowns of France and England bound them "to help each other in cases of invasion," and in 1593 it had been agreed that neither country should make peace with Spain without the consent of the other. As France began to feel suspicious and apprehensive, "at the cooling of the Queen's assistance" at the very time of the Cardinal's approach, the only answer that King Henry could make to Sir Henry Unton, when interrogated as to his intentions, was that he would employ "such means as God shall give him," and would do his utmost to keep to the agreement of not concluding a separate peace: "But," he added, "as the said promise also bound them to mutual assistance, it were reasonable that his good sister should not leave with him the whole burden of the war, . . . and it must be understood that he is not bound to things beyond his power."[3]

Essex had already foreseen "England threatened by a formidable war, and France by a deceitful peace,"[4] and he dreaded lest by the Queen's vacillation the French might be forced to make peace on Spain's terms, and leave upon England and the Low Countries the whole burden of the conflict. On Monday the 12th of

[1] In Bishop Creighton's *Queen Elizabeth*, 1896, p. 177, Essex's efforts are omitted and this crisis is dismissed in a few lines ". . . the martial spirit of England was stirred in March 1596 by the news "that the Archduke Charles had entered France and was laying siege to Calais. Levies were called "out at once but Calais fell before anything was done. Its possession by Spain was felt to be an "important help to a new Armada . . ." [But the "Archduke *Charles*" had nothing to do with it. The Cardinal Archduke *Albert* was the General.]

[2] It is in relation to this emergency that the Reverend Dr Birch (*Elizabeth* (1754) Vol. I. p. 466) absurdly depicted the Lord High Treasurer, Burghley, as having expressed to the French envoy De Sancy his admiration for Spanish cleverness in having surprised the French! To which the Frenchman is represented as retorting that he could only hope England would not soon be reduced to a plight similar to that now tormenting his own country! What Burghley really felt, and how distressed he was by the Queen's behaviour, we shall presently see from one of his private letters.

[3] Hatfield MS. 37.92. 4 pp. French. Feb. 22. 1593-6. Cal: VI. abstract. pp 11-12.

[4] Latin letter to Antonio Pérez. Copy: Lambeth (Tenison) MSS., Bacon Papers, VIII. 66 (Birch, I. 367).

April, from Rochester, he wrote to Sir Robert Cecil that he had "met here Monsieur de Fouquerolles" *Mareschal du Camp* to the French King, who said that the King had sent "seven or eight very gallant men into Calais citadel" to hearten them to hold out until reinforcements could arrive. King Henry was in need of pikes, as his noblemen and gentlemen were to dismount for "night fights" and other services, and wanted "especially tools for the pioners" [engineers]. "Spades will be as much use as swords," comments Essex.[1] But De Fouquerolles himself did not know that the Citadel had fallen two days before.

While Essex from Kent was urging Burghley and Cecil to put an end to delays, Sir Ferdinando Gorges from Plymouth was writing to Burghley how painful it was for him to have "no authority" to do anything definite, despite "daily rumours" of a probable descent of the enemy upon the West Country to "spoil and burn." Though the people looked to him for protection, unless he could have authority "under Her Majesty's hand, I shall neither be secured in what I do, nor will others be willing to do what is convenient for themselves." He asks for orders and troops: "If your Lordship but saw what I daily see, you would make as much speed causing them to be sent as I am earnest in soliciting them."[2]

The next day the Queen signed Essex's Commission for the relief of Calais. It is dated April the 13th,—three days after De Sancy had brought her the news that the Citadel had fallen. She would not allow the sore straits of the French to be made public in England. And even Essex, it appears from his letters, was still kept in ignorance of the Spanish success; for on the 14th of April he writes as if it would yet be possible to avert the worst troubles of the besieged,—provided only that the Queen would authorise him to sail. If we read his Commission and nothing else, we would picture Her Majesty as of a most martial spirit; but in Elizabethan history it is possible to base statements upon documents, and yet by insufficient examination of the whole circumstances to be completely misled. Whenever we find Queen Elizabeth in an affirmative mood, we should look further, remembering how addicted she was to changing her mind. But even Essex, accustomed to her "humours," must have thought himself safe when he received the Commission, now first published, in which she bade him "preserve" the town of Calais from falling into the hands of the King of Spain, by whose Army it is besieged and "partly forced."

> "At the importunate request of our good brother the French King, upon information received from him, and of his Ministers, of the Citadel of the said Town being not yet yielded, but like to hold out some few days, there is hope that timely succour arriving may rescue both it and the town."

If, as appears, Her Majesty had been informed on the 10th that the Citadel had fallen, to state on the 13th that it "is not yielded" though true in so far as the French hoped to counter-attack, is nevertheless an extraordinary understatement of

[1] S.P. Dom. Eliz. CCVII, 18. Slightly mistranscribed in Calendar Vol. IV. p. 201.

[2] 12 April, 1596. S.P. Dom. Eliz: CCLVII, No. 19. Cal. IV. (p. 201). No. 20 is to Sir R. Cecil on same business.

their plight. The Queen's pleasure was that "with all diligence" six thousand Foot be raised in Essex, Kent, Sussex, Surrey, Middlesex and the City of London:

> "for the purpose to have them shipped, transported, and landed in some meet place of the dominions of France at the discretion of the General of our said forces . . .
>
> *"Of the special trust and confidence We have in the fidelity, wisdom, valour, experience, providence, integrity and singular diligence of Our Right trusty and well-beloved Cousin and Councillor Robert Earl of Essex and Ewe"* (with all his titles and honours enumerated), he is appointed "Our Lieutenant General," to command "all and singular" officers, including Earls, Barons, and "all others in our army . . . whatsoever."

As Lieutenant-General, Essex is given *"full power and authority . . . for the relief, succour, rescue and recovery of the said citadel and Town of Calais out of the hands of the Spaniards."* He is authorised to confer knighthood and exercise martial law. And further he may invade "with force of arms" the territories held by the Spaniards, and "molest, damnify, depress . . . overcome, subdue, slay and kill" them "as cause of this our service shall require."[1]

Anything more seemingly whole-hearted it would be difficult to imagine; and Essex on receiving this most satisfactory Commission wrote at once to the King of France that relief was now certain.

Nevertheless he was being impeded in his preparations. "From Dover this 13th April 1596" the Privy Council received a joint protest from him and Howard of Effingham that "the Hoy which should bring our small munitions, as spades, pickaxes, shovels and the like necessaries, is stayed at Tower Wharf for lack of a little sum of money to be disbursed for the despatch of her." The Commanders entreat that there should be no further delay in a matter "so important to the service."

"Our hands are bound behind us" by such obstruction.[2] "Our hands" suggests unity of feeling; but that very day Howard wrote an angry letter which we must carefully read: not that it throws any light upon public affairs,—its revelation is of the temper of the Lord High Admiral. That it is addressed to Sir Robert Cecil, and not to Lord Burghley, we should notice, for the time will come to disclose the manner in which—after Burghley's restraining presence had been removed from the earthly stage,—Howard and others of the older generation so misled Sir Robert Cecil as to

[1] Original in possession of the Marquess of Bath (E.E. Plate 34). An unpublished draft in P.R.O. is endorsed April 13, 1596. "Commission to the E. of Essex to be our Mts Lieutenant General over 6000 men sent to the relief of Calais with clauses ordinary for the government of them. And for the execution of martiall law and making of knight[s] hath such restrictions as are conteyned by her Majestys direction in the other Commission granted to him and the Lord Admirall jointly. To have continuance at her Majesty's pleasure." S.P. Dom. Eliz. CCLVII. No. 23.

[2] *S.P. Dom: Eliz: Vol. CCLVII.* No. 29 Received the same day as written; and endorsed "Er. of Essex and the L. Admrll to my L. Tres. for the . . to be sent away"

prevail upon him to join with them in undoing not only all of Essex's work but much of Burghley's. By access to private letters we can now know of cross-currents of which some of the principal actors in the drama were never aware. It is clear from Essex's notes to Burghley and Cecil that in the Calais crisis he believed Howard's agitation, like his own, to arise from compassion for the French and anguish at the thought of the just reproaches which would fall upon England if the Queen broke her word. So we would take for granted, if Sir Robert Cecil's Secretary had not preserved on the 13th of April what he endorsed as "the Lord Admiral to my master. A Passionate letter."[1]

> "I am come to Dover," begins Howard, "where I received such a letter from you by her Majesty's commandment as I little looked for, and I did think I had deserved more than this disgrace, wherein I wish I had drowned by the way before I arrived at this place: and my humble suit to her Majesty is that I may by her be discharged of all, for I vow it by the Lord that made me that I will never serve but as a private man whilst I live: and if her Majesty lay me in the Tower it shall be welcome to me."

As several eminent Howards had been committed to the Tower never to emerge except to execution, he cannot have meant to be taken at his word. It is merely his manner of denoting extreme indignation, the cause of which appears to have been Essex's Commission as Lieutenant-General. It would seem that Howard had expected to command ashore as well as afloat.

> "I think he liveth not that in any age that ever any man was seen in this realm where any landing of men was, but it ever did belong to the Admiral of England, as in Scotland in sundry times, in France—Tréport, Brest, St Valérie—yea, and by Admirals of my name. But this is my fortune; and therefore I humbly beseech her Majesty that by her order some may take my place; for I hold myself accursed to be here, and it cannot but torment me to find her conceit of me. My Commission in being joined with the Earl, is an idle thing, for I am not used but as a drudge.[2] But since I see it is the account of me, I will take care of myself and my estate in time. This is far from that which her Majesty made show to me at my departure for the voyage, since my disgrace which cannot now be salved, except by my importunate suit which I will never do, having this offered me; and therefore I pray you for the other journey let me not be pressed, for I vow to God I will not stir in it. And therefore I mean to return with my own two ships, and would be glad that order were sent to take the charge I have. I mean to go presently aboard and not lie in Dover to my shame; and thus I leave for ever farther to deal in martial causes."

Essex, not suspecting the tempestuous state of the Lord High Admiral's mind, wrote to the Council the same day,

> "There is even now discovered to the west of Boulogne, a great fleet, estimated by mariners of this town as at least a hundred sail. They come from the southward and may be a Spanish fleet, but I rather think them a fleet of Hulks or flyboats. I have advertised my Lord Admiral of it, and ere I sleep I will send your Lordships certain news."

Essex implores "that all ships' munitions and all things belonging to the fleet and

[1] Hatfield MSS. 40. 6 Holograph. Cal: Vol. VI. p. 144.

[2] We may note a marked contrast of character three years later when Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, after being chosen by Essex as General of the Horse, was most unjustly deprived by the Queen of the command. Southampton behaved with such unselfish patriotism that his one request was to continue to accompany Essex in no matter how humble a capacity, as a "voluntary", rather than be deprived of the opportunity of service.

army may be hastened away"; and that the victuallers may be quickly "sent out of the river, for all the Queen's Army will be exceedingly distressed" otherwise, there being "nothing to be found in France" and no great store of provisions procurable in Dover. "If this be a Spanish fleet, we shall do Her Majesty as great honour as ever was done to Prince; for we are ready to receive them, and have here a company of the willingest men to fight that ever I saw. . . ."[1]

The Queen had written Essex a most affable letter from aboard the Royal ship *Due Repulse* where she had been inspecting her seamen:

"As distant as I am from your abode, yet my ears serve me too well to hear that terrible battery that methinks sounds for relief at my hands. Where rather than for lack of timely aid it should be wholly lost, go you in God's blessed name, as far as that place where you may soonest relieve it.—"

[So far so good; but an ominous note sounds in the conclusion,]—"with as much caution as so great a trust requires. But I charge you, without the mere loss of it, do in no wise peril so fair an army for another Prince's town."

Writing as if soldiers were only for ornament, she does not seem to have realised that "another Prince's town" would be no pleasant neighbour for her own subjects if the ruling Prince were Spanish instead of French. "God cover you under His safest wings," she concludes: ". . . Believe Cecil in the rest."[2] Sir Robert Cecil was not yet Secretary of State; and the use of his name by the Queen on this occasion appears to denote one of Burghley's absences from the Court.

We must now go back from the 13th of April to the 10th, when news of the fall of the citadel of Calais had reached the Queen. The Lord Treasurer had then written to his son Robert a private letter which utterly upsets the notion advanced in the 18th century by Birch, and accepted ever since, that Burghley was hostile to the French and callous to their sufferings.

*"I am heartily sorry to perceive her Majesty's resolution to stay this voyage, being so far forward as it is; and surely I am of opinion that the citadel being relieved the town will be regained; and if for want of her Majesty's succours it shall be lost, by judgment of the world the blame will be imputed to her.* And seeing Sancy is to be here so shortly, her Majesty might defer the matter until his message might be heard. Nevertheless to obey her Majesty I will make stay of the Essex men. How [delay?] London, Middlesex and Surrey I know not, for my Lord of Essex determined that they should be embarked here this morning at the Tower Wharf. These so many changes breed hard opinion of counsel.

Your loving father

W. BURGHLEY."[3]

From this confidential note, never intended to see the light, we learn that Burghley was sorely tried by the Queen's "so many changes;" and that while humouring her so far as to delay the men from the county of Essex, he also delayed accepting her decision to withdraw the promised aid. It was certainly not to Burghley that the Queen could turn for encouragement to break her promise. From his letter

[1] S.P. Dom: Eliz: CCLVII, No. 28. "Dover this 13th of Aprill att 12 att noon. Essex . . ."
[2] S.P. Dom: Eliz: Vol. CCVII. No. 32. Cal. Vol. IV. p. 205.
[3] Hatfield MSS. 39.1311. Holograph. Endorsed "10 April 1596." Cal: Vol. VI, p. 141.

of the 10th it is reasonable to impute to his influence the signing of Essex's Commission on the 13th for the relief of Calais. Weary with the struggle, he may have gone to rest as soon as the victory over those objections seemed to have been achieved. But later on the same day there was despatched to Essex from Her Majesty a new set of orders which practically cancelled the Commission even though it had been "under Our Great Seal of England." While purporting to supplement it "for your better direction in this Our own service," nothing could have been more incongruous than the "Instruccons for Our R. trustie and right well-beloved Cosen The Erle of Essex whom We do send presently into Picardie for the Relief of the Towne of Callais besieged by the Spanish forces."[1] Though endorsed 13th of April, everything in the correspondence makes clear that Essex did not receive these "Instruccons" until after his Commission reached him; and that in the interval he had written to reassure King Henry. The revised orders ran:

> "First you shall understand that because *we have given in charge to Sidney*[2] *to let the King know that we will not send over any forces to relieve Calais unless we may receive assurance from him that he will deliver it unto us for some time,* until we may be assured of our great expenses and he in better terms to defend it from the enemies possession without driving us still to these insupportable burdens, *our pleasure is that you shall not carry over our forces without you do understand by him that the King hath given us satisfaction therein by Sidney upon his return.*
>
> "Secondly our meaning is that no greater number than this six thousand now levied in the counties specified in your Commission shall by you be transported and employed. . . .
>
> "Further our pleasure is that you do not embark them or lose them in any sort except you shall understand by good intelligence that it is likely for you to arrive with our said forces in time convenient to relieve the said town."

[This on the 13th of April; and we must repeat, it was on the 10th that Her Majesty had been informed by De Sancy of the fall of the citadel.] "Moreover we doubt not but that out of your own discretion and foresight you will forbear to employ our said forces except you shall find the French King accompanied with other strength of Horse and Foot, as that the burden of the service intended shall not lie upon our subjects;" which is to say that the French, after all the promises of aid, were only to receive relief if they did not require it! Her Majesty then remarks that she has been accustomed to direct her Generals, and that Essex is to be "careful and circumspect not to attempt anything of importance" without the advice of two Councillors she sends him, Carew and Wilkes. Their names are filled in in Sir Robert Cecil's hand.

Finally "you shall not carry any noblemen with you but those which have Our leave, and for all the other you shall cause them to return." She proceeds to recall Henry, Earl of Southampton, and Charles, Lord Mountjoy; the Earl of Derby, Lord Compton, Lord Windsor, and Lord Sheffield. This paragraph also is in Cecil's hand. Essex had previously sent an agonised note, on behalf of himself and his colleague, to "the right honourable S[r] Robt. Cecill of [her] Mties privy Council," marked

[1] Orig: S.P.D Eliz: CCLVII. No. 24. Not printed in full in Calendar, Vol. IV.
[2] Sir Robert Sidney, Lord Governor of Flushing.

" Haste, haste," to pray him " as you love either of us or the service," swiftly to expedite matters.[1] And he remonstrated in a letter which though throbbing with dismay is self-controlled and does not abandon hope of propitiating the Queen. Apparently, at the time of writing, he was still kept in ignorance of the fall of the citadel of Calais, which the Queen had known for four days. " Sir," he writes to Robert Cecil, " I understand by some of my folks that Sir Robert Sidney came yester night early to the Court; and yet all this day I have heard nothing from the Court." He points out that it is " the greatest scorn in the world " for the troops to be detained here in sight of a French King that stays but to join with us to relieve a place so important to England " and to all our friends in these parts of Christendom." After promising aid to France, " to have our hands tied " is intolerable. He fears lest " the Queen will lose her charge and her honour;" and the French King may either have to make " peace with her enemies " or be tempted to wage war upon her causing him both to lose his time and to hazard that part of his kingdom. But Essex hesitates to suppose she can so intend. " If it be any particular mislike of the concourse of nobleman hither, or suchlike, she doth my duty too great wrong to think I will transport any man that I know is not licensed by her." He recapitulates how he had been empowered to promise aid, and how already he is being reproached that such help tarries by the way. " Remember that it is only my letter which can directly promise the succours." This " is already objected to me by as many as come over."

*" I promise before God I would redeem the infamy of it with many ounces of my blood if the bargain could be made.*

" I pray, sir, let us not languish thus in expectation, and hold me ever for

Your assured friend

ESSEX."

The letter is inscribed outside: " For her M^ties affayres. To the right honorable Sr. Robert Cecill, one of her Maties privy Council. From Dover the 14th of April about 6 of the clock in the afternoone. hast post. hast for lyfe. ESSEX. 14 April 1596."[2]

He wrote also to Burghley:

" My very good Lord. I remember how much I saw your Lordship afflicted for the alteration of the Queen's former order to succour Calais, and I doubt not but your Lordship is as much grieved that her Army should be levied, and we sent down, *and yet, by an instruction, our hands bound behind us.*

*" I am he whom the Queen commanded, by letter to the Count St Pol, to promise succour directly without condition. I only am called upon from the French King to keep*

[1] S.P. Dom: Eliz: CCLVII, No. 30. April 13 He refers Cecil to " my letter to the Queen," and signs " Your most assured friend," and begs him " show not my L. Admiral's letter to the Q. for it is too passionate and it may break all our actions if she take him at his word." (Not printed in full in Calendar). Obviously this was not the " passionate letter " now in the Hatfield MS. (cit: p. ante) in which the Admiral complains against Essex.

[2] Orig: S.P. Dom: Eliiz: Vol. CCLVII. No. 31. This important letter is incorrectly printed in the Calendar. Essex's precise dating of his letters in this crisis, (often giving the hour as well as the day) is an aid in checking retrospective and misleading versions of events

*promise. I am named to the service, and I lie here to be witness that the Citadel doth hold out well, and is only lost for our not keeping troth.*

" My letter to the Count St Pol is sent in to Vedazant by the King, when the last succours did enter; therefore, your Lordship will pardon me if I do passionately importune for a sound resolution. If the first stay had not been, the Citadel had been relieved ere this; and what it will do now, upon this second stay, when our first promises are discredited, your Lordship shall see shortly, and I do fear already.

I beseech your Lordship keep in your favour your Lordship's humble poor friend, that will do you all the service he can.

" Dover, this 14th April, 1596."[1]

ESSEX."

About midnight on the 13th Essex received confirmation from King Henry:

" My Cousin. They bring me now the sad news of the loss of the Citadel of Calais, which has been taken by assault; at which I feel extreme distress.

" I will to-morrow send my cousin the Duke of Bouillon across to you, to confer with you as to this catastrophe. I pray you to wait, and do not disembark any you have already embarked.

" Praying you to love me always, I pray God to have you in His holy keeping.

" From Boulogne, this 23 April 1596.[2]

HENRY."[3]

During the night or small hours of the morning, Essex again wrote to Burghley, enclosing letters for him and for the Queen from King Henry; and he adds, *" I wish myself in another world, where I might not hear the complaints that all through Christendom will run upon us for losing such a place and in such a manner as this is like to be."*[4] He forwards also a letter for the French envoy; and writes again to Sir Robert Cecil, showing that he does not yet abandon hope of the Queen being brought to reason. " Amazed " as he is with what has happened, he pleads, in agony, for her to realise her obligations even at the twelfth hour: *" To my Sovereign I am and ever will be infinitely obedient; but I protest I apprehend her dishonour and danger as [if] the pangs of death were gripping my heart."*[5]

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[1] Lansdowne MS., 8. 2. 1. Devereux *Earls of Essex* Vol. I, p. 336.

[2] 13 April, English style

[3] Egerton MS 405. Now first translated Given in French by Devereux, I. p. 336. It appears to have been received the same day as it was written.

[4] S P. Dom: Eliz: Vol. CCLVII, No: 34. Cal: 205.

[5] In Professor Merriman's *Rise of the Spanish Empire,* Vol. IV, New York, 1934, p. 657, these events are not given at first hand; but from Cheyney, *History of England,* II, 131-142 and other sources as inadequate. It is greatly to be hoped that in his next edition Professor Merriman will revise the ensuing sentences: When he states that Queen Elizabeth "at first refused to help him [Henry] save on the condition that Calais be restored to England," he apparently was not aware that she actually commissioned Essex for the relief. (The Commission was discovered by the present writer) Professor Merriman adds that Elizabeth "always sought to envisage the future while Philip scrutinised the past, and she rightly foresaw that a united France would prove a far more formidable enemy of England in the years to come than the tottering empire of the prudent King."

The present writer after spending twenty-eight years investigating the reign of Queen Elizabeth can discover no such vision on the part of Her Majesty. Moreover in Volume X of the present

Essex's postscript states that the Spanish batteries have been "played with great fury" upon Calais ever since daybreak. And he adds a further postscript, "I send the Duke of Bouillon's letters which this night I have received."[1]

While his own misery and mortification were extreme, to keep up the spirits of his men he reviewed them;[2] and wrote to the Council as to improving their clothes and equipment, protesting that uncleanliness would breed infection.[3] Of the quality and condition of the troops as a whole he was exceedingly proud, and the narrative is here best continued by a letter "this 16th of April about midnight" from Sir George Carew to Sir Robert Cecil:

". . . The particulars of the loss of Calais, the Duke of Bouillon's coming to the Court, fills your ears at large. . . . Our Generals make haste away, wherein they have reason . . . my Lord Thomas [Howard] and Sir Walter Raleigh are not yet come unto us with the remainder of the fleet; we hourly expect them. . . . Monday (if not otherwise commanded) will be our longest abode here. This evening Sir Francis Vere with his forces came to an anchor before Boulogne, where he attends further direction. *I do assure you in my life I never saw more brave gentlemen assembled together for any action than is now in Dover; had not Calais been sooner lost than was feared or was thought feasible in so short a time, there is no doubt but we should have done our country honour.*

"Our ships are well and strongly manned, full of munitions, and as far as I can learn, plentifully well victualled for the time limited. If God be not against us we need not care what man may do unto us; and that which gives me good hope of good success is the well-according of our Generals, who yet, and I hope will ever, run one course in their counsels."[4]

This shows that though Howard had written so furiously to Cecil, he kept his self-control in public; and by the 16th of April it is clear from his own words that he was calmer than on the 13th. ". . . I was aboard my ship in the road two miles off when we heard of the loss of Calais, and referred all to the Earl whom I knew would certify her Majesty;" he wrote to Cecil. From this we see that he as well as Essex was not aware that the Queen had known of this calamity since the 10th. ". . . This morning being come ashore to visit the Duke" [the Duc de Bouillon

history it will be shown how very far was Spain from "tottering": and we shall see what exactly Queen Elizabeth said in 1596 and 1597 in relation to the unchanged Spanish ambitions. As to Professor Merriman's belief that King Philip (p. 658) "never really liked war" and had "gone to great lengths to avoid it," Lord Burghley, who for 40 years worked against him, regarded him as an even more formidable organiser of war than his father the Emperor.

Considering that the Escorial remains as the monument of the Spanish victory at St Quentin, and that it was Philip II whose fleet under Don Garcia Toledo relieved Malta in 1565, and King Philip who organised the Holy League which overthrew the fleet of Sultan Selim,—considering also the internecine Morisco War, and that Philip set his General and Admiral to conquer Portugal and the Azores, and was at war with England from 1585 to his death in 1598, in what way he avoided war is not easy to see. It is oftener our English historians who "do not really like" the vast labour entailed by such examination of the wars as can enable us to be fair to everybody concerned Actually the present History is the first in which the Commissions, Muster Rolls, and other such vital documents are given to the world. But the first volumes did not reach Harvard until after Professor Merriman's *Spanish Empire* was in print.

[1] Ib: No. 33. The reference to the Duke of Bouillon is omitted from printed Calendar (Letters missing).

[2] Ib: No. 35. [3] S.P. Dom: Vol. CCLVII. No. 36. April 17

[4] Holog: Hatfield MSS. 40. 10. Cal: Vol. VI. pp. 145-146

who as Vicomte de Turenne had been the Ambassador who appealed for aid in 1590],

> "we had an alarm that the Spanish fleet was in sight, which sent every man with all diligence aboard so fast as I have not seen the like, and ships so soon under sail. But the fleet proved but ships that came from Bordeaux and Rochelle, some English, some Scots, and French, and Flemings. There will be nothing for me to do here. . . . I pray you hasten away Sir Walter Raleigh. I hope my Lord Thomas Howard will be here this night and my son Southwell.[1] Let my humblest duty be remembered unto her Sacred Majesty. . . . God send me to do her Majesty that service which my unspotted heart hath ever desired, and after this service with her gracious favour to live quietly. Let me be excused to my Lord your father that I write not to him. I had so little to do in this action as there was nothing for me to write."[2]

He had a considerable amount to write previously about his feelings; but not anything suitable to address to Burghley. It may be observed that he refers to the fall of Calais without expression of distress or pity. In London the news aroused dismay and horror; many folk in the City waxed openly indignant; daring to say that there must be treachery or indolence in high places at the Court,—for otherwise, with a General so eager to start as Essex was, the relief would not have been held back until too late. That it was the fault of Her Majesty did not enter their minds, so entirely had her Tilbury Camp speech in 1588 established her renown for a "Bellona-like spirit."

Sir George Carew, as we have seen, had been sent with Sir Thomas Wilkes from the Court, to give advice to the General (though what advice could be offered when the Queen's instructions and prohibitions had been set down by Sir Robert Cecil, as already quoted, it is difficult to conjecture). To Carew's presence, however, we owe a record of the proceedings which will now for the first time, after more than three hundred and fifty years be drawn out of oblivion.[3] The MS., in Carew's own hand, is headed *A Journall of all the particularities that fell out in the voyage under the charge of the two Lords Generall the Earle of Essex and the Lord Charles Howard L. Hyghe Admyrall of England as also the names of all Captaynes and voluntaire Gentlemen that appertayne to the Armye.*[4]

> "On *Easter Day* the 11th of April about 12 of the Clocke at nyght the Erle of Essex tooke his leave of the Queene at Grenwyche, the l: Admyrall beinge gone away from the Courte before him to bringe the shyppes to Dover; the same nyght allso and the same houre I tooke my leave of her M^tie.

[1] His son-in-law, Sir Robert Southwell, married to his daughter Elizabeth Howard.

[2] Holograph. Hatfield MSS. 40. 12. Cal: Vol. VI. p. 146.

[3] Orig. Mentioned casually by Corbett in *The Successors of Drake*, this cannot have been read by him. The whole MS may be ultimately published with notes, tables, and Introduction by the present writer. Carew whose entries, with a few exceptions, were made on the day of the events, is a useful corrective to retrospective writings.

[4] Lambeth MS. 250. ff. 338-362 v. It begins with "A prayer made by the Queene at the departure of the fleet" (14 lines): and then, ff. 339-341, the 31 Articles of War drawn up by Essex. Signed "Essex. C. Howard". The pages where "the names of all Captaynes and voluntaire Gentlemen" should be are blank: but those of the Captains will be supplied in E.E. Vol. X, from unpublished MSS.

"12. On *Monday nyght* the Erle of Essex came to Dover where he founde the l[ord] Adm[iral] who was in Dover Roade, havinge with him

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| the Raynebowe | the Trewlove | the lyons Whellpe |
| the Vantguard | the Crane | the Charles |
| the Tremontane | the Answere | and the Moone." |

[It seems remarkable that though the Queen knew of the dire plight of Calais when Essex was at Court on the 11th the day after the news had arrived, she concealed some of the facts from him, and allowed him to prepare for an attack she did not intend to permit though she had expressly commissioned it.] Carew continues that "*On Tuesday the 13th of April* I came to Dover where I found the L[or]ds Generall honourablye accompan[ie]d with many noblemen and gentlemen." [This was the day the Queen signed Essex's Commission, and then qualified it.]

"14. *On Wednesday the 14th* there was nothing done but as in the former dayes sendinge and retourninge Messengers to the French K who attended our Admiral at Boulogne [:] this day the towne"—this last word was crossed out and "cytadel" substituted—"of Callis was wonne with a furious assault, the Governor slayne and all the french put to the sworde but not as then known unto us."[1]

On the 15th "Don Xssosshero the Kinge of Portugall's sonne came out of france unto us:" and on the 16th "earlye in the morninge" the "Duke of Brillon" [Bouillon] and "Dom Emanuel the Kinge of Portugalls eldest sonne" also landed "at Folkstone by Dover" to be escorted into the town by "the Erle of Essex with the lordes and gentlemen." With the Duke and the Princes came "twelve persons or thereabouts" including Antonio Pérez. The same day Bouillon and Dom Emmanuel "rode toward the Court," and Pérez with them.[2] "About supper tyme we had newes that Syr frances Vere with his troopes wer at an anker before Bollogne." And on "*Saturday the 17th*" they came "into Dover Rode, and sundrey marchants and Hoyes of our fleet came unto us from London."

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[1] "This day" in relation to the loss of the citadel is a mistake; for the "furious assault" had taken place not on but prior to the 14th. (There follows an entry for the 15th which from comparison with Essex's letters seems to belong to the 14th).

[2] In Professor Merriman's *Rise of the Spanish Empire*, Vol. IV, 1934, pp. 601-602, it is said of Pérez, "Unfortunately when he reached London he found that the Earl of Essex on whose ardent support he had counted, had gone off to Plymouth to prepare for the expedition against Cadiz. Nothing would induce the Queen's favourite to return and run the risk of seeing the dramatic stroke on which he had staked his reputation directed to a tamer purpose, . . . . and Pérez recognised with bitterness that he had become merely the sport of factions"

It would hardly be possible to compress more misapprehensions into a few lines; but it is accounted for when the only reference given is "Strachey, pp. 99-102." As Lytton Strachey's book is a medley of all the 19th century errors about Essex brought together, we must hope that in Professor Merriman's next edition he will draw upon E.E Volumes IX—X, for the Cadiz expedition, and not on the fantastic impressionism of Strachey, a 20th century depreciator of the heroic, who did not attempt any serious research, nor even pay attention to easily accessible documents which would have enlightened him. To describe the G.O.C. afloat and sole Commander ashore as having "gone off" to the port of embarkation, as if this were eccentric, and to blame him that he would not "return" to listen to the grievances of Pérez is astonishing—or would be, were it not that the spurious Essex of 19th century concoction still usurps the place of the 16th century "martialist" whom we shall see described in 1597 as esteemed in Spain "for an enemy, the most honoured man in Europe."

For many weeks Sir Francis Vere had been eagerly looking forward to serving as Marshal of the Army in an expedition under Essex; though he had not been told of what the enterprise would consist, nor whither it would be directed. The secret of the plan was well kept; and even Anthony Bacon could only refer to it in general terms. Writing to Essex's agent in Italy to tell him of the capture of Calais, after remarking that the Spaniards had thereby won great honour and profit, of which they were likely to make the utmost, Bacon added that all the more urgently "our Earl persisteth to go forward" in his "great sea voyage; but what the Sovereign Power intendeth hereupon, effects will show very shortly."[1]

"What the Sovereign Power intendeth"? This was the question—which will be fully answered in our next volume.

[1] To Dr Hawkins. Draft: Lambeth (Tenison) MSS. Bacon Papers. 10. 189. Birch, Vol. I, p. 467.

## *THE ATTACK ON ARDRES, 1596.*

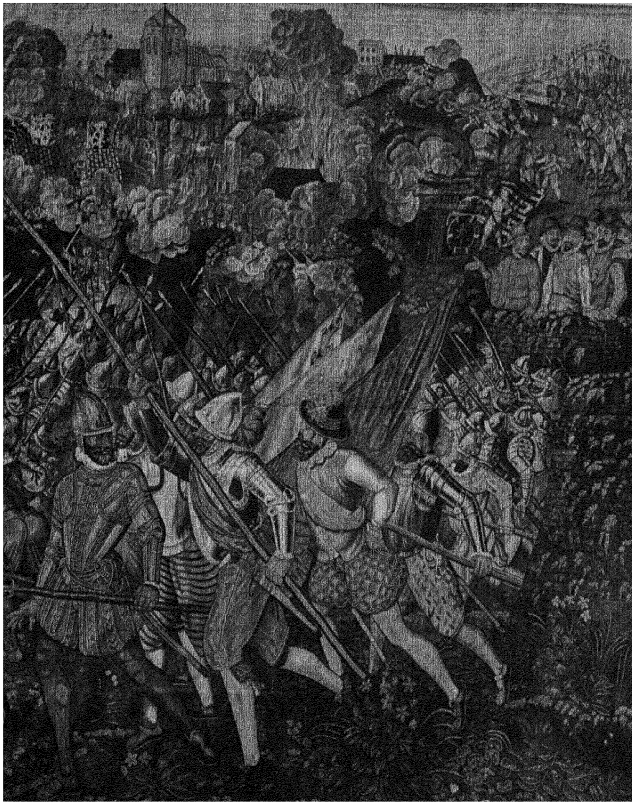
*No. 2 of a series of tapestries presented by the Archduke Albert to the City of Antwerp*
***Now preserved in the Royal Palace, Madrid.***

*Reproduced by permission of the Director of the Real Academia de la Historia*

Photograph, Ruiz Vernacci.

This collotype and the other (No 4, plate (30)) show only a portion of the actual panel, and the large ornamental border is purposely omitted These tapestries were woven in Brussels by Martin Reimbouts, from Cartoons by S. Snellinex the elder

Small renderings of the series, 3 x 4 inches including borders, appeared in Albert F Calvert's *The Spanish Royal Tapestries*, London, 1921, numbers 176-180, in half tone, a process seldom satisfactory in shewing detail of tapestry Mr Calvert says p 17, " It was King Alfonso XII who first conceived the idea of arranging the royal tapestries, studying their history, discovering, where possible, their designers and makers, and classifying them into groups and series, and making photographs of the whole collection." The King did not live to see this work completed, and it was not until 1903 that the Conde de Valencia de Don Juan was able to publish a book showing selected examples, with historical and critical commentaries. Previously in 1900 certain of the tapestries had been shown at the Paris Exhibition



*APPENDIX A.*

## " WOEFUL LAMENTATION ": A BALLAD ON THE FALL OF CALAIS, 1596.[1]

Having seen the events from within, we now turn to a street ballad, *Callis her woefull Lamentation for her hapless spoyle,* the more feelingly expressed, as our people realised how near the danger had come to their own shores.

" If ever wofull tale moved man to pitye
or oppress'd greefe urged a mornfull songe,
then lett those lament which doe heare this dittye,
made in mornefull plaintes and distressed wrong.
Callis doth complaine made a slave to Spaine.[2]
. . . . . .
Death and horror fearefull, cryes and clamors dolefull,
doe in every corner sounde.
Buildinge[s] downe are fallinge; mangled men lye sprawlinge;
horses tread them on the grounde
Fathers see their sonnes, sonnes their mother dyenge;
husbands to their wives, wives to husbands call,
. . . . . "

The town of Calais is made to speak and compare past and present:

" When the worthy power of the English nation
wonne my mayden walles, and did enter me,
In my conquerd streets no such lamentation;
no such fearfull sights did my people see.
They like gentle fowes, pityeing our woes,
did our heavy harts relieve. When we did faint for breade
they our hungers fed, suffering none our harts to greeve.
Our lyttle babes they nurrisht; our beauteous virgins cherisht;
mercy did fayre England use. They comforted our old men;
they spared our feeble women; noe state they did abuse . . . "

There follows a piteous description of recent events; and the English well understood that their own fate would have been similar, had not the men of action by often fighting abroad kept " peace and plenty at home." The balladist did not suspect that for the anguish suffered in Calais—" lyttle babes lye cryinge, . . . warre hath wonne my towne,"—a proportion of responsibility lay at the

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[1] Shirburn MS. f. 215. In extenso, " *The Shirburn Ballads,*" edited by Andrew Clark. Oxford, 1907, pp. 240-244.

[2] Whatever atrocities were committed were directly contrary to the Spanish laws of War, as translated in the *Stratioticos* of Thomas Digges, London, 1590, pp. 283-297: especially (p. 289) " seeing that men of Warre are entertained to avoid oppression, and to defend the weake and afflicted: That no Souldier force any woman on paine of his life: . . . . That no souldier kill any woman or aged man, . . . . albeit in the Furie of Victorie and this also on paine of life: nor shall lay handes on them, on paine to be punished according to the nature of the offence."

(See E.E. Vol. IX, pp. 121; 122).

When troops under Spanish command got out of hand, it was customary to say that the offenders were not Spaniards but " Almayne " mercenaries, who were notoriously difficult to keep in order, as even King Henry IV found to his cost. (See E.E. Vol. VIII, p. 553, note 2).

door of the Queen of England for holding back the promised succours. Essex might well say that his apprehension of her dishonour for breaking her word tormented him as if the pangs of death were gripping his heart, and that he wished himself "in another planet" where he could not hear the French reproaches But unconcious that Her Majesty was a contributory cause of the tragedy, the balladist ends with a tribute to her perfections:

"England kinde and fayre, God preserve and blesse thee.
For thy royall Queene, Lorde prolonge her dayes.
Flanders she hath holpe[n], and poor France distressed,
to her endless fame and eternall prayse.
She stands like Sions hill, unremo[v]ed still,
in despite of pope and Spaine. their most accursed hate
styeth not her state, for the Lord doth hir maintaine.
Happye be shee ever; ende hir glories never
wofull Callis humblye prayes, Jesus still defend her,
and in Englande sende her manye yeers and happye dayes"[1]

[1] In *The Shirburn Ballads*, Oxford, 1907, the editor apparently is not aware that Essex had been commissioned to relieve Calais, and then stopped by the Queen on the eve of embarkation He states that "Henry IV consoled himself on the mishap by an epigram . . ." But Henry IV did not console himself; he vigorously continued the war, until the only way Spain could buy peace was by returning Calais into his hands.

Mr Clark puts forward a fancy that the "*wofull lamentation*" *was written under suggestion from the Court to enflame the national courage* . . . by old animosity against and ever present *fear of* Spain." (Italics mine). But the Court was the place whence came the underhand obstructions to the relief of Calais; and except [a great "except"] for Burghley and Essex, it was less the courtiers than the people who were distressed by the calamity ("mishap", the word used by Mr Clark, is inexact, for the disaster must be charged upon Queen Elizabeth's breach of contract).

The suggestion that the ballad was meant to inflame "old animosity" ignores the fact that England was at war; and that if from Calais the Archduke had proceeded to try similarly to capture and sack Dover it would scarcely have been surprising. Possibly Mr Clark in 1907 was misled by the comments printed in 1902 in *Naval Tracts of Sir William Monson* (Navy Records): it being there editorially alleged by Mr M. Oppenheim that "*calm observers*" attached no importance to the fall of Calais! Who such abnormally "calm" observers could have been is not specified; but so little does our nation realise its own past in this connection that Mr Oppenheim's attitude has been imitated; the comments of Burghley and Essex being overlooked though both were Privy Councillors, and their respective offices of Lord High Treasurer and General Commanding-in-Chief should entitle their words to attention

(The foregoing was written in 1926. The fall of Calais in 1940, the carrying off of some of our own best officers and men from Calais into captivity, and the tragic death of Brigadier Nicholson in a German prison, should enable readers better to understand how the Elizabethans felt when Calais was lost to their Allies in 1596).

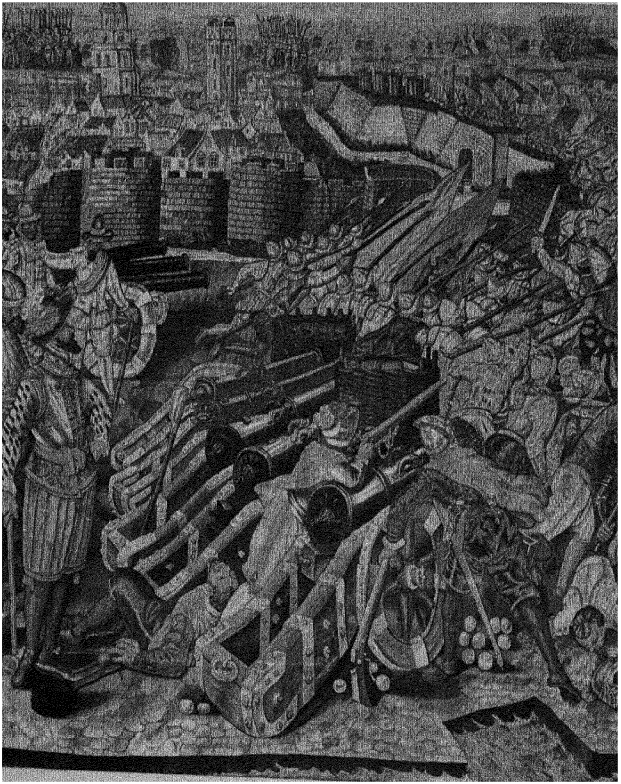
## *THE SIEGE OF CALAIS, 1596.*

*From No. 4 of the tapestries in the Royal Palace, Madrid representing the Victories of the Archduke Albert.*

*Reproduced by permission of the Director of the Real Academia de la Historia.*

Photograph, Ruiz Vernacci

Though not comparable for quality and detail to the famous Tunis tapestries of the Emperor Charles (E E Vol VII, 1940, plates 5 & 6), the tapestry commemorating the Archduke's invasion of France is now included because certain writers in our time when accusing the Elizabethan populace of "nervousness" as to Spain in 1596, either forgot the Spanish conquest of Calais or underrated its significance for England (For the capture of Calais by the French in 1558, and Sketch plan of Calais previously when under the English Crown, see E E Vol I, pp 107-114, and plate 31, facing p 106)



*APPENDIX B.*

## "REDEEMER AND RESTORER OF FRANCE."

*Henry IV to the Peers, Prelates, and Officers of State, 1596.*

Though the grief of France for the disaster at Calais was "redoubled" by the loss of Guisnes and Ardres, King Henry did not allow himself to be crushed by calamities which would have daunted any less regal spirit. "Emissaries of Spain" laboured to the utmost to follow up the martial conquests by persuading the French people that they were overtaxed for the wars, and that their safest course would be to propitiate the invaders and forsake their Monarch. In this crisis, Henry acted with his usual combination of vigour and sagacity. Calling together the Peers[1], with the lesser Nobility, and the Bishops, and Officers of State, he assembled them at Rouen, in the Abbey of St Ouen. ". . . Seated in a chair elevated in form of a Throne, with a Cloth and Canopy of Estate," on either side of him, "the Prelates and Lords; behind, the four Secretaries of Estate; beneath him, the first Presidents of the Sovereign Courts, and the Deputies of the Officers of Justice, and the Revenue," he made one of the most famous speeches in the whole of his career:[2]

> "If I should account it a glory to pass for an excellent Orator, I should have brought hither rather good words than goodwill: but my ambition tends to something higher than well-speaking. I aspire to those glorious Titles of Redeemer and Restorer of France. Already, by the favours of Heaven, by the counsels of my faithful servants, and by the sword of my brave and generous Nobility (from which I distinguish not my Princes, the Quality of Gentleman being the fairest title we possess,[3]) I have delivered it from Slavery and Ruin. I desire at present to restore it to its former force, and to its ancient splendour. Participate, my Subjects, in this second glory, as you have participated in the first. I have not called you hither, as my Predecessors have done, to oblige you blindly to approve my will: I have caused you to be assembled to receive your counsels, to believe them, to follow them; and, in a word, put myself in guardianship under your hands. This is a desire which seldom possesses Kings grey-haired and victorious like myself. . . ."

As he had foreseen, the Assembly, "moved even to the bottom of their hearts," at once suggested methods of raising the wherewithal to continue the war. So, while disclaiming skill in oratory, Henry in his combination of suavity and power, eloquence and tact, again over-

[1] The Peers of France were the nearest equivalent to Grandees of Spain.

[2] Now taken from the version Englished in the next century, *The History of Henry IV. Surnamed the Great, 1663.* pp. 188-189

[3] See Brantôme, "Kings and we other gentlemen". E E. Vol. VIII. p. xli.

came the machinations of his enemies, and proved himself anew a born leader and ruler of men.[1]

[1] Lest the speech of St Ouen might give the impression that Henry allowed himself to be ruled by his subjects, we should nouce what is elsewhere said in the same History as to his habitually keeping the power in his own hands. (pp. 6-7). Also we may observe that his Catholic biographer must have been unaware of the distressing experiences of the French envoys at the English Court, in this time of adversity, for (p 299) he describes "Elizabeth Queen of England" as "one of the most Illustrious and most Heroick Princesses that ever Reigned; and who governed her Estate with more Prudence and Power than any of her Predecessors had ever done." (As her "predecessors" included Alfred the Great, Edward I, and Henry V, this sweeping assertion is more gallant than exact).

"There was nothing wanting to the happiness of her Kingdom," says the Bishop of Rodez, "save the Catholick Religion, which she banished out of England. And we might give her the name of good as well as great, if she had not dealt so inhumanly as she did with her cousin german, Mary Stuart Queen of Scotland; whom she kept eighteen years prisoner, and after beheaded; induced to it by some conspiracies which the Servants and Friends of that poor Princess had made against her person."

*The History of Henry IV,* addressed to his grandson, holds him up as an example: "for he never bowed under the insults of Fortune, or under the Traverses of his Enemies, or under the resentments of Revenge, or under the artifices of Favourites or Ministers; he remained always in the same temper, always Master of himself. In a word he remained always King and Sovereign without acknowledging other Superior than God, Justice and Reason."

Thus he appeared retrospectively to the Bishop of Rodez; and we have seen for ourselves (E.E. Vol. VIII) how even when baffled and frustrated he never accepted defeat, nor lost his presence of mind during one emergency after another. The Bishop described him as "the most active and most laborious of all our Kings; who hath dedicated himself with most diligence to the management of his Affairs, and who hath cherished his Estates and People with the most Tenderness." (But when he was put on the English stage early in the present century, he was made so trivial and fatuous that the drama only served to mislead our public.)

EL

# DISCVRSO SOBRE LA FORMA DE REDVZIR LA DISCIPLINA MILITAR, A MEIOR Y ANTIGVO ESTADO.

POR DON SANCHO DE LONDOÑO, *Maeſtro de Campo.*

DIRIGIDO

AL ILLVSTmo. Y EXCELLimo. SEÑOR

DON FERNANDO ALVARES DE Toledo Duque de Alua &c. Lugarteniente, Gouernador y Capitan general en eſtos Eſtados de Flandes por ſu Mageſtad.



EN BRVSSELLAS.

En caſa de Roger Velpius en l'Aguila d'oro, cerca del Palatio. 1596.

Con Priuilegio.

Dedicated first in April 1568 to the 3rd Duke of Alba, this famous handbook was licensed in December 1589 for publication in English; the defeat of the Spanish Navy the previous year not having lulled England into underrating the Spanish discipline. See E.E. Vol. VIII, pp. 205-206. In 1943 the edition issued at Brussels in 1589 by Velpius was reprinted by the present (17th) Duke of Alba with facsimile title page, Bibliographical and Historical Notes, and dedicatory Epistle dated April 1939. The title page and text of 1589 and 1596 differ slightly in typography but not in wording. (The misprint of Maestro for Maestre does not occur in the 1589 edition). This work of Sancho de Londoño long kept its place in European esteem; it was translated into French and Italian.

In memory of[1]
That most celebrated man Sir Francis Drake, Knight, who of late on a naval expedition against his Country's foes, died a victim of dysentery, on the 28th day of January in the year of Our Lord 1595.

He who in wars at sea such hazards underwent,
Through love of his own Country ever led;
*Drake* now at length the eternal shores hath reached
Of Peace, and hath for his reward eternal Peace.

*To the Same*
Thou that hast sailed the straits that lie beneath each Sun,
And those as well that may be traversed 'neath each Pole;
Oh *Drake,* for thee I heaven's high shores felicitate,
Though in thy death indeed our own lot I must mourn.

*To the Same*
Oh thou who wast the greatest Scourge of Spain, and who
To Philip's self wast source of fear and terror on the seas,
Oh *Drake,* thou passest; yet a hero still we have
In *Essex* who against our foes another *Drake* will be.

*To all who shall have safely kept and helped and augmented their Country, there is in Heaven a certain and assured place, where the blessed may enjoy everlasting life.* Cicero, in his Somnium Scipionis.[2]

Happy thus the death of *Francis Drake,* in that whilst due to nature, it was yet for his Country that in chief it was rendered.

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[1] In Latin, then the universal language, this tribute—of which the only known copy belongs to the Society of Antiquaries—has remained unnoticed by all Drake's biographers; likewise by general historians. It was new even to Professor Sir Geoffrey Callender. The present writer's attention was drawn to it by the late Colonel B. R Ward, C.M.G.

[2] M. Tullii Ciceronis *Somnium Scipionis,* beginning "Scipio Loquitur," section 3. This passage is quoted by Petrarch as a fragment of Book V of Cicero's *De Republica.* Vide *M. Tullii Ciceronis Opera Omnia ex recensione Jo. Augusti Ernesti qui et notas suas adjecit,* Vol. VII. pp. 1007-1013, where the passage commencing with these words is in square brackets.

# IN MEMORIAM CE-

lebertimi viri Domini FRANCISCI DRAKE *militis, qui nuper in nauali expeditione contra hoſtes patriæ ſuæ, et Dyſenteria laborans obijt. Vic. 28. die Ianuarij. Anno Domini. 1595.*

Fluctibus & bellis qui tot diſcrimina rerum
Suſtinuit, Patriæ ductus amore ſuæ;
Appulit æternæ iam tandem Pacis ad oras
*Dracus*, & æternæ præmia Pacis habet.

*Eidem.*

Qui freta luſtraſti ſub vtroq; iacentia Phæbo,
Quæq; ſub ambobus ſunt peragranda Polis;
*Drace*, tibi ſuperas iam *Cæli* gratulor oras,
Sed doleo noſtras te morìente vices.

*Eidem.*

Maximus Hiſpano-Maſtix, ipſiq; Philippo
Qui timor & terror per mare nuper eras,
*Drace* iaces: ſed adhuc ſupereſt *Eſſexius* heros,
In patrios hoſtes qui quoq; *Dracus* erit.

*Omnibus, qui Patriam conſeruârint, adiuuerint, auxerint: certus eſt in Cœlo ac definitus Locus, vbi beati æuo ſempiterno fruantur.* Cic. in ſom. Scip.

Fortunata igitur mors *Franciſci Drake*, quæ naturæ debita, pro Patria potiſsimum eſt reddita.

*Memorial Broadside, 1596. Now first published, by courtesy of the Society of Antiquaries.*
The date of Drake's death 28th January 1595 would be 1596 by our system.

*APPENDIX C.*

## A FURTHER VENETIAN VIEW OF FRENCH AND ENGLISH AFFAIRS, 1596.[1]

On the 3rd of May the Venetian Ambassador in France wrote to the Doge and Senate; "Your Serenity will have gathered from my last despatches the miserable fall of Calais, City and Castle . . . The King has written a letter encouraging all and promising to use every effort to wipe out the insult. And had this good Prince the instruments, as he has the ability, to vindicate his honour, we might consider the matter accomplished; but he has not."

After describing the plight of France, Ambassador Duodo asserts that the Marquis de Pisani told him that "the King of Spain may give Calais to the Queen of England, receive Flushing instead, and so make the peace with her,"—which would be disastrous for King Henry. "The only consideration which hinders such a design is the scheme for conquering England which his Catholic Majesty has had so long in preparation; it is improbable that his Majesty will abandon that design, especially at this moment when the field is opened for him to carry it out. The King of France is very ill-pleased with the Queen of England, because before sending succour she asked for Calais as security for the large debts due to her from his Majesty. When this was refused she asked for the city for her life only, then for a single year.[2] While they were disputing over this request, to which his Majesty would never lend an ear, the enemy have succeeded in storming the fortress; for negotiations dragged on so long that the King only set out for the relief of Calais the very day it fell.

"The bombardment and the breach were made at a hollow earth rampart; they occupied three hours. The first two assaults were repulsed with great gallantry and heavy loss to the Spanish. But unfortunately in these assaults all the officers of the garrison were either killed or seriously wounded, without a single exception."

At the third assault the French were vanquished; and the citadel having fallen, it was anticipated the town must fall. "M. de Sanci has been able to do nothing in England," so the King "has sent the Duke of Bouillon there."

"Everything has taken a bad turn this year . . . The poor throng into this city [Paris] in such numbers that it is impossible to move about the streets, neither on foot [n]or on horseback. A census was taken and they were found to amount to one hundred thousand, some days ago, now they are many more. They have brought the plague,—

[1] Continued from pp. 580-582. These extracts are from *Calendar of State Papers, Venice*, Vol. IX, (1897). Edited by Horatio F. Brown, from the original despatches in the Venetian Archives. Often the information is erroneous or only half the truth; but it carries us back into the time when the struggle was in process; and nobody reading the Venetian Ambassador's despatches could concur in the modern assumption that the loss of Calais was of no consequence to England. (E.E. ante p. 600).

[2] Remember that Calais had been English from Edward III's day to Queen Mary's. E.E. Vol. I. pp. 107-114.

the last calamity, and every day people are falling and dying in the streets . . . Those who have charge of sanitary matters do not do their duty, and the mob hinders them."[1]

On the 11th of May the same Ambassador reported "news of fresh slaughter in Calais, which seems to be nucleus of the War. As a result of the mission of the Duke of Bouillon the Queen of England has seemingly resolved to send large reinforcements to his Majesty." There follow conjectures as to the terms. From Rome on the same date the Venetian Ambassador quoted a conversation with the Pope:

"His Holiness then made this actual remark, 'God's holy service be done; and were we free to speak freely to your Lordship We should say, as the Duke of Ferrara said at the battle of Ravenna, 'Fire! they're all enemies.' There are the French so careless, and the Spanish so insolent, that We don't know which We prefer . . .' . . . I learn" (adds the Ambassador) . . . . "that the Duke of Sessa [Spanish Ambassador] "was three hours in audience with His Holiness last Saturday, and left the Pope much disgusted and grieved."[2]

On the 25th of May the Venetian Ambassador in Paris had reported the garrison of Ardres holding out bravely. "The Spanish under cover of a fog, captured a suburb, but were speedily dislodged. The siege will probably be raised whenever they hear that the King is on the march. He intends then to attack Calais." But Henry was much hampered by lack of money to pay Swiss mercenaries; and "reinforcements from England" were arriving only "in small numbers and slowly."

"The Queen held her fleet in readiness to sail for the object she had in view; and the Earl of Essex was on the point of going on board when news came that Drake died a natural death in Peru, and this has put a stop to all arrangements. The Duke of Bouillon and M. de Sanci are still in England. In a letter to a friend of mine M. de Sanci complains of having to deal with women—his words,—for what is done one day is undone the next, to his infinite trouble."[3]

From France on the 1st of June the Ambassador sent word that just as King Henry was "about to mount horse to go to the relief of Ardres, he heard that his garrison had surrendered." "M. de Monluc, a brave and valorous officer, was killed by a cannon ball," and the others then "lost heart, . . . As long as Monluc was alive the enemy could never get near the place; but once [he was] dead the French yielded. Such is the value of a good leader."[4]

Next he tells of King Henry's new "League with England" [which had been concluded on 24th of May]; but "the reinforcements sent by England are very feeble." Nevertheless though "deeply displeased with her conduct" the French would "accept anything rather than break with the Queen . . ."

"The Marshal de Bouillon and M. de Sanci are expected hourly, as I learn from a letter which his Majesty has written to a gentleman here. They declare for certain that the

[1] 3rd May. Cipher despatch. Cal: pp. 197-98.
[2] Cipher deciphered. Cal. p. 200. [3] Ib: p. 205.
[4] Ib: p. 207.

English fleet, with the flower of the nobility on board, has sailed. Besides the Earl of Essex who is in command, there is the Lord High Admiral as well."[1]

From Spain the Doge and Senate were informed by their Ambassador that "The Count of Alegre [Portalegre] Military Governor of Portugal, reports the alarm aroused by the Queen of England's armaments. She is reported to be making vigorous preparations and to be receiving help from the States of Holland and from some northern Princes." But, to the Portuguese complaints, a sharp answer was sent from Madrid: asserting that "the conquest of Calais, the death of Drake, and the dispersion of the fleet would undoubtedly cause the Queen to change her plans."[2] The Governor was bidden to "keep up the courage of the population" instead of "frightening them at mere shadows."[3]

From Paris on the 15th of June the news sent to Venice was that the Duke of Bouillon and Monsieur de Sancy had returned, but bringing "nothing but two thousand infantry . . ."

> "The English fleet has sailed. The Earl of Essex has written to his Majesty of France informing him of the fact; and adding that he hopes his Majesty will soon hear something to his satisfaction. They have published the Queen's Proclamation here in France and I enclose a copy . . .[4] They say that on board are fourteen thousand soldiers and four thousand sailors, besides almost the entire nobility of England. It is not quite certain where they will strike but opinion generally says either at Bayona, in Biscay, or in Old Castile between the Duro and the Mino."[5]

A notion that the intention was on behalf of Portugal derived plausibility from the knowledge that Dom Antonio's sons were accompanying the expedition. "Others think the English fleet will go to the Azores; and a warning has also been sent to the Brazils."[6] From these conjectures we see that the secret had been well kept as to the actual objective. Our next Volume will treat of the exploit which astonished Europe, coming swiftly after the death of Drake and when the failure to relieve Calais had lowered the dignity of England both at home and abroad.

---

[1] Paris 8th June, 1596 Cal: p. 208.

[2] Drake's fleet was not dispersed, but brought home in good order by Baskerville.

[3] June, Madrid, Cal: pp. 208-209.

[4] Viz: "Declaration of the causes which have moved Her Serene Majesty of England to equip and place on the sea a force for the defence of her realm against the King of Spain, to be published by the Lieutenants-General of the said force, in order that all may know that her Majesty has called out this naval force solely for her defence and to harrass her enemies, and not to injure any who do not take the part of her enemies, but rather to exercise all favour and assistance on their behalf." In French, *Tous ce qui ceste presente declaration verront salut. Nous, Robert Comte d'Essex et d'Evre [Eu], Vicomte de Herfort [Hereford], Baron de Chartelay, et Louain, etcet. Et Charles Houuard, Baron d'Effingham, Grand Admiral d'Angleterre, etcet. Ayant la charge d'une armée Royalle de Mer"* &c. &c Printed *"A Paris par Claude de Monstr'oeil tenant sa boutique en la Court du Palais Juxte la copie imprimée à Londres.* 1596." (Cal: pp. 210-212.) E.E. Vol. X.

[5] Cipher deciphered. Cal: pp. 209-210.

[6] 22nd June, and 25th. Cal: p. 212.

## QUEEN ELIZABETH'S EXCHEQUER, EASTER 1592 TO EASTER 1596.

*Figures now first published from computation by Captain B. M. Ward, late of The King's Dragoon Guards.*

For particulars of how these sums are reckoned from the Tellers' Rolls, Auditor's Receipt Books, Pells Day Books, &c., see E.E. Vol. VII., pp. 415-417; and pp. 418-423, for the figures from Michaelmas, 1584, to Michaelmas, 1589. See also Vol. VIII, pp. 586-589, for continuation to Easter, 1592.

Captain Ward shows that during 1592, while £37,000 was spent on the Royal Navy, the cost of the various Armies in the field came to £171,000, making a total of £208,000 for the Fighting Services. As the national revenue from taxation, &c, for that year came only to £375,000, the proportion spent on defence of the Realm is far beyond what had been hitherto supposed. So despite the Queen's tendency to "sparing and saving," her Ministers were firm with her that the Navy and Army must be adequately maintained.

The reader should bear in mind the enormously greater purchasing power of money. *See ante, p. 384 note 3.*

EASTER 1592—MICHAELMAS 1592.

| | Auditors' Receipt Book E.401/2380 Tellers' views E.403/2277 | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Balance at Easter, 1592 | | 98,192 | |
| Receipts:— | | | |
| Taxation | | 140,628 | |
| Loans:— | | | |
| Privy Seal Warrants | | 5,224 | 244,044 |
| Expenditure:— | | | |
| Royal Navy | 22,829 | | |
| Ordnance | 3,266 | | |
| Ireland | 7,338 | | |
| Low Countries | 67,877 | | |
| Normandy | 3,124 | | |
| Brittany | 20,501 | 124,935 | |
| Purchase of Denbigh estate | 2,000 | | |
| King of Scots | 2,000 | | |
| Loan repayments:— | | | |
| Privy Seal Warrants | 33,160 | | |
| Civil Services | 56,789 | 93,949 | 218,884 |
| Balance at Michaelmas 1592 | | | 25,160 |

MICHAELMAS 1592—EASTER 1593
Abstract E.405/437.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Balance at Michaelmas 1592 | | 25,160 | |
| Receipts:— | | | |
| Taxation | | 201,229 | |
| Loans:— | | | |
| P.S.W. | | 840 | 227,229 |
| Expenditure:— | | | |
| Royal Navy | 17,766 | | |
| Ordnance | 4,533 | | |
| Ireland | 6,080 | | |
| Low Countries | 32,328 | | |
| Normandy | 5,824 | | |
| Brittany | 37,966 | | |
| | | 104,497 | |
| Loan repayments:— | | | |
| Sir Horatio Palavicino | 1,447 | | |
| P.S.W. | 8,180 | | |
| Civil Services | 54,138 | 63,765 | 168,262 |
| Balance at Easter 1593 | | | 58,967 |

EASTER, 1593—MICHAELMAS 1593
Abstract E.405/437

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Balance at Easter 1593 | | 58,967 | |
| Receipts:— | | | |
| Taxation | | 119,717 | |
| Spanish plunder[1] | | 13,505 | 192,189 |
| Expenditure:— | | | |
| Royal Navy | 14,912 | | |
| Ordnance | 6,437 | | |
| Ireland | 7,865 | | |
| Low Countries | 35,037 | | |
| Normandy | 14,515 | | |
| Brittany | 17,897 | | |
| | | 96,663 | |
| Loan repayments:— | | | |
| Sir Horatio Palavicino | 1,447 | | |
| Privy Seal Warrants | 5,630 | | |
| Civil Services | 58,437 | 65,514 | 162,177 |
| Balance at Michaelmas 1593 | | | 30,012 |

[1] Note. Spanish plunder. This was cochineal, taken at sea and sold by Hawkins.

MICHAELMAS 1593—EASTER 1594
Abstract E.405/438.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Balance at Michaelmas 1593 | | 30,012 | |
| Receipts:— | | | |
| Taxation | | 245,317 | |
| Spanish plunder | | 10,000 | 285,329 |
| Expenditure:— | | | |
| Royal Navy | 21,748 | | |
| Ordnance | 5,228 | | |
| Ireland | 17,856 | | |
| Low Countries | 31,655 | | |
| Brittany | 20,435 | | |
| | | 96,922 | |
| Loan repayments:— | | | |
| Privy Seal Warrants | 7,065 | | |
| Civil Services | 58,787 | 65,852 | 162,774 |
| Balance at Easter 1594 | | | 122,555 |

EASTER, 1594—MICHAELMAS 1594
Abstract E.405/438

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Balance at Easter 1594 | | 122,555 | |
| Receipts:— | | | |
| Taxation | | 155,388 | |
| Spanish plunder[1] | | 10,000 | 287,943 |
| Expenditure:— | | | |
| Royal Navy | 30,503 | | |
| Ordnance | 6,742 | | |
| Ireland | 15,183 | | |
| Low Countries | 56,998 | | |
| Brittany | 39,156 | | |
| | | 148,582 | |
| Loan repayments:— | | | |
| Privy Seal Warrants | 9,410 | | |
| Civil Services | 55,397 | 64,807 | 213,389 |
| Balance at Michaelmas 1594 | | | 74,554 |

[1] Note: Spanish plunder. This was "pepper" (including perhaps other spices) taken at sea and sold by Hawkins. It appears that the total value of the "pepper" captured was £82,000. As the Queen only seems to have claimed part of this sum we may conjecture that the balance went lawfully into the pockets of the "adventurers" [i.e. shareholders] —B. M. W.

### Michaelmas 1594—Easter 1595
Abstract E.405/439

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Balance at Michaelmas 1594 | | 74,554 | |
| Receipts:— | | | |
| Taxation | | 201,098 | |
| Spanish plunder | 20,000 | | |
| Sale of land | 59,115 | 79,115 | 354,767 |
| Expenditure:— | | | |
| Royal Navy | 47,638 | | |
| Ordnance | 8,229 | | |
| Ireland | 21,394 | | |
| Low Countries | 43,414 | | |
| Brittany | 22,382 | | |
| | | 143,057 | |
| King of Scots | 2,000 | | |
| Loan repayments:— | | | |
| Privy Seal Warrants | 17,227 | | |
| Civil Services | 60,514 | 79,741 | 222,798 |
| Balance at Easter 1595 | | | 131,969 |

### Easter 1595—Michaelmas 1595
Abstract E.405/439

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Balance at Easter 1595 | | 131,969 | |
| Receipts:— | | | |
| Taxation | | 159,372 | 291,341 |
| Expenditure:— | | | |
| Royal Navy | 25,181 | | |
| Ordnance | 6,588 | | |
| Ireland | 32,533 | | |
| Low Countries | 34,988 | | |
| | | 99,290 | |
| Civil Services | | 60,800 | 160,090 |
| Balance at Michaelmas 1595 | | | 131,251 |

### Michaelmas 1595—Easter 1596
Abstract E.405/440

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Balance at Michaelmas 1595 | | 131,251 | |
| Receipts:— | | | |
| Taxation | | 232,272 | |
| Duchy of Lancaster | | 19,899 | 383,422 |
| Expenditure:— | | | |
| Royal Navy | 86,468 | | |
| Ordnance | 12,146 | | |
| Ireland | 38,997 | | |
| Low Countries | 32,175 | | |
| | | 169,786 | |
| Civil Services | | 61,048 | 230,834 |
| Balance at Easter 1596 | | | 152,588 |

## CHRONOLOGY.[1]


| *Date* | | *Page* |
|---|---|---|
| 1592 | (January) Earl of Essex returns to the Court | 29 |
| 1592 | Baptism of Essex's second son Walter | 29 |
| 1592 | (19 February) Death and Burial of Walter Devereux | 29 |
| 1592 | (March) Commission to Captains Morgan and Yorke to take reinforcements to France | 6 |
| 1592 | Annuity conferred by the Crown upon Edmund Spenser | 45 |
| 1590-92 | The fall of Sir John Perrott | 63-84 |
| 1592 | Visit of Count Montbéliard to Queen Elizabeth | 53-61 |
| 1592 | (April) The Duke of Parma captures Rouen | 8 |
| 1592 | (November) Death of the Duke of Parma [December 3rd, Continental reckoning] | 87-91 |
| 1592-3 | Parliament called to consider the "intended invasions" | 99-105 |
| 1593 | Parliamentary Committee for relief of disabled soldiers | 115-126 |
| 1593 | (February) Essex appointed to the Privy Council | 100 |
| 1593 | Release of Don Pedro de Valdés | 105-106 |
| 1593 | Epidemic of the Plague | 159 |
| 1593 | Dedication of Sutcliffe's "Practice, Proceedings and Lawes of Armes" to Essex | 143 |
| 1593 | (April) Dedication of Shakespeare's "Venus and Adonis" to Henry Wriothesley, 3rd Earl of Southampton | 160-161 |
| 1593 | Publication of Drayton's "Idea" | 143-146 |
| 1593 | (June) Death of Christopher Marlowe | 154-155 |
| 1593 | Richard Hawkins starts on his expedition to the Southern Sea | 191 |
| 1593 | Henry IV of France received into the "Catholic, Apostolic and Roman" Church | 313 |
| 1594 | (February) Essex discovers a "dangerous and desperate treason" | 245-268 |
| 1594 | (June) Execution of Dr López and his fellow-conspirators | 252 |
| 1594 | Coronation of Henry IV of France, four years after his accession | 313-316 |
| 1594 | Further conspiracies against the Queen of England | 293-299 |
| 1594 | Essex intercedes with Her Majesty for Francis Bacon | 327-337 |
| 1594 | Richard Hawkins captured by Don Beltrán de Castro | 197-204 |
| 1594 (?) | Antonio Pérez in England | 351-364 |
| 1594 | English expedition to Brest; announced as to be under Howard of Effingham and Essex, but actually under Sir John Norris and Sir Martin Frobisher | 317 |
| 1594 | Publication of Shakespeare's "Lucrece" | 161 |
| 1594 | (November) Frobisher mortally wounded at the siege of Brest | 317-321 |
| 1595 | Visit of the Duke of Werttemberg's Envoy to the English Court | 401-413 |
| 1595 | Spenser's "Colin Clouts" &c. dedicated to Raleigh; and his "Astrophel" dedicated to the Countess of Essex | 391; 375 |


[1] Dates of year modern style. But though the 1st of January was kept at the Court as New Year's Day, the official year did not begin until March 25th; and each regnal year started on 17th November, the anniversary of the Queen's accession. A modern critic, forgetting that to the Elizabethans "February 1593" was equivalent to the modern 1594, has fallen into error over the year of the López case. (See E.E. ante, p. 257). Confusion also is apt to arise unless we remember that on and after October 5th 1582 the Continental Calendar in Catholic countries was ten days ahead of the English.

| *Date* | | *Page* |
|---|---|---|
| 1595 | Sidney's "Apologie for Poetry" printed | 389-391 |
| 1595 | Marriage, at Essex House, of Lady Dorothy, sister of Essex and widow of Sir Thomas Perrott, to Henry Percy, 9th Earl of Northumberland | 515 |
| 1595 | Spanish raid on Cornwall | 428-429 |
| 1595 | (August) Departure of Drake and Hawkins for Puerto Rico | 430-434 |
| 1595 | Raleigh's expedition to Guiana | 576-578 |
| 1595 | (25 August) Death in Paris of Dom Antonio, titular King of Portugal | 452-459 |
| 1595 | (19 October) Death of Philip Howard, 25th Earl of Arundel in the Tower of London | 578-579 |
| 1595 | (November) Death of Sir John Hawkins at sea | 548 |
| 1595 | (December) Death of Henry Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon, K.G., Lord President of the North | 530 |
| 1595 | (December) Death of Sir Roger Williams | 531 |
| 1596 | (January) Death of Sir Francis Drake at sea | 553 |
| 1596 | Publication of Raleigh's description of "the large, rich and beautiful Empyre of Guiana" | 575 |
| 1596 | (16 March) Essex and Howard of Effingham commissioned jointly afloat, and Essex appointed to sole command ashore, for invasion of Spanish territory | 584 |
| 1596 | Archduke Albert besieges Calais and Ardres | 585-588 |
| 1596 | (13 April) Essex commissioned for the relief of Calais, but not permitted by the Queen to embark | 586-590 |
| 1596 | (April) Archduke Albert captures Ardres and Calais | 594 |
| 1596 | (April) The fleet of Drake and Hawkins brought home safely by Sir Thomas Baskerville | 608 |
| 1596 | Venetian conjecture, about the destination of the English fleet under Essex and Howard | 604-605 |
| 1596 | King Antonio's sons accompany the English forces | 597 |
| 1596 | Latin broadside predicting that Essex was to be "another Drake" to the enemies of this country | 608 |

## "CUSTOMS AND MANNERS OF ALL PEOPLE":

### *" How necessary historical knowledge is," 1553-1592 (and in 1949).*

" Many have written, and experience besides declareth, how necessary historical knowledge is to all kind of men, but specially to Princes, and to others which excel in dignity or bear authority." Thus in 1553 wrote a modest scholar to a high official who both as Admiral and General had won superlative renown,—John Dudley, Earl of Warwick and Duke of Northumberland.[1] In such histories as were current in 1553-1592 the intention was to seek " the grounds and beginnings " of the various nations; " the causes of their increase, of their prosperous preservation; and by what means they decreased, decayed, and came to ruin." History was then the acknowledged foundation of practical wisdom for all ranks and both sexes. Queens and great ladies were expected to study Tacitus, Thucydides, Livy, and Plutarch; not in translations but in the originals.[2]

In history, wrote Brende, " the virtues and vices of men do appear: how by their good doings they flourished, and by their evil acts they decayed. How they prospered so long as they maintained justice, prosecuted vice, used clemency and mercy, were liberal, religious, virtuous, and void of covetousness. And contrariwise, how they fell into manifold calamities, miseries and troubles when they embraced vice and forsook virtue. In histories it is apparent how dangerous it is to begin alterations " without sufficient deliberation; and " how envy and hatred, oft rising upon small causes, have been the destruction of great kingdoms. . . . ." In history there are " precedents for all cases that may happen, in following the good, eschewing the evil, in avoiding inconveniences and in the foreseeing mischiefs."[3]

How to be moderate in prosperity and patient in adversity, how to behave nobly both in peace and war, are to be learnt from the past: " As in all arts there be certain principles and rules," so in history the dignity of goodness and the vileness of evil " appeareth much more lively " than in theoretical generalities; for history can express by example what Philosophy sets forth only in precept:—

" This is such a kind of knowledge as makes men even with small experience able either to govern in public matters or in their own private affairs. For, by comparing things past

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[1] John Brende, "To the Right hygh and myghtye Prince, Ihon Duke of Northumberland, Earle marshall of Englande," dedicating to him Quintus Curtius on *" the Great Alexander,"* 1st ed, 1553, London. (Reprinted 1561, 1570, 1584, 1592, etc.), E.E, Vol. I, pp. 9-13. Spelling modernised supra.

[2] See *" The Library of Mary Queen of Scots"* by Julian Sharman. London, 1889.

[3] In contrast to Brende's letter to the Duke of Northumberland, we may remember how Northumberland's grandson, Sir Philip Sidney, apprehended that truthful history might alarm the timid, because valour and virtue sometimes fare tragically; nor is villainy always punished. The point, however, is that education in the 16th century, whether at our only two Universities or in the Grammar Schools, was founded on the assumption that the way to become great in the present was to appreciate and understand greatness in the past, and look hopefully to the future But there now pours forth a stream of hastily written books in which landsmen pass random judgments upon seamen, civilians dismiss famous Generals with scorn; and this dwarfing of heroes is often mistaken for wisdom But writers unsympathetic to noble actions can never convey to their readers what they themselves fail to understand

with things present, men may easily gather what is to be followed and what is to be eschewed." And whoso reads with judgment, "weighing the times with the causes," can best attain "prudence and honour." A solidly grounded wisdom can be gained from histories, "For in them men may behold, as it were before their eyes, both the whole world and the government thereof, with the policies and laws, the discipline, customs and manners of all people from the beginning."

History is so helpful that whoever is "voyd of it," though of "a great wit" in other ways, will find himself ill-equipped, whatsoever his position. Man's life being short he cannot in one existence attain to all experience direct: "But by this kind of learning, he can have knowledge without experience," and can become a Councillor and "a man of war" by aid of past examples. Alexander the Great, by the early study of Homer, and under the tuition of Aristotle, and by observing the deeds of his elders, could at twenty years of age begin his rule with such skill and judgment that "no man's acts be comparable to his."

"There is nothing new under the sun," says Brende—not foreseeing atomic bombs—". . . and it is impossible for anything to chance either in war or in common policy but that the like may be found to have chanced in times past; . . . all which things laid up in memory promote a readiness" to meet and deal with whatsoever emergencies may arise. And to-day, 1949, however drastically conditions of warfare have changed for the worse in externals, the fundamental qualities for an inspiring leader afloat or ashore do not alter. In every age the fate of nations, for good or ill, turns upon the characters of the persons concerned.[1]

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[1] As these pages are passing through the press, the author notices in "The Illustrated London News" 5th November 1949, p. 704, a review by Sir John Squire of the first volume of G. M. Trevelyan's "Illustrated Social History." Sir John says,

> 'If we cast our minds back over all our history, military, agricultural, social, political, economic, or industrial, we cannot but find that everything that has given us our national pride and prosperity, everything that has enabled us to cut a figure in the world, has been done by exceptional individuals, with a desire to serve their Country or themselves or both."

The Elizabethans would have said "*Sovereign* and Country"; and in the above enumeration it seems strange to omit the Sea Services, without which all else would have fared ill. But it is refreshing to find that an eminent critic has still the courage to admit that great deeds are done by great men. Sir John Squire adds that "The outlook at the moment seems gloomy for the exceptional individual. If he is an Englishman. . . ."

The present writer, in Volumes I to X, is endeavouring to demonstrate what were the qualities, in all ranks, by which England, apparently cast down in the dust by the loss of Calais, was enabled not only to survive, but to resist absorption into the mighty and majestic Empire of Spain. But in the Jacobean Epilogue (Vol. XII) we shall see the lamentable spectacle of our forebears losing the Peace after winning the War. Yet even so, there remained valiant individuals aspiring to consolidate in Virginia the baffled projects of Raleigh who had perished on the scaffold. In "Let the Great Story be told," by H. Wood Jarvis (1947, London, Sampson Low, Ltd, 2nd edition), the extraordinary achievements of Captain John Smith (not aided but heavily handicapped by the home government) are shown in a graphic and significant manner. The moral seems to be that even in the most disheartening times the spirit of resolute heroism survives in individuals. In our next volume we shall see "great England's glory," which we need to measure justly before we can realise how far our nation had to fall.

# In Memoriam: Lord Queenborough, G.B.E.

On September 22nd, 1949, while this volume was being set up in type, one of the most illustrious subscribers ended his long and varied career. Almeric Hugh Paget, born in 1861, was sixth son of General Lord Alfred Paget, and grandson of the 1st Marquess of Anglesea who as Lord Uxbridge had been the Duke of Wellington's Cavalry General at Waterloo

Devotion to Crown and Country was his natural heritage; and whether in or out of Parliament he was active in good works. Created Baron Queenborough in 1918, all who knew him felt this honour to have been suitably conferred. In the Monthly Message of the Royal Society of St George, October 1949, Lord Perry wrote of him,

"Counsellor of statesmen and literally friend of Kings, . . " his "dominant emotion" was "a passionate love of England, a belief in her Imperial destiny, and a belief that the English-speaking peoples had the destiny of the world in their keeping. Both his marriages brought him into intimate contact with the leaders of American social, economic and political life . . .

"For the expression of his English patriotism he found in the Royal Society of St. George an ideal instrument . . ."

He believed in his countrymen, for "their sense of justice, their tenacity, their industry, their ingenuity . . Could each succeeding generation be well grounded in the English story and bred in the English virtues—he believed—the human race need have no fear of any new dark age nor any return to barbarism . . .

"He was the least militaristic of men, but he respected the elementary military virtues,—hardiness, endurance, and the observing of a self-imposed discipline"

Of wide sympathies, "he was equally at home with the newest recruit to the local Boy Scouts, or the oldest inhabitant of some remote English village . . .

"He had been at his first prime in the days when his beloved England was still strong, and her fortunes unimpaired, her prestige high."

Fated to survive two world wars, "he maintained," says Lord Perry, "that the English would rise superior again, and that to whatever new heights of prestige and power they attained" they would be "the better and not the worse for their years of adversity This belief he held to the last . . .

"He was a great Englishman; and England could more easily have spared many a man of more spectacular career . . Englishmen all the world over—particularly in those Dominions which he so recently visited and so much loved, Canada and South Africa—will lament his passing"

His principles may be gathered from his Foreword to *Let the Great Story be told,* the work in which Mr H. Wood Jarvis shows how the British Empire came into being, not by official planning but through achievements of individual men of action.

Lord Queenborough's library at Camfield Place was representative of his many interests: and as he realised that men grow to resemble what they admire he deplored the growth of a school of "history without heroes" in which Elizabethan martial prowess is ascribed merely to "secular optimism," and where those who, whether afloat or ashore, made the name of England respected are reduced to mediocrity He especially congratulated the present writer on rescuing from oblivion in Volume VIII the aid rendered to France by English troops under the Earl of Essex; services simultaneous with Sir Richard Grenville's last fight, elucidated at last as to orders received, and giving the strategic reasons for that famous but oft-misunderstood example of superb heroism.

Under Lord Queenborough's auspices, the Royal Society of St George produced a series of historical pamphlets, showing how Alfred the Great saved England; how Edward III founded the Order of the Garter; how Drake was "called into action by Her Majesty," and how Matthew Flinders explored Australia. The series culminated in "The Formation of Australian Qualities" as exemplified in two World Wars.

As a letter writer, Lord Queenborough, however busy, never had the manner of being in a hurry. Even his briefest note conveyed something of his courtesy and charm. He was as steadfast and reliable as he was talented and versatile; and in his blend of the active and contemplative elements he strongly resembled the Elizabethans whom he so justly valued.




Set up in type for the Author
At the Sign of the Dove with the Griffin
at Royal Leamington Spa
in the County of Warwick

MDCCCCXLVII—MDCCCCL