UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY
OU_172167
UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY

Elizabethan England.

"**Elizabethan England**" *consists of 325 signed and numbered sets, and Portfolio, for subscribers only; also ten sets unnumbered.*

This is Number

Frontispiece. QUEEN ELIZABETH:

now first published from the original at Arbury,
in possession of Sir Francis Newdegate, G.C.M.G.

Panel: 3 feet 2 inches by 2 feet 8½ inches.

Reddish-auburn hair, and green-hazel eyes.

Undated. One of a collection of portraits in possession of the Newdegate family ever since Queen Elizabeth's reign.

(Photograph: Herbert West, Birmingham, for Sir Francis Newdegate.)

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FROM ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS, MANY HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED;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

Member of the Society for Nautical Research.

In X volumes quarto:
with many hundred portraits and other illustrations in collotype,
also title pages and portraits in line:
And with PORTFOLIO
of unique Maps, Charts, Documents, etcetera,
relevant to the text, and now first published.

Issued for the Author
to Subscribers only

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

and for the Escorial frescoes of the siege and battle of St. Quentin, the battle of Gravelines, the review of the Spanish Army at Cantillana, the defeat of Philip Strozzi by the Marqués de Santa Cruz near St. Michael's, and the subsequent battle of Terceira; works embodying such wealth of historical detail as no English, paintings of the same date can equal. Subsequent to the printing of Vol. II, and therefore too late to name in its List of Contents, the Duke of Alba advised including from his collection a newsletter of 1573, of which the Dutch original no longer is known to exist. The circumstances are described in addenda pages 200*a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, of that volume.

In regard to Dutch matters, **Count Godard Bentinck of Amerongen,** and **Dr. N. Japikse, Director of Royal Archives at the Hague,** have been exceedingly helpful.

The collecting and arrangement of material for this History having extended over more than half a lifetime, many sympathisers are no longer on earth to read the final results of their early encouragement. Far from being offended that the present writer's quest among manuscripts frequently tended to upset accepted academic theories, the late **Sir James Donaldson, Principal of St. Andrew's University,** and the late **Dr. Robert Herbert Story, Principal of Glasgow University,** concurred in wishing success to the exhumation of forgotten realities. Frequent help was given by the late **J. Paul Rylands, F.S.A.**

For training in cartography, the late **Lieutenant-General Sir Edward Hutton, K.C.B., K.C.M.G.,** Chairman of the Military History Committee of The King's Royal Rifle Corps, is to be thankfully remembered.

The late **Vice-Admiral J. W. L. McClintock, C.B., D.S.O., President of the Royal Naval College, Greenwich,** gave his attention and approval to the plan of this work; and the late **Captain John Howard, R.N.** of Rushett, Faversham, who died at the age of ninety-seven,—and whose first Admiral, Sir Robert Stopford, had been one of Nelson's " band of brothers,"—was of considerable assistance. Having served in the Royal Navy before the days of steam, his experience in sailing ships enabled him readily to enter into and elucidate Elizabethan nautical conditions.

Of seamen still living whose constructive criticism has been valuable, **Mr. Jocelyn FitzGerald Ruthven, F.R.G.S.,** is the chief. Across a long period of years he has many times re-read this History; often helping to clarify points which might otherwise have been perplexing.

Various elusive facts have been run to ground by the help of **Professor Geoffrey Callender, M.A., F.S.A.,** of the Royal Naval College, Greenwich, (Hon. Secretary to The Society for Nautical Research, who was so largely instrumental in saving Nelson's flagship, H.M.S. **Victory,** for our nation).

Commander Walter Raleigh Gilbert, of Compton, Devon, representing Sir Humphrey Gilbert,—founder in 1583 of our first Colony, Newfoundland,—has lent numerous transcripts bearing upon Sir Humphrey, Sir John, and Adrian Gilbert.

Sir Frederic Kenyon, K.C.B., G.B.E., when **Director of the British Museum,** approved the project for this large undertaking; as also did the late **Mr. Julius P. Gilson, Keeper of the Manuscripts;** and Mr. Gilson did a vital if drastic service by admonishing the present writer not to depend upon the Dictionary of National Biography, but to make fresh investigations, in which he was always ready to assist.

Sir George Hill, the present **Director of the British Museum,** has expressed his sympathy with the aims and methods of these labours.

Captain B. M. Ward, late of The King's Dragoon Guards, has systematically examined the MS books of the Exchequer, and has lent his unpublished tables of figures, showing proportions of national expenditure which will often be drawn upon.

The Rev. W. Stanhope-Lovell, former Librarian to the Marquess of Salisbury, and **Mr. R. Cecil Wilton,** Librarian to the Duke of Norfolk, have from their different standpoints been untiring in kindness and courtesy. The late **Mr. Richard W. Goulding, F.S.A.,** Librarian to the Duke of Portland, was particularly helpful in the collecting and criticism of English portraits: and **Mr. G. K. Adams** of the National Portrait Gallery has frequently furnished information. **Mr. J. Vacey Lyle,** present Librarian to Lord Salisbury, has helped in the reading of difficult MSS.

During many years, **Dr. C. Hagberg Wright,** Secretary of the London Library (knighted as these sheets are passing through the press), has taken an interest in the progress of a work the difficulties of which can be more readily realised by those of his profession than by the general reader.

Thanks should be given to **Mr. P. J. Dobell,** whose father Mr. Bertram Dobell in 1907 was the discoverer of "the old Arcadia," the early and briefer version of Sir Philip Sidney's romance, previously supposed to have perished. Prior to the publication of the manuscript as a supplementary volume of the Cambridge edition of Sir Philip Sidney's Works, in 1926, Mr. P. J. Dobell readily gave his assistance upon this and kindred matters.

Messrs. Maggs Brothers have permitted numerous quotations from manuscripts in their possession.

A work covering so wide a field as this History of "**Elizabethan England,**" in relation to all Foreign Powers, would hardly have been possible of accomplishment, but for the courtesies of pioneer subscribers at home and abroad. And not only the author but the printers required tireless patience in the arduous task of production.

14th April, 1934.

from carrying out his project. And though the facts as to Queen Elizabeth have ceased to be contraband, "Time's old daughter Truth" is still a coy lady: laborious to court, and expensive to win. Hence some of her professed votaries find it easier to leave her in retirement. But now, after long examination of the combined history and literature of the Elizabethan Era, an effort is made to convey both the proportions of its body and the essence of its spirit.

When we can handle the letters of those who are gone: when we are able—thanks to a voluminous mass of original documents,—to sift out and think over conflicting evidences, we shall condemn ourselves as insensate if we are not stirred by the joys and griefs, the tragedies and triumphs, of men and women of our own race, who in their labours and sufferings, efforts and victories, took thought for "ages yet to be." The man of action, the legislator, the student, and the psychologist, will find in the ensuing volumes a treasure-house of interest veritably "Shakespearian," if willing to discard 19th century misinterpretations.

The present writer's long search for unpublished material has succeeded beyond anticipation. But not all MSS are illuminating: scandal is not necessarily true because contemporary and unprinted: and for one letter or document which is reliable, many serve to mislead; some are wrongly endorsed; some forged; and some are effusions composed for self-interested reasons by temperamental liars. Between all these it is necessary to discriminate.

Sometimes close research does but lead to negative results, (or to further puzzles,—the decisive evidence being still to seek); but in many cases documents easy of access have been neglected by historians, in favour of printed rumours often from anonymous sources, such as no court of law would to-day accept as evidence, if the living instead of the dead were on trial.

"Anything but history, for that must be false," Sir Robert Walpole is credited with having exclaimed. And not yet do many writers pay so much "homage to Truth" as neither to echo any verdict without examination nor pass on scandal without probing it to its source. Even members of our great historic houses have sometimes not only permitted their most distinguished kinsfolk to be carelessly calumniated, but have themselves circulated the detractions. During the last seventy years the worst misrenderings of the character of Robert, second Devereux Earl of Essex, have been repetitions of statements made by The Hon: W. B. Devereux, in his *"Earls of Essex,"* 1853: answered now in *"Elizabethan England"* from manuscripts which Devereux had not examined.

Memorable words upon the duty of the living to the dead were uttered in 1925 by the Director of the *Real Academia de la Historia* in Spain:

"The inheritors of illustrious names, or noble titles won for eminent services to their country, owe it to their ancestors to enhance their fame, when newly found documents give them the opportunity; they should rectify unjust censures

and accusations, not permitting the memory of the dead to be clouded, but rather holding them up as examples to those who come after."[1]

This is not to suggest that actual errors or proved faults should be glossed over, or attempts made to offer a mere panegyric where discriminating analysis is needed.[2] The aim should be absolute truth.

A critic in one of the leading London daily papers recently divided " historians " into two " schools ":—

> " to some the accurate and painstaking sifting of an infinite mass of fact seems the only legitimate method; to others the resurrection of the spirit of the subject, in the form and semblance of life, seems the only thing worth doing."

But the two, far from being incompatible, are or should be the first and second stages of the same man's labour. It is not possible for any historian truly to interpret the *" spirit "* of a bygone era, if he abhors *" accurate and painstaking sifting "* of evidence, and prefers to fabricate, out of current abstracts and epitomes and his own fancy, a false " semblance of life."

Though " scientific history " has sometimes produced works in which many documents are drawn upon and yet the general result is not illuminating, this is not because the compilers have gathered an " infinite " mass of laboriously " sifted " material; but because they have not sufficiently " sifted " that material, and so have missed crucial evidence which would have supplied Ariadne's thread to guide them through the labyrinth. Accuracy and inspiration are not enemies. Inspiration may and should be the crowning reward of a life of labour and accuracy: *" First learn; then teach,"* said Pythagoras.

Agrippa d'Aubigné, asserting that *" Those who live only in the present are as mercenaries hired by the day,"* whereas *" those whose hopes embrace more than one age are conscious already of immortality,"* was not merely expressing the personal feeling of one who from early boyhood had lived amidst danger and in close proximity to death. He was appealing to a conviction which permeated the aspiring spirits and active minds of his time: an era " spacious " in the vivid consciousness of past, present, and future as an organic whole; and of earthly existence as a marvellous if short chapter in the great Book of Eternity. When a member of the House of Commons could say to his fellows, *" You know the knot of Religion is never ending; it is the link which binds man to God, and man to*

---

[1] *" Los herederos de apellidos ilustres o de titulos nobilarios, premio de eminentes servicios a la patria, tienen contraida con sus antepasados la deuda de realzar sus méritos cuando nuevos documentos lo permitan, rectificar censuras o accusaciones injustificadas y, en fin, no dejar que vaya obscureciéndose su memoria, sino que sirva de ejemplo a sus sucesores."* " El Mariscal de Berwick. Bosquejo Biográfico por el Duque de Berwick y de Alba. Madrid 1925." Prólogo. p. 5.

[2] *Ib. " Excluye este deber el panegírico, antes tan gustado, actualmente proscrito, por no tener en cuenta la crítica ajena para impugnarla si es injusta, y la propia, que no ocultará los errores o culpas donde se comprueben, como inseparables de la condición humana."*

man,"[1]—though between Rome and England there was bitter conflict, none of the combatants doubted that their adversaries as well as themselves possessed the common inheritance of a spirit which swords could not kill nor fire burn.

Nothing could be further removed from the temper of that age than the growing assumption that the impassioned religious expressions encountered at every turn among Queen Elizabeth's defenders arose from "Puritanism." Confusion has been created by the *mot* of Carlyle that "Puritanism" and "Shakespeare" are the two "greatest" things in English life and letters. Actually it was when Queen Elizabeth was struggling against the most powerful "foreign potentates" in Christendom, the King of Spain and the Pope, that the Puritans chose to attack the Church of England, after it had become an integral part of the State. And their quarrel with the Church waxed most violent on matters extraneous to theology proper; as, for instance, they held it "damnable" to use the ring in marriage, or preach in a surplice, or praise the Almighty with the aid of musical instruments. Puritans believed in the excellence of their own intentions; but such part as they played during Queen Elizabeth's reign was neither patriotic nor constructive; and when in the following century they overturned both Church and Crown they closed the theatres and banned the production of Shakespeare's plays.

Whereas in our pseudo-Elizabethanism of 19th century manufacture, "Puritanism" has been given a fictitious value by the metamorphosis into "Puritans" of the Earl of Leicester, Lord Burghley, and Sir Francis Walsingham, statesmen who were pillars of the Established Church, no Privy Councillor in the reign of Queen Elizabeth could have been a "Puritan,"—any more than he could have been a "Papist"; the legal necessity being to take the oath of allegiance not only to the Sovereign's person but to her Church, against which the Puritans carried on their war of tongues and pens.

It has become the custom to separate Constitutional History, Political History, Naval History, Military History, Literary History. But the Elizabethans expected history to include all the factors necessary to elucidate the life of a nation.

"Constitutional history" by itself, is necessarily imperfect; for the history of any country depends primarily upon whether it wins or loses the wars in which the Sovereign and people are engaged. Its "constitution" rarely survives if the country be conquered; for men who made laws are in no case to enforce them if they fall captive to a foreign victor. This elementary fact, put in words over and over again by Burghley, is apt to recede from view to-day; when many an interpreter of Shakespeare forgets that after 1584, when diplomatic relations with Spain were for the second time broken off, until a peace treaty was signed at Somerset House after the accession of King James, England was at war with the largest and most powerful Empire in Christendom: fighting on the high seas, and

[1] Sir Wm. Unton: 24 March 1592-3: speech to be published under date.

in France, Ireland, Portugal, Spain, and the Low Countries: "keeping the peace at home by valour abroad."

It is often now said that to "sociologists" the "daily life of the people" is the vital subject, and that the doings of "warriors and Kings" are of minor interest. But the first depended upon the second. Had King Philip prevailed in 1588 or after, "*what then would have become of the liberties of England?*" as Sir Walter Raleigh asked.

To bring home the lesson of the wars, the succession of unique manuscript maps, now first reproduced, will be helpful. That many were drawn for Sir William Cecil, Lord Burghley, is one of the hitherto unknown facts through which we will come to a better understanding of his statesmanship: even as the list of books collected by him during more than half a century will reveal the breadth of his interests.

Students of history will owe gratitude not only to the Marquess of Salisbury, for the use here made of his treasures, but also to the Marquess of Bath, for permitting the publication, in "*Elizabethan England*," of every requisite document from his Longleat MSS: the Dudley and Devereux sections of which are part of his inheritance through Lady Frances Devereux, sister and elder co-heiress of the 3rd and last Devereux Earl of Essex, and second wife of William Seymour, Earl and Marquess of Hertford and Duke of Somerset (whose first wife had been Lady Arabella Stuart of unhappy memory).

Many of these papers would be unintelligible to a casual reader; and some are so faded as to be difficult to decipher. Those selected will be of special value in helping to bring the Earls of Leicester and Essex into the places they held in the eyes of their contemporaries.

These MSS include important State Papers, such as Letters Patent signed by the Queen, of which neither drafts nor copies have been found in the Record Office; private reports of contemporary transactions, both military and civil; confidential letters from the Lord High Treasurer Burghley, Lord Ambrose Dudley Earl of Warwick, Henry Hastings Earl of Huntingdon, Henry Herbert Earl of Pembroke (husband of Sir Philip Sidney's sister); Sir Christopher Hatton, Principal Secretaries Sir Thomas Smith and Sir Francis Walsingham; Sir Roger Williams, and his "syngular best Lord and General" Robert Devereux Earl of Essex, Henry Killigrew, Roger Lord North, Fulke Greville, Gabriel Harvey, and many another of name. All, or nearly all these MSS are holograph. (Those of Philip Sidney have been published recently; but, so far as can be ascertained, only two out of all the others are as yet known to students).

Of the writings in Leicester's own hand, the most personal is his first will, 1581-2, eleven large pages of characteristic detail. No historian or biographer who has passed judgment upon Leicester, can have studied these Dudley MSS, or

attempted to fathom the reasons for Sir Philip Sidney's "great love and devotion" to him. We shall need to see him from many standpoints: that of the Queen; of his near kinsfolk and close friends; his political colleagues; and of the foreign adversaries who had cause to be glad of his death.

This Privy Councillor who was Chancellor of Oxford University for twenty-four years, was as open-handed a patron of literature and art as of the "martiall men" and "divines." The tributes to "His Excellencie" from many scholars and soldiers have too long slept undisturbed; while an anonymous libel, in the reprinted version called *"Leicester's Commonwealth,"* 1641, has been used hitherto, consciously or unconsciously, as the basis of nearly every "standard" estimate of this much-maligned statesman and General. His "thirty years friendship" with Lord Burghley,—of whom we have all been taught he was the enemy,—will be found to form a story inseparable from that of England itself.

Readers who have hitherto regarded Burghley as "the original of Polonius," and also as a pacifist, will be surprised to find him describing the progress of foreign wars with a lucidity which might with advantage have been emulated by many a historian. Likewise they will observe him so abhorred by our national adversaries, for his combined subtlety and vigilance, that in 1594 he and the Earl of Essex were the two Privy Councillors selected for assassination, in a baffled plot the chief particulars of which will be a revelation even to Spanish readers.

As Sir Francis Drake's biographers, most notably the late Sir Julian Corbett, have depicted Burghley as Drake's political adversary, it is astonishing to discover that Burghley was in favour of advancing Drake to command a *"great and royal war,"* long before the Queen would consent to do so.

Not only do some essential MSS, hitherto unpublished, afford political revelations; but there are printed works by Elizabethans viewed in a new light. For example, *"The Life of the Renowned Sir Philip Sidney . . . written by Sir Fulke Grevil, Knight, Lord Brook, a servant to Queen Elizabeth and his Companion and Friend,"* first issued in 1652, is drawn upon, more or less, by all Sidney's biographers. But concentrating on Sidney, they have not been concerned about events subsequent to his death. Certain of Greville's statements, therefore, have either escaped notice, or been disregarded because contrary to accepted ideas.

Sir Fulke Greville, Lord Brook, was the intimate friend not only of "England's Mars and Muse" Sir Philip Sidney, but of Sidney's successor in popular esteem as "the flower of Chivalrie," Robert, Earl of Essex. But Greville's rendering of Essex's tragedy is not mentioned by the Dictionary of National Biography in its scanty list of Elizabethan "authorities" on Essex's career; nor does any modern commentator upon the fall of Essex appear to have consulted those observations. Of all Jacobean writers on Elizabethan politics, Greville best combined intimate knowledge of the Court with personal devotion to the Sovereign.

His faith in Monarchy as an essential institution never wavered; but he kept his independence of mind, to an extent not possible for Camden or any professional chronicler who lived and wrote in dread of the official frown. Yet Greville is often ignored; while Camden, who dared not "pry into Princes' purposes," has been accepted as an "authority" even though he wrote what he believed would be acceptable to the survivors rather than what was just to the dead.

Allowing for a tendency to idolise the Queen, (Greville, long after her death, still delighted to give her the chief glory for projects most of which we must now recognise as originating in the brains of her champions,) often a single sentence, had it been followed by investigation, would have saved us from centuries of error. To take a typical example: in giving the reasons why England was able to hold out against Spain,—and referring to the long continuance of the struggle which began anew after the defeat of the Armada,—Greville remarks that soon after Drake's death, the Earl of Essex averted the invasion of England by invading "Spaine it self." "Now when this Spanish Invader" who was planning another attempt against Queen Elizabeth, *"found himself thus well paid with his own coin,"* he laboured to prevent our Fleet and Army renewing the attack on his strongholds: and by his old device of *"stirring up Tirone in Ireland"* he hoped to keep the English fighting forces employed. But *"even then,"* says Greville, Her Majesty *"first by Essex,* and after by Mountjoy, overthrew the Irish; and sent home the Spaniard well recompensed with loss and dishonour for assisting her rebels."[1]

"Dishonour" is an unfair epithet; for Don Juan de Aguilar defended himself gallantly in Kinsale in 1601; but this reference to Essex's Irish campaign might have indicated to us that Essex in 1599 carried out what he undertook. When Shakespeare in 1599 wrote of Essex in eulogistic terms, he was not flattering a courtier but expressing a long-standing public confidence in *"the General of our gracious Empress"*: who from the time of Drake's death onwards had been recognised at home and abroad as "another Drake against the enemies of our Country."[2] *"Our General hath as much fame and reputation in Spain and Italy as ever; and more than any of our nation had. . . For an enemy he is the most honoured man in Europe,"* as even Raleigh (who disliked him) wrote in 1597.[3]

Lord Chancellor Campbell in *"The Lives of the Lord Chancellors"* (1846-47) asserted that Essex was made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland for the same reason as Hatton had been made Lord Chancellor,—because he was "the Queen's lover"; and the double fallacy has been many times repeated. But audiences which sat watching the drama of *Henry V* in 1599, laboured under no such delusions. Even the Thames watermen were hardly so ignorant as not to know that Ireland had

---

[1] Op: cit, Chapter XVII.

[2] Broadside, 1596: to be published in facsimile, under date.

[3] To Sir R. Cecil (Holograph) Hatfield MSS. Cal: Vol. VII, p. 465. Essex's services as Admiral-General in 1597 are cleared in the present work from current misconceptions.

long been the door through which Spain essayed to harass England: and that therefore nothing could have been more appropriate than to confront the "Arch-rebel Tyrone," the "Prince O'Neill" of the Spaniards, with Essex, "*great England's glory and the world's wide wonder*" of Spenser's eulogy, Chapman's "*most honoured now living instance of the Achilleian vertues,*" "*England's Champion*" of the street ballads and broadsides.

The Spaniards paid him the compliment of postponing their intended invasion of Ireland until he was no longer on earth to confront them.[1]

Shakespeare's method of conveying to his audiences how their ancestors had greeted the victor of Agincourt, was by bidding them consider how eagerly they themselves would go out from the City to welcome Essex, so soon as they should hear of his home-coming, "bringing rebellion broachèd on his sword." And Shakespeare was not drawing on imagination, but prophesying from what had previously been seen. When Essex left London for Ireland, immense crowds had thronged in Cornhill and Cheapside to bid him farewell. Even "in the fields, the

> people pressed exceedingly to behold him, especially in the highways, for more than four miles space, crying out 'God bless your Lordship,' 'God preserve your Honour'; and so followed him till the evening."

A recent historical work on Shakespeare reasserts, in comment on *Henry V*, Prologue to Act V, that Shakespeare's estimate of Essex was wrong. But examination of secret history now reveals that in essentials Shakespeare was right.

Tardily but conclusively, the Irish campaign can be elucidated, in connection with complexities of political intrigue at the Court, by which Essex in his absence was fatally undermined with the Queen, even while he was performing services estimated *in Spain* as they deserved. This revision might have been attempted long since, if the three words of Sir Fulke Greville, "*first by Essex,*" had sooner attracted the attention of writers sufficiently interested in the topography of Ireland, the arts of war, and the complex conditions of the late sixteenth century, to suspect how much this laconic assertion covered.

Readers of Greville will remember that early in the Jacobean era he wished to write the history of his own time, and especially of Queen Elizabeth; largely from the "Council Chest" papers. He confided his intention to a Councillor high in favour with King James. In friendly fashion this statesman "appointed me that day three weeks to come for his warrant" to examine the papers. But when Greville presented himself, the high official expressed surprise that one so able and

---

[1] Unpublished contemporary sketch maps of Irish events, with other newly found materials, and full technical explanations of the main points in Essex's campaign (also exposures of political misrepresentations then and afterwards), form a special feature for 1599: the period from Essex's embarcation for Ireland in the spring of that year, to his execution in February 1601 (new system), filling an entire volume.

so " like to rise " yet higher at the present moment, could propose to " dream out " his time " in writing a story."

Greville was unable to see why the writing of history should be thought below the dignity of a man of quality. " Whereon in a yet more serious and friendly manner" he was asked to define precisely what he meant to do.

" I shortly made answer that I conceived an historian was bound to tell nothing but the truth."

Realising that the truth might not always be edifying, he was prepared to be blamed as an " Athenian Timon " if he found it necessary to reflect critically upon "Princes and States," as well as upon some of the great families. But " so far from being discouraged, he was ready " freely to adventure all my goods in this ship, *which was to be of my own building."*

" Immediately " on his announcing his resolve to tell *" nothing but the truth,"* his political friend most " seriously " assured him *" that upon second thoughts he durst not presume to let the Council Chest lie open to any man living, without His Majesty's knowledge and approbation."*

Greville had not calculated upon King James being made the censor of an Elizabethan history; and he reflected ruefully that if his labour must depend upon the particular " approbation " of the Monarch, it " would necessarily require sheet after sheet to be viewed." " In the same proposition " he " further saw " that if "many judgments" of officials were invoked by the King, this *"would have brought forth such a world of alterations as in the end the work itself would have proved a story of other men's writing, with my name only put to it"*: and so would have been " a worship of time," and " not a voluntary homage to duty."[1]

Hence—foiled in his large plan—he wrote instead his essay on Sir Philip Sidney, blended with a discourse on *" The True Interest of England . . . in relation to all Forrain Princes: And particularly . . the power of Spain," . . . Together with a short Account of the Maxims and Policies used by Queen Elizabeth . . ."*[2]

As to the forbidden History, he explains that it would not have begun with the Queen's accession. Previous events would have been first treated; so as to prepare the reader's mind for the political lessons and inner meaning of the Elizabethan age.

Now that Greville's " voluntary homage " to Truth, frustrated then, has been vicariously performed in *" Elizabethan England,"* the time has come for exhumation

[1] Greville, op: cit. 1652. Chapter XVII.

[2] An exceedingly scurrilous account of the First Five Years of King James (printed in the *Harl Miscell* · Vol. I) is sometimes fathered upon Greville; but only by those who have no acquaintance with his spirit, style and standpoint, which are the absolute antithesis of the production in question.

of a veritable Pompeii of secret intrigue, as to the concluding years of Queen Elizabeth's reign. Of the papers which Greville was not allowed to see, some appear to have been destroyed. But those which remain, co-ordinated with others elsewhere discovered, are more than enough to provide us with extraordinary revelations.

It would be unwise to point out in which sections of the concluding volumes the most vital new material is to be found. A drama cannot begin at its Epilogue, nor be judged only by its fifth act. The audience must watch it unroll in sequence,—Introduction, Growth, Climax, Fall, Catastrophe,—for its soul and form, its meaning and its value, to be fully intelligible. What is true of a work of art on the stage is yet more true of history: a national drama, in which contemplation and action, life, death, and time, are all parts of the same whole.

The more we come to know, the less we shall be inclined to sum up Queen Elizabeth in an epigram. And whatsoever each reader's personal sympathies or antipathies, all may admit the human interest of a completer intimacy with this eventful era, the end years of which derive an added attraction from having been simultaneous with the rise of Shakespearian tragedy.

E. M. TENISON.

Note on the System of Compilation.

"ELIZABETHAN ENGLAND," the History of England in relation to all foreign powers, especially Spain, is also the co-ordinated History of the Navy and Army, in relation to political and social life, and of our national literature in juxtaposition with the events amid which it was conceived.

These volumes are intended to be of lasting practical use: not only in elucidating a most complex era, but in helping the student of history to apply to other periods the same system of study and original research of which the fruits are here embodied. He will see that by the bringing together of materials hitherto never put side by side, results of great importance are attained, many a perplexing circumstance becoming intelligible for the first time.

With intent that this work may be, in perpetuity, an aid to teachers, no statement as to Queen Elizabeth's reign rests on the author's authority, or on any merely modern authority; *the authorities are the historical personages themselves, with references fully given. The general reader is said to dislike* FOOTNOTES *But they will be most useful to the serious student, to indicate at a glance the whereabouts and nature of evidence which has taken more time and labour to locate and classify than any critic will be able to measure, until he has himself performed a similar lifework in relation to some other bygone era.*

The History is not partisan. On the contrary, the standpoints of the bitterest opponents are shown alternately in their own correspondence.

A favourite method of writing popular history is to paraphrase all documents into the uniform style of the historian. But this conveys the diversities of the past as little as Lamb's "Tales from Shakespeare" *convey the infinite variety of England's supreme dramatist. Pains have been taken, therefore, to weave into a continuous narrative the most vital words of the famous men and women, and many obscure but honourable persons will come into a deserved credit when the unpublished matter is assimilated.*

Few readers are aware how large a proportion of the important "State Papers Foreign" in the Record Office remain unpublished, and even uncalendared, nor how vast a wealth of material is yet to be comprehended.

Among many helpful features of "Elizabethan England" *not least important are* FACSIMILES OF POLITICAL MSS; *some newly discovered, others known, but hitherto misunderstood through contracted epitomes. All reproductions of MSS are from photographs, NOT "photostats" (i e, reversed rotographs), and are thus legible to the naked eye.*

By suggestion of Captain Coates, F S A, late of the Department of MSS, British Museum, numerous Appendices explain how "standard" misapprehensions have arisen. sometimes from misreadings of MSS, and sometimes from the overlooking of essential evidence.

The MS MAPS *and* CHARTS *now first published are not mere curiosities, but add a new chapter to the history of martial and marine cartography. The portfolio will contain four brochures, the last of which will supply an annotated and dated list of all the maps in the volumes, in which English and foreign printed maps supplement those reproduced from manuscripts.*

LITERATURE *is treated on a chronological system, showing the relations of letters to life: not matters of hypothesis but of fact.*

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL PARTICULARS *have been a subject of special care; and, extra to the very full General Index in the final volume,* an Index of Elizabethan and Jacobean Printed Works quoted *will*

be found an added convenience. The FACSIMILE TITLE PAGES *include some unique examples, and many rare and neglected but significant books are now treated in connection with relevant MS matter.*

THE PORTRAITS *are as authentic as the text is careful. The late Mr. Richard W. Goulding, F S A , Librarian to the Duke of Portland, afforded his valuable aid, and his knowledge of 16th century English portraiture being practically unrivalled, all pictures he considered doubtful have been excluded.*

LAW AND THEOLOGY *have been duly considered, correcting errors caused by popular writers not realising the need to make a preliminary study of the Statutes: and also from their indifference to religious questions vital to our ancestors.*

THE INFLUENCE OF THE CLASSICS UPON THE ELIZABETHAN MIND *is demonstrated, partly through unpublished letters of noble patrons of culture, and partly through Elizabethan translations, the first of their kind.*

POPULAR BALLADS, *and broadsides, some in facsimile, will be inset in their chronological places, especially from 1588 onwards; their psychological interest thus becoming more manifest than when published apart from the events which gave rise to them.*

As all these volumes embody one History, the Parts *run consecutively through the Books like the Acts of a play. Each* Part *is sub-divided into* chapters, *and each* chapter *into* sections. *The cross-references are to Part and chapter not to Book or volume. The quotations on the fly leaves of the sections are not mere garnishings, but extracts from matter upon which the work is based.*

The object is to present the Elizabethan era in its own colours· not under conventional modern labels, but as a vast drama in which the main characters speak in their own words, irrespective of whether such words confirm or overthrow existing theories or opinions

As to ORTHOGRAPHY, *the present writer's discretion is used as to where the original spelling enhances or when it impedes the meaning of the words Every man then spelt as he pleased. One place-name many appear several different ways even in the same paragraph. The peer who signed* "BURGHLEY" *was often addressed by his intimates as* "BURGHLEIGH." *The Earl of Shrewsbury in letters from the King of France is "Comte de* CHIROSBERY"; *the Earl of Cumberland was to the Spaniards "Conde de* CHIUMBER LAND."

The Duke of Alba was "ALVA" *or* "ALUA," *even in his own hand (b and v having an identical sound in Spanish). In* "ELIZABETHAN ENGLAND," *titles and surnames are spelt by the author as the living representatives spell them, but when quoting holograph MSS. the 16th century signatures are reproduced*

In the case of TRANSLATIONS, *the original of any difficult passage is given in footnotes, or sometimes in a collotype facsimile*

Every effort has been made so to arrange all material that it may be as easy and agreeable to read as it has been difficult and laborious to find and co-ordinate.

E.M.T.

(2) *THE LADY ANNE BOLEYN:*

daughter of Thomas, Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond,
by his wife Lady Elizabeth Howard.

From the original at Warwick Castle, in possession of The Earl of Warwick.

Panel. 14 x 12 inches.

(Photograph. Harold Baker, Birmingham, for "*Elizabethan England*").

This picture was shown in the Exhibition of 1866 (No. 103); where also the following were on view, as noted in the Catalogue:

No 97 lent by The Hon. Mrs Greville Howard. Panel, 23 x 10 in And canvas 24 x 19 in. "from the Durazzo Palace, Genoa."

No. 107 lent by Sir Montague I. Cholmeley, Bart., M.P. Signed H.B, dated 1530 Panel 33 x 23 in

No 114 lent by the Earl of Denbigh: "believed to have been painted in France at the age of 13 Panel 10½ x 8 in"

There is also a picture at Hyde, Dorset, in possession of Major Radclyffe: similar to the painting now in the National Portrait Gallery.

(3) *BUST OF HENRY VIII:*

a copy made for H.M. The King, from the original in the Barons' Hall at Lumley Castle, in possession of Major-General the Earl of Scarbrough, K.G., K.C B., F.S.A , etc.

This is believed to be one of "Four livelie statues" mentioned in the Inventory of Lord Lumley, cr. 1590 "K Henrie the 8, King Edward 6, Quene Marie, and Q(ueen) Elizabeth, in whose raignes his Lop lived."

John, Lord Lumley "did pursue recondite learning as much as any of his honorable rank in those times." He was a collector of books and pictures, a patron of the arts, and a member of a Society of Antiquaries founded in 1572. His wife Lady Jane, daughter of Henry FitzAlan, Earl of Arundel, was a noted classical scholar.

Though Lumley in 1569 was sent to the Tower for supposed complicity in the plot on behalf of Queen Mary of Scots, and in 1571-73 was again imprisoned, he was one of the few state prisoners to regain freedom; and he survived until 1609. Many of his books are now in the British Museum; but his collection of pictures was scattered in the 18th and early 19th centuries, and is to-day only known through the Inventories, published in "*Records of the Lumleys of Lumley Castle,*" by Edith Milner (1904).

(2 & 3) E. M. Tenison's "Elizabethan England," Introduction

PRINCESS MARY: ONLY DAUGHTER OF KING HENRY VIII

by his first Queen, Katherine of Aragon.

Now first published from the original at Arundel Castle, in possession of The Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshal of England.

Believed to represent the Princess at the age of eight.

Panel 19 x 13½ inches.

(Photograph: Pierce, Arundel, for "*Elizabethan England*")

White dress embroidered in gold, white ruff, jewelled cap, triple chain with jewel; a red rose in her right hand. Shown in the Tudor Exhibition of 1890. (Catalogue No: 243, p. 75).

ILLUSTRATIONS

TO INTRODUCTION AND PROLOGUE

COLLOTYPE PLATES

		Facing Page
1.	FRONTISPIECE. *Queen Elizabeth.* Now first published from the original in possession of Sir Francis Newdegate, G.C.M.G.	
	INTRODUCTION.	
2.	*Lady Anne Boleyn:* from the original in possession of The Earl of Warwick	xvi
3.	*Henry VIII.* Bust in possession of The Earl of Scarbrough, K.G. . .	xvi
4.	*Princess Mary.* From the original in possession of The Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshal	xvi
5.	*John Fletcher,* from the original in possession of The Earl of Clarendon .	xliv
	PROLOGUE.	
6.	*Cheapside Cross and Goldsmith's Row;* print, from a fresco formerly at Cowdray Castle	4
7.	*Lady Frances Brandon, Duchess of Suffolk:* now first published from the original in possession of The Marquess of Crewe, K.G. . . .	4
8.	*Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford:* formerly in possession of The Marquess of Hertford; now Wallace Collection	4
9.	*John Dudley, Viscount L'Isle,* subsequently Earl of Warwick and Duke of Northumberland. Print after a picture in possession of The Lord De L'Isle and Dudley	8
10.	*Lady Jane Dudley:* unpublished miniature; by gracious permission of H.M. The King	28
11.	*The Dudley carving in the Tower of London.* (Photog: Sir Benjamin Stone Collection)	28
12.	*Queen Mary, by Antonio Moro:* from the original in the Prado . .	28
13.	*Philip, Prince of Spain, by Titian,* in the Prado	32
14.	*Farewell letters of Lady Jane and Lord Guildford Dudley* after receiving sentence of death. (Harl: MS. 2342)	42
15.	*Sir Thomas Chaloner,* from the original in the National Portrait Gallery .	42

Facing Page

16 (a). *Unpublished miniature of Princess Elizabeth;* in possession of Major C. E. Radclyffe 42

16 (b). *Arms of Radclyffe of Foxdenton* 42

17. *Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk:* from a picture in the National Portrait Gallery 42

18. *Philip Prince of Spain, King of Naples:* from the original in possession of Viscount Dillon 68

19-19*b*. *MS. title-page and pedigree* from book of verses presented by the Winchester Scholars "*Ad Philippvm et Mariam Reges,*" 1554 . . 68

20. "*The Great Duke*" *of Alba.* By Titian: from the original in possession of The Duke of Berwick and Alba 68

21. *Helmet of Sir William Sidney,* from the original in possession of the Lord De L'Isle and Dudley 70

22. *The Duke and Duchess of Alba:* from the orginal in possession of the Count of Finat 70

23. *The Battle of Pavia.* By gracious permission of H.M. the King . . . 88

24-29. *The siege and battle of St. Quentin: and capture of Ham.* Six frescoes by Granello and Castello from the Hall of Battles, Escorial Palace . 92

30. *Anne, Duke of Montmorency:* from a drawing in the Bibliothèque Nationale 92

31. *Unpublished sketch plan of Calais, circa* 1557: from the original in possession of The Marquess of Salisbury, K.G. 106

32. *Francis, Duke of Guise,* from a drawing by Dumoustier 106

33. *Unpublished sketch of Sandgate Castle, Kent;* from the original in possession of The Marquess of Salisbury, K.G. 106

34. *Queen Mary's* "*Towne and Castle of Guynes.*" From original plan; Cotton MS. Aug: 1, ii. 23. 114

35. *Pierre Strozzi,* Marshal of France, from the original at Versailles 114

36-37 *The Battles of Gravelines,* 1558. Two frescoes by Granello and Castello: in the Hall of Battles, Escorial Palace 114

38. *Queen Mary:* from the bust in possession of The Earl of Scarbrough, K.G. 132

39-39*b*. *Sir Wm. Cecil's Notes on Queen Marie's Reign:* Two pages from the original MS. in possession of The Marquess of Salisbury, K.G. . 132

40. *Princess Elizabeth:* from the original in possession of The Lord Kenyon . 140

ILLUSTRATIONS

BOOK I. PART I. CHAPTERS 1, 2, 3.

COLLOTYPE PLATES.

Ch: & Sec:

41. *Philip II in the armour he wore at St. Quentin.* From the original by Antonio Moro, at the Escorial 1 (2)

42. *Holograph letter of Philip II of Spain to Queen Elizabeth, April* 1559. From the original at Hatfield . . . . 1 (2)*b*

43. *Sir William Cecil and his wife Mildred:* unpublished drawing in possession of The Marquess of Salisbury, K.G. 1 (3)

44. *Count Baldassare Castiglione,* from the original by Raphael in the Louvre . 1 (4)

45. *Lord Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick, K.G.,* now first published from the original in possession of The Duke of Bedford, K.G., at Woburn Abbey 1 (5)

46. *Unpublished sketch of the Siege of Rouen,* 1562. From the original in the Record Office . . . . 1 (5)*b*

47. *Earliest Elizabethan sketch map of Normandy and Picardy:* now first published from original in the Record Office . . . . . . 1 (5)*c*

48. "*The Plat of Newhaven*" (Havre); from an unpublished French sketch (1562) in possession of The Marquess of Salisbury, K.G. . . . . 1 (5)*d*

49. *The defences of Havre,* showing Fort "Warwic," now first published from original in the Record Office . . . . 1 (5)*e*

50. *Lord Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, K.G.,* from the original in the National Portrait Gallery 1 (6)

51. *Grand Master Villiers de L'Isle Adam,* from a picture in the Governor's Palace at Valetta, Malta 2 (1)

52 (*a*). *Sultan Solyman the Magnificent,* from a wax medallion in possession of The Duke of Portland, K.G. . . . . 2 (1)*b*

52 (*b*). *Medal of Sir Richard Shelley* . . . . 2 (1)*bb*

53. *Unpublished sketch of the Siege of Malta* (1565); (Hatfield MSS.) . . 2 (1)*c*

54. *St. John's Church, Malta* . . . . 2 (1)*d*

55. *Drake's dial:* from the original at Greenwich Royal Naval College . . 2 (2)

56. *Queen Mary of Scots, in widow's mourning for Francis II.* From a picture in the Wallace Collection 3 (1)

LINE BLOCKS.

	Page
Princess Elizabeth's handwriting, when aged about eleven, a page of "*The Mirror of the Sinful Soul,*" translated by her	xlv
"*El Psalterio de David*" in Castillian, with autograph of William Cecil, "*Gulielmo Cecilio, 1554*"	69
"*Copia delle Lettere del Serenissimo Re d'Inghilterra*" and of Cardinal Pole to Pope Julius III. (1554)	76
"*De Re Militari,*" 1527, with Cecil's inscription in Greek	173
Osorio's "*De Nobilitate,*" Florence, 1552, with Cecil's autograph, "*Gulielmus Cecilius, 1555*"	191
Buckler, formerly in possession of The Lord Kenyon	201
Woodcut portrait of John Day (printer), 1562	211
English version of "*Trogus Pompeius,*" 1564	258
"*(C)ertayn and tru good nues, frō th syege of the Isle of Malta,*" 1565 . .	260
"*A Fourme*" of prayer for the defenders of Malta (1565)	261
"*The eyght bookes of Caius Iulius Caesar,*" translated by Arthur Golding, 1565 .	277
Mediaeval biographies of Charlemagne and Roland, "*De Vita Caroli Magni et Rolandi,*" Frankfort, 1566, with contemporary autograph of Lord Lumley	279

General Introduction.

" Observe diligently Things Past, because they throw great light upon Things to Come ; . . . the same things do return, but under divers names and colours. And yet not every man doth know them again, but only one who is wise . . ."

F. Guicciardini, circa 1525.

" He that is not wise will not be taught. . . . If a skilful man hear a wise word, he will commend it. . . . But as soon as one of no understanding heareth it, it displeaseth him, and he casteth it behind his back."

The Book of Ecclesiasticus. (ch.: xxi.)

" For what can be a greater enforcement to Chivalry than not barely to hear but in a manner presently to behold the sage and grave consultations of expert Captains, the speedy putting in practise of things devised, the policies and stratagems in execution of them, the favourable assistance of Fortune to the same, with the fame and renown of valiant enterprises."

Arthur Golding, on the uses of History.
To his nephew Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford,
dedicating to him an " Abridgement of the Histories of Trogus Pompeius."
1564.

" Cicero doth rightly call historie the witness of times, . . . the life of memory, and the messenger of antiquity. . . . Hereby we may seeme (in regard to the knowledge of things) to have travelled in all countries, to have lived in all ages, to have been conversant with all affaires."

Sir John Haywarde, " The First Part of the Life and Raigne of King Henrie the IIII," 1599.
Dedicated to Robert, Earl of Essex, K.G., P.C., Master of the Horse, Earl Marshal of England, Chancellor of Cambridge University.

" . . . the time of our late Queene Elizabeth, which was truly a Golden Age ; for such a world of refined wits and excellent spirits it produced, whose like are hardly to be hoped for in any succeeding age."

Henry Peacham, " The Compleat Gentleman. . . . 1622." p. 95.

General Introduction.

This Introduction is not a summary of contents: nor in any sense a forestalling of the new material from English, Spanish, French, Portuguese, Italian and Latin MSS.

The value of the History is largely in its sequence and co-ordination. The MSS as presented in their chronological places will be found far more comprehensible than if epitomised in advance before the reader becomes attuned to the times and the circumstances.

It is an essential part of the present writer's system that each revelation should be made in the words of the person mainly concerned, and in juxtaposition with materials facilitating the comprehension thereof: Wherefore although the ensuing remarks give warning that certain characters will be found to differ from their 20th century reputations, the degree of difference, can only be assessed by reading the whole work to the end.

IN our national history there is no period commanding so widespread an interest as the Elizabethan era. Gloriana's epoch allures many who otherwise are indifferent to the past: readers to whom the wonderful achievements of Alfred the Great appear remote, or who care little to linger over the series of events from William the Norman's landing, to the day when the last Plantagenet Sovereign fell fighting, lion-like, at Bosworth.

William the Conqueror and after him the most outstanding Plantagenets were more truly regal than any Tudor; and Tudor England could not have come into being except as a development from previous conditions. Yet for one student who appreciates the statesmanship of Henry II or Edward I, or the genius of Richard Coeur de Lion as Admiral and General, for ten readers attracted to Edward III, and to his chivalrous son, or to Henry the Fifth beloved of Shakespeare, a thousand are ready for "scandal about Queen Elizabeth," and a hundred for serious scrutiny of the social and political conditions of her time.

This preference is not mere caprice. We are able to revive Elizabethan England more thoroughly than Plantagenet England; not because it is in itself more rich in human interest, but because the Shakespeare dramas—even when professedly set in Scotland, Denmark, Italy, or ancient Britain,—embody with unequalled completeness the multifarious aspects of the spirit and manners of his

own time: an era when even obscure men's daily lives were what we now would describe as "Shakespearian" in their colour, variety, and vividness.

Few things are more grotesque than "Queen's Elizabeth's three thousand dresses." Few mortals can be more interesting than the men who contributed to make her reign what it was. But readers who wish to acquire intimacy with the Elizabethans must be prepared for much which will shock their conceptions of justice; for those "spacious days,"—so brilliant, so magnificent, so dramatic,—had their terrible aspects; and absolutism under the Tudors reached a point unparalleled in our previous history.

The Plantagenets, though born to lead and rule, were not absolute. Curbed on the one hand by the Pope, and on the other by a powerful and wealthy aristocracy, they were answerable to man for their actions, as well as to God. Not even King John—no weakling but a forceful tyrant,—could measure himself successfully against both the Church and the nobles; and none of us need reminding that it is to the "Barons of England" and their mastery of their proud Sovereign that we owe Magna Charta. But the Tudors came in to, and by their own policy intensified, a changed set of conditions. The Wars of the Roses, while leaving the tradesfolk and peasants practically unmolested, had killed many of the old aristocracy and diminished the fortunes of those who survived. After the defeat and death of Warwick "the King Maker," no English nobleman—not even the Protector Duke of Somerset or John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland,—was ever to attain the same far-reaching power that Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick had wielded in his prime. No Tudor encouraged independence at the Court; and the Court was the place where a man was made or marred. Lose the Sovereign's favour, and ruin swiftly followed. Henry VIII by shattering the power of the Church, and diminishing the influence of the nobles, had made himself as absolute as any oriental despot.

Our modern historians appear to have become accustomed to the idea of "bluff King Hal" executing his wives; but judicial murders of women would have been ruin to a Plantagenet. King John's cruelty to "Maud of Hay," and his injury of Matilda FitzWalter, were among the reasons for his downfall. And had the spirit of Henry VIII been incarnate in the Middle Ages, it is not probable he would have been able to make his "will and pleasure" supreme. The martial aristocracy would have dealt with him as firmly as they did with King John. But that even in an era when absolutism was triumphant, King Henry did not escape uncriticised, we learn from himself. In a letter to Jane Seymour, while she was as yet only his "dear friend and mistress," he warns her,

> "there is a ballad made lately, of great derision against us, which if it go much abroad and is seen by you I pray you to pay no manner of regard to it. I am not at present informed who is the setter forth of this malignant writing, but if he be found out he shall be straitly punished for it. . . Thus hoping shortly to receive

> you in these arms, I end for the present. Your own loving servant and sovereign H.R."[1]

This was while his second Queen, Anne Boleyn, was in the Tower, about to be executed on a series of hideously slanderous charges; in which the King persisted despite the firm denials and vigorous protests of Norris, with whom the Queen was accused of having broken her marriage vow. It was King Henry's habit to calumniate whoever he meant to destroy; and his rages were not swift, spontaneous and passionate; but calculated and subtle. To read his letters to the Lady Anne while she still was holding him at arm's length, and contrast with these persuasive assurances of "entire" devotion the ruthless fashion in which he contrived her destruction when he wearied of her, is to acquire a grim insight into his nature.[2] And what he was to women he became also to men. That is to say his changes of feeling were incalculable.

> "On turning over in my mind the contents of your last letters, I have put myself into great agony," he wrote to Lady Anne, "not knowing how to interpret them: whether to my disadvantage, as you show in some places, or to my advantage, as I understand them in some others; beseeching you earnestly to let me know expressly your whole mind as to the love between us two. It is absolutely necessary for me to obtain this answer, having been for above a whole year stricken with the dart of love . . ."

His previous Pasha-like morals are indicated by the way he offers her the position of his "only mistress," and undertakes to "cast off all others . . . and serve you only."

Concerning the next letter, ending in cypher, it is best not to dogmatise. The third is still in a pleading tone, signed "Your servant, who very often wishes for you instead of your brother." The fourth is extremely fervent:

> "My mistress and friend, my heart and I surrender ourselves into your hands . . . the pain of absence is already too great for me; and when I think of the increase of that which I am forced to suffer, it would be almost intolerable, but for the firm hope I have of your unchangeable affection for me."

He sends her his picture "set in a bracelet," and signs as her "loyal servant and friend H.R."[3]

---

[1] MS Gough: Halliwell, "*Kings' Letters,*" ed: Steele, p. 237. No date, but editorially conjectured as "written probably just before their marriage on May 30th, 1536" p. 334.

[2] For a brief selection from his correspondence see "*Kings' Letters,*" Kings' Classics, ed: Steele, Vol. II. But for detailed study of the business of the realm, "*State Papers . . . relating to the Reign of King Henry VIII, with Vocabularies of English, Scotch and Irish Obsolete Words. . .*" *II vols 4to. 1830-1852.*" Vol. I. Domestic Correspondence. Vols. 2 and 3, Corresp. re Ireland; Vols. 4 and 5, Scotland; Vols. 6-11 England and Foreign Courts.

[3] "*Kings' Letters,*" pp. 293-294. Editor omitted to state that those of Henry VIII are now in the Vatican.

That she did not unconditionally surrender may be assumed from the tone of his next communication: "... I beg if at any time before this I have in any way offended you, that you would give me the same absolution that you ask ..." He signs with a drawing of his heart with her initials upon it. After a while he is complaining that "the time seems very long since I heard concerning your health and you... It seems a very poor return for the great love which I bear you to keep me at a distance, both from the speech and the person of the woman that I esteem most in the world... Your entire servant H.R."

Lady Anne's answers are missing, but the tenor of her reply can be deduced from what follows:

"Darling, these shall be only to advertise you that this bearer and his fellow be despatched with as many things to compass our matter and to bring it to pass as our wits could imagine or devise."

He is confident, "with God's grace" soon to arrange everything to his liking:

"And thus upon trust of your short repair to London, I make an end of my letter, my own sweet heart. Written with the hand of him which desireth as much to be yours as you do to have him. H.R."

There follows a note from Lady Anne to Cardinal Wolsey, with a postscript by the King, trusting through the Cardinal's *"diligence and vigilancy (with the assistance of Almighty God) shortly to be eased out of that trouble,"*—the delay over the annulment of his marriage with Queen Catharine. He next writes a yet more ardent letter: (like all the rest, it is undated):

"There came to me suddenly in the night the most afflicting news that could have arrived. The first, to hear of the sickness of my mistress whom I esteem more than all the world, and whose health I desire as I do my own, so that I would gladly bear half your illness to make you well. The second from the fear that I have of being still longer harassed by my enemy Absence... I hope soon to see you again, which will be to me a greater comfort than all the precious jewels in the world." Again "my entirely beloved ... wherever I am, I am yours. What joy can be greater upon earth than to have the company of her who is dearest to me."

That Cardinal Wolsey for his own ends kept his favour with the Sovereign by encouraging this dishonourable passion, is sufficiently evident from King Henry's continued letters:

"Darling. Though I have scant leisure, yet remembering my promise I thought it convenient to testify you briefly in what case our affairs stand. *As touching a lodging for you, we have got one by my Lord Cardinal's means...* As touching our other affairs, I assure you there can be no more done, nor more

diligence used, nor all manner of dangers better both foreseen and provided for, so that I trust it shall be hereafter to both our comforts. . ."

Next comes the announcement that the Legate [Cardinal Campeggio] whom "we most desire, arrived at Paris on Sunday or Monday last past, so I trust by the next Monday to hear of his arrival at Calais; and then I trust within a while after to enjoy that which I have so longed for, *to God's pleasure and our both comforts*."

It is characteristic of Henry VIII that when in defiance of the elementary rules of morality he was determined to have his own way, he not only expected the Pope to conform to his requirements, but invoked "God" to take "pleasure" in the beating down of all obstacles between him and his illicit inclinations.

His shameless repudiation of Catherine of Aragon, the wedding and Coronation of Anne Boleyn, the birth of Princess Elizabeth, the King's disappointment in her sex; the miscarriage of the next child; the King's change from eager solicitude to utter callousness, and then to ferocious hatred, is a repulsive story. But in all our future companionship with Queen Elizabeth we must never forget that when she was only three years old, her mother—after being charged with a complexity of loathsome vices,—was beheaded by King Henry's orders, inside the Tower, French fashion with a sword. One of the indications of the impression made upon Elizabeth in her childhood by descriptions of her mother's tragedy, is that when in her sister Mary's reign she was sent to the Tower, and was expecting to share the fate of Lady Jane Grey, the one favour she meant to ask was that if sentenced to death she might die by a sword and not by an axe. (Those executed with an axe, lay down, with bandaged eyes, and put their heads on the block; but Queen Anne had stood upright on the scaffold, and an executioner from Calais swept off her head with one stroke: she having remarked that it should be easy because her neck was slender).

The degree of depravity of Anne Boleyn has been the subject of many a dispute; but certainly the initiative was the King's; and the Lady Anne, daughter of the Earl of Wiltshire and Ormonde, and niece of the Duke of Norfolk, resisted him for a long while. It is usually assumed that she succumbed at last from ambition; but those who believe her thus to have sold herself without any excuse of personal feeling, forget that King Henry, despite his repellent and gross appearance in his older portraits, was possessed of a combined magnetism and plausibility which we should never overlook if we wish to understand his art of getting his own way. It was not till many years later that Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, wrote the "*Sardanapalus*" sonnet; so bitter and yet accurate a depicting of Henry VIII, in the guise of a degenerate classic tyrant, that we may reckon it as the real reason for Surrey's execution, rather than the flimsy charges of "high treason" officially put forward.

That Queen Catherine had long and devotedly loved her husband is

undeniable; that Anne Boleyn believed in his sincerity to herself is likely. She did not foresee that the King who could be false to his Queen would be yet more ruthless to his later fancy, when she in her turn had fallen out of favour: and that the time would come when she would take her daughter into her husband's presence only for him to refuse to look at the little Elizabeth, and send the Queen herself a prisoner to the Tower.[1]

In estimating the nature of the offspring of so unholy a marriage, we need to carry in mind throughout her complicated reign the peculiar circumstances which brought her into this world. And in measuring her behaviour to her heir Queen Mary of Scots, and also her suspicions, jealousies, and harshness towards her own best defenders, it would be unfair to lose sight of her evil heritage and the progress of events both before and after her birth.

The tendency of historians either to hold a brief for or against each King or Queen,—Catholics and Protestants still being at verbal war,—may be natural; but it impedes psychology: the aim of which is to consider (and so far as possible comprehend) the impact of character upon character: which should never lose its interest so long as men are men, women are women, and some are at the same time divine and human, though a few may be devilish.

King Henry's relations with Anne Boleyn are here considered, rather than his political measures; because bearing more directly upon Queen Elizabeth's temperament than any of his solely official actions. His infatuation for the Lady Anne would bear a different complexion if he had remained attached to her to the last; but Princess Elizabeth's childhood spent under step-mothers, one of whom followed Queen Anne to the scaffold, was not calculated to produce steady nerves or an equable temper. Her violent outbursts in later life, and her heavy-handed determination to remain her own master, may be estimated partly as the results of early repression and misery. But while giving to her memory such sympathy as reasonably ensues from recollection of facts, we should avoid being hoodwinked by the long tradition of flattery which has obscured her doings.

"Flattery," though the correct word for the methods of certain self-seeking courtiers, is an unjust expression if applied to the tendency of the people to look favourably on their ruler. Proportionate to the inherent robustness of the English, was a certain innate chivalry; and far from taking advantage of the difficulties of a woman Sovereign, rather were they eager to aid and defend her.

As to the writing of history, an obscure but typical Elizabethan poet left on record what he considered the primary rules:[2]

---

[1] Letter of Dr. Alex^r Ales to Q. Eliz: 1 Sep: 1559. Cal: S.P. For: 1558-1559: ed: Stevenson. p. 527.

[2] From "*The Legend of Mary Queen of Scotland,*" from the MS of Thomas Wenman, printed for subscribers, London, 1810. With Introduction, Notes, and Appendix by J.F.

"In the lives of princes we shoulde alwayes
1. Cover their secret vices.
2. Mildly interprete theire Doubtfull faults.
3. With patience beare theire knowen evills.

provided
That they do not by them
bring utter destruccon to
the comon wealthe."

So also thought Camden: but a more recent phase of biography and history has tended to the other extreme, of dragging into the open all ancient scandal as if it were gospel; interpreting all "Doubtfull faults" in the most uncharitable fashion; and treating bygone Kings or Queens with no more personal compassion than the anatomist handles a dead body placed on the surgeon's table for dissection.

Neither method can lead to exactitude, nor to proficiency in statesmanship; hence our need to-day to reconsider many matters upon which we have been apt uncritically to accept partisan eloquence, whether *pro* or *con*.

Instead of seeing our eminent dead as in a morgue,—or as revived to suit this or that popular prejudice,—let us study them through their own words, interpreted in the light of their own codes,—with all the advantages of prolonged research brought to bear in the collection and arrangement of material. Their emotions, principles, actions, and ideas can thus become as real to us as if we ourselves had been pioneer planners of colonisation with Sir Humphrey Gilbert, or adventured "over the Ocean-Sea" with Drake, or charged the Spaniards near Zutphen when Sidney came by his mortal wound; or heard Queen Elizabeth speak at Tilbury Camp; or deplored with Spenser "the present state of Ireland"; or scaled the ramparts of Cadiz with Essex; or sat in the Globe Theatre when a vigorous national life had produced a vivid national drama.[1]

The Elizabethan era is too complex to be completely impersonated in one man; hence the need of showing the spirit of the age through many figures; each embodying qualities vital to the whole drama; each being more comprehensible in relation to his fellows than any would be if isolated into a separate biographical work. But Philip Sidney, Ambassador to the Emperor Rudolph at the age of twenty-two, adored in his day and afterwards as the "pattern of true nobility" because "equally addicted to arts and arms,"[2] was described by his father as the model for "all well-disposed young gentlemen of our Court."

[1] "*How many of the Shakespeare plays were written by Shakespeare?*" is a perennially recurring question. The enquiry is not necessary to the present work; because the problem of authorship did not concern Elizabethan audiences. They enjoyed plays, irrespective of who wrote them. Provided a drama was vivid and moving, it mattered little to them whether it was by one hand or several.

[2] The words of Edward Philips (Milton's nephew) in "*Theatrum Poetarum Anglicanorum.*" 1675.

To-day he is oftener praised than understood. "The natural affinities of Sidney's mind," we are told, "were from first to last with great literature and art, not with the turmoil of war or politics."[1]

To this we must reply that Shakespeare's *Henry V* is concerned entirely with "the turmoil of war" and the political relations of France and England; yet it is not only "great literature" but the most Elizabethan in spirit of all Shakespeare's historical plays; and most strongly akin to Sidney's ideas.

If literature had been an exotic upon which the tempests of actuality were not permitted to blow, how would we account not only for Shakespeare but for George Gascoigne and other Elizabethan minor poets, who were wont to pride themselves on living *Tam Marti quam Mercurio?* Moreover did not one of Sidney's closest friends say of him that he was "*fit for conquest, plantation, reformation, or what action soever is greatest and hardest among men*":

> "Withall such a lover of mankind and goodness that whosoever had any real parts found in him comfort, participation, and protection to the uttermost of his power; like Zephyrus he giving life where he blew.
>
> "The Universities abroad and at home accompted him a general Maecenas of learning, dedicated their books to him, and communicated every invention or improvement of knowledge to him. Soldiers honoured him, and were so honoured by him as no man thought he marched under the true banner of Mars that had not obtained Sir Philip Sidney's approbation. Men of affairs in most parts of Christendom entertained correspondency with him . . . and there was not a cunning painter, a skilful engineer, an excellent musician, or any other artificer of extraordinary fame that made not himself known to this famous spirit, . . . the common rendezvous of worth in his time."[2]

Nothing could be more contrary to 16th century masculinity than to regard action and letters as antagonistic; and Philip Sidney's own views on the relation of art to life were so explicitly set forth that it is surprising how any critic can try to explain them away; or think to honour Sidney's intellect by wishing him imprisoned in an exclusiveness unknown to the era he graced. Let us recall his own principles as formulated about five years before his death:[3]

> "Even as the saddler's next end is to make a good saddle, but his farther end is to serve a nobler faculty, which is horsemanship, so the horseman's to

---

[1] (Sir) Sidney Lee, "*Great Englishmen of the Sixteenth Century,*" 1904.

[2] "*The Life of the renowned Sir Philip Sidney . . . written by Sir Fulke Greville, Knight, Lord Brooke, a servant of Queen Elizabeth and his Companion and Friend.*" First printed 1652. Reprint 1906. pp. 25-26.

[3] First published piratically in 1595, nine years after his death. "*An Apologie for Poetrie. Written by the right noble, vertuous, and learned Sir Philip Sidney, Knight. At London. Printed for Henry Olney. . . .*"

soldiery, and the soldier not only to have the skill but to perform the practice of a soldier: So that the ending end of all earthly learning being virtuous action," those writers who best "bring forth" that inspiration and incentive "have a most just title to be princes over the rest."

Sidney's plea that "of all writers under the sun the poet is the least liar," is based primarily upon the poet's love for *"the heroicall, which is not only a kind but the best and most accomplished kind of poetry."* The poet's claim to pre-eminence is because he is *"most capable and most fit to awake the thoughts from the sleep of idleness to embrace honourable enterprises."*

Characteristic, too, was Sidney's scorn of certain philosophers, "whom methinks I see coming toward me with a sullen gravity, . . . rudely clothed for to witness their contempt of outward things; *with books in their hands against glory, whereto they set their names."*

His objection is not that they profess philosophy, but that in their self-sufficiency they distort it, by failing to realise the first essentials of moral greatness; and, further, that their verbiage is tiresome:

> "The philosopher, setting down with thorny arguments the bare rule, is so hard of utterance, and so misty to be conceived, that *one that hath no other guide but him shall wade in him till he be old before he shall find sufficient cause to be honest. . .* The philospher teacheth, but he teacheth obscurely, so as the learned only can understand him; that is to say he teacheth them that are already taught."

But the poet is "the right popular philosopher."

> "He beginneth not with obscure definitions, which must blur the margin with interpretations and load the memory with doubtfulness; but he cometh to you with words set in delightful proportion, either accompanied with or prepared for the well-enchanting skill of music; and with a tale, forsooth, he cometh unto you with a tale which holdeth children from play and old men from the chimney corner."

Was there ever a more enticing description of the poet's power? But let us read on:

> "and pretending no more" than to hold the attention of his audience, he "doth intend the winning of the mind from wickedness to virtue," by the *"right description of wisdom, valour and justice;* which, if they had been barely, that is to say philosophically, set out," the impatient hearers "would swear they be brought to school again."

The poet deserves his laurels, because, in addition to his more ardent sense of beauty, he has also the more practical influence:

> "Truly I have known men that even with reading Amadis de Gaule, which, God knoweth, wanteth much of a perfect poesy, have found their hearts moved to the exercise of courtesy, liberality, and especially courage. . . Certainly I must confess, . . . I never heard the old song of Percy and Douglas that I found not my heart moved more than with a trumpet."

And if the rough voice and "rude style" of some poor wandering fiddler can evoke such emotion by singing of heart-stirring deeds, how much more would the same themes delight and inspire if dressed "in the gorgeous eloquence of Pindar"?

The Elizabethans were, at their best, so ardently responsive to the majesty of the past, so eager to build a secure and honourable future, that we who have fulfilled some of their dreams will do well to go back and enter into their hopes and struggles. For them, History, "the Great Book of Humanity," was a never failing stimulus to action. Take for instance Essex's now forgotten admonition that unless the power of observation be cultivated, "neither long life breeds experience nor great reading great knowledge"; and his rebuke to the superficiality of those who affect to understand vital events through skeleton epitomes. The reading of such *"will no more make a man a good civilian, common lawyer, logician, naturalist, politician, nor soldier, than the seeing of the names of London, Bristol, York, Lincoln and some few other places of note in a Mercator's general map will make a stranger understand the cosmography of England."*

History, he protested, should not be a series of events, without their causes, circumstances, and inner meanings: "Such abridgments may make us know the places where great battles have been fought, and the names of the conquerors and conquered"; but "cannot breed *soundness of judgment, which is the true use of all learning."*

Though *"excellent wits will make use of every little thing,"* yet it is the large issues which it is most profitable to take to heart. Merely to know how long Alexander lived and how many places he conquered, is of scant avail. The scholar, (says Essex,) should tabulate Alexander's life, under specific headings: for example,

> *"Under the title of a Conqueror:* That to begin in the strength and flower of his age, to have a way made to greatness by his father, to find an army disciplined and a Council of great Captains, and to procure himself to be made head of a League against a common enemy, whereby both his quarrel may be popular and his assistance great, are necessary helps to great conquests.
>
> *"Under the title of War:* That the invader hath ever the advantage of the invaded; for he comes resolved, strikes terror; hath all if he win; and, *if he loses, loseth but his hopes.*
>
> *"That it is not the number of soldiers so much as the goodness of them, and the conduct of the leaders, that is cause of victory."*

Of "Greek matter," Essex ranked Thucydides the highest. Of orators, "if I must choose you any, it shall be Demosthenes; both for the arguments he handles, and that his eloquence is more proper to a statesman than Cicero's." Tacitus he highly

commends; and Livy; but he urges the student to read for himself and draw his own conclusions.

Chancellor in 1598 of Cambridge University, and generous patron of scholars from his early youth, Essex disdained short cuts to knowledge:

> "I would have you gather the chiefest things, and out of the chiefest books, yourself: and to use your other collectors in gathering arguments and examples to prove or illustrate any particular position or question. *For they should, like labourers, bring stone, timber, mortar and other necessaries to your building: but you should put them together and be the master workman yourself.*"[1]

It was Fulke Greville, to whom this advice was given, who long after Essex's tragic death held up to admiration his "incomparable industry." In Essex's naval and military expeditions, here first to be treated dispassionately, and his plans for the defence of the realm, we shall see his thoroughness, his forethought, his dislike of anything slovenly, evasive, or vague. Even his most hurried notes are those of one who drives himself hard, and in time of crisis would rather, as he says, go without "meat or sleep" than feel he had neglected any precaution, labour, preparation, or detail of organisation which would contribute to the success of the whole.

His "*Apologie*," 1598, loses by compression or paraphrase; because the manner in which he marshals his arguments and persuasions,—his appeals to the noblest qualities in his countrymen, his swift logical impatience of circumlocution, shuffling, or inefficiency,—are best seen when his own words can be given complete.[2] Yet his reputation has suffered, more than that of any other in our history, from the very thing against which he warned Greville: namely, conclusions drawn by "slothful students" from unskilled abstracts and epitomes. In excuse for the modern culprits, who have vied with each other in mangling his character and actions, and ignoring essential material, it must be admitted that the quantity of Essex MS data is tremendous and scattered, and in many languages. The prolonged labour of gathering together and subjecting it to close examination, in connection with English and European politics,—accepting no man's summaries, but patiently disentangling the facts from many a neglected and not easily deciphered document,—has been a task possible only on the principles which Essex himself laid down.

The 16th Century is and will ever remain a mine of inexhaustible attraction, as long as the human race sees the value of the study of character. King Philip of Spain, his half-brother Don John of Austria, his greatest General Don Fernando, Duque de Alba, his outstanding foes Prince William the Silent, King Henry

---

[1] "*Robert Earl of Essex to Sr. Foulk Greville*": undated. First to be published in the present work.

[2] Under date, the most important parts are selected, in conjunction with relevant MSS.

of Navarre, and Queen Elizabeth, need to be intimately known before we can understand the politics of the era they dominated.

We require to look at them with the eyes of their contemporaries, and to be on our guard against grafting 20th century theories on to Elizabethan facts. Though human nature may be basically the same in all ages, yet the principles, convictions, and tendencies of thought of races and individuals differ exceedingly from one era to another. If, on the one hand, the power to love and hate makes all mortals kin,—and therefore no time or country should be incomprehensible to any other age or nation,—the past will inevitably be misunderstood if we fail to realise what dead men thought and believed when alive.

The consciousness that English history could not be intelligible without knowledge of European happenings was so common among Elizabethans that the title pages of their books, and those of the Jacobeans and early Caroleans, proclaim the universality of their interests. These lengthy titles were not due to mere verbosity, but were part of the determination that readers should know at the outset what it was to which they were being asked to respond. Take for example "*The True and Royall History of the famous Empresse Elizabeth, Queene of England, France and Ireland etc. True faith's defendresse of Divine renowne and happy Memory. Wherein all such memorable things as happened during hir blessed reigne, with such acts and treaties as passed betwixt hir Matie and Scotland, France, Spaine, Italy, Germany, Poland, Sweden, Denmark, Russia, and the Netherlands, are exactly described.*"[1] And the armorial bearings of thirty historic families, on this title-page, told their own story to our ancestors, who had seen many of these devices carried into battle. The view of the "*Mare pacificum*" with "*Drakes shipp*"; and of "*Cadiz in Spain ransacked by ye Earle of Essex and Nottingham anno 1596,*"[2] and "*St. John of Portarico taken from the Spaniards by the Earle of Cumberland*"; also the vignette of "*Albions comfort, Iberias terror,*" denote the chief source of England's safety,—namely enhanced sea power,—before we have read one word of the graphic but *not* accurate text.

That a number of title-pages are reproduced throughout the present work is not solely from zest for bibliographical rarities; but also because an Elizabethan title-page, showing the matter and soul of each writer's theme, has psychological value. There are a few instances in which title-pages are brief; as for example the first edition of "*The Covntesse of Pembroke's Arcadia*" (a copy of which

[1] "*London printed for Benjamin Fisher, and are to be sould at the Talbot in Pater Noster Rowe 1625.*" Dedicated "to the trew mirror and patterne of Princes, the most high and mighty Charles Prince of Great Britain" by "A Darcie" with numerous lesser dedications. Purporting to be from the French, Abraham Darcie's book is actually a translation of Camden's *Annals,* but Camden's name is not mentioned.

[2] Retrospective. The Nottingham Earldom was not created till 1597. (It is misdated 1596 in G.E.C.'s *Complete Peerage,* 1st edition).

brought one thousand five hundred and forty pounds at a recent sale).[1] The meagre wording of this title-page was because the very name of "Sir Philip Sidnei" called up such assurance of "valour and vertue," wit and culture, that his kinsfolk, who gave the work to the world, refrained from the praise which "all men" were certain to bestow.[2] The renown of *Arcadia* had preceded its publication; and the title-page of the metrical life of Sidney issued earlier by one of his soldiers was typical of the universal feeling for his "True Vertues." The notion that goodness was negative or dull had not entered the Elizabethan mind. Courage, intellect, energy, grace, and wit were all part of the allied power then summed up in that favourite word "vertue."[3]

We now speak of "men of action" and "men of letters" as beings of a different order. But although—or because—the Elizabethan era embodied an ardent revival of learning, the scholar and the soldier, the mariner and the dramatist, were less separated in outlook and emotions than they are to-day. Lodge's dedication of *"Rosalynde,"* for instance, is notable not only because *"Rosalynde"* was the inspirer of *"As you like it,"* but because the dedicator's standpoint is representative:

> "Such Romans," he begins, "as delighted in martial exploits, attempted their actions in the honour of Augustus, because he was a patron of soldiers: and Virgil dignified him with his poems as a Maecenas of scholars: both jointly advancing his royalty as a prince warlike and learned."

The Queen's cousin Lord Hunsdon being "a patron of all martial men, and a Maecenas of such as apply themselves to study," Lodge offers him this romance, written during the Terceira voyage, *"hatched in the storms of the ocean and feathered in the surges of many a perilous sea."*

"As it is the work of a soldier and a scholar," His Lordship "being a favourer of all vertuous actions" Lodge relies upon his sympathy, and signs himself "Your honors soldier most humbly affectionate.[4]

Not content with this "Epistle Dedicatorie," he adds an address "To the Gentleman Readers":

> ". . . Here you may perhaps find some leaves of Venus myrtle, but hewn down by a soldier with his curtlaxe, not bought with the allurement of a filèd

[1] In New York. Clawson Sale: May 25, 1926. Mr. E. H. Wells, purchaser.

[2] *"The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia, Written by Sir Philippe Sidnei. London. Printed for William Ponsonby. Anno Domini. 1590."*

[3] *"Sir Phillip Sidney, his honourable life, his valiant death, & true vertues: A perfect Myrror for the followers of Mars and Mercury . . ." &c. "Dedicated to the Right Honorable the Earle of Warwicke, by his Lordships faithful servant, George Whetstones. . . . Imprinted at London for Thomas Cadman"* (1586-7: title-page and quotations under date).

[4] *"The Epistle Dedicatorie.* To the Right Honourable and his most esteemed Lord the Lord Hunsdon" etc., etc. *"Rosalynde. Euphues golden Legacie in his cell at Silexandra. Bequeathed to Philautus sonnes, nursed up with their father in England. Fetcht from the Canaries by T.C. Gent: London. Imprinted by Thomas Orwin for T G. and John Busbie. 1590."*

tongue. To be brief, Gentlemen, *room for a soldier and a sailor, that gives you the fruits of his labors that he wrote in the ocean, when every line was met with a surge and every humorous passion counterchecked with a storm."*

It cannot too often be repeated that with a total population of some six millions,—about three hundred of whom were "hanged annually" as a foreign guest casually remarked,[1]—Elizabethan England became great, because the nation at large was challengingly "heroicall" in temper. Whether manifest through pike or pen, this was one and the same spirit. And it was not a professional author, but a courtier-soldier-seaman Sir Walter Raleigh, who, in his old age in prison, sat down to attempt a "*History of the World.*"

Raleigh from the Tower, prefacing his first volume, remarked on the improbability of pleasing everybody. If some of the living felt themselves hit by his observations concerning characters long passed from the earthly theatre of events, the fault, he declared, would be theirs, not his; and he haughtily declined to "claw the reader" with persuasive phrases. Nevertheless his "*History*" remained, for over a century, one of the most assiduously read of English prose works. Not yet bewitched by the illusion that the way to build for the future is to ignore the past, our predecessors looked to history as a means of equipment for the conduct of life. If we can emulate their vivid interest in "*the divinest spirits of all ages,*" we find ourselves inheritors of a kingdom vast enough to stimulate the weariest mind, warm the most languid heart, and make us feel anew with Hamlet, "*What a piece of work is a man! how noble in reason, how infinite in faculty; . . . in action how like a god*"

Raleigh's magnum opus, however—being conceived when his downfall and imprisonment had quenched his personal hopes,—contains more epigrams on men's limitations and follies than expressions of faith in the divinity of mankind. Though the accusation of "atheism" brought against him in 1603 was unfair, there are gloomy passages in his writings which help to show why he was supposed to be a sceptic. One of the main characteristics of the Elizabethans, an emotion as well as a principle, was their regard for the dead as "ever living"; their belief in the highest mortal passions as having a more than mortal significance. And lest such sentiments, so often expressed by Spenser, be classed as peculiar to the elect, we will yet note the same spirit in some of the broadside ballads.

This appeal from earth to Heaven, so frequent both in the spontaneous and artificial literature of the time, is lacking in Raleigh. He questioned if "the souls of the blessed" could "*admit the mixture of any second or less joy, nor any return of foregone and mortal affection, kindred, or children; of whom whether we shall retain any particular knowledge, or in any sort distinguish them, no man can assure*

[1] "London singulis annis, ultra 300, sicuti fertur, suspenduntur." "*Hentzneri Itinerarium,*" 1598; ed: The Hon. Horace Walpole, MDCCLVII. p. 87.

us; and the wisest men doubt."[1] That is to say, Raleigh doubted. But the "wisest men" of letters—Spenser, Shakespeare, Chapman, and a host of others,—were as confident of the survival of "love, fame, and example" as most of the men of action were confident. Even into the Carolean era there lingered that sense of the eternity of man's heritage, the permanence of his noblest emotions, the invincible quality of his spirit, which had given to Elizabethan life and literature a majesty and splendour not possible when such convictions die out.

We should contrast with Raleigh's doubt concerning the continuance of love after death, not only Spenser's ecstatic faith, exuberantly expressed, but a simple dialogue in Beaumont and Fletcher's *"Bonduca."* Queen Bonduca's brother-in-law, the famous "General of the Britons," Caratach (Caractacus), defeated time after time, and now at last hopeless and nearly starving, is alone with his little nephew Hengo, who has been mortally wounded by a Roman arrow. The child strives to comfort him:[2]

Hengo: "Good noble uncle, weep not
. . . I go the straighter
My journey to the gods. Sure I shall know you,
When you come, uncle."
Caratach "Yes, boy."
Hengo "And I hope
We shall enjoy together that great blessedness
You told me of."
Caratach "Most certain, child."
Hengo. "I grow cold, Mine eyes are going . . . Pray for me; . .
And, noble uncle, when my bones are ashes,
Think of your little nephew!—Mercy!"
Caratach. "Mercy! You blessed angels, take him"
Hengo. "Kiss me: so, farewell, farewell." *(Dies)*
Caratach: "Farewell the hopes of Britain!
. . . Oh, fair flower . . . how sweetly
Even death embraces thee. The peace of Heaven,
The fellowship of all great souls be with thee."

After the death of Hengo, the Roman Army advances, with intent to make a final attack upon the British leader. But finding him alone with the dead body of the little Prince, the Roman General sees no need for further strife:

"Excellent Briton, do me but the honour,
That more to me than conquests, that true happiness
To be my friend!"

But the last of the British champions can only exclaim, "Oh, Romans, . . . Had this boy lived——." And to further compliments on his own valour, he answers by an appeal to his adversary's "goodness" to give the dead child "honourable earth to lie in."

Suetonius: "He shall have fitting funeral."
Caratach: "I yield then; not to your blows but your brave courtesies."

---

[1] His Preface: *"History of the World,"* 1614.
[2] Act V. Sc: 4.

And a Roman officer exclaims,

> *"Thus we conduct then to the arms of peace the wonder of the world."*

The tragedy ends with the victor's tribute to the vanquished:

> "March on, and through the camp in every tongue
> The virtues of great Caratach be sung."

The play is an example of the affinities expected to be felt between noble natures, even when constrained to fight on opposite sides.

What was then asked of a dramatist, was "a vast comprehension"; the power to dwell at the core of world-shaking events. "Felicity of wit and words" was the outward sign of that inward "comprehension." The poet was expected to be a "compleat" man; the dramatist an impassioned poet: *"Poetry is the child of nature, which, regulated and made beautiful by art, presenteth the most harmonious of all other compositions: among which (if we rightly consider) the dramatical is the most absolute."*

"Transcendental abilities" are required by him who would inspire his fellow creatures. He *"must have more than the instruction of libraries (which is but a cold contemplative knowledge)"*; his should be *"a soul miraculously knowing and conversing with all mankind, enabling him to express not only the phlegm and folly of thick-skinned men but the strength and maturity of the wise, the art and insinuations of the Court, the discipline and resolution of the soldier, the virtues and passions of every noble condition; nay the counsels and characters of the greatest Princes."*

This, so applicable to Shakespeare, was written, after Shakespeare's death, of Beaumont and Fletcher; whose eulogist claimed that they "made Blackfriars an academy,

> where the three hours spectacle . . . was usually of more advantage to the hopeful young heir than a costly dangerous foreign travel, with the assistance of a governing monsieur or signor to boot."[1]
>
> The highest contemporary tribute is that "the young spirits of the time, whose birth and quality made them impatient of the sourer ways of education, have, from the attentive hearing of these pieces, got ground in point of wit and carriage of the most severely-employed students: while these recreations were digested into rules and the very pleasure did edify."[1]

Intellectual and artistic pleasure was expected to "edify"; and this expectation stretched from the noblemen whose "servants" the players were, to the groundlings who might not all be able to read, but who were none the less ready to take ardent

---

[1] Shirley's *"Address to the Reader."* Folio ed: of Beaumont and Fletcher's Works, 1627.

interest in the loves and hatreds, tragedies and triumphs, of "Kings, Queens and States."

The story of Elizabethan England "in relation to all foreign Princes" is addressed now to English-speaking people of all ranks; in the hope that they will feel history to be an inalienable part of the life of our race; while continental readers may recognise that every effort has been made to escape from prejudices which English writers absorb from their predecessors.

Though foreign influences upon our literature have often been analysed (to such an extent as to deny originality to Elizabethan minor dramatists and poets rather than to overlook their debt to French and Italian models), yet in regard to life, which gave rise to literature, custom has leaned in the opposite direction.

Many a problem in history has been imperfectly solved because of a tendency to regard Elizabethan England politically as in a state of isolation. Hence the need to depict decisive events under alien flags. The British reader of to-day must not be surprised if he finds himself in company with the hard-pressed garrison holding Malta for the Cross in 1565, against the enormous Army and Fleet of Sultan Solyman the Magnificent. Nor, if he mentally accompany Miguel de Cervantes in the sea-fight near Lepanto in 1571, must he say "What has this to do with Queen Elizabeth?" Nor should he protest when asked to read the letters of the veteran Duke of Alba on the conquest of Portugal, in 1580.

As a disputed succession is a theme reappearing often in Shakespearian drama, at a time when it was still a vital question, a few elementary genealogical facts need to be kept in remembrance. The descendants of King Edward IV's brother George, Duke of Clarence, were sometimes suggested as claimants to the throne, in opposition to the descendants of Edward IV's daughter, Elizabeth of York, grandmother of Queen Elizabeth. Queen Elizabeth's grandfather, the seventh King Henry, first of the new dynasty, had become King by force of conquest and usurpation. He had an illegitimate Royal descent through his mother Lady Margaret Beaufort, daughter of John, Duke of Somerset; but the pedigree of his father was open to criticism. The Richmond Earldom had been created by Henry VI in 1452 for Edmund Tudor, who, though son of Owen Tudor an obscure Welsh squire, had for mother no less a personage than Queen Catherine (de Valois), widow of King Henry V, and mother of the reigning Sovereign. The enemies of the Tudors denied that the Queen Dowager was ever married to the squire; and a Tudor pedigree, claiming the ancient Welsh Monarchs as forebears, appears to have been drawn up only after the grandson of Owen Tudor became King of England. Edmund, 1st Tudor Earl of Richmond, died in 1456 before the birth of his son Henry; and Henry's mother remarried twice: her third husband, Lord Stanley, being largely instrumental in the ruin of King Richard III and the rise of the new dynasty.

As Henry VII improved his anomalous position by marriage with Princess Elizabeth of York, Edward IV's only surviving child, his son Henry VIII was half Plantagenet by lawful descent. Incarcerating in the Tower the young Earl of Warwick, son and heir of George, Duke of Clarence, and then beheading him when he attempted to escape, the first Tudor King removed the one direct male heir of the Plantagenets. Even so, his successor Henry VIII sat so uneasily on his throne, as subsequently to imagine it necessary to behead Warwick's sister, Lady Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, in her old age.

King Henry's only legitimate son, Edward VI, resembled his parent in so far as he regarded the Crown as his property to bequeath like a family jewel. The boy King's approval of his cousin Lady Jane Grey as his successor is comprehensible, considering how his father at different times had declared both Princess Mary and Princess Elizabeth illegitimate. But the Princess Mary, endowed with much of what that name of Tudor had come to imply of mastery, was more than a match for John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, father-in-law of the dignified and pathetic young "Jane the Queen."

King Edward's nomination of Lady Jane as heir to the "*Crowne Imperiall of this Realme*" is always now treated as if he had been no more than a puppet in the hands of Northumberland. But as some of the preliminary memoranda for the Letters Patent on behalf of Lady Jane and her heirs are in the King's own hand, and as even though dying at sixteen he was mature for his years, the influence of Northumberland would not have prevailed with him unless it had suited his humour.

One of the swiftest and most startling changes of Fortune in the whole of history is the way Northumberland, the renowned General who had charged triumphantly at Musselburgh in the Scottish war of 1547, surrendered in 1553 when the Princess Mary set herself to attain by force the Crown which her brother had determined should never be hers. The ease and rapidity with which "Ladie Marie" frustrated Northumberland, and brought him down into the dust in the space of a few days, makes it the more deplorable that she was not satisfied with beheading him, and others directly responsible; but afterwards took the lives of Lady Jane and her young husband; though the parents of both had assured her that these "children" had no choice but to do as their elders bade them. Shakespeare's eulogies of "the quality of mercy" were not derived from 16th century realities. The penalty for political failure, whether for Catholic or Protestant, was commonly death.

To us, when in the play of *Henry VIII*, Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, goes to his violent end with a lofty resignation, the scene though moving is remote; but many among the original audiences would have heard from their elders of the Duke's execution; and to end on the scaffold was a still present possibility for any

man politically opposed to the Sovereign. If a personage of exalted rank committed high treason, Tower Hill would be the last scene in his drama. If of less worldly importance, Tyburn and a rope. The effect, however, was not a general brutalising of the English race; rather in noble natures a sense of the nearness of the unseen world was enhanced by the insecurity of life. Kings or Queens might be arbitrary, life might be perilous; and death hideous; but God the King of Heaven would make amends. Such was the belief of each in turn of the long procession of victims of Tudor tyranny. The sixteen-year-old Lady Jane Grey, when offered leave to say good-bye to her husband before he was led out to be beheaded, refused; saying that as she also was to die, she would meet him so soon in Heaven that she need not see him again on earth.

Her calm self-possession, her relief to escape from a world in which she had known little but sorrow, brings home to us the vividness of faith which animated, though from different standpoints, both Protestants and Catholics.

Whereas the Plantagenets had a liking for bravery,—even King John respected Saint Hugh of Lincoln for daring to rebuke him, and chose to act as a pall-bearer at his funeral,—the vindictiveness of the Tudors, and their impatience of contradiction, were enhanced by the insecurity of their positions. Queen Elizabeth held her throne against perpetual odds from foreign foes without and dissenters within.

Condemned acrimoniously by some of our popular historians, and as extravagantly eulogised by others, she has seemed to many readers more like a gorgeously apparelled wax-work than a living woman. Actually, during her forty-four and a half years on the throne—an era culminating in the greatest epoch of poetry and literature our nation has ever seen,—we shall observe the surging up in her of hereditary cruelties, and the development and increase of grotesque personal vanities. But we need not treat her as a prisoner at the bar, with ourselves as the jury. Rather we will become intimately acquainted with Her Majesty, her enemies, her champions, and her victims; find the reasons she was well served; and recognise the provocations under which she was hated.

That the rule of Queen Elizabeth and the expansion of our sea power were simultaneous, has given to the last of the Tudors a halo which more properly should shine from the heads of Hawkins, Drake and our other chief mariners, and of the statesmen who saw in a strong Navy the surest means of keeping English soil inviolate.

When in August 1598—ten years after the defeat of the Armada,—Paul Hentzner made his tour through England, and was exceedingly impressed by the prosperity of London and the beauty of the countryside, " upon taking the air down the river the first thing that struck us was the ship of that noble Pirate Sir Francis Drake, in which he is said to have surrounded this globe of earth " (eighteen years

before).[1] The epithet "Pirate" is misapplied. We shall see how a Spanish nobleman, Don Beltrán de Castro, rebuked King Philip's Council of State for so designating Drake's cousin Richard Hawkins. A pirate is a lawless robber, a highwayman of the sea, with no aim beyond filling his pockets and those of his ship's crew; so the term, as Don Beltrán admonished the Council, cannot be applicable to those who sail and fight in the service of their Sovereign and Country. That the *"Golden Hind"* was kept in the Thames as a reminder, both to Englishmen and foreigners, of the exploits of Sir Francis Drake, is significant for us as for them. We shall lose much if the present easy methods of transit blunt our perceptions of what it meant to Elizabethans that an English seaman had circumnavigated the Globe.

After Philip II of Spain planned for his forces to invade England while his Commissioners held a peace conference at Ostend, though the "peace" talk in 1587-8 did not deceive Lord Burghley, the contest did not end when the "Invincible Armada" was defeated. We were officially at war till 1604. The continued claim of Spain to the Crown of England, to which scant attention is devoted nowadays, will necessarily occupy our thoughts, as soon as we companion the Elizabethans. Though Shakespeare wrote of the dynastic clash between the Red Rose and the White, and set his dramas in the past, he was speaking to the men of his own time. One of the books which it was then dangerous to possess was *"A Conference regarding the Succession to the Crown of England,"* 1594.[2] The theme was the Infanta of Spain, and her suitability to be Queen Elizabeth's successor. By an audacious irony, it was dedicated in a long epistle to Robert Earl of Essex, who was so challengingly opposed to Spanish pretensions that the Spaniards respected him proportionately.

The Infanta Isabel Clara Eugenia, who was suggested in the *"Conference"* as the future Queen of England, was only three months older than Essex. Born in the same year 1566, on the 12th of August, eldest daughter of King Philip II by his third wife Isabel of Valois, she combined French grace with Spanish intensity of feeling; and was the being of all others for whom her stern father showed the most affection. At her birth, he had assured her mother he was as pleased to have a daughter as a son; and from her earliest childhood he trained her for sovereignty. But despite her merits,—which Father Parsons and other English Catholics need not be accused of overrating,—the succession of a Spaniard to the Crown of this country was repugnant to the majority of Englishmen. Considering that, excepting only a small minority, they had not been prepared to accept a "Popish" Queen in Mary of Scots, though of Tudor descent and undeniable genealogical right, it was irrational to suppose they would welcome as ruler a Princess who was daughter of England's chief enemy, and grand-daughter of Queen Catherine of

[1] *Itinerarium,* ed: 1757. p. 46.

[2] Fully analysed, under date.

France, who originated the midnight massacre of the Huguenots, in circumstances where ruthlessness was the more horrible for being blended with treachery.

When we ask why the English populace worshipped Queen Elizabeth, after they had sometimes been impatient of far less tyrannical Monarchs, the explanation is that the prolonged Spanish menace practically forced patriotic Englishmen to rally round the Queen. The recognition that England's independence had become identified with Protestantism, drove into the Established Church many who might have held firmly to the creed of their ancestors, had not the Church of Rome been politically identified with Spain,—the interests of which were at that time incompatible with those of England. It was the Papal Declaration in 1569-70, anathematising Queen Elizabeth as only a "pretended Queen," which put English Catholics in the desperate position of being obliged to choose between their loyalty to the Pope and their oath of allegiance to their Sovereign. Philip of Spain recognised and deplored this:

> "His Holiness has taken this step without communicating with me in any way, which certainly has surprised me, because my knowledge of English affairs is such that I believe I could give a better opinion on them and the course that ought to have been adopted under the circumstances than anyone else."

Thus wrote the Most Catholic King to the Spanish Ambassador in England:

> "Since, however, His Holiness allowed himself to be carried away by his zeal, *he no doubt thought that what he did was the only thing requisite for all to turn out as he wished; and if such were the case, I, of all the faithful sons of the Holy See, would rejoice the most.* But I fear that not only will this not be the case, but that this sudden and unexpected step will exacerbate things there, and drive the Queen and her friends the more to oppress and persecute the few good Catholics remaining in England."[1]

The now prevalent English notion that King Philip was a "procrastinator," and that Spain in the 16th century was "crumbling to decay," is so far from the truth that it has long prevented comprehension of the difficulties, problems, and achievements of England. That Drake and our seamen defeated the Spanish Navy in 1588 has been popularly regarded as ending all danger to England; and the courage, ability, and energy of the Spaniards underrated, in a fashion not only unfair to them but in a different way unjust to our own martialists and mariners; who then and thereafter, by almost superhuman exertions, prevented the absorption of England into the enormous Empire of King Philip.

To estimate the relative powers and positions of Catholics and Protestants in Europe, to arrive at a clear idea of the merits and demerits of warring nations and clashing factions, is the more necessary, in that all partisan Protestants, whether

---

[1] *State Papers, Spanish:* Cal: 1569-78. p. 254.

in Queen Elizabeth's day or our own, have been acrimonious towards King Philip; and all Papal historians unwilling to take sufficient count of the efforts, aims, and principles of the French and English Protestants. Spenser, despite his "celestiall harmonie" and chivalrous soul, was bitterly hostile to Mary Queen of Scots; and no champion of the tragically fated Queen Mary has made enough allowance for the burdens inherited by Queen Elizabeth. But Essex used to say he judged men by their deeds; leaving it to God to see their motives; and that he loved "valour and worthiness" wheresoever he found them. Such a frame of mind helped to bring him to the scaffold. And even now, the endeavour to set forth conflicting creeds and actions, raising the dead to show themselves as they appeared in life both to their enemies and friends, is a task in which the writer needs the response of the reader. For as "a jest's prosperity lies in the ear of him that hears it," so also in the gravest matters, the response is as important as the appeal.

In history—and in literature, the outcome of national life,—no writer can evoke from any reader more than that reader potentially carries in his own being. Where sympathies are humanly widest, and desire for insight is most keen, there we shall find the fullest capacity to live again in the past, to learn from the past, and by vicarious experience acquire *"soundness of judgment, which is the true use of all learning."*

JOHN FLETCHER. Born 1579, died 1625.

From the original on panel, at Pitt House,

in the collection of The Earl of Clarendon.

In the "*Mermaid Series*" edition of Beaumont and Fletcher's Works, Vol. II, there is a poor reproduction of the upper part of this portrait, looking as if taken from an engraving, which does not convey the vitality of the original. No indication is given that this represents only a portion of the painting, nor is there any sign that editor or publisher were aware that the actual picture is a three-quarters figure, or that the artist, while not signing his own name, inscribed on a scroll put in the poet's hand the following affectionate words.

> "*The pensell and the penn have strived together to show thy face and witt, Fletcher, and whether they have done ther best I know not, but confess none but thy owne penn could thy witt express.*"

Though Fletcher was not born until Queen Elizabeth had been twenty-one years on the throne, and his dramatic works with Beaumont attained their popularity subsequent to her death, their outlook, manner, and temper are Elizabethan.

The folio edition of 1647, twelve years after Fletcher died, is prefaced by the "stationer" (publisher) with the assertion that "*I should scarce have ventured in these slippery times on such a work as this, if knowing persons had not generally assured me that these authors were the most unquestionable wits this kingdom hath afforded.*"

As Beaumont died young, the later plays are exclusively the work of Fletcher.

> "It was once in my thoughts to have printed Master Fletcher's works by themselves, because single and alone he would make a just volume But since never parted while they lived, I conceived it not equitable to separate their ashes . . these authors had not only high unexpressible gifts of nature, but also excellent acquired parts, being furnished with arts and sciences by that liberal education they had at the University . . .
>
> "*The figure of Master Fletcher was cut by several original pieces, which his friends lent me, but withal they tell me that his unimitable soul did shine through his countenance in such air and spirit that the painters confessed it was not easy to express him. as much as could be you have here.*"

Presumably the picture now at Pitt House is one of the "*original pieces*" lent to Humphrey Moseley, who so sympathetically introduced the Collected Works, issued from "the Princes Arms in St. Paul's Churchyard, February the 14th, 1646" (1647 new system).

The present Earl of Clarendon believes this picture to be one of those purchased by his ancestor, Sir Edward Hyde. who, after long years of exile and poverty, returned home in 1660 at the Restoration of the Monarchy; and as 1st Earl of Clarendon and Lord High Chancellor of England was among the chief promoters of a revival of the Arts which had been crushed to the dust during the grim Protectorate.

do. What ought the loue of the
creatore do: shulde she not styrre
so the harte of a man that he (beyng
transported with such affection) shuld
fele no other thinge in hym: Alas, ye.
For death is a pleasaunte thinge to ye — psal. 115
soule wich is in loue with god and
estimeth the passage easy, through ye — philip. i
wich she cometh out of a prison. For
the harde way (through the wiche
she cometh for to embrasse her hus-
band) can not wery her: O my sauiour,
how good the same death is, through
the wich we shall haue the ende of
all sorowe, by whom also we shall

Princess Elizabeth's handwriting at the age of 10 *or* 11:
from her MS. of "The Mirror of the Sinful Soul."

Presented by her to her 4th stepmother, Queen Katherine (née Parr): asking her to "rubbe out, polishe and mende (or els cause to mende) the wordes (or rather the order of my writing which i know in many places to be rude)." (Orig. Bodleian MSS. Cherry, 36, p. 49). This is a translation from the French poem of Queen Marguerite of Navarre.

In 1543, *aged* 10, *Princess Elizabeth fell under her father's "heavy displeasure," and was banished from his sight. When in* 1544 *King Henry VIII went on his martial expedition to Boulogne, Queen Katherine, in her letters to him, interceded for the child, and in September of that year she was restored to favour. As well as writing out this book for the Queen, and embroidering the binding, the little Princess made a volume of prayers for the King, dedicated* "Illustrissimo Henrico octavo Anglie, Francie, Hibernieq. regi, fedei defensori," *etc For this she also worked an embroidered cover. Vide C J Davenport's* "Early English Embroidered Books." *London,* 1888. *Also Introduction to* "The Mirror of the Sinful Soul. . . Reproduced in facsimile . . . for the Royal Society of Literature . . . London, 1897." *(Dedicated to H M. Queen Victoria, in the 60th year of her "illustrious and beneficent reign over a happy people. . . .")*

Note on the Illustrations.

Collected simultaneously with the materials for the text, the illustrations are not mere decorative "luxuries," but are intended to forward the study of life, character, and events; especially the Spanish martial and marine frescoes, which afford more information on their respective subjects than we can find in any contemporary English manuscript or printed matter.

Excepting the frontispiece to Volume I and the portrait of John Fletcher at the end of the General Introduction, also the battle of Pavia (Prologue, section 12); Raphael's Castiglione, and Mary Queen of Scots in widow's dress, in Part I; the Empress Isabella by Titian, and Isabella Duchess of Burgundy in Part II, the most conspicuous pictures throughout "Elizabethan England" are set in chronological order.

They are grouped at the beginning of each section to which they belong. This is to avoid the distraction caused when in the middle of a narrative the eye is diverted from the main issues.

Explanatory notes are given with each item.

No picture or map appears solely for its own sake; nor any MS merely because unpublished or curious. Human and historical interest and value have determined the choice.

To prevent oversight of large plates in the Portfolio, small reproductions are included in each volume, with cross-references to Portfolio numbers.

In the Portfolio, in Brochure number I, the reader will find Michael Angelo's observations on the Arts in relation to practical life. The selection of illustrations has been made partly under the influence of those illuminating words: and in hope that the pictorial aids to realisation of the past throughout the ten volumes will attract readers to whom the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries have hitherto appeared remote.[1]

In Book I, the items relevant to 1553-1583 may recall an opinion expressed by Sir F. G. Kenyon, K.C.B., G.B.E., when Director of the British Museum, that the narration of history in the future should be more and more co-ordinated with evidence derived from the fine arts, and from facsimile reproductions of original manuscripts.

---

[1] Since that Brochure was issued, in 1932, the number of volumes has been increased from eight to ten. The references to "Volumes I—II" should, therefore, read as "Volumes I—IV," and so on; "Volumes VII—VIII" becoming "Volumes IX—X."

PROLOGUE. 1553—1558.

Introductory Note

A detailed history of the reign of Queen Mary, and of her Spanish Consort as King of England, would delay us too long. But no study of Queen Elizabeth which begins with her accession would be satisfactory: many of the reminiscent allusions of Elizabethan statesmen in their letters and speeches being imperfectly intelligible unless we understand the precedents or warnings to which they refer.

Elizabethans had tenacious memories. A Privy Councillor not born till after the loss of Calais, was basing his arguments forty years later upon facts drawn from English experiences during the last part of Queen Mary's reign. The observations of that eminent personage as to "St. Quintins" *have been put aside by our historians, because they have not themselves realised the effect produced upon the English mind by the power and subtlety of Spain, as demonstrated in 1557-58; nor the zeal with which Englishmen of the older generation, who served in that campaign, instructed their juniors in its lessons.*

That relatively little will be said here of Princess Elizabeth's girlhood is because the particulars, so often published, are easily accessible and well remembered. But the Dudley brethren having fought at St. Quentin is so commonly forgotten that Lord Robert Dudley's later appointment, when Earl of Leicester, as Lieutenant-General in supreme command in 1585-87, and again in 1588, is nowadays imagined to have been merely because of the Queen's partiality.

The Spanish frescoes here brought into juxtaposition with the actions, should help us to comprehend that all the chief Englishmen who took part in the war of 1557-58 became oracles upon "martial causes"; especially Lord Robert, who had been Master of the Field Ordnance at the siege of St. Quentin.

It need not be difficult to enter into Sir Thomas Wyatt's motives for rebellion against the Spanish marriage; and at the same time for us to understand Queen Mary's conviction that short of marrying the Emperor Charles—who was resolved not to re-marry,—her match with his son Philip would be the best for England.

Recollection of both aspects of the controversy, with the events leading up to it, is a necessary prelude to the story of Elizabeth Regina.

PROLOGUE. 1553—1558.

Section		Page
1.	"*The Imperiall Crowne of this Realme,*" May-June, 1553	5
2.	"*Necessary to all kind of Men*": the first English translation of Quintus Curtius. 1553	9
3.	"*Jane the Queen.*" July, 1553	14
4.	"*The doleful news of death.*" The fall of John, Duke of Northumberland. August, 1553	22
5.	"*Marvellously adorned*": the Coronation of Queen Mary. 1 October, 1553	29
6.	"*To defend the Realm from being overrun with Strangers*": Sir Thomas Wyatt's rebellion. Jan. Feb. 1553-4	33
7.	"*Sharp and cruel executions*": The tragedy of Lord Guildford Dudley and of "Jane the Queen." 12 February, 1553-4	43
8.	"*Troublesome Tribulations*": The execution of the Duke of Suffolk, the arrest of Princess Elizabeth, and the execution of Sir Thomas Wyatt. 1553-4	56
9.	"*The most illustrious Prince of Spain*": Queen Mary's marriage. July, 1554	68
10.	"*The nativitie of Philippe Sydney.*" 30 November, 1554	71
11.	"*Diversitie of opinions*"	77
12.	"*The Great Foreign Captains*"	89
13.	"*The contest for St. Quyntyns.*" 1557	93
14.	"*Such a buffet to England*": The capture of Calais. January, 1557-8	107
15.	"*Honest dutie and fame*": The defence of Guisnes by Lord Grey of Wilton. January, 1557-8	115
16.	"*Queen Marie's Navie*": the battle of Gravelines. 13 July, 1558	120
17.	"*Where no other remedy would serve.*" The death of Queen Mary. 17 November, 1558	126

NOTES AND APPENDICES.

	Page
" *Valiant and noble exploits* ": Services of the Duke of Northumberland . .	27-28
" *The sayinge of John late Duke of Northumberland,*" 1553	28
Portraits of Lady Jane Grey	52-54
Works treating of Lady Jane Grey	55
Spanish Noblemen at Queen Mary's wedding, 1554	68
Dávila's " *Commentaries,*" in English, 1554	70
" *Merciful to the Poor* ": Bishop Ridley's hospitals, &c.	80
" *Naughtie and seditious matter,*" by Sir Francis Leek's players . . .	81
An early Arctic explorer, Sir Hugh Willoughby, 1553-54	82
" *A wonder to see* ": the prosperity of Russia, 1554-56	86
" *Ships to serve under the Lord Admiral,*" 1557	106
Unpublished letter and Memo from Calais, 1557	113
Queen Mary's Ships	(List covering Plate 37)
" *The lamentable complaint of Queen Mary* " (ballad)	129
" *The most famous History of Sir Thomas Wyat* " (drama)	4, 9, 21, 29, 36, 42, 44

Genealogical Notes: Tudor ancestry of Lady Jane Grey	6
,, ,, ,, ,, ,, Mary Queen of Scots	8

CHEAPSIDE CROSS AND GOLDSMITH'S ROW:

THE CORONATION PROCESSION OF KING EDWARD VI
February 19th, 1547.

Engraved in 1809 from an original "lately at Cowdray," painted circa 1547, for Sir Anthony Browne of Cowdray, Master of the Horse.

The original showed the procession from the Tower to Westminster. It was one of a series of mural paintings in the dining-room at Cowdray Castle, depicting the chief public events in which Sir Anthony Browne had been concerned. The fatal fire at Cowdray, which in 1793 destroyed so many treasures, swallowed up all these paintings, the best of their kind in England, for wealth of detail and as historical records. They had been engraved in 1778, 1787, and 1788 for the Society of Antiquaries. The engravings are republished in the beautiful book issued for the 1st Viscount Cowdray: *"Cowdray and Easebourne Priory in the County of Sussex. By Sir William H. St. John Hope, Litt. D., D.C.L. London. MCMXIX," p. 54.*

At Cowdray Castle today are a pair of screens painted with copies of the Coronation fresco. Acquired by the 1st Viscount Cowdray, these are judged to be contemporary with the perished frescoes.

One of the heralds left a graphic description of the procession (MS. of Le Neve, Norroy King at Arms, *"Lelandi Collect."* I, V, iv, p. 310):

"About one o'clock in the afternoon" King Edward came forth from the Tower "through the City of London, in most royal and goodly wise, towards his palace of Westminster. The streets through all the way the King should pass were well gravelled in every place, and railed on one side from Gracechurch Street to the Little Conduit in Cheap, to the intent that the horses should not slide on the pavement, nor the people be hurt by the horses in the high streets. . . .

All the way where the King should pass, on either side, were the windows and ways garnished with cloth of tapestry, arras, cloths of gold and of silver, with cushions of the same, garnished with streamers and banners as richly as might be devised."

King Edward was "richly apparelled with a gown of cloth of silver, all over embroidered with damask gold, with a girdle of white velvet wrought with Venice silver, garnished with precious stones, as rubies and diamonds, with true lovers knots of pearls, a doublet of white velvet embroidered with Venice silver garnished with the like precious stones and pearls, and a pair of buskins with white velvet. On his horse was a caparison of crimson satin embroidered with pearls and damask gold."

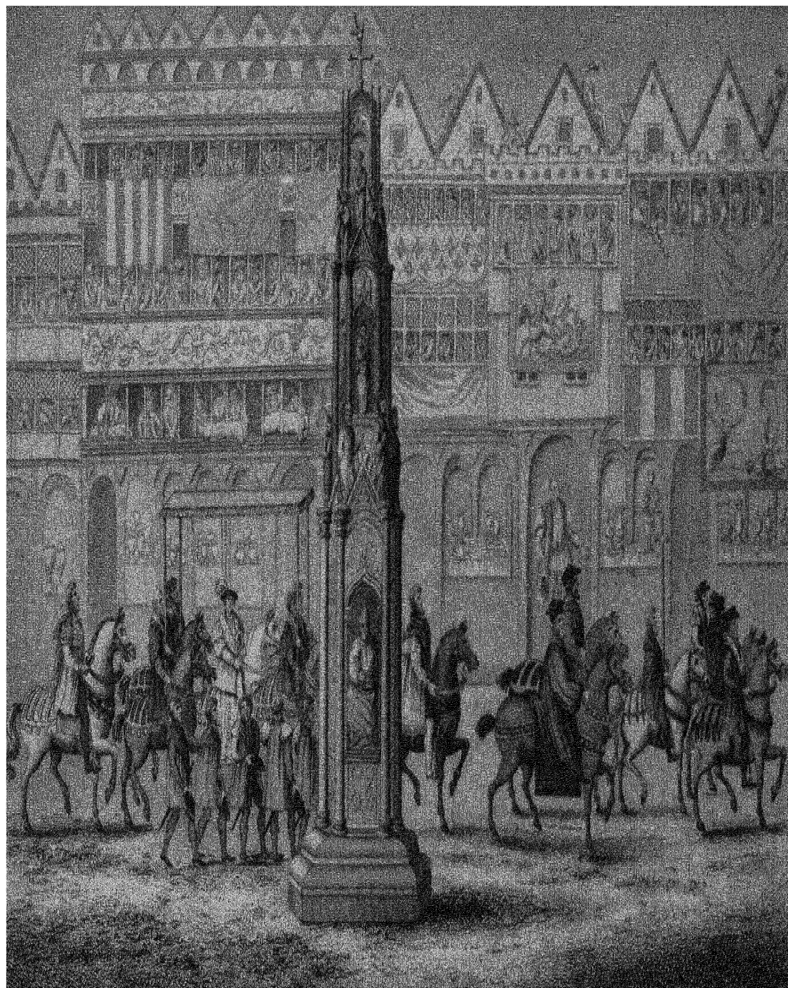
A canopy was carried over him; and ahead rode his uncle the Duke of Somerset, Lord Protector (whose death warrant he was to be signing in 1551-2). The other most magnificent peers were Henry Grey, Marquess of Dorset, Constable of England, likewise fated to die on the scaffold, and to his right, John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, Lord Chamberlain, who—as Duke of Northumberland—was also to end his career on Tower Hill; but who in 1547 was envied for his prestige, wealth and power.

In the picture the King is passing the Cross of Cheapside, he rides along the Goldsmith's Row, built by Thomas Wood, sheriff and goldsmith, fifty-six years previously: "a most beautiful frame of fair houses and shops" says Stow, (who saw them every day), "ten fair dwelling houses and fourteen shops all in one frame, uniformly builded, four stories high, beautified toward the street." From the Old 'Change to Bucklersbury, the goldsmiths had the monopoly of shops and houses, and very sumptuously they set forth their wares.

Wealthy citizens stand in the doors of their shops, to salute the King as he passes; and the picture shows the lower windows decorated with beakers, vases, covered cups, and jars of the goldwork which was their art, pride, and livelihood.

The first Cross of Cheapside had been built in 1290 by King Edward I, in memory of his Queen, Eleanor of Castile. The second was put up in 1441, and is shown in the Cowdray picture.

A third was erected in 1600; the second having then recently been mutilated by "Puritans."



EDWARD SEYMOUR, EARL OF HERTFORD: SUBSEQUENTLY DUKE OF SOMERSET:

brother of Jane Seymour, Henry VIII's 3rd Queen.

From a picture on panel (7⅞ x 5¼)

formerly in the collection of The Marquess of Hertford now Wallace Collection, No. 532.

(Photograph. W. E Grey).

The inscription "*M le Comte de Hertford*" on a strip of wood added to the original panel, was doubted in 1904, and the portrait assumed to be that of a "French nobleman" But in the Wallace Collection Catalogue of "*Pictures and Drawings,*" London 1928, p 61, the compiler remarks that "the lettering being apparently of the late 16th or early 17th century, is worthy of consideration," especially as "the features recall those in the engraved portraits of the Earl of Hertford" (No particulars of the dates or whereabouts of these engravings are given; but see below for other portraits).

Edward Seymour, created Viscount Beauchamp of Hache 1536, Earl of Hertford 1537, Baron Seymour and DUKE OF SOMERSET 1547, Lord High Admiral, Lord Great Chamberlain, rose to power partly because of the marriage of his sister Jane with King Henry VIII, but also by his own abilities. As Lord Protector of England during the minority of his nephew King Edward VI, he was in command in 1547 when John Dudley Earl of Warwick helped him to win the battle of Musselburgh.

When the young King signed the Duke's death-warrant in 1552, for alleged high treason, his former friend Warwick (now Duke of Northumberland) was popularly held responsible.

Somerset's confiscated estates and the titles of Earl of Hertford, etc, were restored by Queen Elizabeth for the son of his second marriage The Somerset Dukedom was revived in 1660 by Charles II for the Earl and Marquess of Hertford

The descendants of the second marriage eventually died out, and the Dukedom was restored in 1741 for the descendants of the first marriage The Earldom of Hertford expired with the children of the second marriage; but in 1750, Francis Seymour Conway, 2nd Baron Conway (uncle of the 8th Duke), had the Earldom revived for him, in reward for services to Crown and Country He was subsequently created in 1793 Earl of Yarmouth and Marquess of Hertford His grandson—grossly caricatured by Thackeray in "*Vanity Fair,*"—was a noted connoisseur in art, and helped the Prince Regent to increase the collection of pictures at Buckingham Palace and Windsor Castle. The inherited and acquired treasures of his son Richard, Marquess of Hertford, bequeathed by him to Sir Richard Wallace, are now "The Wallace Collection," having been left by Lady Wallace (Amélie Charlotte Castelnau) to the British Nation (Will dated 23 May, 1894)

It seems not to be known whether the picture of "*M le Comte de Hertford*" was inherited by the Marquesses of Hertford, or purchased in France by the 3rd or 4th Marquess.

The undernoted portraits and a miniature of Edward Seymour Duke of Somerset were shown in the Tudor Exhibition of 1890:

(1) *By Holbein: in possession of the Duke of Northumberland*· No 199 Panel, 8½ x 7: small half length, dressed in black, and black cap with jewels and feathers, right hand holding blue ribbon with St George pendant of the Garter (2) No 196, Panel, 35 x 26½. Catalogued p. 63 as *Duke of Somerset,* but should be "*Earl of Hertford*" as it is inscribed "*A° 1535, & suae aetatis 28,*" and he was not Duke till 1547.

Lent by Mrs Dent of Sudeley: who also lent a miniature; No 1099 (not described in Catalogue.) (3) No. 202. "*Lent by Mrs Cunliffe*"· "Bust, life size, to right, black coat and cap with jewel and feather, white collar." Canvas (22 x 17).

There is also a picture in possession of the present Duke of Somerset.

LE COMTE DE HERTFORD

UNPUBLISHED PORTRAIT OF LADY FRANCES BRANDON, DUCHESS OF SUFFOLK,

eldest daughter and coheiress of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk by his second wife Mary (Tudor) Queen Dowager of France.

in possession of The Marquess of Crewe, K.G.; at West Horsley Place, Surrey.

Panel 2 feet 2½ x 1 foot 10¼, including contemporary frame.

This portrait by Hans Eworth, with other 16th century pictures on panel, came from the old house of Great Houghton near Darfield in the West Riding of Yorkshire, the home of one branch of the family of Rodes, of which another branch was settled at Barlborough Hall near Chesterfield.

Rachael Rodes married Richard Slater Milnes (1759-1804), and through her the estate of Great Houghton came into the family of Milnes.

This portrait of the Duchess of Suffolk, with smaller pictures on panel—Queen Elizabeth William the Silent, Maurice of Nassau, Lord Burghley, Sir Francis Walsingham, and a gentleman unknown, also a lady called at different times Princess Elizabeth and Lady Jane Grey—are believed to have been continuously at Houghton from Queen Elizabeth's day until they were moved to Fryston Hall, West Riding of Yorks, when it became the residence of Mr. Richard Milnes, great-grandfather of the present Marquess of Crewe.

Hans Eworth

PROLOGUE.

Section I. "The Imperial Crowne of this Realme." May-June 1553.

In 1553 the boy King Edward VI, of earnest disposition, with a gracious manner and a peremptory will, was the hope of Protestant England. The dangerous illness which during the winter had attacked him, loosened its grip as the spring came in.

On the 7th of May the Duke of Northumberland from Greenwich Palace sent Sir William Cecil the "comfort" with which "our Physicians hath, these two or three mornings, revived my spirits . . . which is that our Sovereign Lord doth begin, very joyfully, to increase and amend: they having no doubt of the thorough recovery of his Highness, . . . because his Majesty is fully bent to follow their counsel and advice."[1]

Actually he had only three more months to live. But he appeared to revive as the days grew warmer.

"In the Moneth of May, namely on May Day in the morning, every man . . . would walke into the sweete meddowes and green woods, there to rejoice their spirits, with the beauty and savour of sweet flowers, and with the harmony of birds, praising God in their kind."

This is not the meditation of a poet. It is John Stow, on "the Honor and Beauty of this Isle" in his "*Survey of London*"; apostrophising

"Mighty Flora, Goddesse of fresh flowers
which clothèd hath the soyle in lusty greene."[2]

On the 21st, the King was so much better that he was able to be present at the treble wedding of the Duke of Northumberland's young son Lord Guildford Dudley with the sixteen year old Lady Jane, eldest daughter of Henry Grey, Marquess of Dorset and Duke of Suffolk; and of her sister Lady Katherine with Lord Herbert, son and heir of the Earl of Pembroke; and of the Duke of Northumberland's daughter Lady Katherine Dudley with Henry Lord Hastings, eldest son of the Earl of Huntingdon, of near kin to the Crown.

These marriages were solemnised with great magnificence; the King lending jewels, cloth of gold, and other gorgeous materials from the royal wardrobe to the Duchesses of Suffolk and Northumberland; also to the "Lady Marques" of Northampton; and to Lady Jane and her bridegroom.[3]

Though the matches had been arranged for political reasons, there was a warm affection between Lady Jane and her young husband. Except for this true love, they could

[1] "Your assured loving Frende Northumberland." Collins's "*Letters and Memorials,*" 1746. I. 29; and (Lansdowne MS. 3) Howard's "*Lady Jane Grey and her Times,*" 1822, pp. 199-200.

[2] Anthony Munday's edition, 1618: "*Sports and pastimes of old time used in this Citie.*" p. 150.

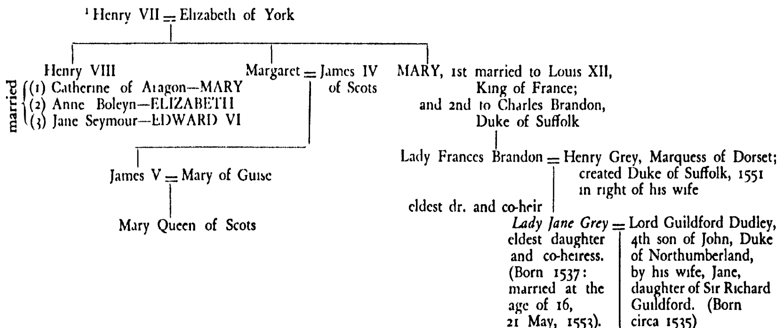
[3] Howard ("*Lady Jane Grey,*" &c.), p. 205, points out that these jewels and garments were not new; but had been confiscated to the Crown when the King's uncle Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, Duke of Somerset, was beheaded in 1551-2.

hardly have been more ill-starred; their exalted heritage and powerful connections bringing upon them calamities they would otherwise have escaped. But at the marriage feast they and the outer world were unconscious of the perilous position their fathers designed for them; so the King's gifts and felicitations to Lady Jane seemed no more than a fitting courtesy to a near relation.

Lord Guildford Dudley, next to youngest of the five sons of John Duke of Northumberland, had no cause to expect even such a conspicuous position in matters of warfare and the State as that of his eldest brother John Earl of Warwick. And for Lady Jane the escape from the harsh rule of her parents to the companionship of a husband only a couple of years older than herself did not ostensibly presage either the swift elevation ahead or the yet swifter fall.

That neither she nor her Lord would ever see another summer, and that both their fathers were riding post haste to ruin, no astrologer foretold. The darling project of the Duke of Northumberland was to make his descendants Kings of England. Hence his selection of Lady Jane Grey for his daughter-in-law: she being the granddaughter of Mary, younger daughter of Henry VII; whose posterity Henry VIII's oft-altered Will had finally authorised King Edward to include among possible candidates for the succession.[1]

Though the English descendants of Mary (Tudor) Queen of France were only intended to be considered if the others failed, the Duke of Northumberland had a plausible argument when he pointed out that as King Henry had annulled his marriage with Catharine of Aragon, and at one time disowned Mary her only surviving child, and also in turn had condemned Elizabeth the daughter of Anne Boleyn, King Edward's choice of a successor should be a candidate upon whose birth there was no slur.[2]



[2] Although King Henry had "illegitimated" both daughters, he changed his mind and made them eligible for the succession; *though without revoking the Acts of Parliament by which he had disqualified them.* As to whether it was lawful for him to regulate the succession, Sir William Blackstone refers to the King's "vast power," and pronounces that *"as it was regularly vested in him by the supreme legislative authority, it was therefore indisputably valid"* *"Commentaries on the Laws of England,"* Book I. c. III. p. 206. This is the language of a lawyer who himself looked on Parliament with deep respect. But no Tudor regarded Parliament as "the supreme legislative authority" Few Parliaments were called; and those few were dominated by the Sovereigns.

In Grafton's "*Chronicle at large,*" 1569, "the young King," not the Duke of Northumberland, is represented as the first originator of the resolve to "*chaunge and alter the order of succession*": his "earnest trauaile" during his illness being "all for feare that if his sister Marye, being next heyre to the crowne, should succede, *that she would subvert all his lawes and statutes made concerning religion.* . . . For the continuance whereof he sought to establish a meete order of succession. . . ."

As he became "every day sicker, . . . of a consumption in his lunges, so that there was no hope of his recovery," he called together all that "bare chief aucthority;" who after much consultation accepted the "device" of the King and agreed "to declare the said Lady Jane, eldest neice" [grand-niece] "to King Henry ye eight," as the rightful heir.[1]

The royal decision was not accepted without question. When the Chief Justice, the Attorney General, the Solicitor General, and others, on the 11th of June, 1553, were bidden through the Duke of Northumberland to draw up a deed assigning the Crown to Lady Jane, they protested this would be high treason. But the Duke had the King's authority; and four days later, Sir Edward Montague, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, wrote out the new Articles of Succession; though urging that an Act of Parliament would be required to confirm them. To this the young King, "earnest and sharp," answered he intended soon to call his Parliament that it might ratify his intentions.

Without waiting for Parliament, a "true coppie" of the "*laste Will and testament of King Edward ye Sixt . . . on ye behalfe of the Ladye Jane*" was witnessed "with ye hands of 101 of ye Chiefe of the nobiliti and principall men of note of this Kingdom; . . . 21 day of June, an^o^ 1553:"[2]

"Edward the Sixth by the Grace of God, King of England, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and of the Church of England and also of Ireland in Earth the Supreme Head: to all our Nobles, and other our good loving faithful and obedient subjects, Greeting. . . Forasmuch as it hath pleased . . . Almighty God to visit us with a long and weary sickness, . . . albeit not doubting in the grace and goodness of God but to be shortly . . . restored . . . and to live here in this transitory world, . . . calling now to our remembrance how necessary a thing it is [to] have the estate of the Imperial Crowne of these our noble Realms of England and Ireland, and our title

---

[1] Op cit. Ed: 1809 Vol. II. p. 532. First published as "*A Chronicle at large, and meere History of the Affayres of Englande, and kings of the same, deduced from the creation of the world, vnto the first habitation of thys islande· and so by continuance vnto the first yere of the reigne of our most deere and Soveraine Lady Queene Elizabeth. collected out of sundry aucthors, whose names are expressed in the next page of this leafe. Anno Domini 1569 Cum Privilegio.*" By Richard Grafton, citizen of London. Dedicated "To the Right Honorable, Sir William Cecill, Knight, Principall Secretarij to the Queenes Maiestie, and of hir Priuie Counsayle, Mayster of the Courtes of Wards and Liveries and Chauncelour of the Vniverstie of Cambridge," confident in his "courteous judgment towardes those that trauaile to any honest purpose, rather helping and comforting their weakness than condemning their simple . . . endeavours."

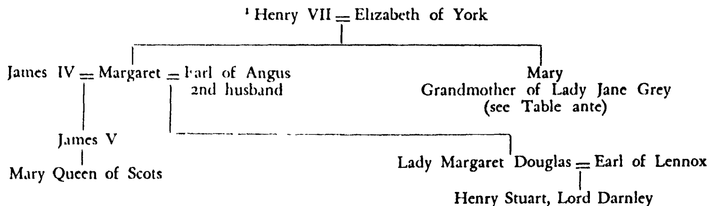
[2] Harl: MS 35. f. 364: The transcriber headed this "A true coppie of the counterfet wille supposed to be the laste wille and testament of Kinge Edwarde the Sixt, forged and published under the Great Seale of England by the confederacie of the Dukes of Suffolke and Northumberland, on the behalfe of the lady Jane, eldest daughter to the said Duke of Suffolke, and testified with the hands of 101 of the chiefe of the nobiliti and principal men of note in this Kingdome, dated the 21 day of June an^o^ 1553." But it was not "counterfet'; and in another hand is added "*This is a true coppie of Edward the Sixte his will, taken out of the originall under the Greate Seale, which Sir Robart Cotton delyvered to the Kinges majestie*" (James I) "the xij of Appril, 1611 at Roystorne" (Royston) "to be canseled." Howard, "*Lady Jane Grey,*" pp. 213-217; and "*Queen Jane and Queen Mary.*" ed: J. G. Nichols. pp. 91-100.

of France, and the Dominions and Marches of the same, to be . . . not destitute of such a head and Governor as shall be most meet and apt to rule the same," he had considered both during his illness and "in the time of our health" the necessity to provide for the future of England.

As the Ladies Mary and Elizabeth were "not lawfully begotten," and also might wish to marry foreign Princes "to the utter subversion of the Commonwealth," he stated that "*if it shall fortune us to decease having no issue of our body lawfully begotten, . . the said Imperial Crowne and Realme*" are to go to the Duchess of Suffolk's son if "*borne into the world in our lyfetime,*" and to his heirs. But failing such, "*to the Ladie Jane,*" and her issue male; or failing her, to the descendants of her sisters; or of her aunt Lady Eleanor Brandon, the other granddaughter of King Henry VII. The descendants of Henry VII's elder daughter Margaret Queen of Scotland he left out of the reckoning; having no liking for the Scots, who had refused England's overtures for his betrothal to their young Queen Mary.[1]

The Archbishop of Canterbury (Cranmer) at first objected; but was soon brought to consent. The Lord Chancellor approved; so did the Lord High Treasurer (Marquess of Winchester); the Marquess of Northampton; the Earls of Arundel, Oxford, Westmorland, Shrewsbury, Warwick, Worcester, Huntingdon, and Pembroke; Lords Clinton, Darcy, Cobham, Grey of Wilton, Talbot, FitzWalter, and many others; the Bishop of London; the Solicitor General; Principal Secretary of State Sir William Cecil; the Lord Mayor of London, and numerous Aldermen and Sheriffs.

Very different would have been their conduct had they foreseen the skill with which "the Ladie Marie" would out-manœuvre them after her brother's death. Neither her determination nor her ability were measured in advance; and on the 26th of June the French Ambassador—who was in the Duke of Northumberland's confidence,—wrote to the King of France that the Crown of England would go next to the Lady "*Jeanne de Suffolk.*"[2]



[2] "*Ambassades*" II. 49. (Nichols, p. 88). In editing "*The Chronicle of Queen Jane*" etc. (Camden Soc.) 1850, J. G. Nichols printed "*The Will of King Edward the Sixth, and his Device for the Succession of the Crown*" (pp. 85-102). Also "*My deuise for the succession*" from the King's holograph (MS Petyt, 47. f. 317) showing in italics the various alterations; and giving the Letters Patent in Extenso (from MS Harl: 35. f. 364). It is therefore superfluous now to do more than remind the reader of the main circumstances.

SIR JOHN DUDLEY, VISCOUNT L'ISLE:

SUBSEQUENTLY EARL OF WARWICK, AND DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND

From an engraving by Ryall, in possession of The Rev. Canon C. Dudley Lampen: (and also in the British Museum).

Labelled by the engraver, "John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, from the original by Holbein, in the collection of Sir John Shelley Sidney, Bart."

Now in possession of The Lord De L'Isle and Dudley at Penshurst Place.

Actually, as there is no Garter insignia in this picture, it must have been painted prior to May 1543, when John Dudley, Viscount L'Isle, Lord High Admiral of England, aged 42, was installed K G.

By the Statutes of the Garter, the Knights were commanded never to appear, even in sickness or on a journey, without the George,—emblem of the virtues for practise of which the Most Noble Order had been founded by Edward III.

Lord L'Isle's election as K G. was a tribute to his "acceptable and laudable service," in reward for which the Viscountcy had been re-created for him the previous year, his "*Vigilance, Foresight, Faithfulness, Valour, and illustrious descent*" being especially commended.

The *Warwick Earldom* of his Beauchamp ancestors was conferred upon him in 1547; when he received Warwick Castle by grant from the Crown.

His brilliant achievements under the Duke of Somerset in the Scottish war, his quelling of the rebellion in Norfolk, his appointments as Lord Steward of the Household, Ambassador Extraordinary to France, Earl Marshal of England, and Warden of the Marches, all date prior to his 50th year, 1551, when he was created *Duke of Northumberland*

The present Lord De L'Isle and Dudley does not possess a 16th century Inventory of pictures at Penshurst, nor even a list of the collection of Sir John Shelley Sidney.

The picture at Penshurst of John Duke of Northumberland depicts a man with brown eyes and hair, and fresh complexion. Whether it is by Holbein is doubtful.

In the British Museum is a crude print inscribed "John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland. Engraved from the Original Picture in the Collection at Knole." It shows a dark-eyed personage, wearing, on a ribbon, a peculiar form of George

Lord Sackville's John Duke of Northumberland, at Knole, is reproduced in Fletcher and Walker's "*Historical Portraits,*" Clarendon Press, 1909, p. 56.

PROLOGUE.

Section II. "Necessary to all kind of Men:" *The first English translation of Quintus Curtius.* 1553.

"To the Right hyghe and myghtie Prince, John Duke of Northumberland, Earl Marshall of Englande &c, John Brende wisheth continuall prosperitie, wyth increase of honour," was the heading of a letter to that potent nobleman, in the early summer of 1553, offering him the first English translation of "the Actes of the greate Alexander."

Northumberland's power in the State must then have seemed to himself to be approaching equality with that of the mediæval Earl of Warwick, "the Kingmaker," whose wife's ancestors he was proud to number among his forebears. The suddenness of his fall in July 1553, the swiftness with which irrevocable ruin came upon him in the space of a few days,—involving most heavily those for whom he had intended the highest elevation,—forms an ironical sequel to Brende's wish for his "continuall prosperity."

Moreover, the change in the Duke's own nature, from daring initiative and masterful overriding of obstacles, to a sudden collapse and surrender, was in no way foreseen either by his friends or foes. But before coming to Act V of his life-drama, we will look at this book dedicated to him on the eve of his catastrophe:[1] "*The Historie of Qvintus Curcius, conteyning the Actes of the greate Alexander translated out of Latine into Englishe by Iohn Brende 1553. Imprinted at London by Richarde Tottell. Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum.*"[2]

Several times reissued in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, this translation subsequently fell into oblivion. Yet it is the likely explanation why Alexander of Macedon was in Elizabethan England the most popular of classical heroes: more admired even than Julius Cæsar, of whose *Commentaries* John Brende started a translation which he did not live to finish.[3]

---

[1] The date on the title page being 1553, as the year then began on March 25th the work must have appeared in April, May, June, or early July.

[2] Quarto, B.L. B.M. No: 200. c. 2.

[3] Finished by Golding; 1565 (Title-page, under date) Of Brende's *Quintus Curtius* (1553) there are several later editions in the B.M. 1561 (294. h. 27); 1592 (10606. a. 35); 1602 (C 38. c. 50). Also in Bodleian Library, editions of 1570(71) and 1584.

When, nearly a century after Brende's first edition, Robert Codrington produced "*The Life and Death of Alexander the Great, King of Macedon In ten books, by Quintus Curtius Rufus.... Done into English. . . ,*" (dedicated "To the true Lover of all good Learning, . . . Baptist, Viscount Cambden, Lord Noel of Kedlington, and Baron of Elmington,") he did not refer by name to the previous translator, but stated that the work "was before imperfect in English, and laboured at least under a thousand Solecisms" (which is less than just to Brende). Codrington's observations in his preface "To the Reader in general, and especially to the Souldier" are nevertheless excellent; and his translation, first issued in 1652, was reprinted in 1674 and 1677. In the 18th and 19th centuries Brende was completely forgotten; his name first reappeared in Miss Henrietta R. Palmer's "*List of English Editions and Translations of Greek and Latin Classics Printed before 1641,*" Bibliographical Society, 1911; and he is quoted in C. H. Conley's "*The First English Translators of the Classics,*" Yale University Press, 1927.

In the 16th century all cultured men and many women read Latin with ease; Lady Jane Grey in her early teens wrote her letters in that tongue. She also knew Greek. But her affection for the dead languages appears to have arisen not exclusively from delight in learning: for when Roger Ascham found her reading Plato, and asked why she preferred her book to sport and pleasure, she answered,

> "When I am in presence either of father or mother, whether I speak, keep silence, sit, stand or go, eat, drinke, be merry or sad, be sewing, playing, dancing, . . . I must do it . . . so perfectly, . . . or else I am so sharply taunted, so cruelly threatened, . . . that I think myself in Hell, till the time comes that I must go to Mr. Elmer; who teacheth me so gently, so pleasantly and with such fair allurements to learning," that the hours pass swiftly; whereas the time spent under parental supervision was "full of great trouble, fear, and whole misliking . . ."[1]

While the Duke and Duchess of Suffolk were still treating their eldest daughter as a child, Ascham, Bullinger, Sturmius, and other eminent scholars addressed her as "most illustrious lady." Ascham used to write to her, in Latin, not only as to her own classical attainments, but touching upon political news during his travels abroad:

> "The general Council of Trent is to sit on the first of May," he wrote, 18th January 1551-2, when she was fourteen; "Cardinal Pole, it is asserted, is to be the President . . . there are tumults this year in Africa, . . . preparations for a war against the Turks, and then the *great expectations of the march of the Emperor into Hungary, of which, though no soldier, I shall, God willing, be a companion* . . . To write of all these things I have neither leisure, nor would it be safe: but on my return . . . it shall be my great happiness to relate all . . . to you in person . . ."[2]

Now that all classical masterpieces can be read in English, we are apt to forget the purpose of the 16th century translations. Unlike Caxton's earlier efforts, they were not meant for the "noble and gentle," who did not require them; but for the "unlearned."

Being the popular literature of their time, and licensed as such by the Crown, it is through a chronological series of translations that we will most easily understand the influences awakening among the "simple" a warm admiration for "the divinest spirits of all ages."

Such translations were generally dedicated to some powerful nobleman, whose name was a guarantee to the world of the scholar's "sufficiencie."

> "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 in any Commonwealth. . .
>
> "There is required in all magistrates both a faith and fear in God, and also an outward policy in worldly things, whereof as the one is to be learned by the Scriptures, so the other must chiefly be gathered by reading of histories . . ." wrote John Brende to the Duke of Northumberland:

---

[1] "*The Schole Master Or plain and perfite way of teaching Children . . . the Latin Tongue, but specially purposed for the private bringing up of Yuth in Jentlemen and Noblemen's houses. . . . By Roger Ascham. Anno 1571. . . .*" Dedicated by Ascham's widow to Lord Burghley (who as Sir William Cecil had been one of Queen Jane's supporters).
(Reprint 1761, "*The English Works of Roger Ascham.*")

[2] Translated by Howard, "*Lady Jane Grey and her Times*" (1825) pp. 168-171.

"I therefore, *having always desired that we Englishmen might be found as forward in that behalf as other nations, which have brought all worthy histories into their natural language,* did a few years past attempt the translation of Quintus Curtius, and lately upon an occasion performed and accomplished the same. Which author treating of the acts of the great Alexander, . . . who prospered so in his proceedings that . . . he never encountered with any enemies that he overcame not, . . . this so worthy a matter I thought good to dedicate unto your Grace . . . considering the qualities of your Grace, which seem to have certain affinity and resemblance with such as were the very virtues in Alexander. For Arianus writeth of him that he was of a seemly stature, bold in his enterprises, . . . moderate in pleasures, wise in counsel, and prudent to foresee things. That he was excellent in conducting of an army, most politic in ordering of his battles, that he could encourage his soldiers with apt words, and when need required take part in their peril. What parts of this be in your Grace, let them judge that have known your excellent service done, both in the time of the King's Majesty that now is and also in his father's days of most famous memory." [1]

But so little is any of the "excellent service" of John Viscount L'Isle Earl of Warwick and Duke of Northumberland remembered to-day, that Brende's tribute might seem like hollow flattery if we did not turn to the words of the chief describer of the battle of Musselburgh: a victory against such heavy odds "*as neither the like hath been seen with eyes by any in this age now, nor read of in story for any years past.*"[1] It appeared marvellous that the Scots, "so great a power, so well picked and appointed, so restful and fresh, so much encouraged by hope of foreign aid," were "at their own doors . . . put to flight and slain by so small a number, so greatly travailed and weary, so far within their enemies land and out of their own, without hope either of refuge or rescue."[2]

Though to the Earl of Hertford, Duke of Somerset was given the main credit for this "most Triumphant Journey" in 1547 to punish the Scots for their refusal to betroth the infant Queen Mary to the boy-King Edward, the honours that accrued to "my Lord the Earl of Warwick" were a fitting sequel to his previous services. When "Lord Lieutenant of Boulogne" just after it was captured in 1544, though assailed on all sides, and slenderly garrisoned, Viscount L'Isle, as he then was, "did so valiantly defend it against the Dauphin" whose army was "reckoned at fifty-two thousand," that both his valour and resourcefulness were proved. The next year, 1545, "the great Fleet of France, with all their galleys, . . . came to invade our coasts;" but L'Isle as Lord High Admiral "proferred battle unto the French Admiral and all his Navy . . . repelled their force, and made them fain to fly back again home."

The same year, with only 7,000, of which "not 5,000 landed," he "burnt Tréport and divers villages there beside . . . " And in 1546, when "an honourable and friendly peace was concluded between France and us," the victorious Lord High Admiral was "sent over by our late Sovereign Lord, to receive the oath . . . for confirmation of the peace." On this embassy he did "nobly . . . for the King's Majesty's honour" and the "estimation of the realm." And "all men" must "confess" that there were "*very few things . . . that have been anywhere in these wars against the enemy either nobly attempted or valiantly achieved, wherein his Lordship hath not been either the first then in office, or the foremost in danger.*"

---

[1] A ij (Spelling modernised).

[2] W. Patten, "*The Expedition into Scotland*" etc. 1548. (full title, p. 12). Reprint, Arber's "*English Garner.*" Vol. III. 1880. p. 56.

His "prowess abroad" remained a notable factor in his "honour at home."[1] And his state entry into Paris as Lord High Admiral of England and Ambassador of a triumphant peace, was long remembered on both sides of the channel.[2]

His continuous success, both in Court and Camp, gave him an air of invincibility; and his conduct at Musselburgh was worthy of his previous reputation. When the Scots Infantry were standing at defence, shoulder to shoulder "crossing their pike points," they were massed so thickly that it seemed as if to break their ranks would be as difficult as for "a bare finger" to "pass through the skin of an angry hedgehog" But "the Lord Marshal," William Lord Grey of Wilton, General of the Horse, was not to be daunted. He came full in their faces from the hill's side, and charged:

> "Herewith," says William Patten, who saw it, the contest "waxed very hot on both sides, with pitiful cries, horrible roar, and terrible thundering of guns . . . The day darkened above head, with smoke of shot . . . The bullets, pellets, and arrows flying . . . so thick . . . that nowhere was there any surety of safety. Every man stricken with a dreadful fear, not so much perchance of death as of hurt: . . . assured cruelty at the enemy's hands, without hope of mercy" (the Scots having vowed to slay all prisoners).
>
> "The whole force of the field, on both sides, . . . to the eye and ear" was "so deadly, lamentable, outrageous, terribly confused," that had it not been that "the equity of our quarrel" gave cause for courage, "the very horror of the thing" had been enough to "make any man to forget both prowess and policy."[3]

It was when our men were falling into disorder, that Warwick who had "right nobly conducted" the advance-guard into action, "did very nobly encourage and comfort them, bidding them '*Pluck up their hearts, and show themselves men . . . As for victory, it was in their own hands, . . . and he himself, even there, would live and die among them.*'"[4]

---

[1] (pp. 89-90). "*The Expedition into Scotland of the most worthily fortunate Prince Edward, Duke of Somerset, uncle unto our most noble sovereign Lord, the Kings Majesty Edward the VI, Governor of His Highness person, and Protector of His Graces realms, dominions and subjects, made in the First year of His Majesty's most prosperous reign and set out by way of Diary by W. Patten, Londoner. Vivat Victor*" (Colophon) "Imprinted in London, the last day of June, in the second year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord, King Edward the VI; by Richard Grafton, Printer to his most royal Majesty, MDXLVIII. Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum." (Reprint, Arber's *English Garner* (1880), Vol. III. pp. 51-155)

[2] "In the Month of April . . . an assemble was had between both the realmes of England and Fraunce at Guysnes and Arde. There were foi the King of Englande the Earl of Hertford" (afterwards Duke of Somerset) "the Lord Lisle, Admirall" (afterwards Earl of Warwick and Duke of Northumberland), "Sir William Paget, Secretary, and Dr. Wotton Deane of Canterbury... After long debating . . . a peace was concluded, and proclaimed . . . in the Citie of London on Whitsonday with sound of Trompettes. And lykewise it was done in Parys and Roan." Then "the Viscount Lisle Admyrall, wyth the Bishop of Duresme, and dyvers Lordes, and above an hundred Gentlemen, all in Velvet coates and cheynes of golde, went to Parys, and were there solemnly feasted . . ." Grafton's "*Chronicle at large*" etc. 1569. Under "the XXXVIIJ yere" of Henry VIII (1546).

[3] "*Exped. into Scotland,*" London, 1548. Ed: 1880, p. 111.

[4] Ib. p. 119. He was then aged 46. Penshurst MS describes him as "Lieutenant Generall . . . of both Horse and Foot, under the Duke of Somersett." Collins, I. 27-28.

We do not know whether " John Bren " who in the Musselburgh campaign of 1547 was " Captain of the Pioneers," 1,400 men,[1] is identical with John Brende who in 1553 compared Northumberland to Alexander of Macedon. But a few typical passages from the translation of Quintus Curtius will suffice to indicate both the manner characteristic of Brende and the matter in which he and his contemporaries delighted: For example, how when Alexander, aged twenty, heard that the Athenians had revolted he

> "so sodeynly had prepared an Army, wherewith he came upon them, that they could scarcely believe they sawe him present, of whose commyng they had not herd before"[2]
>
> "So great was the celeritie that this young man used, and his diligence so effectual in all his doiynges, that he brought all in feare of hym. . . ."
>
> The Athenians "extolled with prayses Alexanders chyldhoode, whyche before they had despysed, above the vertue of the ancient conquerors."[3]
>
> "It cannot be expressed, besides the natural veneratio(n) the Macedons use to beare unto their prince, in what reverence they especially had Alexander; and how fervently they loved him."[4]
>
> "They had conceived of him an opinion that he could enterprise nothing but that it was furthered by God, and fortune was so favourable to him that his rashnes was always encrease of his glory. His age besydes scarcely rype, and yet sufficient for so greate thinges, dyd marveylously set forth all his doings." He was "most acceptable to the souldiers," because of his "exercising of his body amongst the(m), his apparel not differing from the common sort, with his courage and forwardness in the fielde: whych giftes geven him of nature, and thi(n)ges done of policy, did get him both love and reverence of his people."[5] No men would refuse to follow when "they saw the kynge begin."[6]

At the battle of Musselburgh, none had " refused to follow " where Warwick with his " accustomed valiance " set them the example of a resolute courage.[7] Yet he, whom John Brende so fondly likened to Alexander the Great for " bold enterprises," moderation in pleasures, and vigour in service, was, within a few weeks of this eulogy, down in the dust, never to rise again. And his conqueror was not to be a foreign invader; but " the Ladie Marie," daughter and sister of the Kings he had often loyally defended both by sea and land.

---

[1] Ib. p. 76.

[2] f. 7, verso. [3] f. 8. [4] f. 20, verso. [5] f. 27. [6] f. 177.

[7] Patten (1548) op. cit. ante.

PROLOGUE.

Section III. "*Jane the Queen*" July, 1553.

King Edward had been dangerously ill when his Royal Letters Patent conferring the Crown upon his cousin Lady Jane were signed by him on the 21st of June. On the 6th of July he died in the arms of Sir Henry Sidney, son-in-law of the Duke of Northumberland. Two days elapsed before the Lord Mayor of London was bidden to Greenwich Palace, with six aldermen, six merchants of the Staple and six "merchant adventurers." Even then, though informed of the late King's bequest to Lady Jane, they were "charged to keep it secret."

When Lady Jane's father the Duke of Suffolk, and the Duke of Northumberland, with the Earl of Pembroke and others of the Privy Council announced to her that she was chosen Queen of England, she answered that her cousins Mary and Elizabeth had a prior right. But her father, after informing her of King Edward's Will, the approval of the entire Council, and the concurrence of the magistrates and citizens of London, fell upon his knees and did homage to her as his Sovereign. She again demurred; until her husband, at the bidding of his father the Duke of Northumberland, told her that she could not refuse. Both he and she being infants in the eye of the law, they were at the absolute disposal of their parents.

The new Sovereign, according to ancient custom, was escorted first to the Tower of London; her erstwhile "taunting" mother acting as one of her train bearers.[1]

At six the same evening two Heralds, with a trumpeter, declaimed in Cheapside and Fleet Street a greeting "to all our loving, faithful, and obedient subjects," from "*Jane, by the Grace of God, Queen of England, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith and of the Church of England, and also of Ireland, under Christ on earth the supreme head.*"[2]

Explaining how King Edward, "in the 7th year of his reign, *in the presence of the most part of his Nobles, his Councillors, Judges, and divers other grave and sage persons,*"

[1] When the events of 1553-54 were put on the stage in the next reign, in "*The most Famous History of Sir Thomas Wyat*" (full title, p 36, sec: vi), Lady Jane was rightly depicted as wishing to refuse the royal rank forced upon her. She says to her husband, "I do enjoy a Kingdom having thee."

In this play, the Earl of Arundel first informs her of her elevation to the throne:

"*Arun(del)* Honour and happy reign
Attend the new Majesty of England.
Jan(e). To whom, my Lord, bends this your awe?
Arun(del). To Your Grace, dread Sovereign.
You are by the King's will and the consent
Of all the Lords chosen for our Queen.
Jan(e). O God! methinks you sing my death."

And as they are escorted to the Tower by their parents and other peers, Lord Guildford Dudley exclaims:

"Lo we ascend unto our chairs of State
Like funeral coffins."

[2] Cotton MS Gal. F. VI, 194, and Lansdowne MS, 198. Almost all in extenso, Howard, (pp. 236-243).

had selected her to bear "*the Imperiall Crowne of this realme,*" the reasons were given why the daughters of King Henry VIII were excluded; and how, to prevent "this noble free realme" from falling into "the tyrannie and servitude of the Bishop of Rome," "Our most dere and entirely beloved cosin Edward the 6th" had conferred the succession upon her.

"That the Lady Jane should be heire to the Crowne of England," and that her "heirs male" should succeed her was amazing news to the outside world.[1] But the proclamation ended confidently, "like as We for our own part shall, by God's grace, show ourselves a most gracious and benign Sovereign Queen and Lady to all our good subjects, . . . so we mistrust not but they . . . will . . . at all times and in all cases shew themselves . . . most faithfull, loving and obedient . . . Witness Ourself at our Towre of London, this tenth day of Julie, in the first yere of our reigne."[2]

That her reign was to last only nine days was little suspected by the French Ambassador, Noailles, who sent the King of France a translation of the manifesto. In telling King Henry that on Tuesday the 11th of July it had been circulated in many parts of the City, he described Queen Jane as "virtuous, wise, and beautiful."[3]

Meanwhile the Princess Mary, at Hunsdon in Hertfordshire, had received a warning that her brother was dying; and anticipating her own exclusion from the succession, she had ridden in hot haste to Framlingham, whence she could escape abroad by sea if necessary. But as soon as the tidings reached her of King Edward's death, she sent word to the chief persons in the county, announcing herself Queen and commanding their immediate attendance. To the Privy Council she had written asserting her right by law to succeed her brother; expressing astonishment that his death had not been officially announced to her. The Councillors, "from the Tower of London this ix of July 1553," answered,

> "Madam. We have received your letters . . declaring your supposed title, which you judge yourself to have to the Imperial Crown of this Realm and all the Dominions thereunto belonging.[4] For answer whereof, this is to advertise you that forasmuch as *our Sovereign Lady Queen Jane, is, after the death of our Sovereign Lord Edward VI, . . . invested and possessed with the just and right title in the Imperial Crown, . . not only by good order of old auncient good laws, . . . but also by our late Sovereign Lord's Letters Patent, signed with his own hand, and sealed with the Great Seal of England, in presence of the most part of the nobles, counsellors, judges, with divers other grave and sage persons assenting, . . .* We must . . . advertise you that forasmuch as the divorce made between the King . . . Henry VIII and the Lady Katherine your mother, was necessary, . . . and confirmed also by the sundry Acts of Parliament remaining yet in force, and

---

[1] Harl: MS 194. Incomplete; "a pocket diary . . from July 1553 to October 1554." In Queen Elizabeth's reign it belonged to John Stow, who transferred many parts of it to his Annals. Published in 1850 by the Camden Society as "*The Chronicle of Queen Jane, and of Two Years of Queen Mary. And especially of the Rebellion of Sir Thomas Wyatt, written by a Resident in the Tower of London*" Excellently edited by John Gough Nichols, F.S.A., with appendices and notes. The identity of the diarist is uncertain, but Nichols inferred he was an officer of the Mint, living in the Tower.

[2] Lansdowne MS 1236. 19 (Howard p. 232).

[3] "*Ambassades,*" Vol. II. p. 57 (J. G. Nichols, "*Queen Jane,*" &c. p. 107).

[4] i.e. Ireland, Calais, etc.

thereby you are justly made illegitimate and uninheritable to the Crown Imperial of this Realm, . . . ," you should *"surcease by any practice to vex and molest any of our Sovereign Queen Jane her subjects from their true faith and allegiance to her Grace. . ."* [1]

The Dukes of Northumberland and Suffolk, the Marquesses of Winchester and Northampton, the Earls of Arundel, Shrewsbury, Pembroke, Bedford, and Huntingdon; Lords Cobham, Rich, Darcy, and Cheyney; Sir John Gates, Sir William "Cicelle," Sir John Cheke (and all the others who put their names to this disdainful epistle,) ended by assuring the "Lady Mary" that they would do her any service they could "with duty;" and would be her "ladyship's friend's" provided she would show herself a "*quiet and obedient subject.*"

On the same day that the oaths of allegiance were taken to Queen Jane, Ridley, Bishop of London, preaching at Paul's Cross, stated that "religion" and the nation would have come to destruction had the Lady Mary been permitted to ascend the throne.

Anticipating she might try to escape to the Continent, Northumberland ordered six or seven ships of the Royal Navy to the North Sea, to watch for and intercept her. By violence of weather they were driven into Yarmouth, just as one of the Norfolk Catholic magnates, Sir Henry Jerningham, was raising troops for Princess Mary. Partly by threats, also by promises, Jerningham succeeded in obtaining control of the ships, from which he furnished her forces with artillery, ammunition, and gunners, to defend her against Northumberland, who was understood to be on the march to take her prisoner. A Spanish merchant, Antonio de Guaras, then in England, alleges that even prior to this, the irregular army of Mary had increased to "upwards of twenty thousand men." And though she had then only "five or six persons of rank" and "fifteen or twenty knights" to control this force, they were "resolute to live or die with her Highness."

> ". . . to encourage her people . . . her Highness commanded that all her host should put itself in battle array." She then "came to the camp, where all, with shouts and acclamations, casting their helmets into the air, . . . showed their joy . . . crying '*Long life our good Queen Mary,*' and '*Death to traitors.*' And by reason of the great outcry . . . , and the many discharges of artillery and arquebusses, the Queen was obliged to alight to review the troops," because of "the fright and much rearing of the palfrey she rode: And she inspected the whole camp, which was about a mile long, on foot, with her nobles and ladies, thanking the soldiers for their good will."[2]

Hearing that the Earl of Bath, Sir Thomas Wharton, Sir John Mordant, and others of quality had joined the Princess Mary, and that the Earl of Sussex and his son Henry Radclyffe were on the way to her, the Privy Council understood that her resistance might be formidable. And it was unanimously carried that the Duke of Suffolk should be sent "with other Noblemen and Forces, to fetch the Lady Mary to the Tower. But the Queen his daughter, with many tears, besought the whole Council that her Father might remain with her."[3]

[1] In extenso, Nicolas, pp. xlviii-1. The official correspondence of "Jane the Quene" was printed by Ellis "*Original Letters*" Vol II; and by Nicholas; from the originals at Loseley; and from Harl: MS 416. f. 30; and 523, f. 12-13, under the inappropriate title of "*The Literary Remains of Lady Jane Grey,*" 1825. The official letters were drafted by the Council for her to sign.

[2] *Relacion muy verdadera,*" etc. 1553. Medina del Campo, 1554.

[3] Collins, "*Letters and Memorials,*" p. 22; Stow's *Annals*, p. 610.

The Duke of Northumberland was then requested to undertake Suffolk's task; it being urged that he was "the best Man of War in the Realm, as well for the ordering

> of his Camps and Soldiers, both in Battle and in their Tents; as also by Experience, knowledge and Wisdom he could animate his Army with witty Persuasion; and also pacify and allay his Enemies Pride with his stout Courage:"

his accepting the command making it likely they would forego their intended resistance. "Finally," said the Council, "the Queen will in no wise grant that her Father should take it on him . . . ."[1] Northumberland was uneasy as to how some of the Council might behave in his absence. He had not calculated upon being sent away from the young Queen at so critical a juncture. But having been mainly instrumental in creating her sovereignty, to have opposed her wishes, and forced Suffolk into the field, was out of the question. And so the experienced warrior, aged fifty-three, bowed to the alleged requirements of the sixteen-year-old Queen.

With characteristic promptitude, "the very same night," he sent for such peers as were to accompany him; "and the next morning early called for his Armour at Durham Place, where he appointed all his Retinue to meet; and by his order, carts laden with Ammunition, etc. and field pieces were sent forward."[2] He then went to the Tower, and adjured the Council that he and the others appointed to fight "for the establishing of the Queen's Highness," must not only venture their lives but were leaving their "children and families" with those who stayed behind.

> ". . . if we thought ye would, through malice, conspiracy, or dissention leave us, your friends, in the briars, and betray us, *we could as well sundry ways foresee and provide for our own safeguards, as any of you, by betraying us, can do for yours.*
>
> *"But now upon the only trust and faithfulness of your honours, . . . we do hazard our lives; which trust and promise if ye shall violate, . . . yet shall not God count you innocent of our blood. . . ."*[3]

The Councillors protested their entire devotion. "'I pray God it be;' said the Duke. 'Let us go to dinner.'"[4]

After dining, he "went unto the Queen," who had already signed his Commission. This was quickly sealed and delivered to him; whereon he and the other peers took leave of the Sovereign. As he came back through the Council Chamber, the Earl of Arundel was the loudest in expressions of regret at not being able to accompany him to fight; "he could find it in his heart to spend his blood even at his feet."

The Duke, expending no more words, went back to Durham Place, and thence to Whitehall. His troops were mustered that night; and the next morning he set out betimes with a small force; the Council having undertaken that more men and ammunition should be despatched speedily after him.

As he rode with his followers through Shoreditch, a premonition of disaster came over him again: "The people press to see us; but not one saith God speed us," he remarked aside to Grey.[5]

---

[1] Stow's *Annals,* p. 610.

[2] Ib. [3] Ib. pp. 23, and 610, 611. [4] Ib.

[5] Ib: p. 624.

On the 16th of July, from the Tower a letter of " Jane the Queene " was sent out by the Council, admonishing Sheriffs, Justices, and gentlemen to stand firm in their *" duty to the Imperial Crowne of this Realm, whereof We have justly the possession . . . "*

> *". . . the nobility of Our Realm, Our Council, Our prelates, Our judges and learned men, good wise, godly and natural subjects " being " ready to adventure their lives, lands, and goods for Our defence . . . your Sovereign Lady who mean[s] to preserve this Crown of England in the Royal Blood and out of the dominion of strangers and Papists, . . . against the invasions and violence of all foreign or inward enemies or rebels."*[1]

Presumably, when this was signed, some of the Councillors still anticipated that the Lady Mary's forces would bite the dust. But when Northumberland reached Bury St. Edmunds he did not find the promised reinforcements; and at Cambridge he was informed that within a short while after his departure, Arundel, Paget and many others of the Council, had " ridden post " to join the Lady Mary.

Hitherto Northumberland had been famous for his victories ashore and afloat. But, as Guaras expresses it, the Duke was " so thunderstruck " on hearing how these Councillors had abandoned the cause of Queen Jane, that he " took down and tore with his own hands " the proclamation " which so few days before he had caused to be published, and posted at the corners of the streets " in Cambridge.[2] Next, at the Market Cross, he himself proclaimed Mary as Queen of England.

Within an hour he received a letter from the Council, offering to be " humble suitor to our Sovereign Lady the Queen's Highness for him and his " if he would become " quiet and obedient." But otherwise, he and all who supported him would be forthwith proclaimed traitors, and prosecuted " to the uttermost." This was signed by the Archbishop of Canterbury (Cranmer), the Lord Chancellor (Bishop of Ely), the Lord Treasurer (Marquess of Winchester), and by Queen Jane's father; as also by other principal Councillors, including Secretaries of State.

There was nothing for the Duke to do but " give every man leave to depart." He was arrested; but he said to the Sergeant at Arms " You do me wrong to withdraw my liberty." And his habit of command was still strong enough for him to be obeyed. But the same night, when the Earl of Arundel arrived and the Duke greeted him with " For the love of God, consider *I have done nothing but by the consent of you and the whole Council,"* Arundel answered " My Lord, I am sent hither by the Queen's Majesty, and in her name I arrest you."

---

[1] " Geven undre o' Signet at o' Tower of London, the XVIth day of July, in the first yere of our Raigne." Orig: In extenso, *" The Loseley Manuscripts,"* ed: Kempe (1835) pp. 124-6. Presumably a circular letter composed for sending to all the Sheriffs etc. This at Loseley was to the County of Surrey. Such an order on behalf of Jane the Queen should be noticed, because Grafton in his *" Chronicle at large "* (dedicated in 1569 to Sir William Cecil) does not include Jane among Sovereigns of England, but treats of her under *" Edward the Sixt. The vij yere."*

[2] *" Relacion muy verdadera,"* etc. 1553.

This was the very peer who, only a few days before, had been so loudly asserting his willingness to die at Northumberland's feet.[1]

When on the 25th of July Northumberland was brought captive to the Tower, an armed force had charge of him; and of "the Earl of Warwick, his eldest son, and two other of his sons who had also been with him in the Camp, and a brother of his" (Sir Andrew Dudley) "and the Captain of his Guard . . ."[2]

The people, shouting "Death to the traitors, and long live the true Queen," hurled "volleys of stones at them. And had it not been for the strong guard of soldiers it

---

[1] Stow's *Annals* tells the story as supra; and as a citizen of London he must often have heard it discussed. But Grafton, "*Chronicle at large,*" also "citizen of London," does not say that Northumberland disbanded his soldiers, but that "they that had been of late the most forward" were "the first to fly from him." And so "every man shifting for himself," the Duke, so lately surrounded by "such multitude of souldiors," found himself "forsaken of all but a few." It seems more likely that they scattered by his order than that they all ran away. In the next reign, when his tragedy was put on the stage (in the same chronicle play with the life and death of Sir Thomas Wyatt,) the Duke is shown as hardly able to believe his son Lord Ambrose who was the first to tell him that the Council had deserted him:

"*Nor(thumberland).* We in ourselves are strong.
Amb(rose). In Baynards Castle was a council held.
Whither the Mayor and Sheriffs did resort,
And twas concluded to proclaim Queen Mary.
Nor(thumberland). Then they revoke the allegiance from my daughter
And give it to another.
Amb(rose). True, my thrice honoured Father.
Besides, my brother Guilford and his wife.
Where she was proclaimed Queen, are now
Close prisoners. . . .
Nor(thumberland). God take them to His mercy . . . .
Poor innocent souls, they both from guilt are free."

He then calls a Herald to proclaim "Mary by the Grace of God Queen of England, France, Ireland, Defendress of the Faith."

Enter the Earl of Arundel, whom Lord Ambrose salutes as the Duke's "honoured friend." But Arundel retorts

"I am no friend to traitors: in my most high
And princely Sovereign's name
I do arrest your Honour of high Treason
Nor(thumberland). A Traitor, Arundel? Have I not your hand
In my Commission. Let me peruse it . . .
Arun(del). It may be that it hath pleased her Majesty
To pardon us, and for to punish you."

Northumberland submits; and not ignobly; for he shows no concern for himself, only for those whom he fears will suffer through him. In real life he clung to the hope of pardon up to the last. But in the play he says to Arundel:

". . . come to my arraignment, then to death.
The Queen and you have long aimed at my head.
If to my children she sweet grace extend,
My soul hath peace, and I embrace the end"

The Famovs History of Sir Thomas Wyat, see sec: vi.

[2] Guaras, p. 99. Grafton's "*Chronicle at large*" (1569) dates it the 27th, that Northumberland with his eldest son John Earl of Warwick, "and two other of his sonnes and divers other Lords and Gentlemen, . . . William Marquesse of Northampton, Frauncis Earle of Huntingdon, Sir John Gates Captain of the Guard to King Edward . . Sir Thomas Palmer, and other mo(re)" were "brought prisoners from Cambridge . . . by the Erle of Arondell, and so conveighed to the Tower of London." (Opening parag: of reign of Queen Mary.)

would not have been possible to bring Northumberland to prison alive."[1] A doggrel ballad afterwards related

> " And whereas he went forth full glad,
> As Prince both stout and bold,
> He came a traytour in full sad . . .
> The same whom al before did feare . . .
> The people would in pieces tear . . ."[2]

An anonymous libel, describing his fall, adds that he was " particularly obnoxious " to Germans, and that when the Germans in England understood his rule to be ended, they " placed two pipes of wine in the public street before the gates of the Steelyard . . . and gave them to the people to drink . . . and thus the whole day was passed in rejoicing . . ."[3]

" A few days after, the news of the Queen's approach was announced . . . She . . . entered London on the 3rd of August; having been met by the leading men of the Kingdom and the City," she " was conducted to the Tower in full regal pomp, with the sceptre, gold sword, and other insignia of the kingdom carried before her, attended by five thousand horsemen and a train of Courtiers, . . . the people all applauding, and praying for the prosperity of her reign . . ."

Of more than 1,500 courtiers who came with her, the least important " wore a velvet suit " and gold chain; and many were most " sumptuously " arrayed.

With about a hundred ladies she lodged herself in the Tower, " where all her prisoners were in confinement; and there was such a discharge of ordnance, that the like has not been heard these many years."[4]

There ensued a Requiem Mass for the Protestant King Edward VI, whereat says the Spanish merchant, " the Catholics showed additional joy, and the heretics great dejection," and, a few days later, the Queen " repaired to the Castle of Richmond, where she now is with a Court of nobles and ladies, who have come to pay their homage . . ."[5]

---

[1] Grafton, "*Chronicle at large.*"

[2] "*A inuectyue agaynst Treason.*" By T.W. "*Imprinted at London by Roger Madeley, and are to be solde in Paules Church yearde at the sygne of the Starre.*" B.L. Facsimile in Garnett's Guaras, 1892.

[3] "*Narratio Historica vicissitvdinis rervm quae in inclyto Britanniae Regno acciderunt, Anno Domini 1553. Mense Iulio. Scripta, P.V. 1553*" With genealogical table. No name of printer or place of printing. Reprinted, London, 1865, with translation and preface by J. Ph. Berjeau, who, accepting its allegation that the Duke of Northumberland poisoned King Edward, called the libel " this valuable historical document." As it displays marked animus against the Protestant Queen Jane, it is eccentric of the editor to suggest as the writer Peter Vermigli (Peter Martyr) a Protestant parson, and a protégé of Sir Wm Cecil. The editor says, " in the year 1553 Vermilly was in England,

> where he had been called as early as 1547 to fill the Chair of Divinity at the University of Oxford. He left England of his own accord in 1553, which coincides with what is said in the tract."

But the writer of the tract refers to himself as a *visitor* in England in 1553, obliged soon to return to some official duty at Bruges (*sed Brugis aliquandiu officij causa* etc); whereas Peter Martyr, a six-years *resident* in England, went abroad in 1553 because he realised that a Protestant theologian he would not be able to remain at Oxford under Queen Mary.

[4] "*Relacion muy verdadera,*" pp. 99-100.

[5] Ib. p. 101.

" Jane the Queen " surrendered with equanimity a power she had accepted unwillingly. But her griefs began when, by Queen Mary's order, she was separated from her husband.

It was to be a case of " Woe to the vanquished;" the Lady Jane's youth, beauty, and learning, availing her not at all. Nor was her father-in-law's plea that she and her husband had acted under his command without option of disobedience, accepted by the victor. Neither was the Duke to be able to save himself. And even to this day it is not easy to fathom the process of mind which led the erstwhile mighty Northumberland to imagine that by tearing up his proclamation of Queen Jane, and crying " God save Queen Mary " he would gain pardon from the offended daughter of Henry the Eighth.[1]

---

[1] In "*The Famous History of Sir Thomas Wyat*" (by Dekker and Webster) Lady Jane and her husband, before being commanded to "part lodgings," are depicted as meeting in the presence of the Lieutenant of the Tower:

"*Jane*. Godmorrow to my Lord, my lovely Dudley.
Why do you look so sad, my dearest Lord?
Guil[*dford*]. Nay why doth Jane thus with a heavy eye
And a dejected look, salute the day.
Sorrow doth ill become thy silver brow;
Sad Grief lies dead so long as thou lives[t] fair . . . .
Jane. My looks (my Love) is sorted with my heart."

Together they peer through the iron bars of the window and wonder why Tower Hill is so thronged with people.

"*Guil*[*dford*] . . . See you how the people stand in heaps.
. . . . As if preparèd for a tragedy."

The Lieutenant then lets him know that the tragedy is the execution of "great Northumberland."

"*Guil*[*dford*]. Peace rest his soul, his sins be buried in his grave,
And not remembered in his epitaph."

The Duke of Suffolk is then brought in prisoner. Actually Suffolk did not suffer till six months later. But for dramatic purposes the events are made to come crashing so swiftly upon each other that the action appears to take place all within a few days.

Section IV. "The Doleful News of Death." *The Tragedy of John Duke of Northumberland.* August, 1553.

> "The tall Cedars on the mountain tops are shaken and overturned with tempest, when low shrubs of the valley are in quiet. So likewise the meanest estate stands upon Brasse, the highest upon Glasse: The way upward is craggie; downward icie. Men climb by degrees, but fall at once . . . "[1]

This saying of an Italian statesman, about the time of the battle of Pavia (1525), was to be exemplified anew in the person of John, Duke of Northumberland; when he who in 1547 had been one of the chief heroes of the invasive war against Scotland, now in his native England was irrevocably ruined. The explanation given afterwards by an Elizabethan Protestant divine is that "the English are in their due respects to their Prince so loyally constant" that not even Queen Mary's religion being contrary to that of a large number could "alienate their affections from their lawful Sovereign: whereof the miserable case of Lady Jane" is "a memorable example." For although her faction had laid a strong foundation, . . . yet as soon as the true and undoubted Heire did but manifest her resolution" to vindicate her own right, the Duke of Northumberland's power vanished "in the twinckling of an eye."[2] And whereas his paramount influence over the late King had provoked jealousy and distrust, the "Lady Marie" had not as yet offended any man; and her misfortunes invited compassion. The Spanish merchant, Guaras, writing from London, 1st September, 1553, described her to the Duke of Alburquerque as having been "*so patient . . . so exemplary, and Catholic*" during her early troubles, that now in her triumph the popular admiration verged on idolatry.[3] Few if any Catholics can have been aware of the terms in which she previously had surrendered to King Henry VIII, "putting my soul into your direction":[4]

> "Most humbly prostrate before the feet of your most excellent Majesty . . . mine heavy and fearful heart dare not presume to call you father . . . I acknowledge myself

---

[1] "*Aphorismes Civill and Militarie Amplified with Authorities, and exemplified with Historie, out of the first Quarterne of Fr. Guicciardine.*" Lib: 4. Aph. XL. Translated by Robert Dallington (an Elizabethan). 1st ed: 1613; 2nd ed: 1629, p. 277.

[2] "*Annales of England. Containing the Reignes of Henry the Eight. Edward the Sixt. Queene Mary. Written in Latin by the Right Honourable and Right Reverend Father in God, Francis Lord Bishop of Hereford Thus Englished, corrected and inlarged with the author's consent, by Morgan Godwyn. . . . London. Printed by A. Islip and W. Stansby, 1630,*" p. 266.

[3] "*Relacion,*" etc, p. 97.

[4] Dated "from Hownsdem (Hunsdon) this Thursday at xj of the clocke at night" (N.D. 1536). Vide 17th century copy, Cotton MS. Titus CVII. f. 179 (new ref: old f. 176 and 174). Also Harl: MS. 283. f. 111^b (from which last it is epitomised in *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, Vol. X, No. 1136). Howard; "*Lady Jane Grey and her Times,*" 1822, pp. 58-62, was the first to print both letter and Confession in extenso. Only a fragment of the original letter now exists. Cotton MS. Otho CX. ff. 282^a & b old notation (new ff. 289^a & b). This is badly burnt, and the original of the accompanying Confession perished also by fire. There is not, however, any reason to suppose the copies other than exact.

> to have most unkindly and unnaturally offended your most excellent Highnes; . . . offences . . . in me a thousand-fold more grievous than they could be in any other living person. . ."

Undertaking that King Henry should "in all things from henceforth direct my conscience," she had acclaimed him not only as "my Soverayne Lord and King in the Imperiall Crowne of this realme of England;" but also accepted "the King's Highness to be supreme head in earth, under Christ, of the Church of England." Rejecting "*the Bishop of Rome's pretended authority . . . heretofore usurped*" in England, she vowed to "keep, observe, advance and mayntayne" King Henry's statutes with all her "*power, force, and qualityes . . . during my lyfe*:" and did "*utterly renounce and forsake*" the "Bishop of Rome's" laws, or any title or advantage that "shall or can be devised" in her own favour either then or "in any wise hereafter." She even consented to say that "the marriage heretofore had between his Majesty and my mother the late Princess Dowager, was by God's laws and man's law incestuous and unlawful."[1] But now,—after all this humiliation,—she was at last in a unique position of power and command: the first female Sovereign since the days of Queen Boadicea. And within a week of her entry into London, the Duke of Northumberland was arraigned in Westminster Hall.

"These proceedings are here conducted with great dignity," wrote Guaras, to Don Beltrán de La Cueva, Duque de Alburquerque. "A stage was erected . . . very majestic and richly tapestried, and in the midst of it a rich canopy, and under this a bench with rich cushions, and carpets at its foot" (for the peers). The Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshal of England, [erstwhile captive in the Tower,] presided, as Lord High Steward. "Immediately it was commanded that the prisoner should be produced; and so the Duke of Northumberland was brought forth." He came in "with a good and intrepid countenance . . . ;" but the peers looking upon him with "severe aspect," scarcely returned his salutation. And "forthwith three accusations of treason were brought against him."[2]

Though he "confessed grievously to have offended," he asked his judges whether he, who had acted under authority of the Sovereign and Council, and by warrant under the Great Seal of England,—doing nothing without that authority,—could justly be charged with treason? Secondly, whether such men as had been associated with those actions, and "by whose letters and commandments he was directed, were suitable persons to be his judges?"

They answered that the Great Seal he claimed as his warrant was the Seal of a "usurper"; and that even if some of his judges had been as deeply concerned as himself, there had not been any attainder brought against them, so their right to judge him was beyond challenge!

The hideous penalty for High Treason was pronounced upon him: namely, to be hanged, not to death but cut down and mutilated, and his heart taken out of his living body. He petitioned for an end more befitting a nobleman; and besought the peers to

---

[1] "*The Confession of me, the Lady Marye, made upon certayne pointes and articles . . . with a due Conformitie of obedience,*" etc., etc. (See p. 22, Note 4.)

[2] "*Relacion,*" pp. 101-2, omits the particulars of the Duke's speeches There is a fuller English account, B.M. Harl: MS. 2194. f. 22. Cit. Howard's "*Lady Jane Grey,*" 1822, pp. 315-17.

plead with Her Majesty to pardon Lady Jane and his children, who had acted only in obedience to him, wherefore his life should be sufficient sacrifice for them all. But the judges proceeded to pass a similar sentence upon his eldest son John, Earl of Warwick, who listened calmly to the horrible pronouncement; and asked " only one favour ": that as his goods were forfeited to the Crown, Her Majesty would pay his debts out of his own revenues.

William Parr, Marquess of Northampton, also was arraigned and condemned; and the three noblemen were then escorted back to the Tower, where the Duke's younger sons, Lord Ambrose, Lord Henry, Lord Guildford and Lord Robert Dudley were all in captivity, as was his Duchess, and the Nine-Days' Queen.

Northumberland had certainly not exerted his own influence with King Edward for mercy upon the Duke of Somerset two years before. Rather he had encouraged the King to take the severest view of Somerset's alleged offences. But when Northumberland himself was the central figure in the tragedy, mercy appeared to him as the most regal of all virtues. Bidden on the 19th of August, the day after his condemnation, to prepare at once for the " deadly stroke," he wrote to his former friend and fellow Councillor Arundel, urging that Queen Mary should

> " consider how little profit my dead and dismembered body can bring to her; but how great and glorious an honour it will be in all posterities when the report shall be that so gracious and mighty a Queen hath granted life to so miserable and penitent an object. . . .
>
> " Oh good my Lord, *remember how sweet life is, and how bitter the contrary.* Spare not your speech and pains; for God, I hope, hath not shut out all hopes of comfort from me in that gracious, princely, and woman-like heart: but that as the doleful news of death hath wounded to death both my soul and body, so the comfortable news of life shall be as a new resurrection to my woeful heart."

But he seems to have dreaded lest he was humbling himself in vain; for he added, " if no remedy can be found, either by imprisonment, confiscation, banishment, and the like, I can say no more, but God grant me patience to endure, and a heart to forgive the whole world."[1]

On the same date that he thus apostrophised the " womanlike heart " of Queen Mary, his brother Sir Andrew Dudley was condemned to death; also his faithful followers Sir John Gates, Sir Harry Gates, and Sir Thomas Palmer.

On the 21st of August, at seven in the morning, four days after the Duke's arraignment, a vast crowd assembled on Tower Hill, " near 10,000, to have seen the execution: the scaffold being made ready, sand and straw brought, . . ." the Yeoman Warders of the Tower attending, and the Sheriffs of London with their officers and halberdiers; " and the executioner there also; when on a sudden they were commanded to depart."[2]

---

[1] Signed " Once your fellowe and lovinge companion, but now worthy of noe name but wretchedness and misery. J D." (John Dudley, his ducal title having been forfeited). Harl: 787. 61. (Howard, "*Lady Jane Grey,*" pp. 321-3).

[2] Collins, "*Letters and Memorials,*" 1746, Vol. I, p. 26; and Machyn's "*Diary,*" 21 Aug: 1553.

But the Mayor and Aldermen were sent for to the Tower, where certain Privy Councillors were assembled. Mass was then said; the Duke and some other prisoners having made their submission to the Catholic Church.

The following morning he and Sir John Gates and Sir Thomas Palmer were brought out from the Tower; " and so many came on horseback and on foot that it was a sight to see," wrote the Spaniard already quoted.[1] Bidding an affectionate farewell to Gates and Palmer, and " putting off his gown of crane-coloured damask," the Duke " leaned upon the east rail, making his own funeral oration to the people."[2] He stated that the actions for which he was " lawfully condemned " were not solely his own; but that he had been encouraged and " induced " by others. To name them was not needful; for he forgave them; and would " depart in perfect love and charity with all the world."[3]

The Spanish merchant who was standing " very near " the scaffold, wrote to Spain of the " great dignity " of the victim, and the " profound silence " in which the crowd listened when he admonished them to take warning from his mistakes and to " embrace what the Catholic Church believes "; " be obedient to the Queen's Majesty and her laws, and do what I have *not* done. . ."

More he added, with reference to the Queen's mercy; which was interpreted afterwards, both at home and in France, to mean that even on the scaffold he expected the Royal Pardon; imagining himself to have won it when he forsook the Church in the name of which he had persuaded King Edward to bequeath the Crown to Lady Jane.

The Spaniard watching him accepted his conversion as a genuine expression of penitence; and described to the Duke of Alburquerque how after repeating the Creed in Latin, when he prostrated himself to be executed he " made the sign of the Cross; which was a great offence to some."

> " The executioner struck off his head at a blow; and may our Lord be pleased to have him in His holy glory," wrote Guaras, for " although his treasons were many, . . . his end was that of a true and Catholic Christian, and he took death most patiently. . . . Your Grace may be assured that the Duke's confession has edified the people more than if all the Catholics in the land had preached for ten years."[4]

So the Catholic foreigner thought. But that Northumberland's change of faith was made in expectation of saving his life and continuing an active career was a more likely explanation.[5]

---

[1] Guaras, p. 105. [2] MS. Harl: 2194. 22. Howard, p. 325.

[3] "*Letters and Memorials,*" p. 26.

[4] "*Y sea V. Seño. cierto, que ha edificado al pueblo la confession del dicho Duque, mas que si todos los Catholicos de la tierra ouieran predicado diez años*" (op. cit. p. 60).

[5] Statement of an official in the Tower; sec: vii. In the 18th century, this 16th century belief was repeated by Collins, "*Letters and Memorials,*" Vol. I, p. 27: "I leave it to the Reader's Judgment whether it may not be conjectured by the latter part of his Speech, that he was put in hope of Pardon; for what other construction can be put on his words *And therefore, my Hope is that her Grace of her Goodness, will remit all the rest of her Indignation and Displeasure towards me, which I beseech you all most heartily to pray*" But his last words have been very variously rendered, and were officially distorted. See Note 2, p. 28.

Fox's statement in "*Actes and Monumentes*"—"that the Duke had a Promise made him of a Pardon (yea though his head was upon the Block) if he would recant,"—at least shows what was the popular conviction in Queen Elizabeth's day.

It might be supposed that Queen Mary would have been satisfied, not only that Northumberland had fully expiated his offences against herself, but also that his final advice to the populace was a notable example of submission. Yet the official version of his last speech, as issued by the " printer to the Quenes highnes " was so amplified and altered that the Duke is now derided as having been as abject in adversity as he was proud in prosperity. Few remember that he was a brave leader by land and sea, a consistent advocate of a strong Navy, a pioneer patron of exploration, a lover of art and letters; and, except in the last few weeks of his life, an astute statesman.[1]

Less than a week after his execution, his former flagship, " the goodliest ship in England, called *The Great Harry,* being of the burthen of a thousand Tun, was burnt at Woolwich by the negligence of the Mariners."[2]

The memory of this the most renowned of Tudor warships, *Henry Grace à Dieu,* survives in the large picture at Hampton Court Palace painted for Henry VIII, depicting his departure from Dover for France, with his gorgeous retinue, embarking for the Field of the Cloth of Gold.

First " hallowed " in 1514 (19th of June), that the *" Great Harry,"* after coming triumphantly through all the wars, perished by mischance in time of peace, appeared to many Englishmen " an ominous portent "; recollected later, when the final remnants of our once-extensive French possessions succumbed within a few days to the batteries of Francis Duke of Guise.

---

[1] On the Continent, his fall, and the events ensuing, gave rise to many comments: and there was published in Italy a *" Historia delle cose occorse nel regno d'Inghilterra in materia del Duca di Nortomberlan dopo la morte di Odoardo VI Nell' Academia Venetiana 1558."* 3 copies in B M. Nos. 598. a. 20(1), 673. a. 30; and 292. a. 5(2). By G. Raviglio Rosso. Edited by L. Contile. Vide also *" I successi d'Inghilterra dopo la morte de Odoardo Sesto, 1560* No. 807 c. 20; and *" Historia d'Inghilterra, dopo la morte di Odoardo Sesto," 1591.* No. 9512. bb. 23.

Such indignation or regret as might have been felt by the English people was considerably tempered by their assumption that it was Northumberland who had caused the ruin of his rival the Duke of Somerset, beheaded on the same spot two years before. And although in Queen Elizabeth's reign Northumberland's downfall was depicted on the stage with a measure of compassion, the circumstances of his end so overshadowed his former renown that even to this day his previous career has not received justice.

[2] 27 Aug · 1553. *" A Chronicle of the Kings of England From the time of the Romans Government Unto the death of King James . . . by Sir Richard Baker, Knight."* ed: 1670. fo: p. 323.

Professor Geoffrey Callender, M.A., F S.A., Royal Naval College, Greenwich, writes to E. M. Tenison, " The *Henri Grace à Dieu* perished before our ancestors could agree upon any standard method of reckoning tonnage. She was called in her own day a 1000 ton ship. If she had waited for the Elizabethan establishment she would probably have worked out at 995 or somewhere near that figure. The Spaniards would have reckoned her in 1588 as 1500 or over. There are no reliable figures (on which an accurate reckoning for tonnage could be made) until 1580 or thereabouts. In contemporary documents the round figure of 1000 is given. James Baker was responsible for the idea of piercing the side for heavy guns. Henry VIII forgave him his heresy in consequence."

CHRONOLOGICAL NOTE ON JOHN, DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND, K.G.

Eldest son of Edmund Dudley, by his 2nd wife Elizabeth, daughter of Edward, Viscount L'Isle.

Aged "scarce eight" when his father was unjustly executed, July 1509. Left in the care of Edmund Guilford, who procured the reversal of the attainder, after which John Dudley was restored in "Name, Blood and Degree." (3 Henry VIII).

Aged 22 (15 Henry VIII), served under General the Duke of Suffolk (Charles Brandon) in the French war, and was knighted for his "valiant behaviour."

Aged 26 (19 Henry VIII), accompanied Cardinal Wolsey to France.

Aged 32 or 33 (26 Henry VIII), created for life Master of the Armoury in the Tower of London.

Aged 38 (31 Henry VIII), Master of the Horse to Anne of Cleves.

Aged 39 (1540). Principal Challenger at the State Tournament at Westminster "in sumptuous apparel, and his horse trapped with white velvet."

Aged 41 (34 Henry VIII), created Viscount L'Isle, in consideration of his "acceptable and laudable services," and "also his Vigilance, Foresight, Faithfulness, Valour, and illustrious Descent"
Also constituted Lord High Admiral of England.

Aged 42 (1543) 23 April. Elected Knight of the Garter. Installed 6th May.

Aged 43 (35 Henry VIII) With a fleet of 200 sail, he landed the King's Army at Leith, and after victorious operations there and at Edinburgh, he put 900 men ashore at the siege of Boulogne; and on the surrender of the town he was left there as the King's Lieutenant (Governor) Sep: 1544

Defended Boulogne most gallantly against the Dauphin; and beat the French out again after they had actually captured the town.

Aged 45 (37 Henry VIII). Lieutenant-General and Commander-in-Chief of all the Forces by Sea, with orders to invade France; with a mandate to all persons to be obedient to him (12 March, 1546) He captured Tréport and defeated the French heavily. His Sovereign could then dictate peace.

To Lord L'Isle it fell to arrange and ratify the terms of the treaty (7 June, 1546)

Appointed one of the Executors of Henry VIII (30 Dec, 1546).

17 Feb: 1547. Deprived (1st Edward VI) of the office of Lord High Admiral of England (which was conferred upon Sir Thomas Seymour, brother of the Protector). But created *Earl of Warwick*, in virtue of descent through his mother from Lady Margaret, eldest daughter and co-heir of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick.

Received Royal Grant of Warwick Castle, the seat of his ancestors. (Patent, 1st Edward VI. 9).

Lord Great Chamberlain of England.

Aged 46. August, 1547. "Lieutenant Generall of the whole Armye, of both Horse and Foote, under the Duke of Sommersett."[1]

"By his (Warwick's) Courage and Conduct primarily . . . victory was obtained over the Scots at Musselborough."

4 March (1st Edward VI). One of the Commissioners for ratification of the Peace previously made by him between Henry VIII and Francis I of France.

1549 (3rd Edward VI). Subdued the rebellion in Norfolk.

---

[1] See Penshurst MS: Collins's *"Letters and Memorials,"* 1746, Vol. I, pp 27-28: "All these valiant and noble Exploits were attempted and atchieved by the right honorable Viscount Lisle, High Admyrall of England. . . ." There follows a memo of his services up to the quelling of the Norfolk rising, 3rd Ed: VI.

Aged 48. 28 Oct., 1549 (3rd Edward VI). "Lord High Admiral of England, Ireland, Wales, Calais and Boulogne, and the Marches; of Normandy, Gascony and Aquitaine, and High Admiral of the Fleet and Seas"[1]

20 Feb., 1550. Lord Steward of the Household, for life. "Having always expressed his constancy in the Christian Religion, his Valour in War, and in quelling sedition, the King desires him to live in the Palace."

Ambassador Extraordinary to France, with William Parr, Marquess of Northampton.

20 April (5th Edward VI). Earl Marshal of England. Warden of all the Marches towards Scotland.

Aged 50. 11 Oct., 1551. Created Duke of Northumberland.

1553. 21 May. Marriage of his son Lord Guildford Dudley with Lady Jane Grey, daughter of the only other English Duke (Suffolk).

10 July. His daughter-in-law Lady Jane proclaimed Queen.

The Duke of Northumberland Lieutenant-General to the new Sovereign.

19 July (5 p m.). At Cambridge, he proclaimed Mary, Queen of England. None the less he was arrested.

25 July. Brought prisoner to the Tower of London.

18 August. Arraigned, and condemned to death for High Treason.

Aged 52. 22 August. Beheaded on Tower Hill[2]

---

[1] The second part of this title was reminiscent of the days when the Kings of England were Dukes of Normandy, and when Henry II through his wife Eleanora had acquired the Dukedom of Aquitaine.

It is customary for enthusiastic admirers of the Tudor dynasty to claim that they "created the Royal Navy." But England's command of the Narrow Seas went back to the era when our Sovereigns owned more French territory than the Kings of France.

Richard Coeur de Lion had been as proud of his Navy as of his Army; and even his brother John, though ignominously beaten out of his French possessions, was responsible for making Portsmouth Docks.

The Tudors restored the Navy to its ancient prestige; and in this task Sir John Dudley, Viscount L'Isle, played a noble part, which has fallen into oblivion.

[2] There was issued officially in 1553 "*The sayinge of John late Duke of Northumberland upon the scaffolde at the tyme of his execution Imprinted at London by John Cawood printer to the Quenes highnes, dwellynge in Pauls Church-yarde at the signe of the holy gost. Cum priuelegio ad imprimendum solum*"

From this arose the modern idea that the Duke had been excessively abject. But in 1892 Richard Garnett, of the British Museum, after translating from Spanish the narrative of Antonio de Guaras, (London, 1st September, 1553), noticed a striking disparity between the two versions. Yet while remarking as to the official rendering that it had evidently been "*edited by a divine much profounder than Northumberland,*" Garnett himself seems not to have realised that it was not a question of divinity, but of grovelling expressions put into the mouth of a peer whose "great dignity" on the scaffold Guaras praised.

See "*Relacion muy verdadera de Antonio de Guaras: criado de la Serenissima y Catholica reyna de Inglaterra al Illustre S Duque de Alburquerque: Vissorey y Capitan General d'l Reyno de Nauarra,* &c. *En la qual se trata en q miserias y calamidades y muertes d'grãdes, ha estado el reyno tãtos años ha Como doña Maria fue proclamada por Reyna· y de todos obedescida· y de su coronacion*" &c. Printed at Medina del Campo, 1554. 350 copies reprinted, 1892, from copy in Grenville Lib: B M. Edited by Richard Garnett, LL.D, Keeper of Printed Books: "*The Accession of Queen Mary being the contemporary narrative of Antonio de Guaras, a Spanish Merchant resident in London Edited with an Introduction, Translation, Notes, and an Appendix of Documents, including a contemporary ballad in facsimile. . . . London, Lawrence and Bullen, 1892*"

(Translation) "*Discourse which the Duke made to the people. . . .*" pp. 106-108. Official version, pp 145-148: very much altered, and twice as long. The Spaniard, standing close by the scaffold and hearing every word, had no motive for interpolation and distortion; for, though a partisan of Queen Mary, his business was to write the truth privately to the Duke of Alburquerque. And at a later date we shall find him trusted by King Philip as reliable and accurate. The disparity between the speech as reported to Spain, and the speech as doctored and expanded in England, though pointed out in 1892, requires emphasis anew.

LADY JANE, WIFE OF LORD GUILDFORD DUDLEY.

Miniature No. 16, Windsor Castle Collection.

Now first reproduced, by gracious permission of His Majesty the King.

Lent by H M Queen Victoria to the Tudor Exhibition of 1890 No 1068 of Catalogue, p. 209, and there entered as "*Lady Jane Grey By N Hilliard, formerly in the collection of Mr C Sackville Bale*" No description

This miniature has a blue background, with initial letters in gold, which appear to be J G It shows a young face, soft brown eyes, fair complexion, and fair hair Gold embroidered head-gear, gold circlet, with red and white roses (possibly those of York and Lancaster, which had been united in the persons of her great grandparents Henry VII and Elizabeth of York) Gold-embroidered underdress and sleeves, black overdress Jewelled gold chain with pendants of precious stones

The dress is that of a married lady, which fact cannot have been noticed by the writer of the following note preserved at the Lord Chamberlain's Office in St James's Palace

> "No 16 This is sometimes described as a portrait of Lady Jane Grey, and attributed to Nicholas Hilliard, but it resembles more closely the Portraits of Elizabeth as Princess, or at the time of her accession to the Throne in 1558"

It is not specified what portrait of Princess Elizabeth it resembles Not any that the present writer has been able to find in the course of the last dozen years Moreover Princess Elizabeth's eyes were greyish-green, not brown

If the reader will compare the undoubted miniature of Princess Elizabeth, Major Radclyffe's, Section vii, he will see that the features as well as the expression, are remarkably different; and also that whereas the Windsor miniature is conspicuously unlike that of Princess Elizabeth, it approximates, both in the shape of the face and in the gentle eyes, to the portraits of Lady Jane Grey in the Bodleian Library and the National Portrait Gallery.

THE DUDLEY CARVING IN THE BEAUCHAMP TOWER.

Photograph from the Sir Benjamin Stone Collection, Birmingham.

It has always hitherto been believed that the Duke of Northumberland carved this device of his badge, the bear with the "ragged staff," in 1553 while a prisoner in the Tower of London, signing his name as IOHN DVDLI owing to his ducal title having been forfeited for High Treason Also that the third line of the verse being unfinished was because the Duke was beheaded before he had time to complete the carving:

"You that these beasts do wel behold and se
May deme with ease wherfore here made they be
With borders wherein
Four brothers names who list to serche the ground"

In the borders are carved *Acorns* for Ambrose, *Honeysuckle* for Henry, *Geranium* for Guildford, and *Roses* for Robert.

But, we may ask, why should he refer to his five sons as "four *brothers*"? And why leave out John, the eldest?

Moreover, considering the Duke was condemned to death on the 18th of August, and executed early on the 22nd, how could he in three days have produced anything so elaborate?

It seems never to have occurred to any commentator that the "IOHN DVDLI" of the inscription must have been John, Earl of Warwick, who on 18th August, 1553, was condemned with his father, but whose death-warrant Queen Mary did not sign

Waiting daily to be taken out to Tower Hill for execution, Warwick spent fourteen months in captivity

When on 18th October, 1554, he was released, it was too late His strength was so worn down by all he had suffered of shocks and sorrows that he was beyond recovery

He died at Penshurst Place, Kent, the home of his brother-in-law, Sir Henry Sidney, 21st of October, 1554.

Though married early, to the 9th daughter of his father's rival the Protector Earl of Hertford, Duke of Somerset, he had not any children

He was the 3rd but eldest surviving son of his parents.

No portrait of him can be found, and this carving, not till now attributed to him, seems to be the only relic by which we can keep his name in remembrance

(11) E M Tenison's "Elizabethan England," Prologue, iv

THAT
BEASTS DO WELBEHOLD
HERE MADE
BORDERS

QUEEN MARY:

from the original by Antonio Moro: now in the Prado.

Believed to have been the portrait sent to the Emperor Charles V.

(Photograph. Vernacci, Madrid).

Notice that the bunch of violets in the Queen's hand is made up in exactly the same fashion as violets sold in the streets to-day. Violets were then believed to be "good" against inflammation of the lungs, "against the pleurisie, and cough, and also against fevers or agues . . ." Violets pounded and "layd to the head" were a remedy for sleeplessness, and "melancholy dulnesse or heavinesse of spirit." "The seed of Violets dronken with wine or water is good against the stingings of Scorpions"

> *"A New Herball or Historie of Plants . .*
> *First set forth in the Dutch or Almaigne toong, by that learned D Rembart Dodoens, Phisition to the Emperor "* (p. 165).
> English translation, by Henry Lyte, dedicated to Queen Elizabeth, 1578, and 1595

Portraits of Queen Mary by or "after" Antonio Moro, were lent for the Tudor Exhibition by Her Majesty Queen Victoria, from St. James's Palace; by the Earl of Carlisle, and Lord Castletown; and one by the Dean and Chapter of Durham, said to be "probably taken from the celebrated picture at Madrid." Whereas in the portrait in Madrid she holds a bunch of violets, in the Durham copy a rose is in her right hand

Also one by Lucas de Heere, lent by the Society of Antiquaries (dated 1554); and by Colonel Wynne Finch· and pictures by unnamed artists, in possession of the Earl of Ashburnham, Lord De L'Isle and Dudley, Sir William Drake, Bart., and others are described in Catalogue of the *Exhibition of The Royal House of Tudor The New Gallery, Regent Street, 1890"*

PROLOGUE.

Section V. "**Marvellously Adorned**": *The Coronation of Queen Mary.*
1 October, 1553.

As soon as "Jane the Queen" was deposed, she and her husband were bidden to hand back to the Lord Treasurer, the Marquess of Winchester, all such jewels as he had delivered to them at their accession.[1] Winchester had been one of the principal supporters of the plan to alter the Succession; so the rapidity with which he adjusted himself to the winning side did not pass unremarked. It was depicted, subsequent to his death, in a chronicle drama of the events of 1553-54.[2] While Sir Thomas Wyatt, who had firmly opposed the Duke of Northumberland, is represented as pleading with the Queen for mercy upon the children,—

(". . Lady Jane, most mighty Sovereign,
. . . . your next of blood except your sister,
Deserves some pity; so doth youthful Guildford"),—

Winchester, who had been one of Queen Jane's Privy Councillors and her Lord Treasurer, recommends for her and her husband only "Such pity as the law allows to traitors" (meaning execution). The Duke of Norfolk protests, "They were misled by their ambitious fathers."

Win(chester) "What son to obey his father proves a traitor
Must buy their disobedience with their death.
Wia(t) "My Lord of Winchester still thirsts for blood.
(Q)Mar(y) "Wiatt, no more; the law shall be their judge."

Her Majesty then indicates the course she intends the law to take: "Mercy to mean offenders we'll extend; Not unto such that dares usurp our Crown."

But actually there is nothing to prove that she thus early had made up her mind they should not live. After they were arrested, and separated, some consideration was shown them. A few weeks later, Lord Guildford Dudley, with his brother Lord Henry, was given "the liberty of the leads of Beauchamp Tower."[3] Their elder brothers

---

[1] Order "by the Quene." Howard, *"Lady Jane Grey,"* etc. (1822), p. 337. The items returned included "a booke of prayeres, covered with purple velvett and garnished with gold," and "xiii paire of gloves." See also in Hatfield MSS. Cal: (1883), pp. 128-9, details of *"Stuff delivered to the Lady Jane, usurper, at the Tower, by commandment only, over and above sundry things delivered by two several warrants."* The treasures included "one little striking clock within a case of latten, book fashion, engraven with a rose crowned, and *Dieu et Mon droit.*"

"One alarum of silver enamelled, standing upon four balls": "One pillar, with a man having a device of astronomy in his hand, and a sphere in the top, being of metal gilt."

"One case of black leather, containing a muffler of black velvet, striped with small chains of gold, garnished with small pearls, small rubies, and small diamonds . . . the same muffler being furred with sables, and having thereat a chain of gold enamelled green, garnished with certain pearls": "A purse of sable skin, perfumed" etc., etc.

[2] Full title, sec: vi.

[3] Harl: MS 194. (Diary).

Warwick and Ambrose were allowed to receive visits from their wives.[1] But this solace was not permitted to Lord Guildford. All he could do was to carve the name of " Jane " on the walls of his prison, where it can still be seen.

> " The xiiij of September," noted an official of the Tower, " the Bishop of Canterbury " (Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop) " was brought into the Tower as prisoner, and lodged in the tower over the gate anenst the water-gate, where the Duke of Northumberland lay before his death. . . .
>
> " . . . the xxvij of September the Queens' Majesty came to the Tower by water toward her Coronation; and with her the Lady Elizabeth her sister, with divers other ladies of name, and the whole Council.
>
> " . . . the last day of September the Queen came through the City, . . . in a chariot of tissue drawn with vj horses, all betrapped with red velvet. She sat in a gown of blue velvet, furred with powdered ermine,[2] hanging on her head a caul of cloth of tinsell beset with pearl and stone, and . . . a round circle of gold . . . beset so richly with many precious stones that the value thereof was inestimable, . . . being so massy and ponderous that she was fain to bear up her head with her hands. . . .

" Before her rode a number of gentlemen and Knights; " then judges, and doctors of divinity; bishops, peers, Councillors, Knights of the Bath; the Bishop of Winchester as Lord Chancellor; the Marquess of Winchester, Lord High Treasurer; the Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshal; the Earl of Oxford, Lord Great Chamberlain, bearing the Sword of State, and Sir Edward Hastings, Master of the Horse.

" After the Queen's chariot came another chariot, . . . with cloth of silver all white and vj horses betrapped with the same," in which sat " the Lady Elizabeth " with Anne of Cleves (rejected wife of Henry VIII), followed by " sundry gentlewomen riding on horses trapped with red velvet. . . ."[3]

The Londoners greeted the Sovereign with a series of pageants: an angel blowing a trumpet saluted her; Latin and English verses welcomed her; " children clothed in women's apparrel " to represent Grace, Virtue, and Nature, fell on their knees as she drove past: " and every one of them sang certain verses " in her honour.[3]

Her triumphal entry into the City gave especial satisfaction to the Spanish merchants settled in England. Guaras wrote to the Emperor Charles's Viceroy and Captain-General of Navarre an admiring description of the magnificent procession, of

> " many gentlemen of the Court . . . all arrayed in suits of silk . . . mounted on very fine horses richly caparisoned, the greater part of which were covered with velvet trappings down to the ground: after whom went the Barons and Princes richly and superbly adorned . . . which caused great admiration."[4]

The foreign merchants on horseback were clad in black velvet, " beautifully trimmed

---

[1] Ib. " the xiiij of September . . . about this day or the day before." Op. cit, p. 27. (The permission had been given through the Council on the 5th of September).

[2] " armyen."

[3] Harl· MS 194 ed: Nichols, pp. 28-29.

[4] "*Relacion muy verdadera de Antonio de Guaras· criado de la Serenissima y Catholica reyna de Inglaterra al Illustre S. Duque de Alburquerque: Vissorey y Capitan General d'l Reyno de Nauarra.*" Ed: Garnett, 1892.

with many points of gold"; and with them rode four Spanish Cavaliers, "in mulberry-coloured velvet lined with cloth of silver, with a very fine fringe of gold." Then came Ambassadors, from the Emperor, the King of France, the King of Poland, and the Signory of Venice; followed by "two in Ducal garb, who represented the two Duchies of Normandy and Gascony, formerly possessed by the Crown. Next came her Majesty in a Chariot open on all sides, save for the canopy, entirely covered with gold, and the trappings of the horses which drew it were also of gold . . . Her Majesty was marvellously adorned. . . ."

". . . the Queen has commanded that all should live peaceably, under pain of punishment and being deemed traitors, and that all should live in charity, without disputing, . . . and should not revile each other, the heretics having been wont to *call the Catholics Papists and the Catholics to call them heretics.*"

Despite these seemingly soothing words of the Sovereign, the Spaniard adds that "*Such fear has fallen upon this people that they dare not murmur or speak a word, and the heretics are as though stunned at beholding what is taking place, and what they see to be coming;*" but "the good, who are much the more numerous, are so overjoyed that they cannot contain themselves . . . "

When the Queen thus arrived in triumph, certain prisoners of State were presented to her: most notably Edward, Lord Courtenay, son and heir of the beheaded Marquess of Exeter ("Excester"); Cuthbert, Bishop of Durham, and Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester; also the Duchess of Somerset, widow of the Protector-Duke, beheaded in King Edward VI's day.

After describing how the Queen set them all at liberty, Guaras alluded to the appointment of the Bishop of Winchester as Lord Chancellor, "the highest office in the Kingdom, . . . Grand Inquisitor in matters concerning religion" (a Spanish, not English, conception of his duties).

"And although in the matter of the Pope the heretics are very stubborn, the Queen is so Catholic that it is held for certain that Her Highness will have no regard for heretical knaves, but to her conscience . . . The Queen . . . will be crowned on the first of October . . . After which it will only remain to *make her happy with some good and Catholic husband.*"[1]

On the day of Queen Mary's Coronation, the General Pardon she published was "enterlaced with many exceptions," including the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, sent as prisoners to the Tower, the Bishop of London, and numerous other clergy; "also many Lordes, Knightes and Gentlemen of the layetie, besides the two Chiefe Justices of England, Sir Roger Cholmeley and Sir Edward Mountagew," for consenting to the "pretensed right" of Lady Jane.[2]

All Bishops who in King Edward VI's reign had been deprived of their sees, were restored. Bonner was given back his former Bishopric of London; Nicholas Ridley, King Edward's Bishop of London, being "hastily displaced, and committed prisoner to the Tower, . . . The cause why such extremitie was used towards him" was "that in

---

[1] Op. cit. ante, 111-112.
[2] Grafton, "*Chronicle at large,*" 1569. II, 536.

the time of the Ladie Iane he preached a Sermon at Paules crosse by the commaundement of King Edwardes Counsayle, wherein he disuaded the people . . . from recognising the Lady Marie as Queene."[1] (He had predicted dire woe if she were to be accepted as ruler of England. And for himself this prophecy was to be fulfilled to the uttermost.)

On the 1st of October, Guaras witnessed the Coronation service in Westminster Abbey, in the presence of all the peers;—"each in his proper attire;" "the Duke habited as a Duke, the Marquis as Marquis, and the Earl as Earl, and their wives in the same manner."

The Queen was anointed, and clad in white: "spurs were put upon her feet, and she was girt with a sword . . . and a King's sceptre was placed in one hand, and in the other the sceptre wont to be given to Queens . . . and finally they gave her a great orb of gold and crowned her with three crowns, one for England, one for France, and one for Ireland . . . And then she commanded that all prisoners should be set at liberty, *those in the Tower excepted* . . .

"Next after this the Bishop of Winchester said mass . . . the Queen kneeling throughout with great devotion . . . " She came forth afterwards in a mantle of purple velvet and ermine. Attended by Princes and Ambassadors, "she proceeded to Westminster Hall; where banqueting tables were splendidly and royally set out . . . "

"When her Majesty arrived in the hall, the Earl of Arundel was there, mace in hand, as Lord Constable of the Kingdom, . . . and the Duke of Norfolk as Earl Marshal[2] both on coursers trapped with cloth of gold, who rode continually round and round the hall . . . And in the middle of the banquet a horseman entered armed cap-à-pie in bright armour, . . . and the housings of his steed all gold and crimson; and read out a challenge thus: 'Whosoever shall dare to affirm that this Lady is not the rightful Queen of this Kingdom, I will show him the contrary, or will do him to death:' And casting down his glove, he rode all round the hall, and returned before the Queen, and proclaimed with a loud voice that seeing none was found who dared to gainsay him or take up his glove, he hailed her as the true and rightful Queen . . ."[3]

But whereas Julius Caesar, after defeating Pompeius at Pharsalia, refrained even from reading the captured correspondence of the enemy; and, wishing to end the Civil War, announced that the followers of Pompeius who surrendered should be judged by their future acts and not by their recent opposition, Queen Mary's method of celebrating her victory was far otherwise. Not even the Duke of Northumberland's condemnation to death, by peers who had been his intimate friends and fellow-Councillors, was considered sufficient example. His execution was not the end but the beginning of a series of tragedies which we must not neglect, or else the reasons why popular acclamations in favour of "good Queen Marie" changed to "murmurings" and "heavinesse," and at the last to hatred, will not be understood.

---

[1] Ib. p. 535.

[2] "*Duque de Narpholes como gran Seneschal.*" Guaras, p. 74.

[3] "*Que atento que no hauia persona que ossasse contradezir le, ni aceptar su desafio, el la saludauo como a verdadera y heredera Reyna de aquel Reyno.*" (Ib. p. 75).

PHILIP, PRINCE OF SPAIN, FROM THE ORIGINAL BY TITIAN:

Painted at Augsburg, 1551. Now in the Prado, Madrid.

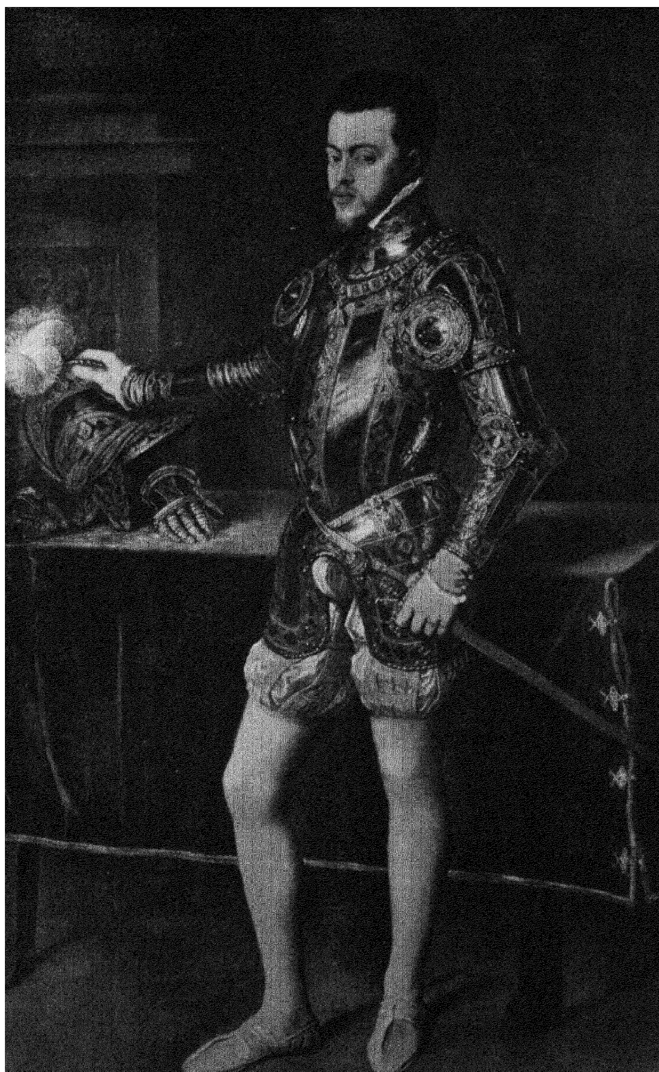
Photograph, Moreno.

This portrait, sometimes called *"Las calzas blancas"* (the white hose) shows the Prince at the age of twenty-three; wearing armour made by Desiderio Colman of Augsburg, as still preserved in the *Real Armeria* at Madrid.

Titian arrived at Augsburg, in November 1550: and Prince Philip left Augsburg, 25th May, 1551.

In sending this picture to his aunt Maria, Queen of Hungary, he stated it had been finished in a hurry, and that he would have had another painted if time had permitted

Nevertheless it ranks to-day as one of Titian's masterpieces.



PROLOGUE.

SECTION VI. "**To defend the realm from being overrun with strangers.**" (*Sir Thomas Wyatt's Rebellion. January, February,* 1553-4.)

When the Spanish merchant Antonio de Guaras had rejoiced over Queen Mary's triumph, it had seemed to him that nothing more was necessary for the prosperity of England than to get her a "good Catholic" husband.

The question of her marriage had been engaging her anxious thoughts. The most desirable match, as she saw it, would have been her cousin the Emperor Charles V; ruler of the richest Christian Empire since the days of Charlemagne. He prided himself that, like Charlemagne and Charlemagne's grandfather Duke Charles Martel the victor of Tours, it was the valour and efficiency of his fighting men which had saved Western Europe from falling beneath the Moslem scimitars.

In 1521 he had delegated to his brother Ferdinand, the government of Austria, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, Tyrol, and various possessions on the Rhine, the Upper Danube, and the Lake of Constance; but he increased his territories by the acquirement of Tournai (1521), Friesland (1524), Utrecht (1528), Groningen (1536), Cambrai (1543), and Guelders (1543). As heir to his grandmother, Mary of Burgundy,—the only child of Duke Charles the Bold,—he was Sovereign also of Flanders, Artois, Hainault, Namur, Brabant, Limburg, Holland, and Luxemburg, and such parts of Burgundy as had not been annexed by Louis XI of France. His heritage, besides Spain, included Sardinia, Sicily, Naples, and a large part of Navarre; and in 1535 he had won the Duchy of Milan.[1]

His claim to be King of Jerusalem was a dream. The Turk ruled the Holy City. But the other titles were substantial; and ever since his forces had defeated King Francis I of France, in the battle of Pavia, (1525), the Imperial power had been increasing.

Excepting only Sultan Solyman the Magnificent, no potentate in the world was so absolute.

Queen Mary may have seen him during her childhood; for he had visited King Henry VIII in 1522; when the Cross at Cheapside had been regilded in his honour, and the citizens of London had received him with magnificent pageantry.

If we recall Titian's exquisite portrait of the Empress Isabella, the most beautiful Princess of her time, and contrast her face with Antonio Moro's picture of Queen Mary in 1553, it will be comprehensible why the widowed Emperor would not marry the Queen of England.

---

[1] For a map of the Emperor's dominions, *Dominios de Carlos V,* showing his quadruple inheritance, from the Crown of Castile, the Crown of Aragón, the House of Austria, and the Dukes of Burgundy, see Eduardo Ibarra, "*España bajo los Austrias.*" *Editorial Labor. S A Barcelona y Buenos Aires. 1927. (Colección Labor. Sección VI. Ciencias Históricas. Biblioteca de Iniciación Cultural)*

His son Philip was also a widower; and to him in September he delegated the English match. The Prince was "obedient." But Queen Mary hesitated to commit herself to matrimony with a man eleven years her junior, whom she had never seen.

The Privy Council did not finally assent to the alliance until November. On the 13th of that month, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, was taken on foot from the Tower to the Guildhall to be arraigned for High Treason. "Next followed the Lord Guildford-Dudley"; and then "the Lady Jane, and Lord Ambrose Dudley and Lord Henry Dudley." The Nine-Days-Queen was in black; carrying a book in her hand.[1] Escorted under a guard of four hundred Halberdiers, this was the first time she and her husband had seen each other since their arrest in July.

Sentence of death was passed on them both; and they were taken back to the Tower; still kept apart.

The other Dudley brothers also were condemned. And though Archbishop Cranmer had at first remonstrated with the Council for putting aside "Lady Mary" in favour of Queen Jane, he too was doomed.

None of the sentences, however, could be carried out until the Queen signed the warrants for execution; which she hesitated to do.

In Parliament on the last day of November, the Lords and Commons, by the Queen's wish, submitted themselves to Pope Julius III; expressing penitence for past opposition, and desiring "that this noble realm . . . may be in one unity and in perfect obedience to the Apostolic See, and the Roman Pontiffs, ... for the divine honour and glory."[2]

Soon after Christmas, Count Egmont arrived in England to ratify the Spanish Marriage Treaty. Then "the common sort" began to murmur; and "the Kentishmen" especially apprehended that the coming of the Prince of Spain would be very "grievous," and that no "Christian" (Protestant) would be allowed to live in safety. Likewise the "Western men" feared that "the liberties of their country" would be overthrown by "strangers."

Though Count Egmont, on landing at the Tower Wharf, was saluted by "a great peale of guns,"—and received "in most honourable and familiar wise," by Catholic noblemen and gentlemen,—when he was brought through Cheapside to Westminster *"the people, nothing rejoicing, held down their heads sorrowfully."*[3]

The day before he arrived, when his retinue and harbingers came through London, the prentice boys "pelted them *with snowballs, so hateful was the sight of their coming. . . .*"[4]

On the 14th of January the Bishop of Winchester as Lord Chancellor made an oration, in the Presence Chamber at Westminster, upon the Queen's intention to enter

---

[1] Harl: MS. 194, ed. Nichols, p. 32: "The lady Jane was in a blacke gowne of cloth, tourned downe; the cappe lyned with fese velvett, & edget about with the same, in a French hoode all black, with a black byllyment, a black velvet boke hanging before hir, and another boke in hir hande open, holding hir—"

The entry breaks off; and there is not any account of her trial in the Diary.

[2] B.M. Cotton MS. Titus. C.VII. f. 118. (Howard, pp. 347-8).

[3] Harl: MS. 194; ed: Nichols, p. 34. [4] Ib.

into "godly and lawfull matrymonye." Her children, "if there were any," should be heirs "as well to the Kingdom of Spain" as to the "Lowe Country of Flanders." He "declared further that we were much bounden to *thank God that so noble, worthy and famous a Prince would vouchsafe so to humble him in this marriage*" to take the position of a subject. It was certain that "*the Queen should rule all things as she doth now,*" that no Spaniard should be a Privy Councillor, "*nor have the custody of any forts or castles; nor bear rule or office in the Queen's house, or elsewhere in all England.*"

To the Lords and Commons the Chancellor conveyed "the Queen's pleasure and request that like humble subjects, for her sake," they would receive the Prince of Spain with "*reverence, joy and honour.*"

This was "heavily taken of sundry men; yea, and thereat almost each man was abashed, looking daily for worse matters to grow. . . ."[1]

On the morrow, the Mayor and Sheriffs, "and divers of the best commoners," were summoned before the Council, and admonished upon the deference due to the Queen's future husband.

"Within six days after," there came news to London that Sir Peter Carey and others "were up in Devonshire, to resist the Spanish match." It was rumoured that they had captured Exeter.

On Tuesday, the 23rd of January, Lord Robert Dudley was brought from the Tower to the Guildhall to be arraigned and condemned to death;

On the 25th, the Council received news "that there was up in Kent Sir Thomas Wyatt," for the "sole purpose" of opposing the Spanish marriage and removing certain Councillors from about the Queen."[2]

Sir Thomas Wyatt, of Alington Castle, Kent,—son of Sir Thomas Wyatt the Elder, whose name survives mainly in his poetry,—was a married man with children; and had much to lose if defeated. Few rebels have been more courageous, or animated by more ardent patriotism. Having fought in the foreign wars, he conceived himself able to organise and lead a resistance, not to Queen Mary or to the Catholic Church but to what he regarded as the threatened subjugation of England by Spain.

After Queen Elizabeth had been for many years on the throne a play was produced called "*The Famous History of Sir Thomas Wyatt.*" It held the stage even into the Stuart period; and was printed more than half a century after Wyatt's death. In it, he is correctly shown as having opposed the Dukes of Northumberland and Suffolk, on behalf of Princess Mary, when the greater number of the Privy Council had accepted Lady Jane as their Sovereign. But in maintaining Mary's right of primogeniture, Wyatt had not foreseen that her half-Spanish blood would prompt her to a marriage dangerous to English independence. In the Elizabethan drama, the Marquess of Winchester—who had been one of Queen Jane's chief supporters, and among the first to forsake her,—thanks Heaven "that such a mighty Prince as Philip is, son to the Emperor, heir to wealthy Spain and many spacious kingdoms, will vouchsafe—"

At this word "*vouchsafe,*" (an echo of the actual speeches in Parliament,) Sir Thomas Wyatt indignantly interrupts; and on being told the match is already determined upon, he protests in "hot" language.

[1] Ib. [2] Ib.

The Duke of Norfolk essays to calm him by reiterating that the Prince

"desires no fortresses nor towns,
Nor to bear any office, rule or state,
Either by person or by substitute . . ."

Wyatt. *"What need he, noble Lord, to ask the fruit,*
When he demands the tree?
No castle, fortresses nor towers of strength!
It boots not when the chiefest Tower of all,
The key that opens unto all the land,
I mean our gracious Sovereign, must be his.
But he will bear no office in the land,
And yet will marry with the Queen of all:
Nor be of counsel in the Realm's affairs,
And yet the Queen enclosèd in his arms!"

Turning from Norfolk and Winchester, he appeals to the Queen. She answers ominously,

"But that we know thee, Wyatt, to be true
Unto our Crown of England and to us,
Thy overboldness should be paid with death"

Egmont, Ambassador from the Emperor, is then called in; and bidden by the Queen to carry to Spain "our love to Philip's heart."

"Embark you straight; the wind blows wondrous fair. . . ."

Then "Exeunt all but Sir Thomas Wyatt," who exclaims,

"And ere he land in England, I will offer
My loyal breast for him to tread upon!
O who so forward, Wyatt, as thyself
To raise this troublesome Queen in this her throne?"

Before she should be able to give England to that "proud nation Spain,"

"I'll into Kent, there muster up my friends,
To save this country, and the realm defend"

Seldom on the Elizabethan stage was it permitted that a rebel be thus depicted as a righteous man: not moved by sedition, greed or envy, but seeking only England's welfare.

The scene changes from London to Kent: *"Enter Wyatt with Soldiers"*:

Wyatt: "Hold, Drum; stand, Gentlemen.
Give the word along. Stand, Stand;
Masters, friends, soldiers and therefore gentlemen, . . .
Stick to this glorious quarrel, and your names
Shall stand in chronicles rank'd even with Kings.
You free your Country from base Spanish thrall,
From ignominious slavery . . ."[1]

---

[1] *"The Famous History of Sir Thomas Wyat With the Coronation of Queen Mary, and the coming in of King Philip As it was plaied by the Queenes Maiesties Seruants Written by Thomas Dickers and Iohn Webster London. Printed by E. A for Thomas Archer, and are to be solde at his shop in the Popes-head Pallace nere the Royall Exchange. 1607"* "*Coronation*" presumably in dumb show on the stage; as it is not in the text.

The editor of Dekker's Dramas in the Mermaid Series excludes this play; and describes it as *"a medley of absurd printers' errors adding to the confusion of what was probably a confused work at best"* (Introd· p xxxiii). But the printers' errors, 'Count *Edmond*' for 'Count *Egmont*,' '*who*' for '*where*,' etc, are easy to correct, and there need not be any confusion, except to readers not interested in the events.

The 4to is excellently reproduced in *"Student's Facsimile Edition"* (in *"Old English Drama Series,"*) without depreciatory comments.

Wyatt's Proclamation sent out from Maidstone, had been clearly explicit:[1]

"Forasmuch as it is now spread abroad, and certainly pronounced by the Lord Chancellor and other of the Council, of the Queen's determinate pleasure to marry with a stranger, we therefore write unto you, *because you be our friends, and because you be Englishmen, that you will join with us, and we will with you unto death in this behalf . . . we seek no harm to the Queen, but better counsel and Councillors . . . Lo now even at hand, Spaniards be already arrived at Dover, . . .* to the number of an hundredth passing upwards to London . . . the foremost company whereof be already at Rochester.

"We shall require of you therefore to repair to such places as the bearers hereof shall pronounce unto you, there to assemble and *determine what may be best for the advancement of liberty and commonwealth* in this behalf, and to bring with you such aid as you may."[2]

Queen Mary in London soon issued a counter proclamation rebuking the "pretence" of "Wiate," and offering her pardon to all who would forsake him within twenty-four hours, and live "quietly and obediently."[3]

In Milton, Ashford, Tonbridge, Sevenoaks and Rochester, Wyatt had many sympathisers; but the Mayor of Canterbury, in "warie circumspection," restrained the citizens; though they were "marvellously affected" to Wyatt, and abhorred the prospect of "the Queene matching herself with a stranger."

That a simultaneous rising in Kent and the Midlands and West Country would be approved by the chief nobility of the realm, was what Wyatt anticipated, the Duke of Suffolk having promised his aid. But as Suffolk had not behaved strongly even when his daughter's crown was at stake, to rely upon him now to fire and inspire others was a fatal miscalculation. Moreover, considering how boldly Queen Mary had taken the initiative the previous summer, against the Privy Council, when the erstwhile victorious John Duke of Northumberland was armed and active against her, it was most unlikely, after having gained so much, that she would surrender to an enterprise organised by a Kentish Knight. To take the field against Wyatt, she selected as her General the Duke of Norfolk, whom she had released from the Tower at her first entry into London.

Born in 1473,—son and heir of Thomas Howard Earl of Surrey, Earl Marshal and Lord High Treasurer,—this Duke, now in his eighty-first year, could look back upon an

---

[1] Not in Holinshed, nor in P.R.O.; nor any MS copy in B.M. Now quoted from *"The historie of Wyates rebellion with the order and maner of resisting the same, whereunto in the ende is added an earnest conference with the degenerate and seditious rebelles for the serche of the cause of their daily disorder Made and compyled by John Proctor Mense Decembris 1554 Imprynted at Canterbury, in sainct Paules parysh by John Michel. Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum"* (date misprinted 1553). B.M. C 21[a] 52(2). Dedicated to Queen Mary, this History is an angry denunciation of Wyatt, and attributes the rebellion to "heresy," of which "rebellion" is "the only refuge." But Sir Thomas Wyatt was a Catholic. Proctor, who heaps him with reproaches, was the Master of Sir Andrew Judde's school at Tunbridge His account, followed by Holinshed, was reprinted in *"The Antiquarian Repertory,"* 1808, Vol. iii, pp 63-114. Some further particulars were published in 1843 by Robert Pierce Cruden, *"History of Gravesend and the Port of London"* In 1850, J. G. Nichols, editing Harl: MS. 194, pointed out that Proctor, as the prejudiced chronicler "of the victorious party," omitted many details of the "distress and embarrassment" of Queen Mary's defenders, during the early stages of the rebellion. See Harl: 194, *"Queen Jane and Queen Mary"* (Camden Soc.) pp. 36-74.

[2] Spelling modernised from op. cit. f. 8b-9a: *"A proclamation agreed unto by Thomas Wyat, George Harper, Henrye Isleye, knightes, and by dyvers of the best of the shyre, sent unto the commons of the same."*

[3] By "Mary the Quene": *"The Loseley Manuscripts . . preserved in the Muniment Room of James More Molyneux, Esqre at Losely House in Surrey."* Ed: Kempe, 1835. p. 129.

eventful life. In his youth he had been Captain of the Vanguard in the battle of Flodden, when his father Surrey had given to the Scots under James IV so heavy an overthrow that there was hardly a family of distinction in that kingdom which had not to mourn the loss of its chief members. The revival of the Norfolk Dukedom, forfeited on Bosworth Field, had been Surrey's reward in 1513-14; and his son had succeeded him ten years after.[1]

Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1520-23, Norfolk had been Lord High Steward for the trial of his niece Queen Anne Boleyn: ruthlessly hounding her down rather than incur King Henry's terrible displeasure. It was Norfolk also who with a heavy hand had suppressed the Catholic Rising, "the Pilgrimage of Grace"; and had prospered exceedingly; until he in his turn lost the favour of the despot Henry VIII, who—being without gratitude to man or woman,—was often the most ruthless against those to whom he had incurred conspicuous obligations. The Duke in 1547 was condemned to death, with his eldest son, for alleged "High Treason," and only escaped with his life because the English "Sardanapalus" died before he could sign the fatal warrant.

A prisoner in the Tower all through Edward VI's reign, Norfolk's release had given him opportunity to pronounce the death sentence upon the Duke of Northumberland. Now in January 1553-4, with "fifty white-coat Londoners and certain of the Guard," and some five hundred other troops, he marched to Gravesend, and thence towards Rochester. The Earl of Huntingdon was simultaneously sent in search of the Duke of Suffolk.

Wyatt, exceedingly popular in Kent, had rallied an increasing force to his banner. Though a small detachment under Sir Henry Iseley was defeated and scattered, Wyatt himself was well supported; and on the Queen's Lieutenant-General arriving in Rochester, with threats of punishment and offers of pardon, Wyatt's soldiers, guarding the bridge across the Medway, refused the Herald leave to pass with the Royal Proclamation "till that the Captain came, who at last granted the same to be read in the city." On hearing the Queen's offer of forgiveness "each man cried they had done nothing" for which to ask pardon, and that they would "live and die" in their just quarrel. Sir George Harper, however, though he had signed Wyatt's manifesto, went over to the Duke of Norfolk; and was put on the stage in the next reign as Wyatt's chief betrayer. At the time, Queen Mary's Captain of the Five Hundred Londoners who were the Duke's vanguard, drew sword and suddenly declared himself for Wyatt. Adjuring the soldiers not to fight "against our native countrymen," but to consider the "manifold miseries like to fall upon us if we shall be under the rule of the proud Spaniards," Captain Brett announced his intention to spend his blood in resistance to that threatened calamity. The men raised a cry of "A Wyatt! A Wyatt!"; whereon Wyatt and others on horseback rode in amongst them, declaring, "So many as will come and tarry with us shall be welcome; and so many as will depart, good leave have they."[2]

This combined action of Captain Brett and of Sir Thomas Wyatt caused the Duke of Norfolk to lose eight brass pieces of artillery and all his other ordnance and munitions.

---

[1] See Howard pedigree. II. 1. 7; E.E., Vol. II.

[2] Harl: MS. 194. op. cit. pp. 38-39.

" All the Londoners, part of the Guard, and more than three parts of the retinue went into the camp of the Kentish men "; whereat the Duke, the Earl of Ormond, and the discomfited Captain of the Guard (Sir Henry Jerningham) were so " abashed " as to desist from their efforts, and take flight to London with the remnant of their forces.

They brought the news of their own defeat:

> " Ye should have seen some of the Guard come home; their coates turned, all ruined; without arrows or string on their bow(s), or sword(s) . . . which discomfiture," a " heartsore " to the Queen and Council, was *" joyous to the Londoners and most part of all others."*[1]

Wyatt encountered some resistance from Lord Cobham at Cowling Castle; but marched briskly to Gravesend and thence to Dartford, on his way to London. At Dartford he was met by two Privy Councillors: Sir Edward Hastings, Master of the Horse, and Sir Thomas Cornwallis. In the Queen's name they demanded how could he claim by his Proclamation to be a loyal subject, when he was raising forces " like a traitor."

He answered " I am no traitor . . . . *and the cause whereof I have gathered the people is to defend the realm from danger of being overrun with strangers."*

After a " long and stout " argument on Wyatt's part, that the Queen should forego the Spanish match, Hastings exclaimed, " Before thou shalt have thy traitrous demand granted, thou shalt die, and twentie thousand with thee."

Wyatt declined to be " brought to the point " of withdrawing his demands; so the envoys returned to the Court.

The same day, 1st February 1553-4, a Royal Proclamation was published in London, announcing that the Duke of Suffolk's Horsemen had been scattered, and the Duke was a fugitive. Nevertheless, on hearing that Sir Thomas Wyatt and his army were approaching London, the Emperor's Ambassadors *" sped themselves away by water."*[2]

The issue now turned upon the personal character of the Sovereign. Promptly she went in state to the Guildhall, where she made a scornful speech as to the folly of the rebels in daring to propose displacing her chosen Councillors: or imagining they could direct her actions:

> " I am your Queene, to whom at my Coronation, when I was wedded to the realm, . ye promised allegiance and obedience . . . And that I am the right and true inheritor to the Crown, . . . I not onelie take all Christendom to witness, but also your acts of Parliament . . .
>
> " I cannot tell you how naturallie a mother loveth her children, for I was never mother of anie ", yet surely a Sovereign could love subjects as earnestly as a mother loves her child " And I thus loving you, cannot but think that ye as heartilie and faithfullie love me again. . . . I doubt not that we together shall be able to give these rebels a short and spedie overthrow."[3]

As to the Marriage with the Prince of Spain, she said it was considered by her Privy Council " very honourable and expedient." Declaring herself neither so " amorous " that she could not live without a husband, nor so wilful as to choose a consort only to please herself, she protested that if her marriage would injure the realm, she would forego it; though surely it must be to the advantage of the Kingdom for her to have children, lawful

[1] Contemp. Diary. Harl. MS. 194. op. cit. p. 39.

[2] Harl: MS. 194.

[3] Holinshed, Vol. IV, p. 17.

inheritors of the Crown. But, on the word of a Queen, she reiterated that if in Parliament the Nobility and Commons should judge the match undesirable, she would abstain not only from this marriage but from any other.

By such misleading reassurances she met and modified the emotions upon which Wyatt's case with the Londoners was founded; and though word came that the rebellion had spread into Herefordshire,—and the old Duke of Norfolk retired into Norfolk,—the Mayor and Aldermen of London "and the most part of the householders," nothing daunted, put themselves into armour to defend the Queen; and on Candlemas Day the streets were "full of harnessed men in every part."[1]

Before Wyatt and his growing force reached Greenwich, the Earl of Pembroke had been commissioned "General of the Queen's Army Royal," in Norfolk's stead, with Lord William Howard and Lord Clinton under him. On the 3rd of February when the Queen was able to announce by proclamation that the Duke of Suffolk was a fugitive, she offered £100 a year annuity "for ever" to any who would capture Wyatt.[2] She ordered a muster of her Cavalry at St. James's, and in Finsbury field a parade of all the Foot; so when Wyatt with some 2,000 men advanced on London from Deptford, the troops of the Crown were ready.

Purposely he was allowed to come into Southwark, "without repulse or any stroke stricken": the object being to make him undo himself. A parley ensued between him and Lord William Howard: but without any result.

On Shrove Tuesday (6th February) Wyatt marched to Kingston-on-Thames: having issued orders that no soldier should take anything without paying for it. He repeated that his only purpose was "to resist the coming of the Spanish King."

His men by then were "very weary with travel, . . . feeble and faint"; so when he heard that "the Earl of Pembroke was come into the fields," he paused at Knightsbridge to give his forces time to rest before fighting.

In such descriptions of the events as were subsequently permitted in print, the Queen's contempt for danger and her confidence of victory are conspicuous. But the private diary of an unnamed official in the Tower notes that when first the news came to the Court that Wyatt and his army had reached Brainford, Her Majesty and all around her were "wonderfully affrighted."

If so, they acted promptly: "Drums went through London at IIII of the Clock, warning all soldiers to arm themselves and repair to Charing Cross:" and it was set about that the Queen, if need be, would take the field in person.

> "Here was no small ado in London; and likewise the Tower made great preparations for defence. By 10 of the clock, . . . the Earl of Pembroke had set his troop of Horsemen on the hill in the highway, above the new bridge over against St. James's; his Footmen were set in two battels [battalions] . . . nearer Charing Cross. At the lane turning down by the brick wall from Islington-ward he had set also certain other horsemen, and he had planted his ordnance upon the hill side."[3]

---

[1] Harl. 194. op. cit. p. 40.

[2] A sum the purchasing power of which was equal to about 8 times what it is now.

[3] Harl. 194: p. 48.

Wyatt meantime had planted his artillery on the hill beyond St. James's, by the "Park corner"; and he came close to the Court Gate, with three or more ensigns, "his men marching in good array." "Great Ordenaunce" was used on both sides, not very effectively.

Wyatt then fought his way through to Charing Cross; and "marched still forward, all along to Temple Bar, also through Fleet Street, along till he came to Ludgate."

In Fleet Street he passed by "a great Company of harnessed men, which stood on both sides" without "attempting to impede his passage." These knew that Lord William Howard was waiting at Ludgate. Wyatt had expected in the City a whole-hearted welcome. He was refused entry. He then turned back towards Charing Cross; and "was never stopped till he came to Temple Bar"; where the Queen's Cavalry charged upon him, and the fight "waxed hot." At last one of the Heralds said, *"Sir . . . . in resisting you can get no good, but be the death of all your soldiers. . . . . Perchance ye may find the Queen merciful, and the rather if ye stint so great a bloodshed as is like to be here."*[1]

Wyatt, "somewhat astonished," answered briefly, "Well, if I needs must yield, I will yield me to a gentleman."

Sir Morice Berkely, who was riding by, drew rein, and "bade him leap up behind him," offering to take him to the Court to ask Her Majesty's pardon.

If Wyatt imagined that his past services would be remembered, or allowance made for his motives, he was quickly undeceived. Immediately on arrival at the Court he was arrested; and a Proclamation was issued that *on pain of death no citizen must shelter any of his followers.* They were to be delivered over to the Lord Mayor and the Justices.

"A great multitude" of these *"poore catiffs"* were then brought forth (relates Holinshed): *"so manie in number that all the prisons in London sufficed not to receive them"*, and many had to be bestowed in the City churches.

It had been on the pretext of averting bloodshed that the Herald had persuaded Wyatt to surrender. But twenty pairs of gallows were erected, and fifty of his men were swinging from them that same afternoon of 7th of February. And when the Kentish magnates were brought by water to the Tower, Sir Philip Denny, receiving them at the bulwark, accosted Wyatt as a worse traitor than any that had ever been in England.[2]

Wyatt answered firmly "I am no traitor . . . . thou art more traitor than I . . .", and so entered into the prison from which he was only to emerge to condemnation and death.

As he and the others passed through the "Traitor's Gate," the Lieutenant, Sir John Bridges, admitting them one by one, reproached each in turn. Last of all came Wyatt. The Lieutenant took him by the collar "in most rigorous manner," and said, *"Oh thou villain . . . . if it were not that the law must justly pass upon thee, I would strike thee through with my dagger."* Whereon Wyatt, "grievously and with a grim look," answered, *"It is no mastery now;"* and so passed on.[3] (A traditional variation of this is, "Your day to-day. *Mine to-morrow.*")

---

[1] Ib: p. 50. [2] Harl: 194, p. 51 (and Holinshed).
[3] Ib: p. 52.

He was to have many sympathisers hereafter: but at the time no official dared to show compassion.

In the play which the Elizabethans composed in his honour, he was made to soliloquise in the Tower:

> "The sad aspect this prison doth afford
> Jumps with the measure that my heart doth keep;
> And this enclosure here, of naught but stone,
> Yields far more comfort than the stony hearts
> Of them that wronged their country and their friend
> Here is no perjured Counsellors to swear
> A sacred oath, and then forswear the same."

Enter the Duke of Norfolk and the Marquess of Winchester

> "*Nor(folk)* Sir Thomes Wyat.
> *Wyat* That's my name indeed.
> *Win(chester)* You should say Traitor
> *Wyat* *Traitor and Wyat's name*
> *Differ as far as Winchester and honour*"

This last retort, permitted when the theatre was controlled by the great Nobility, is a sign how scant was the post-mortem respect for "my Lord Marquess," who, when asked in his old age, circa 1570, how he had contrived to hold office so successfully when others fell, answered complacently, "By being a willow instead of an oak."[1] In the drama, Winchester's cynical disregard of every consideration except his own safety, and his aggressive harshness to his former associates, are portrayed with scorn; whereas Wyatt is represented as being from first to last a true lover of his country.

That he accused Princess Elizabeth and Lord Courtenay—as officially alleged—was not believed by the dramatists. They show him early deserted and all his plans betrayed by his former friend Sir George Harper, but preserving even in his darkest hour the composure of one whose conscience remains clear.

The day after he was brought to the Tower, there passed also in through the "Traitor's Gate" many more of his followers: including two of the Cobhams, and Cuthbert Vaughan, a gallant fighter and noted as one of the handsomest men in England.

Next came the Duke of Suffolk, and Lord John Grey, under a guard of 300 Horse. The fugitive Sir Henry Iseley was discovered in disguise, in "an old frease coat, an old pair of hosen, all his apparel not worth four shillings." In this condition he also was taken to the Tower.[2]

Though Wyatt and Iseley represented a deep-rooted national feeling, and though they were themselves of honourable record and often-proved devotion to the Crown, neither their virtues, their valour, nor their popularity availed them one iota. Matched against disciplined forces, and confronted by a Sovereign who combined English coolness of head with Spanish pride, these patriotic rebels were to pay the utmost for their principles and daring.

In this the second crisis of her reign, Queen Mary had for her encouragement not only her recent success in the overthrow of John Duke of Northumberland, but her growing sense of hereditary power, as granddaughter of the victor of Bosworth, who had been crowned upon the battlefield; Henry VII, crafty, vigorous, far-seeing, and determined to win.

---

[1] Milles, "*Catalogue of Honor*," 1610, p. 969

[2] Holinshed's *Chronicles*: ed. 1808. Vol. IV. pp. 20-21.

FAREWELL LETTERS OF LORD GUILDFORD DUDLEY AND HIS WIFE LADY JANE, to the *DUKE OF SUFFOLK:*

From the originals, written in their own hands, in the Tower of London, on the blank spaces of a small book of Prayers,

Harl: MS. 2342. ff. 59^b, 60^a; and ff. 79^b, 80^a.

This MS on vellum is a volume about 2½ inches long and 2 inches thick; slightly illuminated, except at the end where Prayers in Adversity have been added in a different hand

The facsimile shows the end only of Lady Jane's letter, which letter is across the foot of f f. 78^a, 78^b, 79^a, 79^b, 80^a.

The letters were printed in Vol. II of the Harleian MSS Catalogue; and then in Howard's "*Lady Jane Grey and her Times,*" 1822. A full description of the contents of the book is given at pp 54-58 of "*The Literary Remains of Lady Jane Grey with a Memoir of her Life By Nicholas Harris Nicolas Esqre* " London, 1825 Dedicated "To the most honourable Richard Plantagenet Temple-Nugent-Brydges-Chandos-Grenville, Marques of Chandos . . . the present representative of Lady Jane Grey" (i e. descended from her sister Lady Katherine Grey and her 2nd husband, Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford)

for all that hartely love y[e]
and do thie wille and pleas[ure]
in thie troublous lyffe .
Amen

A petition & prayer to
Oure Lorde

Delyver me from
my enemys [illegible]
the god of my helthe and my
tonge shall triumphe [illegible]
thie rightwisnes. [illegible]
to the, lorde. lorde harken
unto my voice. Tarry not for [illegible]

[illegible]

fain even at the pointe of
death. Helpe me lorde. least
I perishe Oh god, whiche go
vernest all thinges, with
onely [illegible] delyvere me in
whose handes is the sprite
of lyfe. Ridde and [illegible] me
frome myne enemyes. De
lyver me frome them Oh
god, thauctour of my healthe,
God, in whome onely con
sisteth my salvacon, delyver
me lorde as thou delyveredst

[illegible]

Have mercy [illegible]
of these [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] shall [illegible] thie name
[illegible] my brethern in the
[illegible] of the congregacon I
shall prayse the
[illegible] thie name lorde.
[illegible] me to the [illegible]
[illegible] remember thie mer[cies]
and thie [illegible]
for in these [illegible]

[illegible]se even from the begyn
nynge [illegible]
[F]or the synnes of my youthe
[illegible] ignoraunce also [illegible]
ments [illegible] thou not. Remem
ber me according to thye
goodnes and for thie mercies
sake oh lorde.
For thie names sake oh
Lorde forgeve me my wic
kednes: for it is verie much
beholde my poore state &
my heavenes: forgeve me

"PICTURE OF THE NOBLE KNIGHT THOMAS CHALONER, 1559"

("Tho. Chaloneri equestris ordinis viri effigies. Ano 1559.")

From a portrait on panel, presented to the National Portrait Gallery in 1900 by Mr. E. A. Maund. (No. 1274).

Shown in the First National Portrait Exhibition, 1866: when it was lent by the widow of the Rev. Mileson Gery Edgar of Red House Park, Ipswich (1784-1853). Mrs. Edgar was Elizabeth, daughter of William Arkell, great-great-great-granddaughter of Sir Matthew Hale. It is not ascertainable whether she possessed the picture through her own family or her husband's

A similar painting was acquired by the National Portrait Gallery in 1930, having been sold at Christies, 9th December, 1929 No 2445 Its history is unknown Which of the two is the original remains a matter for discussion Both are similarly named and dated, and inscribed with the same Latin verses, declaring Chaloner's preference for matters of spirit and intellect above mere material advantage:

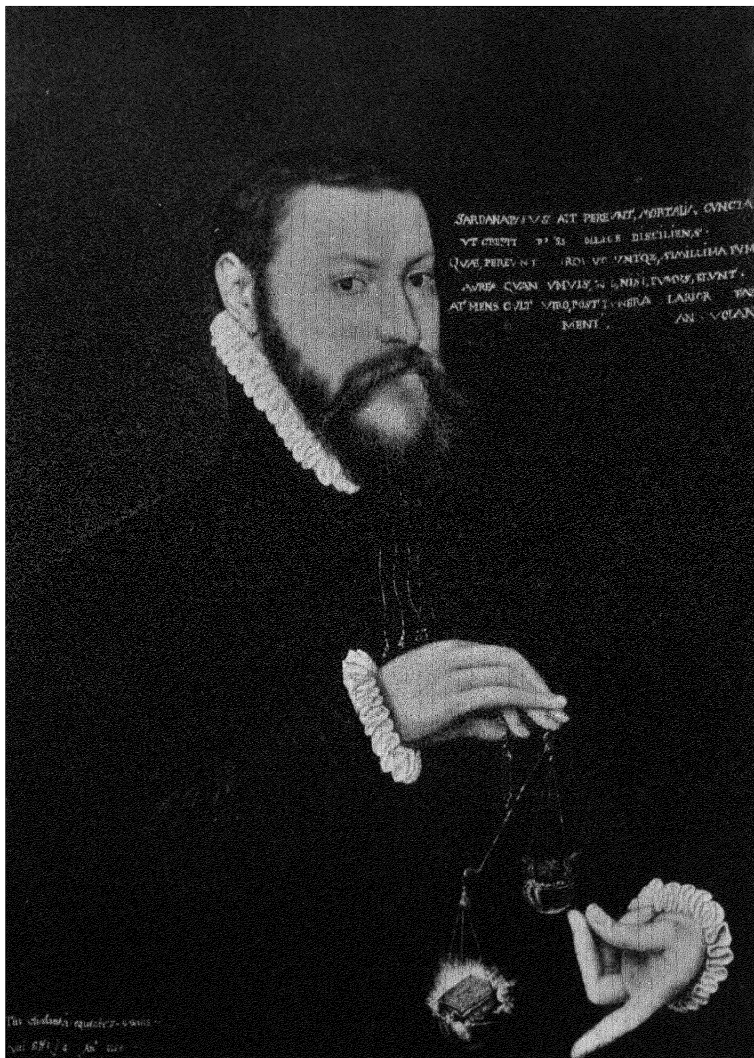
> ". . All mortal things perish as the crackle of leaves . . and float away like black smoke, however golden they may be . . But the cultured mind in man survives more glorious after the funeral pyre: the mind alone has weight; all other things fly up like an empty scale of the balance."

Chaloner's reputation stood high during his life; and even sixty years after his death, he was acclaimed as "a famous man . . who had addicted himselfe as well to Mars as to the Muses," the composer of "Bookes in pure and learned verse." (Vide *"The True and Royall Historie of the Famous Empresse Elizabeth Queene of England"* etc, 1625. Book I, p. 125)

The "Bookes," written when he was Ambassador in Spain, were not published by him He died in October 1565 Sir William Cecil, then Principal Secretary of State, was chief mourner at his funeral in St Paul's Cathedral.

Chaloner's works were posthumously printed in 1579, with introductory verses by Sir William Cecil, Lord Burghley, Lord High Treasurer. (First translated, *"Elizabethan England,"* Vol. III).

The reason for placing Chaloner's portrait in the Prologue, though painted the year after Queen Mary died, is that the first translation will be here given of his statements about Lady Jane the Nine-Days Queen: which assertions her two 19th century biographers, Howard and Nicolas, contradicted without quotation, and without giving any reason for discarding information of an Elizabethan so well acquainted with the chief personages of his day.


AT PEREVNT, MORTALIA, CVNCTA
QVAE, PEREVNT
SIMILLIMA
QVAM
AT MENS
VIRO, POST
LABOR
MENT.

(a) *UNPUBLISHED MINIATURE OF PRINCESS ELIZABETH*

enlarged from the original in possession of Major C. E. Radclyffe (late 1st Life Guards), of Foxdenton Hall, Lancashire; and of Hyde, Wareham, Dorset:

Believed to have been given by Queen Elizabeth, with a portrait on panel of herself (see Vol. V), and a portrait of her mother Queen Anne, to Margaret Radclyffe, one of her favourite Maids of Honour.

The possessor of the miniature, Margaret Radclyffe, was born in 1573: daughter of Sir John Radclyffe of Ordshall, and sister of Sir Alexander Radclyffe who was killed in the Irish Wars, unmarried, in 1599, the same year that his two youngest brothers fell fighting in the Low Countries. On November 10, 1599, Margaret Radclyffe died of grief for the loss of her brothers. Her second but only surviving brother Sir John Radclyffe (who married Alice, eldest daughter of Sir John Byron of Newstead Abbey) was killed in 1627 at the Isle of Rhé. Sir John's son Sir Alexander Radclyffe, K.B. of Foxdenton (born 1608) benefited by the bequest of Henry Radclyffe, 11th Lord FitzWalter, 2nd Earl of Sussex, who had settled all the FitzWalter estates upon his kinsman Sir W. Radclyffe of Ordshall or his heirs, if he, Sussex, or his heirs, should die without direct male issue. This came to pass at the death of Robert the 5th Earl. Though the Earldom went to his cousin Edward Radclyffe, and the FitzWalter Barony to Sir Henry Mildmay, the estates devolved upon Sir Alexander Radclyffe under the settlement made by the 2nd Earl. When Sir Alexander subsequently married Jane Radclyffe, the illegitimate daughter and only surviving child of Robert the 5th Earl, he obtained through her such of the Sussex property as he had not already inherited under the previous settlement.

Major C. E. Radclyffe is the present head of this ancient family, from which the Earls of Sussex and Earls of Derwentwater sprang. His pedigree shows no break in the direct male line from the days of King John.

As to the FitzWalter Barony, the 19th Lord died without male heirs in 1756, when the Barony fell into abeyance between the heirs of the 16th and 17th Lords. In 1841 Sir Brook William Bridges claimed to be the 20th Baron, but in 1844 the Committee for Privileges of the House of Lords clung to the idea that the Barony was in abeyance. In 1868 a new Barony was given to Sir B. W. Bridges, as "Lord FitzWalter of Woodham Walter" (Essex). This peerage ended with him in 1875. In 1924 his great-nephew Henry FitzWalter Plumptre of Goodnestone Park, Canterbury, revived the claim. He won his case and became 20th Baron FitzWalter, as Sir B. W. Bridges should have been.

Lord FitzWalter died in 1932, and the Barony has again fallen into abeyance.

There is at Goodnestone a contemporary portrait of Thomas Radclyffe, 3rd Earl of Sussex.

(b) *ARMS OF MAJOR RADCLYFFE OF FOXDENTON:*

Even as Spanish and French titles (often a different territorial title for each brother) are puzzling to English people, it appears to foreigners a paradox that certain Englishmen of very ancient and illustrious ancestry have no titles at all. The family of Radclyffe of Foxdenton, a property belonging to the Radclyffes for eight centuries, has a remarkable record. The arms of Major Radclyffe, with the proud motto commemorating his ancestors' distinguished parts in three famous mediaeval English victories, *"Caen, Crecy, Calais,"* are here added under his miniature of Princess Elizabeth, because there can be few shields of private gentlemen more interesting to the herald and antiquarian. (Foreign readers should be reminded that in England no man uses 16 or more quarterings merely because his forbears on both sides have been of armorial families; but only quarters arms other than his paternal coat if he or his predecessors marry heiresses of houses extinct in the male line).

Armorial achievements will from time to time be given in *"Elizabethan England,"* in hope that English students will revert to 16th century delight in heraldry as a handmaid to history.

CAEN CRECY CALAIS

LORD HENRY GREY, MARQUESS OF DORSET, DUKE OF SUFFOLK, K.G.

Panel: National Portrait Gallery. (No. 247).

Purchased in 1867 from Mr. Henry Graves, who stated that "it came from the Manor House, Hasley [Haseley], n^{r} Thame, where it has been since the period."

According to "J N. Brewer, in "*The Beauties of England and Wales,*" 1813 (Vol. XII, Pt ii, pp 364-5) Haseley has changed hands several times since the 16th century.

This portrait shows a vigorous-looking personage with a bright complexion, greyish-brown eyes; and brown beard and moustache. A nearly similar picture is at Hatfield House· differing only in trifling details; as for instance, two more ornaments on the sleeve; one more on the cap; the lace ruff, right ear, and left hand more carefully painted, and the George more conspicuous, hanging lower, straight in the centre.

In that Sir William Cecil was of the Duke of Suffolk's party in 1553, possibly the Hatfield portrait is the original.

Though Mr. Charles R Beard, in "*The Connoisseur,*" May, 1931, suggested that the portrait is misnamed and should be called Ambrose Dudley Earl of Warwick, the present writer must point out that the undeniably authentic picture of Ambrose Earl of Warwick, published I. 1. 5, from the original at Woburn Abbey, is remarkably different in features, colouring, and expression.

In the Tudor Exhibition of 1890 two items purported to represent this Duke of Suffolk; but in the Catalogue beside No 172 Sir George Scharf marginally noted "Certainly not."

No. 172 (p. 56) "small half-length, to left, black dress, black cap with white feather, massive chain over shoulders; hands together; gloves in left Panel 15¾ x 11 in. Lent by G. P. Boyce Esqre."

No. 177 (p. 59) "Three quarters length, to right, white and gold doublet and trunks, black fur-lined surcoat, white ruffs at neck and wrist, black hat with jewels and feathers, collar of the Garter with George; right hand on hip, left hand holds hilt of sword. Panel 14 x 10."

The present whereabouts of these pictures cannot be ascertained.

Lord Henry Grey succeeded his father (Thomas) as 3rd Marquess of Dorset in 1530.

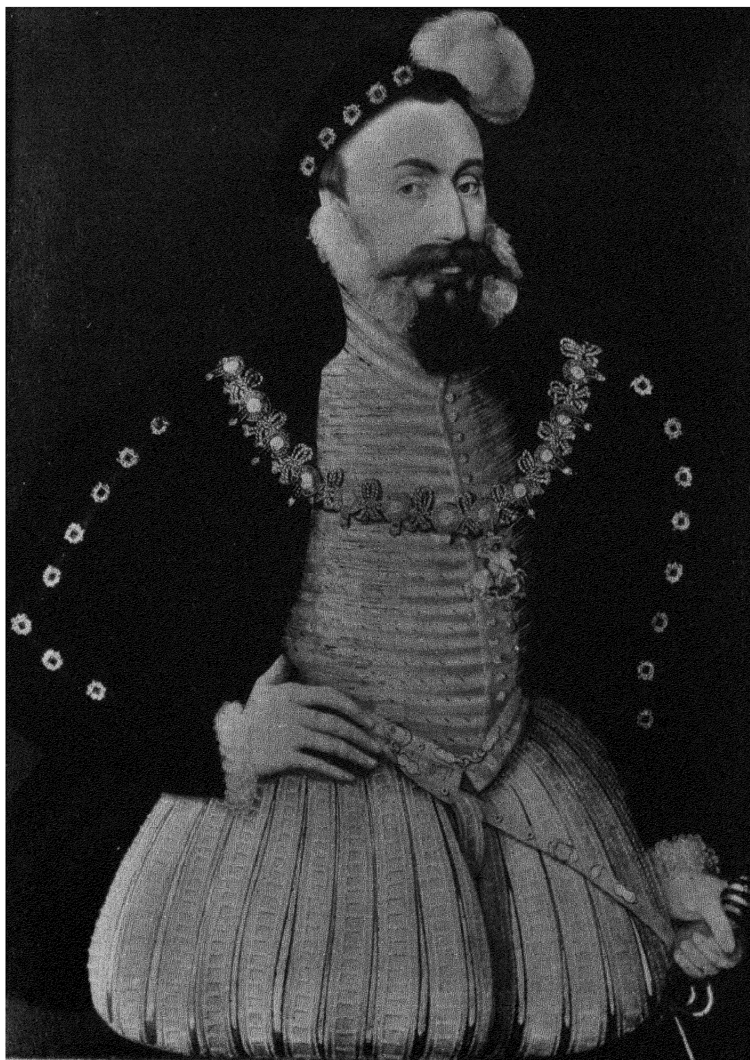
He was Constable of England, 1547, Justice of the King's Forests, 1550; Warden of the Marches, 1551. Elected Knight of the Garter, 1551

In 1551 created DUKE OF SUFFOLK, in right of his wife Lady Frances, eldest daughter and co-heiress of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk by Mary (Tudor) sister of Henry VIII, Queen Dowager of France. (See p. 6)

Conrad Gesner dedicated to the Duke and to Lord Thomas and Lord John Grey, "*Icones Animalium*" (f. *Tigur apud Froschover*), in an epistle dated from Zurich, 5 Cal: Aug 1553: "*Amplissimis heroibus D Thomae et D Joanni, illustrissimi et potentissimi principis, Henrici Gray, Suffolchiae Ducis, fratibus*" (B M. 445, g. b.; and 459. c. 9.)

When, 1st June, 1560, a second edition (B M 460. d. 4) was dedicated to Queen Elizabeth (28 lines of eulogy in Greek) without her permission, a correspondence ensued in Latin between Sir W^{m}. Cecil and Conrad Gesner (Cal: S P Foreign. Vol. V, No 17, p. 10) Subsequently translated into English as "*The Historie of Four-Footed Beastes,*" this work became popular with all ranks, and long so remained.

(17) E M. Tenison's "Elizabethan England," Prologue, viii.



PROLOGUE.

Section VII "Sharp and Cruel Executions." *The Tragedy of Lord Guildford Dudley and his wife "JANE THE QUEEN."* 12 February, 1553-4.

After the trial and condemnation of Lady Jane and her husband at the Guildhall on November the 13th, when they saw each other for the first time since Queen Mary separated them in July, they had been taken back to their respective prisons, where they awaited the summons to the scaffold.

In the margins of a small MS. book of prayers belonging to the Lieutenant of the Tower, they wrote their farewells to the Duke of Suffolk. Lord Guildford Dudley says no word of self-pity; nor even alludes to the fatal sentence:

> "*Your loving and obedient son wisheth unto Your Grace long life in this world, with as much joy and comfort as ever I wished to myself; and in the world to come joy everlasting. Your most humble son till his death,* G DUDDELEY"[1]

This is written across two pages peculiarly appropriate to his case:

> "Deliver me from my enemies, oh God . . . lorde harken unto my voice. *Tarry not, for I am even at the poynte of death. Helpe me lorde lest I perishe. O God which governeth all thinges . . . deliver me.*"

Had he any hope that the Queen would remember his father's petition, and pardon "the children"? His wife did not expect mercy.

> "The Lord comfort Your Grace, and that in His word wherein all creatures only are to be comforted. *And though it hath pleased God to take away 2 of your children, yet think not, I most humbly beseech Your Grace, that you have lost them, but trust that we by leaving this mortal life have won an immortal life.* And I, for my part, as I have honoured Your Grace in this life, will pray for you in another life.
>
> Your Grace's humble daughter,
>
> JANE DUDDELEY."[2]

But Queen Mary refrained from signing the death warrants. And three days after Christmas, Lady Jane was given "the liberty of the Tower, so that she might walk in the Queen's garden and on the hill."[3] Lord Robert and Lord Guildford Dudley were permitted to take the air on the leads of the Bell Tower. And previously Lord Robert's and Lord Ambrose's wives had been allowed "access unto their husbands, and there to tarry with them so long and at such times" as the Lieutenant "thought meet."[4] But Lady Jane and her husband were still kept apart. In the Beauchamp Tower, among names cut in the wall by prisoners, that of Jane is repeated,—IANE. IANE. This is believed to have been carved by Lord Guildford Dudley. It and the few lines to the Duke of Suffolk are his only memorial. In November he could reasonably wish Suffolk "*long life in this world.*" But the Duke's subsequent complicity in Sir Thomas Wyatt's rebellion

[1] Harl: MS. 2342. ff. 59^b, 60^a. See facsimile, ante, plate 14.

[2] Ib: ff. 78^a to 80^a. [3] Harl: 194, ed: Nichols, p. 33.

[4] Privy Council Register. Richmond, 5 Sep: 1553.

not only put an end to any such hope, but hardened the Queen's heart against the entire house of Grey.

On the 10th of February, under an escort of three hundred Horse, Suffolk, with his brother Lord John Grey, was brought prisoner to the Tower. It was a fate he had not expected; for even when the rising failed, he still hoped to escape abroad and await better times. But he was betrayed by a servant he had implicitly trusted.

The circumstances were sufficiently notorious to be depicted on the stage during the next two reigns. The treacherous servant "Ned Homes," when telling his master he had been offered "a thousand crowns" to reveal his whereabouts, protests vehemently:

"First would I see loved wife and children
Murdered and tossed on spears before I would
deliver your Grace into their hands,
For they intend your death

Suff(olk) I kiss thee in requital of this love.
Hom(es) And in requital of so great a grace
I kiss your hand . . .
Sher(iff). (aside) So Judas kissed his Master.
(aloud, to officers) Now seize the Duke.
Suff(olk). Ah me! Ned Homes we are undone;
Both thou and I betrayed!
She(riff) My Lord, late Duke of Suffolk, in her Highness name
I do arrest you of High Treason.
Suff(olk) I do obey; and only crave this kindness,
You would be good unto my servant Homes,
Who in relieving me hath but performed
The duty of a servant to his Lord.
She(riff) You are deceived, sir, in your servant much
He is the man that did betray you.
Here master Homes, towards your thousand pounds
Here is a hundred marks.
Come to the Exchequer, you shall have the rest.
Suff(olk) Hast thou betrayed me? Yet with such a tongue
So smoothly oiled, . . .
Oh break, my heart. This grief's too great to bear.
H(omes). Pardon me, my Lord.
Suff(olk) God pardon thee; and lay not to thy soul
This grievous sin. Farewell.
And when thou spendest this ill gotten gold
Remember how thy Master's life was sold;
Thy Lord that gave thee Lordships, made thee great,
Yet thou betraydst him. . . .
Hom(es). O God, O God, that ever I was born.
This deed hath made me slave to abject scorn."[1]

---

[1] Spelling modernised from "*The Famous History of Sir Thomas Wyat*" (full title, sec. vi, ante).
In the "*Annales of England,*" translated by Morgan Godwyn from the Latin of Francis, Bishop of Hereford, (London, 1630), p 292, the traitorous servant is not called Homes but "*one Underwood,* whom hee" (the Duke) "had formerly made his Ranger at Astley. But benefits oblige not ignoble minds", and the Ranger "having promised for a while to shelter his Lord, . . . betraied him to the Earle of Huntingdon . ."
In Grafton's "*Chronicle at large,*" 1569, (reprint 1809, Vol. II, p. 539) the traitor is called "*Nicholas Laurence,*" keeper of the Duke's park at Astley, six miles from Coventry: "the which keeper bestowed the Duke his Maister in a hollow Oke within the saide parke, where he remained two or three dayes undiscovered," until the keeper revealed the hiding place.

When the Duke of Suffolk was brought to the Tower, his daughter had been informed that her father's action cut off all possibility of the Queen's mercy for herself and her husband. She wrote then to the Duke:

> " Father, although it hath pleased God to hasten my death by you, . . . albeit I am very well assured of your impatient dolours, . . . both in bewailing your own woe and . . . my woeful estate: yet my dear father . . . I may account myself blessed, that . . . my guiltless blood may cry before the Lord, Mercy to the innocent. And yet I must needs acknowledge that being constrained, . . . as you know, . . . I seemed to consent, and therein grievously offended the Queen, . . . yet I assuredly trust that this my offence towards God is much the less. . . ."

Praying that " at the last we may meet in Heaven," she signs herself " Your obedient daughter till death JANE DUDDELEY."[1]

The next day, Sunday, February the 11th, the Bishop of Winchester publicly adjured Queen Mary to " cut off and consume " the " hurtful members ": *" whereby all the audience did gather there should shortly follow sharp and cruel executions."*[2]

Actually the beheading of Lady Jane had been intended on the 8th of February; but after being bidden to prepare for death, she was reprieved that she might hearken to what she termed the " eloquent *but tedious* " arguments of Abbot Feckenham, Queen Mary's Confessor. The dialogue between them, a dispute on the main doctrinal points at issue between the Churches of Rome and England, displays a determination on Lady Jane's part to defend the ideas in which she had been educated.[3] That her father-in-law, the Duke of Northumberland, a Protestant champion, had at the twelfth hour reverted to " Popery," appeared to her " most strange." She had nothing but scorn for a recantation in which she saw only a surrender to the winning side. Her feelings have come down to us through the person to whom she expressed them only a week after the Duke's execution:[4]

> " On Tuesday the 29th of August, I dined at Partridge's house with my Lady Jane. . . . We fell into discourse upon matters of religion: " and she exclaimed upon " the sudden conversion of the late Duke: *' for who would have thought,'* said she, *' he would have so done? '*
>
> It was answered her *' Perchance he hoped thereby to have had his pardon.'*
>
> ' Pardon! ' quoth she, *' Woe worth him! He hath brought me and our stock in most miserable calamity by his exceeding ambition.'* But that he could have gained life *" ' by his turning, though other men be of that opinion, I utterly am not. For what man is there . . . although he had been innocent, that would hope of life in that case: being against the Queen in person as General. . . .' "*

---

[1] Copy. Harl: MS. 2194. f. 23b. (Nicolas, pp. 47-48).

[2] Harl: 194. op. cit. p. 54.

[3] *" A Conference, dialogue wise, held between the Lady Jane Dudley and M. Feckenham, four days before her death, touching her faith and religion."* In extenso, Nicolas, pp. 35-40. From Harl: MS. 425, 83. Signed by Lady Jane.

Geo: Howard, *Lady Jane Grey* (1822), p. 340, rejects as spurious a letter to Harding ascribed to Lady Jane in Fox's *Actes and Monumentes,* (III, p. 27), it being unlike in manner to her authentic utterances.

[4] Harl. 194. Spelling modernised from op. cit. pp. 25-26. Apparently the writer of this diary was an official in the Tower.

Alluding to him as *"full of dissimulation both in life and death,"* she exclaimed,

"I pray God I, nor no friend of mine, die so! Should I, who [*am*] *young . . . forsake my faith for the love of life? Nay, God forbid! Much more he should not,* whose fatal course, although he had lived his just number of years, could not have been long continued.[1] But life was sweet, it appeared; [and if] he might have lived, you will say, he did [not] care how. . . ."

The disdain in these words is comprehensible; as it had been on the pretext of giving England a Protestant Monarch that the Duke had constrained her to be Queen against her will.

On Monday morning the 12th of February (the day after the Bishop's sermon,) Lady Jane and her husband ended their short and innocent lives; Lord Guildford Dudley publicly on Tower Hill; his wife inside the Tower, on the green near the chapel of St. Peter-ad-Vincula.

"Great pity it was for the casting away of that fair Lady, whom nature had beautified" and "God also had endowed with singular gifts and graces. . . ."[2]

Fuller's protest that it was "cruelty to cut down the tree with the blossoms on it," and that a condition "which hath saved the lives of many women hastened her death," was put aside by both her 19th century biographers.[3] Fuller was writing in the next century; but Nicolas dismissed with equal incredulity Sir Thomas Chaloner's reference to the "same circumstance," in "his well known elegy."[4] The words of Chaloner are not quoted; nor is there any mention where the "well known elegy" is to be found; nor at what date it was published. Nicolas invoked instead the *Biographia Britannica,* and argued that "upon so delicate a question any conjecture would at this period be ridiculous."[4] The casual reader, therefore, has never realised that Chaloner was a friend and contemporary of Lady Jane's near relations, and that he did not offer a "conjecture" but assert what he believed to be a fact. Nicolas's dictum, accepted ever since 1825, that there "seems not the least possibility of arriving at a satisfactory conclusion,"[5] suggests that he himself either had not been able to find the "well known elegy," or else did not recall the circumstances which made it likely that Chaloner would know the truth; and improbable that the Privy Councillor who published Chaloner's works posthumously, with a signed introductory commendation, would have countenanced this assertion about the Nine Days Queen if it had been open to contradiction.

The attempt to create a Grey and Dudley dynasty having at the time brought ruin or death upon nearly everyone concerned, (and even in Queen Elizabeth's reign Lady Jane's sister Katherine was to remain an object of jealousy and suspicion to the Sovereign), it was not to the interests of Sir Thomas Chaloner, Queen Elizabeth's Ambassador to Spain in 1562-64, to let his imagination run away with him in relation to a lost cause. But his poem, headed *"Deploratio Acerbae Necis Heroidis praestantissimae*

[1] Actually he was only 52; but to his daughter-in-law (aged 16) this seemed a great age.

[2] Grafton's *Abridgment,* 1563.

[3] Geo. Howard, *"Life and Times of Lady Jane Grey,"* 1822; and Harris Nicolas, *"Literary Remains of Lady Jane Grey,"* 1825.

[4] Op. cit. p. ci. [5] Op. cit. p. ci.

D. Janae Grayae Henrici Ducis Suffolchiae filiae, quae securi percussa animo constantissimo mortem oppretijt," reads like a spontaneous expression of a compassion and regret he could not stifle. There is nothing "conjectural" about his reference to the double tragedy of Lady Jane. He makes a series of plain statements, when, after describing her character, he passes to the conditions in which she met her death:

> *"When the sceptre had without bloodshed been taken from Jane, Mary, victorious, pardoned others. Jane she did not pardon, nor, woman hard of heart, did she spare her tender years; nor did she spare her though of blood relationship and heavy with child."*[1]

As Lady Jane had married Lord Guildford Dudley on 21st of May, 1553,[2] and lived with him uninterruptedly until he and she were torn apart two months later, it is difficult to understand why her 19th century biographer considered it a "ridiculous" instead of natural consequence for her to have been expecting a child. In the proclamation issued in her name by the Duke of Northumberland on the 10th of July, announcing King Edward's Royal Letters Patent appointing the Lady Jane "heir to the Crown of England" it was specified that her *"heirs male"* should succeed her. This was noted by the same official in the Tower,[3] to whom she herself afterwards said that the Duke of Northumberland's ambition was the cause of all the calamities that had fallen upon her and her family.

That the Duke was eager for a grandchild of his own to be King of England is manifest from his marrying Lady Jane to his son, instead of seeking some royal consort for the intended Queen of England.[4] But nothing could have been more contrary to Queen Mary's mind than that Lady Jane should have a child. The separation of the young husband and wife may have been intended to prevent this. Chaloner (whose life ended only nine years subsequent to Lady Jane's execution), wrote, within four or five years of the tragedy, that the youth and sex of Jane should have softened Queen Mary, and the attainder of the chief conspirators have satisfied her.[5]

---

[1] "Ignouit victrix, alijs, sine vulnere sceptrum
Ablatum Janae, quae Maria obtinuit,
Huic non ignouit tenere nec dura pepercit,
Nec consanguineae (tam pia) nec grauidae.
Janum aetas, genus et sexus, Procerumque reatus,
Quicquid erat, culpa soluere debuerant.
Nec tamen haec Mariae potuerunt omnia sensus
Flectere: . . . .
. . . .
. . . Heu tragicis Jana canenda modis.
Ah Maria immitis, fluuioque pianda noueno,
Par erat hoc saltem sanguine pura fores."

pp. 296-299, *De Rep. Anglorum*, &c.

[2] G.E.C.'s *Complete Peerage*, 1st ed. Vol. VI, p. 87.

[3] Harl: 194. ed. Nichols, p. 3.

[4] *"Intended Queen,"* as the marriage took place after the Duke had settled to have the succession diverted from Mary and Elizabeth, though it was not till four weeks after the wedding that King Edward actually signed the Letter Patent. See ante, sec 1.

[5] Supra, note 1.

In order to judge what Chaloner's word is worth, we must recall his relations with the chief conspirators of 1553. He had won his spurs in 1547 in the campaign in which John Dudley, Earl of Warwick,—subsequently Duke of Northumberland and father-in-law of Lady Jane,—had been eminently distinguished. And Warwick's brother Sir Andrew Dudley, with Lord Grey of Wilton and Sir Francis Knollys had been knighted at the same time.[1] In that Scottish war, William Cecil had accompanied the forces as a judge in the Marshal's Court. The friendship of Chaloner and Cecil went back even further than this. After Chaloner's death, Cecil in elegiac hexameters referred to their affection "*from our green youthful days,*" up to the last. When Chaloner died in 1565 it was Cecil to whose care he bequeathed his wife and child, his servants, and his "last-born offspring,"—namely the book which Cecil subsequently published: heading his own Latin verses: "William, Lord Burghley, Treasurer of England, to the memory of Thomas Chaloner, Knight, on his return from the Embassy to Spain, and departure for the celestial Shores of the Blessed."[2]

Fourteen years elapsed between Chaloner's death, 14th October, 1565, and the publication of the "deep studies" which had been his recreation during his embassy to Spain. But Burghley in 1579 was far more conspicuous and powerful than in 1565; so the book appearing under his auspices is exceedingly significant. He commends it not only to his contemporaries; but to "*our late-flowering descendants in long hereafter ages.*" They should know, he wrote, that "*conscientiousness,* foresight, and true manliness" had been united in Sir Thomas Chaloner.[3]

Had Chaloner's statement about Lady Jane's condition been untrue, it could have been contradicted in 1579.

Appalling as it may seem that in such circumstances Queen Mary could have signed the death warrant of her near kinswoman, the Tudor "dynasty of usurpers" had from the first attained its power not by magnanimity and mercy but by ruthlessness. Of chivalry, clemency,—and the generosity towards a fallen foe which was a "princely virtue" of mediaeval tradition,—they were devoid.

For Queen Mary, the birth of a son to Lady Jane would have been alarming; for even though Mary in 1554 was master of the Kingdom, both the nobility and commons being "at her commandment," the destruction of possible rivals was a tendency inherited both from her father and her grandfather. Her own early misfortunes, instead of developing a capacity to feel for others' griefs, created in her the determination that now her day had come, she would ensure its continuance.

---

[1] List of "*Knightes Bannneretts and Bacheler Knightes made in the campe besydes Rockesburgh in Scotland . . by the handes of the high and mighty Prynce Edward Duke of Somersett, Generall of all the Kinges Armyes by lande and by sea, and Governour of his royall person and protectour of all his realmes, dominions and subjectes*" Metcalfe's "*Book of Knights*" (1885), pp. 95, 98.

[2] Verses first translated under date, Vol. III. The elegy on Lady Jane is in the portion of the work called "*De Illustrium Quorundam Ecomiis Miscellanae, cum Epigrammatis, ac Epitaphijs, Nonnullis: eodem Thoma Chalonero Authore Londoni. Excudebat Thoma Vautrollerius Typhographicus. 1579*" being the second part of the Vol. entitled "*De Rep. Anglorum Instauranda,*" etc., etc. B.M. 78. c. 4.

[3] Op cit. Burghley's hexameters; now first translated (Vol. III) by the Rev. W. Stanhope-Lovell, former Librarian to the Marquess of Salisbury.

The beheading of Lady Jane privately inside the Tower, instead of publicly on Tower Hill indicates fear lest the sympathy of the people might be aroused. But to the victim it mattered little whether her execution were public or private; her dominating idea was that as she and her husband were innocent, their sorrow and separation would end, and their return to happiness would begin, from the moment of bodily death. She was far more apprehensive for her sister left behind, than for herself about to die. As if with a premonition of the miseries ahead of Lady Katherine, she exhorted her to set no confidence in earthly advantages, and trust only in God. Her letter was written on the fly leaves of a Greek Testament.[1]

"I have sent you, good sister K, a book which although it be not outwardly trimmed with gold, yet inwardly it is more worth than precious stones. . . . It will teach you to live, and learn you to die. . . . and as touching my death, rejoice as I do . . . I am assured I shall for losing of a mortal life find an immortal felicity. . . .

. . . . Farewell, good sister, put your only trust in God, Who only must uphold you. Your loving sister JANE DUDLEY."

In the same little Book of Prayers in which she and Lord Guildford in November had written their messages to the Duke of Suffolk, Lady Jane added for the Lieutenant of the Tower, at his request, a farewell exhortation to himself.[2]

Her heaviest sorrow during her captivity had been that she was parted from her husband. But when he "being first to suffer" execution, asked "leave to see her, converse with her, and take his last farewell," it was she who "would by no means consent": sending him word instead that they soon would "behold each other" again, and be "more really united" in a "better place" and more "happy estate."[3]

---

[1] Original lost. Supra from copy of the letter added on the extra leaves of another MS volume in the B.M. (Harl: 2370); wherein is a note, *"This exhortacyon was writen by lady Jane Dudley to her sister Katherine ye night before she suffered."* Printed in orig: spelling by Geo. Howard, *"Lady Jane Grey,"* etc. 1822, pp. 371-2.

The contents of the volume (20mo) are as undernoted:
1. Albertus Castellanus, Libellus de arte Moriendi.
2. *Lady Jane Dudley's Exhortation.*
3. Chronicum breve . . . de Rebus Britannicis. . . a d. 1427.
4. Numerus Ecclesiarum . . . & Comitatem Angliae
5. Versiculi . . . ad Computum Ecclesiasticum . . . spectanter.
6. Versiculi de progenie Annae, matris B.V.M.
7. Oratio ad Crucem, in tempore Pestelentia.

[2] Harl: MS. 2342. f. 74^b to f. 77^a. In extenso Howard, and Harris Nicolas.

[3] *"Annales of England."* From the Latin of Francis Bishop of Hereford. Translated by Morgan Godwyn, 1630, p. 296.

In the Elizabethan drama *"The Famous History of Sir Thomas Wyat,"* Lord Guildford meets "lovely Jane" once more, on his way to Tower Hill And greets the Privy Councillors, "ministers of death," with contempt:

"My Lord Chancellor, you are welcome hither.
What! Come you to behold our execution?
And my Lord Arundel, thrice welcome.
You help'd to attack our Father. Come you now
To see the black conclusion of our tragedy."

Win[chester] "We come to do our office."

Guil[dford] "So do we.
Our office is to die. Yours to look on.
We are beholding unto such beholders.
The time was, Lords, when you did flock amain
To see her crown; but now to kill my Jane."

Her courage made a deep impression upon the minds and memories of all who saw her; not least upon the Lieutenant of the Tower. How strong would have been the public compassion for her had she been executed on Tower Hill, we may judge from the pity the people felt for her husband, " that comely vertuous and goodly gentleman the lorde Gylford Duddeley."

Even some who had never seen him " till the time of his execution," were moved by his gentleness, patience, and beauty; and lamented grievously that he was cut off so young (eighteen or nineteen),—" most innocente."[1]

Whether by his own request, or out of callousness on the part of his gaolers, he was led past the window of his wife's prison.

The last scenes are described by the unnamed official to whom Lady Jane had previously expressed surprise at the suddenness of the Duke of Northumberland's change of religion.

Lord Guildford, before leaving the Tower, had taken " by the hand Sir Anthony Brown, Mister John Throckmorton, and many other gentlemen, praying them to pray for him. . . ." And when " the Sheriff brought him to the scaffold, where after a short declaration, having no ghostly father,[2] he kneeled down and said his prayers; . . . . after he had desired the people to pray for him, he laid himself along, and his head upon the block, which was at one stroke of the axe taken from him.

" . . . The Lord Marques " [of Northampton, who had been condemned at the same time as Lord Guildford's father and elder brother,] " stood upon the Devil's Tower," and watched the execution. The body was thrown into a cart, and the head wrapped in a cloth, and " brought into the chapel within the Tower, *where the Lady Jane, whose lodging was in Partridge's house, did see his dead carcass taken out of the cart, as well as she did see him in life going to his death. . . .*"[3]

As rendered in the next century by some unknown sympathiser, Lady Jane in her " modest boldness of spirit " was undaunted when she " went towards the scaffold, till

> whether through the mallice of some great adversary or the indiscretion of the officers, . . . she incountered uppon the way (as she went) the headless trunke of her new dead Lord and Husband, . . . at that instant returning from the scaffold to the Tower to be buried." This so " startled " her that " many teares were seen to descend and fall upon her cheeks "; but her " greate hearte " took courage, and before she spoke her last words her eyes were dry.[4]

---

[1] Grafton's "*Abridgement of the Chronicles of Englande,*" 1563. Another edition, "*Newlie and diligently corrected, and finished the last of October 1570 . . . Cum privilegio*" (B.M. 598 a. 5) was dedicated to Lord Guildford Dudley's brother the Earl of Leicester, who as Lord Robert Dudley had been in 1553 a prisoner with his father and brothers, and also condemned to death.

[2] Not being attended by any of the clergy.

[3] Harl: MS. 194: ed: Nichols, pp. 54-55.

[4] "*Life, Death and Actions of . . . the Lady Jane Gray,*" London 1615. (B.M. G. 1375). There is still some dispute as to whether she was accidently or deliberately taken out to her death at the moment when her husband's corpse would be carried in.

But the officer who set down the events in his diary relates that though to see her husband on his way to his execution had been "a sight to her no less than death,"[1] yet when the scaffold was made ready "upon the green against the White Tower" for her to die upon, she did not tremble: "neither with the fear of her own death which then approached, neither with the sight of the dead carcass of her husband when he was brought into the chapel."

Calmly she "came forth, the Lieutenant leading her, in the same black gown wherein she had been arrained, her countenance nothing abashed, neither her eyes anything moiste(ne)d with tears. . . ."[2]

Her "two gentlewomen Mistress Elizabeth Tylney and Mistress Eleyn" were weeping bitterly; but she herself "with a book in her hand, . . . prayed all the way till she came to the scaffold;" and remained marvellously self-controlled.

To the few who were permitted to be present, she then said that although her action against the Queen had been unlawful, yet as her elevation to the Crown had not been of her own seeking, she would die innocent: "And now, good people, while I am alive, I pray you to assist me with your prayers."

The Queen's Confessor, Abbot Feckenham was with her; but she recited "the psalm of Miserere mei Deus" for herself in English. Then rising from her knees she handed her book to the Lieutenant's brother, and her gloves and handkerchief to one of her "maidens."

When the executioner came forward to untie her gown, she asked him to "desist"; and turned "towards her two gentlewomen, who helped her off therewith."

The executioner knelt and asked her pardon for what he was about to do. "She forgave most willingly"; but added "I pray you despatch me quickly."

With her eyes bandaged, she was guided to the block; and, laying down her head, her last words were "Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit."[3]

---

[1] "a sight . . . to hir worse than death." Holinshed, IV, p. 22.

[2] Harl. MS. 194. Op: cit, p. 56.

[3] "*The Ende of the Lady Jane Dudley, daughter of the Duke of Suffolke, upon the scaffolde. . . .* Op: cit, pp. 56-59. Holinshed adds, "this noble young ladie, as she was indued with singular gifts both of learning and knowledge, so was she as patient and mild as anie lamb at her execution. . . . Thus (as said maister Fox) were beheaded two innocents. . . ." *Chronicles*, Vol. IV. ed: 1808, pp. 22-23. Weisener, in "*The Youth of Queen Elizabeth*" (trans: C. M. Young, 1879) corrects Fox's "*Actes and Monuments*" for various errors, but himself (Vol. I, p. 287) falls into the mistake of stating Lady Jane to have been "twenty-seven" when executed. She was born during 1537 and so in February 1553-4 she was, at the outside, in her seventeenth year.

In Dekker and Webster's "*Famous History of Sir Thomas Wyat,*" the love of Lady Jane and Lord Guildford, their eagerness at their trial each to take the blame in hope that the other may be spared; their patient resignation to their hard fate; are shown, the editor of the Mermaid Series complains, without much "art." But, for an Elizabethan audience, the human and historical appeal would have sufficed.

The sequence of events is altered for dramatic purposes. Instead of Lady Jane seeing her husband's dead body, she is executed first; and Lord Guildford sees her severed head when he is being taken to the scaffold. He exclaims how "lovely" she is even in death: "Her innocence hath

given her this look." And on his being adjured by the Marquess of Winchester that the executioner waits for him, he answers he will not delay, lest

> "my fair Jane's white soul will be
> In heaven before me."
> "Though on earth we part by adverse fate,
> Our souls shall knock together at heaven's gate.
> The sky is calm; our deaths have a fair day,
> And we shall pass the smoother on our way."

The tragedy ends "Exit Guildford to death": the Duke of Norfolk speaking the last words:

> "Thus have we seen her Highnesse will performed;
> And now their heads and bodies shall be joined
> And buried in one grave, as fits their lives.
> Thus much I'll say in their behalfs now dead,
> Their Fathers pride their lives have severèd.
> *Finis*"

NOTE ON PORTRAITS OF LADY JANE GREY.

The subject of Lady Jane Grey's portraits did not engage the attention of her 19th century biographers. The following memoranda will therefore be of use.

Four pictures of her are described in the Catalogue of the first Loan Exhibition of Historical Portraits, 1866 [1] No. 183. *By Lucas de Heere. Lent by Earl Spencer, K.G.,* "small size, half length," three quarters figure) "seated in a room near a window, rich crimson dress, with square cut low bodice; one hand turning leaves of a missal open on a desk beside her; a tall gilt covered cup on table to her left. Panel 21 x 15 inches."

This was published in photogravure by Messrs Chatto and Windus in their edition-de-luxe of *"The Poets Royal of England and Scotland,"* 1908 (500 copies).

It used to be supposed that the view through the window was the town of Leicester, in which Lady Jane's father had considerable property. But as Earl Spencer now classes the painting as Flemish, and the subject as unknown, it is not here reproduced.

184. *By Mark Garrard. Lent by Colonel Tempest.*

"Bust, fair hair, dark turban-shaped hat with large sapphire, open collar and bodice, fastened with a jewel. Canvas 23½ inches by 17½ inches."

As Mark Garrard (Gheeraedts) the elder did not come to England till Queen Elizabeth's reign, he cannot have painted Lady Jane Grey.

190. *Lady Jane Grey. Bodleian Library, Oxford.*

"Bust; small life size; flat black head-dress, black dress lined with white fur. Panel 14 x 11 inches." This (with light auburn hair and brown eyes) is similar to the picture now in the National Portrait Gallery, which was "purchased in 1887 from Miss Amelia A. Coulton, whose father purchased it twenty to thirty years before at a broker's shop at Stalybridge which is near Ashton Old Hall, a seat of the Earls of Stamford and Warrington, whence the portrait probably came."

(Information from Mr. G. K. Adams of the National Portrait Gallery).

---

[1] *"Catalogue of the First Special Exhibition of National Portraits, ending with the reign of King James the Second: on loan to the South Kensington Museum. April 1866. London: Printed by Strangways & Walden. . . ."* It has been, and still is, the fashion in catalogues to specify colouring of costume, but not of eyes, hair, or complexion; an omission minimising the value of the descriptions.

193. *Lady Jane Grey Lent by Lord Houghton.*

"Half length; red overdress, showing diapered skirt; and puffed sleeve. Panel 30 x 24.'

Now at West Horsley Place, Surrey, in possession of Lord Houghton's son the Marquess of Crewe, K.G. This picture came into the Milnes family with a portrait of Lady Jane's mother Frances, Duchess of Suffolk. (See note on the Duchess's picture ante, Sec: 1, plate 8)

Not "half length" but a three-quarters figure, standing, front face, brown eyes slightly looking to one side. The dress is of dark red velvet; the sleeves not "puffed" but tight from shoulder to elbow, and slashed only towards the wrists. Holding a book in her left hand, she has in her right hand a large jewel, hanging from the end of a golden and jewelled girdle round a very small waist. A tight gold chain is on her long slim throat; with another pendant; and a yet larger pendant jewel is on her breast. Her jewelled headgear shows some auburn hair in front.

The identity of this painting is now disputed, and a critic lately renamed it "*Princess Elizabeth,*" on the strength of a supposed likeness to a picture of Elizabeth at Windsor Castle, and another circa 1550, in St. James's Palace, formerly and erroneously attributed to Holbein But the mouth and eyes are different; and whereas Princess Elizabeth wears the low necked dress often remarked upon by foreigners in the 16th century as customary for English ladies "until they marry," Lady Jane's neck and shoulders are covered in the style usual for married women of rank, only her throat is shown, inside an embroidered turn-back collar. Whoever the picture represented, it bears little resemblance to Princess Elizabeth.

The French Ambassador wrote to his King about the beauty as well as the learning of "*Jeanne de Suffolck*" in 1553. Neither Lord Crewe's picture nor those at the National Portrait Gallery and Bodleian, deserve so unqualified an epithet as "beautiful." But Harris Nicolas in 1825, in "*The Literary Remains of Lady Jane Grey,*" gave as frontispiece an undeniably lovely picture of a young girl, which he described as "after Holbein;" without a word as to where the painting was to be found. It cannot have been by Holbein, as he died when Lady Jane Grey was six or seven; and in this picture she looks fourteen at the least. But if the original could have been discovered and authenticated, it would have been here reproduced. The so-called Holbein portrait of her in Holland's "*Herwologia,*" 1620, was given by Howard in his "*Lady Jane Grey,*" but bears no resemblance to her miniature or to the portrait selected by Nicolas.

In the "*Exhibition of the Royal House of Tudor,*" 1890, five pictures of Lady Jane Grey were shown:

No. 220. (*Catalogue* p. 70.) *Lent by The Lord Arundell of Wardour.*

"Small three-quarter length, to right, green fur-lined dress, with gold-braided white sleeves, white high collar, jewelled head-dress; right hand holding chain suspended from neck; left hand on hip; background brown curtain; through window, landscape." Copper. 14 x 10½ inches.

No. 225. (p. 71.) Same as No. 190 of 1866 Exhibition.

No. 237. (p. 74) *Lent by the Countess of Stamford.*

"Half-length, life size, to right; square-cut brown dress, embroidered and slashed; red chemise with gold embroidered edge, black jewelled cap with white feather; jewelled necklace with pendant, small gold chain also round neck. Hands folded. Panel, 26½ x 20½ inches."

No. 239. (p. 75) *Lent by the Lord Willoughby de Eresby*

"Three-quarter length, life size, to left, black dress; red embroidered kirtle with red sleeves, white embroidered high collar, red and black hood; chain with pendant; gloves in right hand; long chain from waist. Panel, 44 x 32."

No. 1068. (p. 209.) *Lent by Her Majesty The Queen from the Royal Library, Windsor Castle.*

Miniature. "By N. Hilliard, formerly in the collection of Mr. C. Sackville Bale."

Now disputed, and alternatively called "Princess Elizabeth;" whom it does *not* resemble either in

proportions of face or in expression. First reproduced and described in the present work, by gracious permission of His Majesty The King.

After the Duke of Northumberland married his son to Lady Jane, May, 1553, and procured the alteration in the succession, he is likely to have had her portrait painted with an inscription and regal insignia. But when he was arrested in July that year all his property was seized, and forfeited. Had he possessed any picture of Lady Jane commemorating her elevation to the royal dignity, it is likely to have been destroyed by order of Queen Mary.[1]

Lady Jane's brother-in-law, Lord Robert Dudley, made during Queen Elizabeth's reign a large collection of portraits. But we do not find the Nine Days' Queen's name among the Inventories taken at his death (1588). And despite the reversal of the Dudley attainder, and the rise to power of Lord Robert and his brother Ambrose as Earls of Leicester and of Warwick, it would not have been to their interests to champion their sister-in-law's memory.

Not only had her succession under Edward VI's Will been based on denial of Princess Mary's legitimacy, but upon an equally damning charge against "the Ladie Elizabeth."

So the bones of the innocent victim of the ambition of her elders were left in a traitor's grave in the Chapel of St. Peter-ad-Vincula in the Tower of London; where they still remain.[2]

---

[1] But a portrait "*Of the Lady Jane Graye executed,*" and one "Of the Lady Katheryn Graye, married to the Earl of Hertford," appear "Anno 1590" in the Inventory of pictures in the collection of John, Lord Lumley. See "*Records of the Lumleys of Lumley Castle by Edith Milner, edited by Edith Benham,*" London, 1904, p. 333.

[2] Though, for fear of offending Queen Elizabeth, the English Chronicle-writers did not include Queen Jane in the list of Sovereigns, and thus set a precedent for our later historians, "Juana Grey" is correctly given among Monarchs of the House of Tudor in "*Apuntes de Cronología e Historia de España en sus relaciones con las de Portugal, Francia e Inglaterra,*" by the Condesa de Cerrageria, Madrid. 1922. p. 300. In that Catholic work, more compassion is shown for "the unfortunate Queen" than in many a modern Protestant English history. See p. 292:—"Omiten generalmente los historiadores el reinado de Juana Grey o Gray, que duró sólo diez días. Muerto Eduardo VI el 6 de julio de 1553, el 9 fué proclamada Reina de Inglaterra, contra su voluntad y a instancias de su suegro el Duque de Northumberland. Encarcelada en la Torre de Londres el día 19 del mismo mes y año, y decapitada como su marido Lord Guildford Dudley, en febrero de 1554. *When I was raised to the throne I saw the scaffold behind it,* dijo la infortunada Reina. Su educación speró a la de las muchachas de su época; el griego y el latín le fuerón familiares y escribió cartas muy bellas. . . ."

NOTE *on works treating of* LADY JANE GREY.

1. "*The Monument of Matrones: conteining seuen seuerall Lamps of Virginitie . . . whereof the first four concern praier and meditation: the other two last, precepts and examples, as the woorthie works partlie of men, partlie of women. . . Compiled for the necessarie use of both sexes out of the sacred Scriptures, and other approved authors, by Thomas Bentley, of Graies Inne Student. . .*" Printed by H. Denham, 1582. Dedicated to Queen Elizabeth. (B M. G. 12047-12049) containing

(1) Prayers of "Holy Women" (Biblical).
(2) Meditation of the Queen of Navarre.
Prayer of Queen Elizabeth.
Lamentation and prayers of Queen Catherine.
Prayers, &c., of Lady Jane Dudley.[1]
(3) Prayers, &c., of Q. Elizabeth.
(4) Devotions, including prayers for special occasions.
(5) Prayers before and after marriage; for the husband "gone a warfare," and the merchant Venturer "making his voyage by sea."
(6) "Mirrour for Maidens and Matrons, on their several duties. . . ."
(7) Alphabetical list of lives of women in the Scriptures.

2. "*Historia de la Vita e de la morte de l'Illustre Signora Giovanna Graia,*" &c., "*de l'Authore M. Michelangelo Floria,*" 1607. (B.M. 292. a. 5. (1)).

3. "*Life, Death and Actions of the Most Chaste, Learned and Religious Lady, the Lady Jane Gray.*" London, 1615. (B.M. G. 1375).

Begins, "Some worthy parcels or excellent Essayes . . . of that most admirable . . . Lady the Ladie Jane Gray . . . comming in an auncient Printed Copie unto my hands as it were halfe-forgotten in the world, . . . I could not out of Charitie and Christian love to a mirrour of such excellence," &c., &c.

4. "*The Life Character and Death of the Most Illustrious Pattern of Female Virtue, the Lady Jane Gray, Who was beheaded in the Tower at 16 years of age, for her stedfast Adherence to the Protestant Religion.*"

"Collected from the best Historians" (Grafton, Stow, Fox, &c.). London 1714. (B.M. 1103. c. 18 (6)).

5. George Howard, "*The Life and Times of Lady Jane Grey,*" London, 1822.

6. Harris Nicolas, "*The Literary Remains of Lady Jane Grey· with a Memoir,*" &c. London, 1825.

7. "*The Chronicle of Queen Jane and of Two Years of Queen Mary, . . written by a Resident in the Tower of London. Edited, with illustrative Documents and Notes, by John Gough Nichols Esqre. F S A . . . Camden Society. MDCCCL*" (Harl: MS. 194; carefully transcribed, and well edited; containing much matter unknown to Howard and Nicolas).

---

[1] "*Des juvante, nil nocet . . melius;*
Et non juvante, nil juval labore grauis.
Post tenebris spero lucem."

The unlikely legend that these and other lines were written after her husband's execution and just before her own is answered by Nicolas (1825) op: cit ante. But they may well have been written by her at some previous date.

Her tragedy was commemorated in a popular ballad: "*A Lamentable Ditty on the death of Lord Guildford Dudley, and Lady Jane Grey, that, for their parents ambition, in seeking to make these two young Princes King and Queen of England, were both beheaded in the Tower of London.*" Vide "*Old Ballads . . . . . Collected from rare copies and MS. . . . . . . from public and private collections.*" Evans. London, 1810, Vol. II, pp. 124-127.

PROLOGUE.

Section VIII. "**Troublesome Tribulations:**"

The execution of the Duke of Suffolk, the arrest of Princess Elizabeth; and the execution of Sir Thomas Wyatt (1553-4).

The same day that Lady Jane and Lord Guildford Dudley were beheaded, the official who describes their deaths noted also in his diary "there was brought into the Tower as prisoner, by the Lord Chamberlain and 200 of the Guard, the Earl of Devonshire, Lord Courtenay, by water . . ." Also on that day, 12th of February, was

> "set up at every gate of London a gallows; and at the bridge-foot one, in Southwark two pair, at Leadenhall two, in Cheapside, in Fleet Street, and about Charing Cross three or four pair; and in many other places about the City."[1]
>
> "In Kent also," where Sir Thomas Wyatt's revolt had begun, "and many places more, there was raised gallows . . . That day and on Thursday there was condemned of the rebels to the number of 400 or thereabouts. All the prisons of London was so full that they were fain to keep the poorest sort . . . in a heap in churches. On Wednesday following was hanged in sundry places of the City to the number of 26 or more. On Thursday in Southwark, and other places of the suburbs, there was hanged a great number."[2]

On the 15th of February ten prisoners from the Tower were arraigned; and on the 20th Lord John Grey was taken to Westminster and condemned to death. The same day William Thomas, late Clerk of the Council, author of the first English-Italian Grammar, was brought prisoner to the Tower; "and Sir Nicholas Throckmorton the same night." On Wednesday, the 21st, there "was brought into the Tower as prisoners out of the country Sir James Crofts, the Lord Thomas Grey and two others."[3]

On Saturday the 17th of February the Duke of Suffolk was taken to Westminster, under a strong guard, to be tried. At his going forth he went "stoutly and cheerfully enough," says one in the Tower who saw him. But at his coming back "he landed at the Water Gate very heavy and pensive, desiring all men to pray for him."[4]

On Friday the 23rd February he was brought out on to Tower Hill. According to ancient privilege, he explained his case to the people. Unlike the Duke of Northumberland, he intimated that he died a Protestant. As to his share in Sir Thomas Wyatt's rising, he said he had been lawfully condemned; but nevertheless he hoped the Queen would forgive him. (If he imagined a reprieve would reach him at the twelfth hour, he was deceived.)

---

[1] Harl: MS. 194. ed· Nichols, p. 59; and further details. Cotton MS. Vitel: F. 5: "*Diary of Henry Machyn, Burgess & Merchant Tailor, from the year 1550 to the year 1563*": ed: Madden & Nicolas, 1848, p. 55.

[2] Harl: 194. Op: cit, p. 59. [3] Ib: p. 63. [4] Ib: p. 60.

After saying the Lord's Prayer aloud, he laid his head on the block. The executioner with one blow "struck off his head, and held it up to the people . . ."

> Such, says Holinshed, "was the end of this Duke of Suffolk, a man of high nobilitie of birth, . . . gentle and courteous," too easily led; "hasty" and soon angry; but easily pacified, and "sorrie" if in the heat of annoyance he had spoken harshly: "upright and plain in his dealings, no dissembler;" one who resented injuries, but was ready to forgive as soon as the offender would "acknowledge his fault."
>
> "Bountiful he was, and verie liberall, somewhat learned himself, and a great favourer of those that were learned, . . . as free from covetousness as void of pride." More esteeming "plane men than clawback flatterers," he used "patiently" to listen to friends who told him his faults, crediting them with "faithful meaning." As to the actions which brought him to his death, "it is supposed he rather took in hand that unlawful enterprise through others' persuasions" than with any "malicious ambition . . ."[1]

"But now to let this Duke rest in God, and proceed with the storie," as Holinshed says. On the day of Suffolk's execution some 200 rebels received their pardon: but only after being paraded about the city with halters round their necks.

After these men were set free, "certain gentlemen of Kent were sent into Kent" to pay the final penalty among their own people.

It was on the 28th of February that Sir Harry Iseley and the others were despatched in a barge down the river.

> "It is said that one of them at his going out of the Tower answered to one that took him by the hand and said he was very sorry for his death, . . . "I thank you, . . . but this is God's ordinance." And added that *"cause have ye as well to be sorry for yourselves and your country. As for me, I now shall leave all wretchedness, and I trust by death to enter into a better life. Whereas you and others may live longer in most troublesome tribulations, . . . in cares and heavy miseries . . . and yet at the last die . . . when ye shall have much more to answer for in God's sight than if you died presently with me."*[2]

While a measure of mercy was extended to the "common sort" both in town and country, the gentlemen of distinction were treated in a fashion intended to deter others of their station from leading the people in similar attempts against Queen Mary. Sir Harry Iseley and his brother suffered death at Maidstone, whence Wyatt's proclamation had first gone out; others at Rochester and Sevenoaks. One of them, Cuthbert Vaughan, was pardoned, because of the brave and persistent petitions of his wife.[3]

In March Lord Thomas Grey was condemned.[4] He protested that as God should judge him he *"meant none other thing but the abolishing of strangers; and if that were High Treason, the Lord be merciful . . . !"*

---

[1] *Chronicle,* Vol. IV, p. 25.

[2] Diary. Harl: MS. 194. Op: cit, p. 66.

[3] Ib: We will hear of him again.

[4] Date blank in Harl: 194. Op. cit, p. 67.

On the 12th of March, Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Bishops Ridley and Latimer were taken out of the Tower and sent "prisoners toward Oxford;" and, out of the Fleet prison, Bishop Hooper also. They were never to see London again; and had nothing ahead but tribulations—with death by fire at the end.

On the 14th March, the Earl of Bedford, "Lord Privy Seal, and Chief Ambassador," with Thomas Radclyffe Lord FitzWalter, Sir Henry Sidney and others, embarked for Spain, to escort Prince Philip to England for his marriage to Queen Mary. And the following morning, the 15th of March, Sir Thomas Wyatt was arraigned at Westminster for treason and rebellion.[1]

Accused of having "raised open wars against the Crown,[2] he made the same defence as Lord Thomas Grey: "*Mine whole intent was against the coming in of strangers and Spaniards . . .*"

By the marriage of the Queen with a Spaniard he had feared he and other free-born men would be brought into servitude under "aliens." But now he understood better the "commoditie" that might ensue for England from the alliance; so he prayed the Queen to pardon him for what was passed; in which case no man would more loyally defend her against enemies in the future.

"My grandfather served most truly hir grace's grandfather, and for his sake was set upon the rack . . . My father also served King Henry the eighth to his good contentation; and I also served him and King Edward . . . "

It was answered that by his "wicked rebellion" he had not only ruined himself and "a number of gentlemen," but had destroyed a great noble house (Suffolk), and embroiled "the Second Person in the Realm . . . whereby her honour is brought in question."

Wyatt pleaded, "I beseech you, I being in this wretched estate, not to overcharge me, nor to make me seem what I am not . . " But Sir Edward Hastings, Master of the Horse, retorted that he had earned "perpetual infamy," and that his "traitrous attempt" should be called "Wyatt's rebellion," and go down to posterity with Wat Tyler's rising.

This was a deliberate insult. For Wat Tyler had led an outburst of internecine destructiveness; whereas Wyatt and his friends believed the interests of Crown and Country were endangered by allowing England to become a province of Spain. Defending himself boldly, he would not give up hope of the Queen's compassion,—"*my last and only refuge.*"

But the judges passed the usual hideous sentence of mutilation of the traitor's living body; and declined to intercede for his life.

It was "noised abroad" that he had implicated the Princess Elizabeth. Some intercepted letters had revealed that he had at least tried to communicate with her. Her

---

[1] Harl: 194: p. 69.

[2] Holinshed. Op: cit.

own letter to Queen Mary, when she learnt from Lords Winchester and Sussex that she must be imprisoned in the Tower, has long been familiar;

> "*If ever anyone did try this old saying that a King's word was more than another man's oath, I must humbly beseech your Majesty to verify it in me, and to remember your last promise, and my last demand, that I be not condemned without answer and due proof:* Which it seems that I now am; for that, without cause proved, I am by your Council from you commanded to go into the Tower," a place more fit for "a false traitor than a true subject: . . . I protest afore God . . . whatsoever malice shall devise, that I never practised, counselled, nor consented to anything that might be prejudicial to your person . . . or dangerous to the State. . . And I therefore humbly beseech your Majesty to let me answer afore yourself . . . afore I go to the Tower . . .
>
> . . . . I have heard in my time of many cast away for want of coming to their Prince; and in late days I heard my Lord of Somerset say that if his brother had been suffered to speak with him, he had never suffered: But persuasions were made to him so great that he was brought in belief that he could not live safely if the Admiral lived, and that made him consent to his death.
>
> "Though these persons are not to be compared with Your Majesty, yet I pray God as evil persuasions persuade not one sister against the other. . . I know myself most true. And as for the traitor Wyatt, he might, peradventure, write me a letter, but on my faith I never received any from him . . . and to this my troth I will stand to my death your Highness's most faithful subject that hath been from the beginning, and will be to the end,
>
> ELIZABETH.
>
> "*I humbly crave but one word of answer from yourself.*"[1]

The Queen did not answer, but sent Winchester and Sussex back to the Princess, repeating the command that she was to go to the Tower. On Palm Sunday, the 18th of March, she was taken by those peers down the river, on a blustering tempestuous and rainy morning, and landed outside the Traitor's Gate.[2] She protested she was no traitor; and objected to wetting her feet.

Lord Winchester offered her his cloak. But "*she dashed it away from her with a good dash,*" and appealed to Heaven to prove her guiltless.[3]

The Yeomen Warders exclaimed "God preserve your Grace;" and were afterwards reprimanded.

As a further protest, the Princess sat down on a damp stone in the rain, on the threshold. When the Lieutenant of the Tower remonstrated, she answered "Better sit here than in a worse place; for God knoweth,—not I,—whither you will bring me."

Long afterwards, as Queen of England she confided to the French Ambassador, Mauvissière de Castelnau, that when she was imprisoned she felt small hope of surviving; and she meant to ask one favour: that her execution should be with a sword, French fashion, and not with the axe:[4] (Possibly an early memory of the way her mother had been beheaded).

When she entered through the Traitors' Gate—from which few emerged, except to arraignment and execution,—it was under five weeks since her cousin Lady Jane had

---

[1] "*Facsimiles of National Manuscripts,* Part III, No XXV. A most elegant specimen of caligraphy; the decorative flourishes to the signature do not betray the slightest sign of agitation. Orig: in S.P D. Mary, Vol. IV, No. 2. Printed in Ellis's "*Orig· Letters,* 2nd Ser: Vol. II, p. 254.

[2] In laconic "*Notes of Queen Marie's Reign*" Sir William Cecil set down without comment that on the 18th March the Lady Elizabeth was "committed to the Tower." *State Papers,* ed: Murdin, p. 746.

[3] Thos. Heywood, "*England's Elizabeth . . . from Cradle to Crown.*" Cambridge (1632), p. 97. Also Harl: MS. 194.

[4] Castelnau, "*Memoires,*" Vol. I. Ch: iii.

been beheaded. And though on Good Friday the Queen released from the Tower the Marquess of Northampton—who had been condemned in August, the same day as the Duke of Northumberland—this did not necessarily forecast lenience to her sister. Actually the Ambassador of the Emperor Charles V was pressing her to show the utmost severity towards all the disaffected: reckoning Elizabeth among that number.[1]

Sir Thomas Wyatt had not yet been taken to execution. There was no chance he would be pardoned after open rebellion; but he was kept alive in hope that he might furnish matter against Courtenay, or against Princess Elizabeth. At last, on Wednesday the 11th of April—the Queen having commuted his sentence from hanging to beheading,—" the Lord Chamberlain and the Lord Chandos carried him to the tower

> over the water gate where the Lord Courtenay lay, and there he was . . . half an hour and more . . . Then he was brought out with a book in his hand . . . the Lord Chamberlain took leave of him, and likewise master Secretary Bourne: to whom master Wyatt said, '*I pray you, Sir, pray for me, and be a meane to the Queen for my poor wife and children. And if it might have pleased her Grace to have granted me my life, I would have trusted to have done her such good service as should have well recompensed mine offence. But, since not, I beseech God to have mercy on me.' To which master Bourne made no answer . . .*"[2]

Whatsoever Wyatt had said to (or of) Lord Courtenay and Princess Elizabeth inside the Tower, his words in public on the scaffold were a vindication of both. Praying that he should be the only one executed, and that all his followers might be spared, he proclaimed,

> *" Whereas it is said . . . that I should accuse my Lady Elizabeth's Grace, and my Lord Courtenay, it is not so, good people; for I assure you neither they nor any other yonder in hold or durance was privy to my rising or commotion before I began . . . I have declared no less to the Queen's Counsel . . . "*

Dr. Weston interrupted and strove to distract the crowd from this protest.[3] But, " without more talk," Wyatt " put off his gown, . . . then taking the Earl of Huntingdon, the Lord Hastings . . . " and others by the hands, " he plucked off his doublet and waistcoat, . . . kneeled down upon the straw . . . his eyes lift(ed) up to heaven."

He " knit the handkerchief himself about his eyes, . . . laid down his head," and the executioner with one blow struck it off.

" Then was he forthwith quartered upon the scaffold, and the next day his quarters set at divers places, and his head upon a stake upon the gallows beyond St. James's . . "[4]

Thus ended Sir Thomas Wyatt of Alington Castle, near Maidstone, Kent: whose

---

[1] Correspondence of Renard the Ambassador is much quoted in Weisener's *"Youth of Queen Elizabeth"* (Eng: trans: 1879), from Cardinal Granvelle's *State Papers*, Vol. IV, pp. 214, 215, &c., and from copies in the P.R.O. Also from Cal: S.P. Foreign; ed: Stevenson.

[2] Harl: 194. Op: cit, p. 73.

[3] Ib: p. 74. And Holinshed (IV, 26) says Weston cried out " Believe him not . . . for he confessed otherwise before the Counsell."

[4] Harl: 194. Ib: p. 74. Holinshed, IV, 26, says his head was " set upon the gallows at Haie Hill beside Hyde Park."

ardent patriotism drove him into an enterprise foredoomed to failure. But though he gave his all in what he believed the most vital interests of his country, it is not his sacrifices and sufferings which attract attention to-day but the amorous and courtly poems of his father the elder Sir Thomas. No poet now sings of Sir Thomas Wyatt the son; no enthusiast for liberty has enrolled him on the list of prophetic minds. Yet within four years of his death, the majority of his countrymen had come round to his way of thinking. And the volumes ensuing will embody the struggle against Spain, —which Wyatt clearly foresaw, but was not destined to avert.[1]

[1] Portraits of both father and son appear in "A Certyficate from Mr. John Lambton Stewarde of Howseholde to John Lord Lumley, of all his Lo: monumentes of Marbles, Pictures, and tables in Paynture. . . . Anno 1590": viz., "Of old sir Thomas Wyatt. Of the yonger sir Thomas Wiat executed." "*Records of the Lumleys of Lumley Castle*" (1904), p. 330. This collection was dispersed, more than a century ago, to the immeasurable loss of all students of English history. It included many of the chief personages from the reign of Henry VIII onwards; even some with whom the Lumleys were not politically in sympathy.

PROLOGUE.

Section IX. "The Most Illustrious Prince of Spain" 1554-'55.

The day after Sir Thomas Wyatt was beheaded, the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, Lord Chamberlain, and others of the Privy Council were sent to interrogate "the Lady Elizabeth." Two men were put in the pillory for declaring that Wyatt on the scaffold had cleared her of responsibility for his rising.

On the 12th of April, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton was arraigned. From seven in the morning till five in the afternoon he defended himself, so boldly and wittily that the jury acquitted him.[1] Such a verdict was almost unprecedented in a trial for High Treason; and the jurymen were summoned before the Star Chamber on the 25th and fined. Two of them were sent to the Tower.

Sir William Cecil's laconic Notes of events in "Queen Maries reign" are set down without comment:

"13 Apr. Disputation at Oxford with Cranmer, Rydley and Latymer. Many persons executed for Religion, as Hoopar, Bp. of Glocester, Saunders, Bradford, Taylor, Farrar, Bp. of St. David's, Rogers.
In this year were burned eighty."[2]

Shortly before St. George's day, the Duke of Medina-Sidonia wrote congratulating the Queen on her approaching marriage, and expressing his hope of an heir who should help to preserve the world in the peace and unity of the Catholic Church.[3] The Duchess of Medina-Sidonia also proferred her good wishes, and announced that the Count of Olivares would be coming in her name to kiss the Queen's hands.[4] The Cardinal of Burgos, from Naples, sent his felicitations;[5] so did the King of Bohemia, and the Princess of Portugal.[6] The Duchess of Florence likewise wrote as to this "happy marriage."[7]

For such as had rebelled against the match, the penalties were not yet finished. On the 26th of April Lord Thomas Grey was beheaded on Tower Hill: "a proper gentleman," says Holinshed, "and one that had served right valiantly both in France and Scotland, in the days of the late Kings Henry and Edward."

On the 19th of May, Princess Elizabeth was taken out of the Tower, and escorted down the river to Richmond Palace; still as a prisoner. Two days later William Thomas

---

[1] Graphic particulars in Holinshed's *Chronicle*, Vol. IV (ed. 1809).

[2] *State Papers*, ed: Murdin (1759), p. 746. Facsimile; sec: xvii.

[3] "San Lucar. 20 April, 1554." Translation, Hatfield MSS Cal. I, p. 134.

[4] Ib. [5] 22 June. Ib: p. 135.

[6] King Philip's sister Joanna, mother of the baby King Sebastian.

[7] Hatfield MS, Cal. I: p. 136.

was hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn. His last words were that he "died for his country." He alone of all the rebels had intended Queen Mary's death.[1]

On the 11th June, Lord John Grey, the Duke of Suffolk's other brother, was arraigned at Westminster, and the death sentence passed upon him. But the Queen did not sign the warrant. And during this month the large number of gallows which had been erected for execution of Wyatt's followers in many parts of London were cleared away.

Cheapside Cross was then regilt in preparation for the coming of Philip: as it had been for his father the Emperor thirty two years before.

Queen Mary's Lord High Admiral, William, 1st Lord Howard of Effingham, had "continually been abrode on the seas for the space of three months or more, with a navie of eight and twenty ships and other vessels." With a Vice-Admiral of the Low Countries and fourteen of the Emperor Charles's ships, Howard of Effingham met the Prince and his fleet of 150 sail.

On the 19th of July the Prince landed at Southampton.[2]

Welcomed by the Lord Chancellor and by the selected peers spiritual and temporal, he was immediately presented with the insignia of the Order of the Garter.

Two days later he started for Winchester, where the Queen awaited him. His English escort consisted of the Marquess of Winchester, the Earls of Arundel, Derby, Worcester, Bedford, Rutland, Pembroke, and Sussex; the Lords Clinton, Cobham, Willoughby, D'Arcy, Maltravers, Talbot, Strange, FitzWarren, and North.[3] They and their gentlemen amounted to 2,000 Horse.

The Prince brought from Spain a magnificent following: the renowned Duke of Alba, and the Duchess; the Duke of Medinaceli; Marquis of Pescara; Count of Olivares, and many others, including the Count of Feria who was soon to find a wife in England.

The Prince's progress is described in graphic fashion by one who saw it.[4]

---

[1] He compiled in 1548-9 the first English Italian Grammar: with "*A Dictionarie for the better understanding of Boccace, Petrarcha, and Dante.*" London, 1550 This was reprinted in 1562. He had issued in 1549 "*The Historie of Italie a boke excedyng profitable to be redde. Because it intreateth of the estate of many and divers common weales, how thei have ben, and now be gouerned. Anno Domini MD XLIX*" (Colophon. "Imprinted at London in Flete strete in the House of Thomas Berthelet 1549." Small 4to. B.L.).

[2] Cecil's Notes. *State Papers* (Murdin), p. 746. "Thursday the XIX of Julie" is also the date given in Harl: MS 194 (Diary of an officer in the Tower); but the editor, J. G. Nichols, adds "Mr Robert How's notes in his 'Almanack of the yere of our Lord 1554' (Harl: MS. 4102. f. 29b) states 'Fryday *the 20* the Prince of Spain landed' . . ." (a mistake).

[3] Holinshed's *Chronicles*, Vol. IV, p. 58.

[4] "*The copie of a letter sent into Scotlande, of the arival & landynge, & most noble marryage of the most illustre prynce Philippe prynce of Spaine, to the most excellent princes Marye quene of England. . . .*" By John Elder. In extenso Nichols, *Queen Jane and Queen Mary*, Camden Soc. (1850). App. X. Spelling now modernised. The average reader will prefer this to the more conventional "*Gratvlatorivm in D. Philippi Caroli V. Imp Aug. Filij, Hisp. Principis, felicem in Angliam 19 Julij, Anni 1554 aduentum, Per Mamerum,*" and "*Epithalaivm Nvptiarvm, VIII Calend. Avgust. Anno 1554. Wintoniae celebratarum, Serenis. Philippi, Principis Hispan, & Serniss. Mariae Reginae Angliae,* published the following year in Cologne, as "*Gratvlatorivm in Seriniss. potentis simiqve Principis ac Domini, Dn. Philippi, Regis Angliae, Franciae, Hierusalem, citerioris Sicilie, Hyberniae, &c. Defensoris fidei: Principis Hispan. Archiducis Austrie. Ducis Burgund. Mediolani, Brabantiae, Lucemburgie, &c in Belgiam, anno D.M L.V. V Septembris aduentum . . . Auctore Mamero Lucembergensi. Coloniae. Per Iacobum Soterem. Anno 1555.*" (In possession of Mr. P. J. Dobell).

> " . . . Monday . . . the XXIV of July, His Highness came to the city of Winchester, at VI of the clock at night, the noblemen of England and his nobles riding, one with another, before him, in good order, through the city, everyone placed according to his vocation and office: "[1] the Prince " riding on a fair white horse, in a rich coat embroidered with gold," his doublet and hose to match, and " a white feather in his hat, very fair."

First he went to the Cathedral, entering by the west door; and " bareheaded with great humility " he knelt before the altar. After hearing the *Te Deum* sung by the choir, he was escorted by torchlight to the Dean's House; " the Lords going before him, and the Queen's Guard in their rich coats standing all the way."

Queen Mary was staying in the Bishop's Palace; and " this night " after the Prince had supped, at ten o'clock "(as I am credibly informed) he was brought by the Council

> a privy way to the Queen, where her Grace very lovingly, yea and most joyfully, received him. And after they had talked together half an hour[2] they kissed, and departed . . . At his departing he desired the Queen's Highness to teach him what he should say to the Lords in English; . . . and she told him he should say ' Good night, my Lords all.' "

On the morrow they met publicly in the great hall of the Bishop's Palace: " merrily smiling on each other, to the great comfort and rejoicing of the beholders."

Next day, Wednesday the 25th July, their wedding was solemnised in the Cathedral; Queen Mary as the Sovereign standing on the right side, and the Prince on the left. " The Queen's marriage ring was a plain hoop of gold without any stone in it: for that was . . . her pleasure, because maidens were so married in the old times."[3]

Of foreign Ambassadors present, the chief were from the bridegroom's father the Emperor, from the King of Bohemia, the Doge of Venice, the Dukes of Florence, Ferrara, and Savoy.

After the ceremony, it was " pronounced that in consideration of that marriage," the Emperor had given to the Prince his son the Kingdoms of Naples and Jerusalem, " with divers other seats and seignuries." The Garter King at Arms " in the Church, in the presence of the King, the Queen, and the Lords, as well of England as Spaine," and of a multitude of people, proclaimed the title and style of the bride and bridegroom as " Philip and Marie by the grace of God King and Queene of England, France, Naples, Jerusalem, and Ireland; Defenders of the Faith, Princes of Spaine and Sicilie, Archdukes of Austrich, Dukes of Millaine, Burgundie, and Brabant," Counts of " Haspurge " (Hapsburg), Flanders and Tyroll.

" The proclamation being ended, the rumpets blew, and the King with the Queene came forth of the Church hand in hand, and two swords borne before them, and so returned to their palace."[4]

---

[1] List of Spanish Noblemen. Note, p. 68.

[2] In Spanish.

[3] Holinshed, IV, p. 161.

[4] Ib.

> " . . . there was for certain days after the most noble marriage," much " triumphing, banqueting, singing, masking, and dancing . . . Wherefore to see the King's Majesty and the Queen . . . at dancing time, where both their Majesties danced, and also to behold the Dukes and noblemen of Spain dance with the fair nymphs of England " was a notable sight.

So at least thought one of the spectators.[1] But Edward Underhill, a Gentleman Pensioner, wrote disparagingly of " the daunssyng of the Spanyards that day . . . specially kynge Philip."[2]

Some of the English were " droken with joie," and believed such a friendship had been knit between Spain and England " as nothing should dissolve."

> " But others were of a contrarie opinion, supposing (as it came to passe indeed) that the people's minds would be alienated . . . (and) manie would become heavie-harted . . . pensive and grieved at the meditation of the miseries which were like immediately to follow. . . ."[3]

The Spanish bridegroom's appearance can best be seen from his portrait now at Ditchley. And that Queen Mary, half Spanish by blood, gave him her affection with her Crown, will appear the less surprising if we dismiss from our minds the languid " procrastinating " and " mediocre " Philip of modern English history, and see him as he actually was: handsome, stately, and accomplished.

The Winchester students, presenting the Queen with a book of Latin verses, gave point to their felicitations by adding a pedigree of Her Majesty and King Philip, with a space left blank to be filled in with the name of their son. And many and eloquent were the prayers composed by Queen Mary's clergy that she should become mother of " a child in bodie beautifull and comelie, in mind noble and valiant. . . ."[4]

London gave the bride and bridegroom a magnificent welcome. The decorations abounded in symbolic devices, compliments, and prophecies:

" At the little Conduit was a very pretty pageant . . . marvellous fair, made in manner of a vine or tree of roses, . . . at every branches end sat a child in a King's or Queen's apparrell, declaring the descent of the King and Queen, until they came to the top, where they sat both together . . . "

From London their Majesties went to Hampton Court. And " at this time there were so many Spaniards in London " that in the streets for every Englishman met there were at least four Spaniards—" to the great discomfort of the English nation."[5]

In spite of the executions from August to April, there was, after the wedding, " half a rising at Ipswich in Suffolk." It was foredoomed to failure; and the official who records it adds laconically, " September " (no date) " Brought into the Tower four out of Suffolk for an insurrection there, and certain executed."[6]

---

[1] "*The Copie of a Letter*" etc. by John Elder, 1554.
[2] Harl: MS. 425. f. 97. "*Queen Jane & Queen Mary,*" p. 170.
[3] Holinshed, IV, p. 161.
[4] "*A praier made by Doctor Weston Deane of Westminster dailie to be saide for the Queenes deliverance.*" Holinshed, Vol. IV, p. 71.
[5] Harl: MS, 194. Op. cit, p. 81. These last words crossed out in MS.
[6] Ib: p. 81. The diary ends (p. 83) on " the last of September."

After the " sumpteous pagiaunts " came to an end, the citizens soon had another spectacle, when the King and Queen " in their Parliament robes " rode to Westminster, on the 12th of November.

On the 24th November the exiled Cardinal Pole landed in England. Of near kin to the Crown, he was grandson of George Duke of Clarence, and great-nephew of King Edward IV. Younger son of Clarence's daughter Lady Margaret, and nephew of the young Plantagenet Earl of Warwick, who lineally should have been King of England after Richard III, but who was beheaded by Henry VII. As Cardinal Pole's mother, created Countess of Salisbury, had in her old age been executed by Henry VIII, and her son's " honour of blood " declared forfeit, he had reason to abhor the Tudor dynasty. But Queen Mary, by Act of Parliament, restored him to the " estate and dignitie " of which he had been deprived; and he remained ever grateful to her.

The Lord Chancellor, Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, made an oration in his favour to " my Lordes of the vpper house, and you my Maysters of the nether house;" after which the Cardinal spoke of his own mission to restore the light of the " See of Rome " in England. He rebuked all who had " erred and gone astray;" but protested that " he came to reconcile, not to condemne . . . his commission was of grace and clemencie." Next day the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and the Commons " representing the whole bodie of the realme of England," asked " as children repentent " to be received back into " vnitie and perfect obedience to the See Apostolique." The petition was read by the Chancellor, and handed to the King and Queen: who rose from their seats and presented it to the Cardinal. His Eminence then " by the Apostolique aucthoritie " of Pope Julius III, absolved the realm generally; to the " great joye and gladness " of the King and Queen.[1]

" To vanquish and overthrow " the hopes of the " hereticks," the people were commanded to confess their previous sins, for which, they were bidden to say, they had " deserved a tyrant to our governor." . . . " We be not worthie to have so gentle and mercifull a queene."

> " We the English people," ran the prayer by command, " with one agreeable consent doo crie: Thou Marie art the glorie of England, our joie, the honour of thy people . . ."
>
> There followed imprecations upon " ranke rebels, and spitefull murmurers, . . . heretikes and schismatikes."
>
> " . . . Punish us for our sinnes according to thy will and pleasure, onlie now deliver us. . . Give therefore unto thy servants Philip our King and Marie our queene a male issue . . . . let him wax old and live that he may see his childrens children to the third and fourth generation, and give to our soveraigne lord and ladie, king Philip and queene Marie, thy blessing and long life upon earth. . . And blessèd be their seed of our God, that all nations maie know thou art onelie God in all the earth. . ."[2]

On " the xxviij of November it was commonly reported that the Queene was quicke with childe." The Lord Mayor and the city Companies then " in most solemne maner " processed to St. Paul's for a thanksgiving service; to which King Philip and Cardinal Pole rode side by side.[3]

---

[1] Grafton's *" Chronicle at large,"* etc., 1569.

[2] " A Solemne praier made for King Philip and Queene Maries child, that it maie be a male child welfavoured and wittie." Ib: 71-73.

[3] Grafton's *" Chronicle at large,"* 1569.

In the early summer of next year, 1555, a rumour ran through London that the child was born:

"insomuch that bels were roong, bonefiers and processions made, not onelie in the citie of London, and in most other parts of the realme, but also in Antwerpe guns were shot off upon the river by the English ships, . . Yea divers preachers, . . after procession and Te Deum song, took upon him to describe the proportions of the child, how faire, how beautifull, and great a prince it was, as the like had not beene seen."

But—though "there was a cradle verie sumptuouslie and gorgeouslie trimmed" in readiness, with Latin and English verses inscribed thereon,—soon "the people were certified that the queene neither was as then delivered, nor after was in hope to have anie child. . ."

". . . some thought shee was with child, and that it did by some mischance miscarie, or else that she was bewitched: but what was the truth thereof the Lord knoweth . ."[1]

That same year 1555 the Emperor Charles summoned his son from Windsor to Brussels; and abdicated from the Burgundian rulership in favour of Philip. This was the prelude to a more extensive transference of duties. On the 16th of January, from Brussels, he wrote that as the King of France "without just cause" had declared war by land and sea against him, and had made use of German "infidelity in religion," and even of the Turkish fleet, to trouble Spain, and as his own health was breaking, he had resolved that his "dear and much-beloved on" should rule the "realms and states of the Crown of Castile: "trusting that with his great prudence and experience . . . he will govern, administer and defend" the kingdoms "in peace and justice."[2]

It was into the hands of the Count of Nassau, William the Silent, Prince of Orange, that the Emperor entrusted his written Deed of Renunciation of the Imperial dignity; which power it was understood the electoral Princes were to confer upon Ferdinand King of the Romans, Archduke of Austria, the Emperor's brother.

On the 13th of September the Emperor Charles embarked from Flushing for Spain, in the *Espiritu Santo* (360 tons), accompanied by his son Philip, and his widowed sisters Eleanora Queen Dowager of France,[3] and Maria, widow of Louis II, King of Hungary.

On the 28th of September Charles V landed at Laredo; and travelled by easy stages, via Burgos, to Valladolid, where he was received by his ten-year-old grandson Don Carlos, only son of Philip II by his first wife Maria of Portugal. Thence, by Medina del Campo, Horcajo de Torres, Barco de Avila, and Tornavacas, he made his way to the Castle of Don Fernando de Toledo, Conde de Oropesa, at Xarandilla, arriving towards the end of October and lingering there some three months, while his permanent quarters were being prepared at Yuste.[4]

While the Emperor, aged 56, was retiring from the world, the Pope, Paul IV, at the age of 80, began a war which led to the capture of Rome, not by any Protestant foe, but by the most devout Catholic General then living—Don Fernando Alvarez de Toledo, Duque de Alba, Marqués de Coria, who had been one of the principal guests at the wedding of Philip and Mary.

---

[1] Holinshed, Vol IV, pp. 82-83.

[2] Orig: 1 p. folio, with seal. In possession of Messrs. Maggs Bros. "*Autograph Letters and Historical Documents*" Cat: 565. Item 768, p. 32. (Price £350).

[3] Widow of Francis I. Previously Queen of Portugal.

[4] He took with him into his monastery, maps of Italy, Flanders, Germany and the Indies: and 31 favourite books, among which were "Caesar's Commentaries in Tuscan," Dávila's Commentaries upon the Emperor's own wars (Vide Note, p. 70), and Boethius's Consolation of Philosophy, in French, Italian, and Castillian. Vide "*The Cloister Life of the Emperor Charles the Fifth.*" *By William Stirling* (afterwards Sir William Stirling Maxwell), London 1852. (Appendix, pp. 266-267).

ENGLISH LIST OF SPANISH NOBLEMEN AT QUEEN MARY'S WEDDING, 1554.

MS Harl: 425, f. 97. Published by J. G. Nichols in 1850. Appendix XI to MS Harl: 194, *The Chronicle of Queen Jane and of Two Years of Queen Mary,* (p. 171).

Nichols states that in the MS. the names are several times repeated and "much disarranged," and he altered them into what he thought to be the right order: adding that it "would require a Spanish herald" to do this with certainty.

The list is now for the first time revised since Nichols issued it. He gave Don Caesar de Gonzaga precedence over the Dukes, and mistook the Admiral of Castile and Don Antonio de Toledo for one and the same person.

The notes now added are those of the present writer.

The Duke of 'Alva' and his wife.[1] The Duke of Medina Celi.[2] The Admiral of Castille.[3] Don Caesar de Gonzaga, eldest son of Don Ferdinando Governor of Milan. Don Antonio (illegitimate) son to the Duke of Alva[4]. The Marquis of Pescara. The Marquis de Sarria, The Marquis d'Aquillara. The Marquis de las Naves. The Conde de Feria.[5] The Conde de Chinchon, The Conde de Olivares.[6] The Conde de Saldanha. The Conde de Modica.[7] The Conde de Fuensalida. The Conde de Castella. The Conde Ladriano. The Bishop of Cuença. Don Diego de Mendoça. The Grand Commander of Calatrava. The Major of Valladolid. The Major of Vallefiguiere. Ruy Gomez de Silva, Grand Chamberlain to the Prince. The Count of Egmont.[8] The Count of Hornes (Horn). The Marquis of Berghes.[9] The Sieur de Martini.[10]

---

[1] Don Fernando Alvarez de Toledo, 3rd Duke of Alba (*"El Gran Duque"*), Duke of Huéscar, Marquess of Coria, Count of Salvatiera and Piedrahita, &c. Married to Dª Maria Enriquez, daughter of D. Diego, Count of Alba de Liste and of Dª Leonor de Toledo

[2] Now Medinaceli; but spelt by 16th century Englishmen always as two words. On the 13th August, 1554, the Privy Council sent "a letter to the Deputie and Counsell of Callaice, willinge him to use honorably *the Duke of Medina Sely,* the marquese of Pescara, the marquese las Navas, the earle of Egmonde, and suche other noblemen as presently repaire from hence that waye to the Emperour, and to depeache them with haste and favour from thence." Harl: MS 643, f. 26. *"Queen Jane and Queen Mary,"* App: IX, p. 135.

[3] Don Fadrique Henriquez de Cabrera, Conde de Modica, Knight of the Golden Fleece. Now represented by the 17th Duke of Alba, Marqués de Modica.

[4] The word in brackets was illegible to Nichols, who mistook the identity of Antonio. This illegitimate son of the Great Duke was born prior to his marriage; after which no such irregularities could be laid to his charge Among the highest tributes to his virtues is that by his widow in 1582, "La vida del Duque fué de mártir, y su muerte de santo." *"Discurso del . Duque de Berwick y de Alba"* Madrid, 1919, p. 100

[5] Gomez Suarez de Figueroa y Cordova, 15th Count of Feria (Advanced to a Dukedom 1567) He married Jane daughter of Sir William Dormer by Mary daughter of Sir William Sidney and sister of Sir Henry Sidney of Penshurst and Robertsbridge. Vide *"The Life of Jane Dormer, Duchess of Feria By Henry Clifford"* Transcribed from a MS in possession of Lord Dormer. Ed: Rev: J. Stevenson, S.J. 1887.

[6] Ancestor to the Conde-Duque de Olivares, whose equestrian portrait, now in the Prado, is one of the masterpieces of Velasquez.

[7] Already set down ante (Admiral of Castille), afterwards Duke of Medina de Rioseco.

[8] Who had negotiated the marriage of Queen Mary; and who subsequently commanded the army at Gravelines, 1558; and ten years later was beheaded by order of the Duke of Alba (1568).

[9] Antoine, Marquis of Berges, Count of Walhaim, Knight of the Golden Fleece.

[10] This list omits Martin de Bertodano, who commanded the ship in which King Philip came to England; and who is now represented by Raymon de Bertodano, 8th Marquis del Moral.

PHILIP, PRINCE OF SPAIN, KING OF NAPLES.

From the original by Antonio Moro

in possession of The Viscount Dillon, at Ditchley.

In "*The Famous History of Sir Thomas Wyat,*" as set on the stage in the followin
Queen Mary is made to apostrophise

> "lovely Prince Philip
> Whose person we have shrined in our heart
> At the first sight of his delightful picture."

Possibly the "delightful picture" was the one at Ditchley, but it is more likely t
the Hampton Court painting, which in 1907 was selected by Baron H. Kervyn de L
reproduce in *La Toison d'Or* (his publication when President of the great Exhibition
of portraits and relics of Knights of the Golden Fleece, from their foundation in 1429
"*Antonio Moro Portrait de Philip II, Roi d'Espagne Coll de S M le Roi d'Anglete
Hampton Court*"

This depicts Philip of Spain three quarters length, nearly front face; young and
features not unlike the Ditchley portrait, but seemingly younger, with less moustache
painted presumably before he was King of Spain.

The inscription "Philip 2 of Spain" on Lord Dillon's picture is of much la
painting.

Whichever of the two portraits may have been sent to the Queen of Engl
conjectured as painted subsequent to Titian's Prince Philip 1551, (ante), but befor
Queen Mary.

It was soon after this marriage that the "*Libro de Musica Orphenica*
Seville, was dedicated by Miguel de Fuellana, the blind musician, to "muy alto y
don Philippe príncipe de España, *Rey de Ynglaterra,* de Napoles," &c This
sonnets, carols, &c, in Castillian, Catalan, Italian, French, set to music for the

In B M, and in Biblioteca Nacional, Spain (Palau's *Manual,* V, p 277
Plate XIX of Maggs's Bros "*Spanish Books*")

Philip 2. Spain

(19) (a) *Title page, now first reproduced from B.M. Royal MS. 12. A. XX.*

a manuscript book of
"eligant Verses made by the skollars of WINCHESTER COLLEGE
"in prayse and commendation of this most noble and rare marriage of

PHILIP OF SPAYNE and MARI OF ENGLAND,

"to quicken the spirits of dull dolts to embrace good letters, and of the best learned to favour the goodwill of al painfull studentes;" as an eye witness of the festivities, John Elder, expressed it: in "*The Copie of a letter sent in to Scotland, of the arrival and landynge, and most noble marryage of the moste illustre prynce Philippe, prynce of Spaine, to the most excellente princes Marye quene of England, solemnised in the Citie of Winchester*," &c, &c, &c.

(Addressed to Lord Robert Stuart, Bishop of Caithness Text reprinted by J Gough Nicholls, "*The Chronicle of Queen Jane and of Two years of Queen Mary*," &c Camden Soc 1850 App pp. 136-166)

The volume, 15 leaves of small quarto, contains Latin poems by John White, Bishop of Lincoln, Gabriel White, Edward Middleton, Nicholas Hargrave, Richard White, Luke Astlow, William Dobbins, John Noble, Edward Tichborne, Henry Twichener, Philip Dale, Ambrose Edmunds, William Palmer, Richard Harris, John Meyrick, Lewis Owen, John Satwel, Arkenwold Willoby, Thomas More, Thomas Reding, Nicholas Hodson, Thomas Darell, Henry Harender, Thomas Wright, Edmund Thomas, Rodolph Griffin

On the first leaf is stuck a piece of parchment on which in red ink is written "*Mariae Reginae* so this is inferred to have been the Queen's own copy

(19b) (b) *PEDIGREES OF QUEEN MARY AND KING PHILIP*

from the back of the title page of the Winchester Scholars' book of Verses.
(B.M Royal 12. A. XX.) *Now first reproduced in facsimile*

The descent of bridegroom and bride are shown by two lines that of Philip from the English Princess Philippa, daughter of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and granddaughter of King Edward III; and from Katherine Queen of Castile Queen Mary's descent is given from John (Beaufort) Earl of Somerset, the grandfather of Henry VII's mother No origin of the Tudor family is indicated The second descent is from the Royal House of York through Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV, wife of Henry VII and grandmother of Mary.

The space left for the son expected to be born to Philip and Mary, recalls that on their triumphal entry into London, among the many pageants which greeted them, the "most excellent" in the eyes of the Englishman who described it was, "their most noble genealogy from King Edward The Third . . set out with a great arbour or tree, under the root whereof was an old man lying on his side, with a long white beard and close Crown and a sceptre which old man signified King Edward the Third from whom both their Majesties are lineally descended which green arbour or tree grew up of both sides, with branches, whereon did sit young fair children which represented the persons of such Kings, Queens, Priors, Dukes, Earls, Lords, and Ladies, as descended from the said King Edward III unto their days," whose names were written above their heads in silver on a field of azure in Roman letters on "fair tables" (tablets)

And finally at the top of the tree, a Queen on the right and a King on the left "represented their Majesties," with their armorial bearings above, "joined in one under one Crown Imperial"

The moral was pointed in Latin Verses thus translated

"England, if thou delight in ancient men,
Whose glorious acts thy fame abroad did blase,
Both Mary and Philip their offspring ought thou then
With all thy heart to love and to embrace,
Which both descended of one ancient line,
It hath pleased God by marriage to combine"

(Vide John Elder's *Letter*, 1554 Spelling modernised from op cit, ante pp 148 150)

England then did indeed take lively satisfaction from "ancient" and "glorious acts," such as had won "fame abroad" in the past King Edward III remained a name to evoke happy and triumphant thoughts The delusion now that there was then little popular education, assumes a dull and colourless life for all except royal and noble persons Actually the many historical shows and pageants carried their meaning so as to delight all ranks To the average London prentice boy or Thames bargeman then, the "mighty deeds" of the men of the Plantagenet era were still vivid History was not then a subject set apart for "specialists" It made a universal appeal.

AD PHILIPPUM ET MARIAM REGES semper Augustos

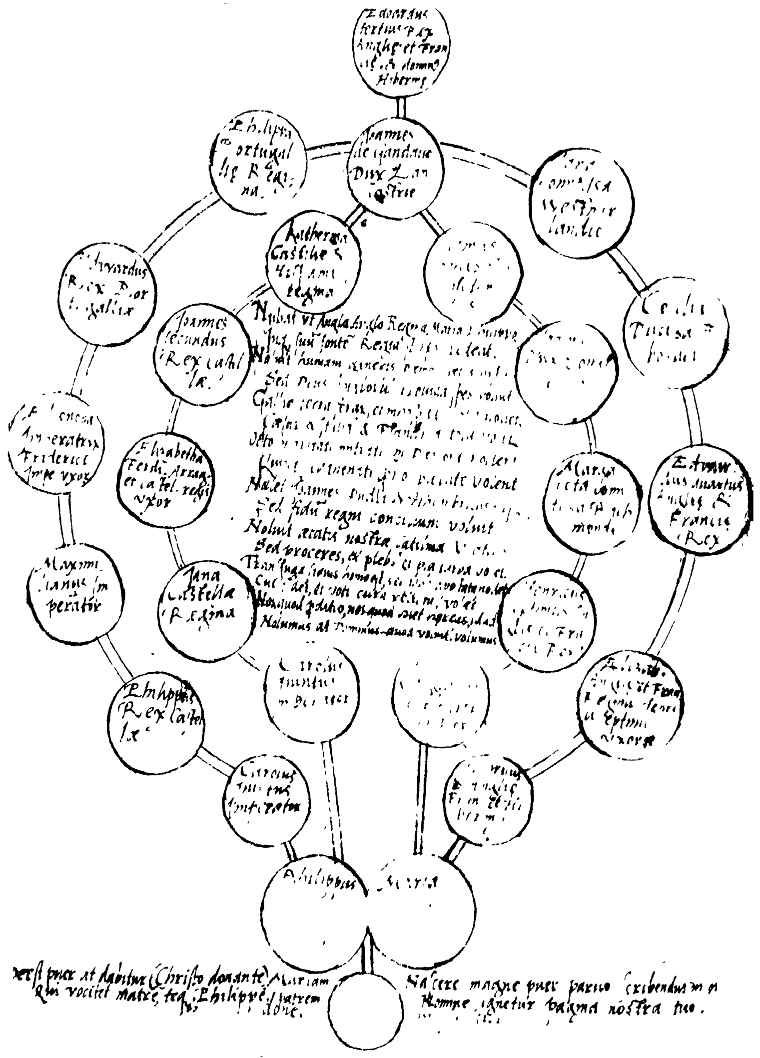
Puerorum

Collegii Wickamensis

Apud Illustrem Wintoniam

Carmen nuptiale.

1554.



Edouardus tertius Rex Anglie et Fran
Hibernie
Joannes de Gandaue Dux Lancastrie
Philippa Portugalie Regina
Edwardus Rex Portugalie
Joannes secundus Rex Castilie
Elizabetha Ferdi. Aragon et Castel. regis uxor
Jana Castella Regina
Maximilianus Imperator
Philippus Rex Castelle
Carolus Quintus Imperator
Philippus
Maria
Edwardus Quartus Anglie & Francie Rex
Nubat ut Angla arcto Regina Maria
Holunt aetatis nostrae
Sed proceres, & plebs
Nolumus at Dominus quod vouit, volumus
Qui vocitet matre, teq; Philippe, patrem
Nascere magne puer
Nomine ignetur pagina nostra tuo.

"THE GREAT DUKE."

From the original by Titian, at the Palacio de Liria, Madrid;

in the collection of The Duke of Berwick and Alba.

(President of the Board of the Prado, and Director of the Academy of History of Spain).

"Don Fernando Alvarez de Toledo, III Duque de Alba, llamado El Gran Duque, Duque de Huéscar, Marqués de Coria, Conde de Salvatiera y de Piedrahita, Señor de Valdecorneja," was son of Don Garcia Alvarez de Toledo and of Dª Beatriz de Pimental. Born at Piedrahita, 29 October, 1507, he was in his 47th year at the time of Queen Mary's wedding. The portrait by Titian is believed to have been painted about three years later.

For particulars of various portraits and prints see *"Discurso del Excelentisimo Señor Duque de Berwick y de Alba estudio de la persona de Don Fernando Alvarez de Toledo III Duque de Alba. Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid."* 1919. pp. 35-36.

Extra to those described, there were three portraits of him, "the Duke Dalva," in possession of Lord Robert Dudley when Earl of Leicester. (Inventories 1588. *Notes & Queries,* 1862, 3rd ser.). None of these three pictures are now known to exist. Nor does the present Earl of Scarbrough possess those which belonged to his ancestor John, Lord Lumley. See *"Records of the Lumleys of Lumley Castle"* (1904), by Edith Milner, p. 331, (among "pictures of a smaller scantlinge,") "Of the Duke of Alva, governo^r in Flaunders, doone by Anthony Moorey" (Antonio Moro).

The Duke of Alba remained a patron of Titian to the last. Titian corresponded with him direct; and was receiving orders from him so late as 1573 (when the painter was over 90 years of age). See *"Documentos Escogidos Del Archivo de la Casa de Alba. Los publica La Duquesa de Berwick y de Alba, Condesa de Siruela,"* Madrid, 1891, p. 117

Thirty-three pictures of Titian are recorded, though without names of subjects, in a *"Catálogo o inventario de pinturas,"* compiled in 1682 for the House of Alba; reprinted, pp 106-108 of *"Discursos leidos ante la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando en la recepción pública del Excmo Sr Duque de Berwick y de Alba individuo de número de la Academia de la Historia y Honoraria de la Española. . . "* (Madrid, 1924).

EL PSALTE
RIO DE DAVID TRADVZIDO
en Lengua Caſtellana con-
forme à la verdad
Hebraica.

EN LEON EN CASA DE SE-
baſtian Grypho, año de
M. D. L.

Gulielmo Cecilio 1554.

Title-page of Spanish Psalter, 1550:

" El Psalterio de David tradvzido en Lengua Castellana," etc.

With autograph of Sir William Cecil, " Gulielmo Cecilio, 1554,"

the year Queen Mary married Philip of Spain.

Now first reproduced, by permission of The Marquess of Salisbury, K.G.

The lifelong interest of Sir William Cecil in foreign publications will be shown in the present work, partly from title-pages of volumes autographed by him, and through commentaries upon MS. and printed books not hitherto known to have been among his possessions.

A list of his autographed and annotated books, both foreign and English, will be first published, in the section dealing with his final actions and his death in 1598.

NOTE

On the English translation (finished 1546, *printed* 1554 *and* 1555), *of*

DAVILA'S COMMENTARIES on the Wars of the EMPEROR CHARLES V.

The Emperor's efforts to overthrow the Lutherans,—"the furious and infinite people of Germany,"—had already interested English Catholics, during the reign of the Protestant King Edward VI. John Wilkinson had then translated the Commentaries *on the Emperor's campaigns by Don Lewis de Avila y Zuñiga, who had taken a conspicuous part in the operations described.*

This work—not licensed under King Edward—was twice printed during Queen Mary's reign; 1554 *and* 1555.

It has since been so forgotten as not to appear in Captain Cockle's Bibliography of English Military Books (1900). *But it was the main source of English popular knowledge of the Emperor (who had visited this country in King Henry VIII's time,* 1522, *aged* 22):

"The Commentaries of Don Lewes de Auela, & Suniga, great Master of Acanter" (*Alcantara*) "which treateth of the great wars in Germany made by Charles the fifth Maximus Emperoure of Rome, king of Spain, against John Fredericke Duke of Saxon, & Philip the Lantgraue of Hesson with other great princes & Cities of the Lutherans, wherein you may see how god hath preserued this worthie of victorious Emperor in al his affayres against his enemyes translated out of Spanish into English An. Do 1555. Londini in Aedibus Richardi Totteli." (*B M. C.* 33 *a* 20).

The translator had dedicated it, "An MDXLVI," "To his right honorable Lorde and master, Edward Earle of Darby, Lord Stanley and Straunge, Lord of Man and the Isles, knyght of the . . . Garter . . .":—

> *"Giftes bee commonlye geuen to Princes and other benefactors . of the most precious thinges. . . So I have considered what thing I myght geve unto your Lordshep to bee acceptable as this whic' treateth of the actes and dedes of the victorious . Emperoure Charles the fifth . . . who hath spred his baners . . not only agaynste the Turkes and Mores, but moreouer to subdue the diuersities of sectes as appeareth in thys Commentary . ." which will enlighten those "desyrous to know what hath folowed the doctrine of Martin Luther. . . .*
>
> *"I have considered what a lack it hath been emo[n]gest so many English Bokes, as not to have so notable a hystory as this is . . . of a trueth . . worthy of a more excelle[n]t stile than this of mine. . ."*

These Commentaries *were not included in* 1595 *in the martial section of the* Catalogue of English Printed Books *compiled by "Andrew Maunselle Boke-seller" and dedicated to Robert Devereux Earl of Essex, K G* (See *Title-pages, etc , under date*) *As Dávila's work was a glorification of the smiting of heretics, it would hardly have been permitted circulation under Queen Elizabeth, one of whose principal deputies for the giving of licences to "stationers" and printers was the Archbishop of Canterbury*

(Though Dávila's Commentaries are mentioned by Stirling Maxwell as having been "translated into English," the title, date, and translator of the English version are not specified).

The Emperor's wish that his triumphs should be kept in memory is indicated by his wedding present to Queen Mary·

> *"xii pieces of Arras worke, so richlie wroughte with golde, silver, and silke, as none in the worlde maye excell them. In which peces be so excellentlye wroughte and sette out all the emperours majesties proceedinges, as Apelles were not able (if he were alive) to mende any parcell thereof with his pensell."*

"The copie of a letter . . . of the arrival . . . of the most illustre prince Philippe" &c., &c. In extenso "Queen Jane and Queen Mary." *ed: J. G. Nichols. App. X, p.* 152.

HELMET OF SIR WILLIAM SIDNEY, KNIGHT BANNERET,

(weight: 8 lbs. 14 ounces).

Now first reproduced from the original
in possession of The Lord De L'Isle and Dudley
at Penshurst Place, Kent.

Notice the Sidney crest. "a porcupine *azure*, quilled, collared and chained, *or*." The crest reverses the tinctures of the Sidney arms which are "*Or* a pheon *azure*."

This helmet is sometimes shown to visitors at Penshurst as Sir Philip Sidney's But when lent to the Society of Antiquaries for exhibition, it was described by the then Secretary, The Hon. H. A. Dillon, as "said to have been that of Sir William Sidney, the father of Sir Henry . . . and grandfather of the yet more popular and admired Sir Philip." See "*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*" Second Ser Vol XII Dec· 13, 1888, pp 266 267. The Secretary, subsequently Viscount Dillon, one of our leading authorities on the evolution of armour, conjectured that the porcupine crest "probably came from some monumental helm at Penshurst, as the material would be too heavy for wear in the lists."

In "*The Names and Armes of those that were honoured with the Order of Knighthoode in the tyme of the triumphant reigne of Kinge Henry the Eight,*" (Cotton MS, Claudius, c. iii, ff 68-144) "Sr Will'm Sidney" is described as "made in Bretaigne by the Duke of Norff[olk] Lorde Admirall" He is not included (as he should be) in the retrospective list of 35 Knights "made at the battaill of Branston Moore otherwise called Flodden field," &c. (Metcalfe's "*Book of Knights*," 1885, p 56) See E E, p. 72

THE DUKE AND DUCHESS OF ALBA:

From a picture at the Casa del Castañar (Toledo).

In possession of the Conde de Finat.

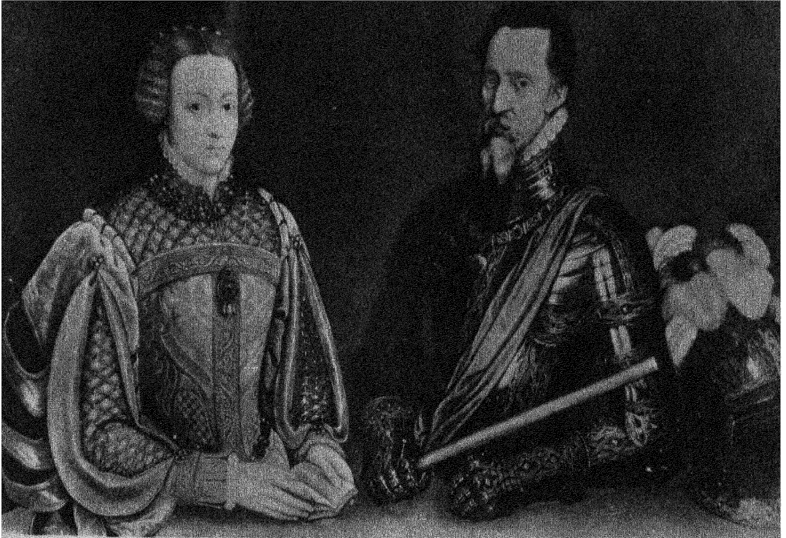
Not hitherto known in England.

(Photograph: Hauser and Menet).

There do not appear to be in the collections of the present (17th) Duke of Alba any contemporary letters as to the visit of the Great Duke to England, and the only MS. of "*Philipus et Maria Dei gratia Rex et Regina Angliae,*" published in "*Documentos Escogidos Del Archivo de la Casa de Alba,*" Madrid, 1891, pp. 446-447, is a license to one of the other wedding guests, Don Fernando de Castro, Marqués de Sarriá, to export falcons and goshawks; dated "*apud Westmonsterium, quintodecimo die Septembris annis regnorum nostrorum quinto et sexto.*" (The same "*merced y privilegio*" was renewed by Queen Elizabeth: p. 448. See also pp. 449-451, her affable letters in Spanish, "*A neustro muy Caro y muy Amado Primo el Marqués de Sarriá,*" "*Hamptoncort á los xxix de Settiembre, MDLX,*" and "*De Grenewiche á los xx de Febrero de MDLXVI.*")

In the 17th Duke of Alba's "*Discurso,*" 1919, ("*Estudio de . . Don Fernando . . III Duque de Alba,*" p. 166, note 59,) the arrival of his ancestor in England in 1554 is described:—

"Desembarcó Alba con seis o siete caballeros. . . . . Al dia siguiente desembarcó la Duquesa, a quien esparaban en el muelle toda la corte española y gran parte de la inglesa. El Marqués de las Navas presentaba a la Duquesa a los caballeros ingleses. Entre ellos estaba el Conde de Arbi, Rey de la Isla de Mongaza" [Earl of Derby, King of the Isle of Man,] "con corona de plomo. . . . . El 27 de Julio la Reina envió dos damas por la Duquesa de Alba, a quien accompañó toda la Corte." A description of the meeting ensues. It was presumably unknown to a popular 20th century English writer who represented the Duke and Duchess of Alba as ill-contented with their reception; whereas the present Duke (op. cit. p. 98) refers to the "*afectuosa familiaridad*" of Queen Mary for the Duke and Duchess.



PROLOGUE.

Section X. "The Natiuitie of Phillippe Sydney:" 30 November, 1554.

Among persons of distinction who had approved of King Edward's decision to confer upon Lady Jane Dudley "the Imperial Crowne of this Realme" was Sir Henry Sidney of Penshurst Place, Kent, and Robertsbridge, Sussex, whose wife Lady Mary, was eldest daughter of the Duke of Northumberland. But although the Duchess of Northumberland was for a while kept prisoner in the Tower by Queen Mary, Sir Henry and his wife were not molested. And though Sir Henry had been one of the most intimate friends of King Edward, he was sent to Spain to attend Prince Philip upon his journey to England. Moreover, after Sidney's return, the Queen confirmed to him the offices held under the late King,[1] and he was appointed to attend Lord Cobham, Warden of the Cinque Ports, to meet Cardinal Pole who landed in England on the 18th November 1554. It was into the Catholic Church that the first-born son of Sir Henry was baptised soon afterwards at Penshurst.

> "*The natuitie of Phillippe Sydney, sonne and heire S*[r] *Henrie Sydney knight and the Ladie Marie his wyfe, eldest daughter of Iohn duke of Northumb' was one fryday the last of November being sainct Andrewes day a quarter before five in the morning. Annis R. Regis philippi et Marie R. Regine, primo et secundo. et anno Dni, Milessimo, Quingentessimo, Quinquagessimo quarto.*"

Thus noted Sir Henry Sidney: "*His godfathers were the great king Phillippe, king of Spayne, and the noble John Russell erle of Bedford. And his godmother, the most vertuous Ladie Jane Duchesse of Northumb' his grandmother.*"[2]

(This must have been written retrospectively, because at the time of Philip Sidney's birth Philip, King of England and Naples, was not yet King of Spain.)

The baby named after the King Consort was ultimately to become an oracle on England's policy "in relation to all foreign Princes," and especially how to prevail against "the power of Spain;" so his ancestry has a more than biographical interest. He esteemed it his "chiefest honour" to be a Dudley, and in 1584 was exceedingly scornful towards a "goosequill" (anonymous libeller) who stigmatised his grandfather John Duke of Northumberland as coming of a race of "traitors" of "mean" extraction.

(The ancestry of Edmund Dudley, the unpopular but devoted Minister of King Henry VII, needs no defending. Had he not been nobly born, hanging and not beheading would have been his end, when he was made a scapegoat in 1509. His eldest son John,

---

[1] A possible reason for her mercy is that his sisters had served her long and faithfully, and were "much favoured by her Highness." See "*Life of Jane Dormer, Duchess of Feria.*" By Henry Clifford, who was in the service of the Duchess in her old age. Published 1887, ed: Fr. J. Stevenson, S.J., pp. 62-63. Note by editor that Mabel and Elizabeth Sidney's names occur in Q. Mary's *Household Book*, pp. 119-126, 184.

[2] Holograph memo of Sir H. Sidney, now first published verbatim from orig: in his Psalter. This is a large folio (22¾ x 16¼ inches); beautifully illuminated. Trinity College, Cambridge, MS R. 17. 2.

the future Duke of Northumberland, was then a child of eight.[1] The boy's mother was Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Edward Grey who had been created Viscount L'Isle, in right of his wife Elizabeth, sister and heiress of Thomas Talbot, Viscount L'Isle, whose grandmother Margaret, Countess of Shrewsbury, was daughter of the renowned Sir Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, K.G. Hence the revival for John Dudley of the L'Isle Viscountcy and the Warwick Earldom.[2])

Lady Mary Dudley had been married to Sir Henry Sidney in 1551; and though her husband was not her equal in ancestry, his "comeliness of person, gallantness and liveliness of spirit, virtue, quality, beauty," and the offices he held about the Sovereign's person, had made him conspicuous even before he was knighted.[3]

Named after his godfather King Henry VIII,—Sir Henry Sidney was the only surviving son of Sir William Sidney; who for valour had been dubbed Knight bachelor in the French war, and Knight Banneret after the battle of Flodden. (A Knight Banneret not only performed brave deeds in person, but led troops which had been armed and equipped at his own cost. A Knight bachelor could be dubbed "on the carpet" in peace; but a Knight Banneret only in time of war and on the scene of action.)

Sir William Sidney was tutor, Chamberlain, and Steward of the Household to Prince Edward. His wife Anne, daughter of Sir Hugh Pagenham, and her sister had charge of the Prince "so long as he remained in woman's governance." Henry Sidney at the age of ten had been appointed henchman to Prince Edward, then aged two. A devoted affection ensued on both sides: as described long afterwards by Sir Henry to Sir Francis Walsingham, 1st March, 1583:

> "As that sweet Prince grew in years and discretion, so grew I in favour and liking of him, in such sort as by that time I was twenty two years of age, he made me of the four principal Gentlemen of his Bedchamber. While I was present with him he would always be cheerful and pleasant with me, and in my absence gave me such words of praise as far exceeded my desert.
>
> "Sundry times he bountifully rewarded me: . . . once he sent me into France,

---

[1] Lord Herbert in his Life of Henry VIII, (Cit, Collins, *"Letters and Memorials,"* 1746, p. 18) regarded Edmund Dudley as unjustly condemned. The people *"found it easier to hate than to pay"* the taxes devised by Dudley. They did not direct their wrath against the Crown, but vented it on the Minister. His enemies at the Court then caused him to be accused of intending to usurp the "sole government" and to "destroy" the King. After being arraigned for Treason at the Guildhall (16 July, 1509) he was sentenced to death "The importunate clamours of the People prevailing with the King," Edmund Dudley was ruthlessly sacrificed.

[2] These facts are recalled because it is not infrequent for popular writers to-day to echo the 1584 libel, and remain oblivious that the above titles were not selected at random, or granted out of capricious favour, but represent the union of personal services with ancestral dignities.

[3] Vide his secretary Molyneux, Continuation of Holinshed's *Chronicles,* 1586-7.
In Sir Henry Sidney's Psalter, the same in which he entered his son Philip's birth, he wrote of himself, "The nativity of Henry Sidney was on Tuesday the twenty day of July upon St Margarets day in the morning a quarter after one of the clock, the twenty-one year of Henry the Eight and in the year of our Lord one thousand five hundred twenty and nine. His godfather was King Henry the Eight; his other godfather was Sir William Fitzwilliam after Earl of Southampton and Lord Privy Seal; his godmother was the Lady Kingston, wife of Sir Wm Kingston K^{nt} of the most noble order; and controller of King Henry the Eight his household." Cambridge MS. M. 17. 2.

and once into Scotland . . . Lastly, not only to my own still-felt grief, but also to the universal woe of England, he died in my arms."

. . . .

Sir Henry's mother-in-law Jane, Duchess of Northumberland, when godmother to his son Philip, was, at the age of forty-six, broken by the series of calamities that had come upon her in rapid succession. And though her son John Earl of Warwick was released from the Tower on the 18th of October, 1554, this mercy came too late. Three days afterwards he died at midnight, 21st of October, at Penshurst Place. Of the Duchess's thirteen children only five were left living at the time of Philip Sidney's christening.[1]

The chief comfort of the Duchess during her sorrowful last days was that she found a new and powerful friend in Maria Enriquez y Toledo, Duquesa de Alba. Now remembered chiefly as the friend and patroness of Saint Teresa, the Duchess of Alba showed a warm compassion for the fallen family of Dudley. But though by Spanish intervention all the Dudley sons were released from the Tower before their baby nephew Philip's christening, they did not receive explicit forgiveness. So their mother, drawing up her Will soon afterwards, feared " many doubts and questions " would " arise upon the Force and Sufficiency " of her bequests: " because my three sons and my Brother Sir Andrew Dudley "[2] still stand " attaynted of High Treason," and so would not be allowed to benefit if she were to die before they could obtain " the Kinges and Queenes most gracious Pardon." She could only express her wishes to her executors, " trusting in their Fidelitie that they will have special Reguarde and Consideracyon to the Advauncement and help of my chyldren."[3] And although her will was not made " in due form and order " by a lawyer but entirely by herself, she prays that the Queen will be " good and gracious " and will allow her the right to dispose of " my verie owne Lande by my Lord my dere Husbandes Gifte, confirmed by the Quene's Highness, with such Stuff and Apparel as I have."

She had not much left; for immediately after the Duke's execution, she had been deprived of " Stuft, Apparel, and Silkes," cloth of gold, velvet, lace, and other effects;[4] the officials of the Crown leaving her only a few dresses; and personal possessions such as " a little Book Clock, that hath the Sun and the Moon in it," and a dial with an almanack."[5]

---

[1] Even prior to the fall and execution of the Duke and Lord Guildford Dudley, her eldest son had been killed in the French war, aged 19; the second son had died aged 2; and the eighth aged 4. Of five daughters the 2nd, 4th, and 5th had died at the ages of 10, 1, and 7.

[2] Brother-in-law.

[3] "*Letters and Memorials of State,*" ed: Collins, 1746. Vol. I, pp. 33-36. Transcript of Will of Jane Duchess of Northumberland. " Here foloweth my laste Will and Testament wrytten with myn own Hande, being perfytt in Memory, in the yere of our Lord MDLIV." No other date. Signed " in presence of us E. Duddeley. Anne York. Henry Sydney. William Bowden. Probat. 23 May 1555."

[4] Warrant " By the Queen." Richmond, 26 August. 1st May (1553). Op. cit. I, pp. 32, 33.

[5] Ib: p. 34

Her gown of black velvet furred with sables is to be for her daughter Lady Mary Sidney. Also "her clock again she did so much set by, that was the Lord her Father's, praying her to keep it as a jewel." And to her younger daughter Lady Katherine Hastings she leaves a gown of purple velvet, and a "summer gown." To the wives of her sons Ambrose, Robert, and Henry each a velvet gown. And to Sir Henry Sidney the hangings out of her house in Chelsea: gold and green with her late Lord's arms and hers thereon. To Lady Mary Sidney "200 Marks, and 200 Marks to her little Son"; but "if he chance to dye," the money to go to his mother; and if they both die "the law" will give it to Sir Henry. Fifty marks each to her sons. Land inherited by her from the late Lord De La Warr is to be sold.[1] Servants are to be discharged who "honestly" remained with her "since my Lord departed," and she wishes them to be given black coats "according to their degrees." But as "none of my children shall inherit the degree I die in," she does not desire an expensive funeral; but rather her debts paid, to a Cheapside mercer and three others, and "the poor given unto."

To the "*Dutchess of Alva*" she leaves her green Parrot, "having nothing worthy for her else, *praying her Grace to continue a good Lady to all my Children as she has begun.*"[2]

That the Duchess of Alba continued to intercede with King Philip to influence the Queen to mercy, we infer from Lord Robert Dudley's subsequent assertion that he was "at the disposal of the King to whom he owed his life."[3] But although on the 18th of October, 1554, all the Dudley brothers had been so far pardoned as to be released from the Tower, their restitution in blood, enabling them to inherit lands from their father, was deferred until the end of the reign.[4] Their mother's last days therefore were still overshadowed with anxiety about their future.

She warned them against this "World, full of vanities, deceits and guiles; and whosoever doth trust to this transitory world, . . . may happen to have an overthrow as I did."

Disregarding her instructions to avoid expense, they gave her (on the 1st of February, 1554-5) a stately burial in Chelsea Church: with two Heralds in attendance, and many

---

[1] In her Inquisit: Post Mortem taken in Sussex, 6th June 1 and 2 Ph: and May (1555) she is described as Cousin and Heir of Thomas West, Lord De la Warr, who died without issue, 25 Sep: 1 and 2 Ph: & M (1554). she being daughter and sole heir of Sir Edw[d] Guildford, Kt. by Eleanor his wife, eldest of the two sisters and co-heirs of the said Lord De La Warr; and that her heir was her son Sir Ambrose Dudley Kt. "pardoned for life but not restored in blood" (Ib. p. 33).

[2] Ib: p. 34. Parrots were then rarities; Queen Elizabeth subsequently accepted one from Sir Humphrey Gilbert: and a portrait of Lady Arabella Stuart now at Woburn Abbey shows her with two pet parrots, on perches behind her, and two little love-birds on her wrist.

[3] Spanish Ambassador (Bp. of Aquila) to Margaret Duchess of Parma, from London 7 Sep: 1559. Cal. S.P. Spanish (Eliz) Vol. I, p. 96.

Collins in printing the Duchess of Northumberland's Will gives the titles of two foreign noblemen (p. 34) to whom she sends her "commendations": "the Duke of *Salvan*" and the Duke of *Mathenon*." No names resembling these can be found on the list of Spanish Noblemen in England (Harl: MS 425, f. 97). *Medinaceli* was the only Duke except *Alba* who accompanied King Philip.

[4] 4th and 5th P & M, No. 12. Collins, op. cit. pp. 36-37.

mourners; and " six dozen of torches." She had survived her husband less than a year and a half.[1]

At the time of her funeral, her sole grandchild, Philip Sidney, was eight weeks old.

When one of Sidney's recent editors objected to his gravity as a young man, this surely was to forget how tragically his Dudley kin had fared; and how he had been admonished by his father upon his responsibilities:[2]

> " Remember, my son, the noble blood of which you are descended of, by your Mother's side; and think that only by virtuous life and good action you may be an ornament to that illustrious family. . . .
> " otherwise . . . you shall be counted *labes generis,* one of the greatest curses that can happen to man."

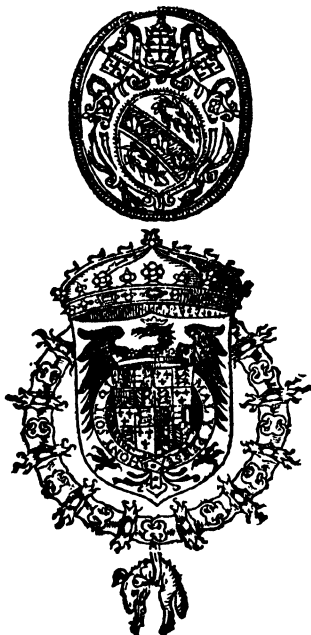
[1] Strype's "*Memorials,*" Vol. 3, p. 208: and Collins, op. cit, p. 36. " In the Church of Chelsea, a monument is erected to her memory, on which is represented, in brass plates, her Effigies, with all her Sons and Daughters: viz. Henry, Thomas, John, Ambrose, Robert, Guildford, Henry, and Charles; Mary, Margaret, Catherine, Frances, and Temperance: with this Inscription:

" Here lyeth interred the Right Noble and Excellent Princess, Lady Jane Guildford, late Duchess of Northumberland, Daughter and sole Heir of the Right Honourable Sir Edward Guildford, Knight, Lord Warden of the five Ports. The which Sir Edward was Son to the Right Honourable Sir Richard Guildford, sometime Knight and Companion of the most Noble Order of the Garter; and the said Dutchess was Wife to the High and Mighty Prince, John Dudley, late Duke of Northumberland, by whom she had Issue eight Sons and five Daughters; and after she had lived forty six years, she departed this transitory World, in her Mannor of Chelsea, the twenty second day of January, in the second year of the reign of our Sovereign Mary the First, and in the Year 1555. On whose Soul Jesus have mercy.' "

[2] Sir Henry Sidney to his son Philip, at school at Shrewsbury, 1566, aged 12. (Orig: Penshurst MS). "*Letters and Memorials,*" 1746, Vol. I, p. 9.

COPIA DELLE LETTERE

del Sereníſſimo Re d'Inghilterra, & del Reueren
diſſimo Card. Polo Legato della. S .Sede
Apoſtolica alla Santità di N.S. Iulio
Papa III. ſopra la reduttione di
quel Regno alla vnione della Santa Madre
Chieſa ; & obedienza della Sede
Apoſtolica.



Title page of the letter of " The King of England " (Philip of Spain), and of the Papal Legate, Cardinal Pole,
announcing the return of England to obedience to the Holy See. (30 November, 1554).

Small 4to; 12 pp. *In possession of Messrs Maggs Bros. Published at Rome, by order of Pope Julius III. With Papal Arms; and, quartered, Arms of Spain and England. Observe that Queen Mary's name is omitted from the title, and that the Imperial Eagle and the Order of the Golden Fleece loom conspicuously large.*

PROLOGUE.

Section XI. "Diversity of opinions."
(Queen Mary's proclamation and its sequel).

On the 28th of August "in the fyrst yeare of Our most prosperous reygne,"—almost immediately after the execution of the Duke of Northumberland,—" An inhibition of the Queen for Preaching, Printing, etc." had been issued from Richmond:

"The Queen's Highness, well-remembering what great inconveniences and dangers have grown . . . . through diversity of opinions, . . . hath thought good," being now well "settled in her just possession of the Imperial Crown of this Realm, and other dominions thereunto belonging," to require the restoration of the Religion "which God and the world knoweth she hath ever professed from her infancy . . ."[1] Urgently desiring her subjects to "embrace the same," she preferred their willing conversion: and so "she does signify unto all . . . . that *of her most gracious disposition and clemency*" she "*mindeth not to compel any of her said subjects thereto, unto such time as further order by common assent may be taken.*"

Meanwhile she bade her "good loving subjects to live together in quiet sort and Christian charity"; not using against each other the "new found devilish terms of Papist and Heretic," but avoiding "rash talk" and contentious words, and uniting in loyalty and devotion. "And her Highness . . . chargeth and commandeth" that none of her subjects presume on their own authority to punish or rise against any person guilty of printing forbidden matter"; or against "any other offender in words or deeds in the late rebellion . . . by the Duke of Northumberland."

These contumacious subjects were not to be threatened or attacked by other subjects.[2] All such matters were to be referred "unto her Highness, and public authority"; the information being lodged with the Privy Council. Her Majesty would herself then see they were treated according to law.

Though she would be sorry to have to put the laws severely into execution, "*she utterly determines not to permit such unlawful and rebellious doings of her subjects . . . to remain unpunished.*" Therefore let them beware, and not incur her "indignation and most grievous displeasure."[3]

As Queen Mary was popularly regarded as deeply wronged by the Duke of Northumberland, and as his death was deemed a proper penalty for his ambitions,—and as she at first seemed willing to give the people liberty to conform to the Church of Rome or otherwise as they pleased,—the ensuing prosecutions for religion were the more of a shock to the masses, in spite of the previous warning of Bishop Ridley. When preaching at Paul's Cross on behalf of Queen Jane, in July 1553, he had predicted heavy severities if the "Ladie Marie" were to come to the throne. And his prophecy was fulfilled in his own person in 1555. Though he had influenced King Edward to found

[1] But see Sec: iv, p. 22 ante.
[2] As they had been when the Duke was brought prisoner to the Tower. Ante. sec: iii, p. 20.
[3] In extenso in orig: spelling, Garnett's "*Accession of Queen Mary,*" 1892. App: pp. 149-152.

schools and hospitals, his good deeds for the people were not allowed by Queen Mary to outweigh his repudiation of the authority of Rome. He and Bishop Latimer both went to their terrible deaths with lofty composure. Their condemnation was the prelude to the second trial of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Cranmer. He had been one of the few Privy Councillors who disapproved of the setting aside of " Ladie Marie " in favour of Lady Jane; and at his trial at Oxford he " made low obeiassance to them that sate in the Queenes name "; but it was noticed that he omitted to vouchsafe any salutation to " the Bishop that was the Pope's Commissioner." This ecclesiastic pronounced upon him the same sentence of death by fire for heresy that Cranmer in his own days of power had passed upon others. But, according to Holinshed, it was " a Spanish friar " who gave him to understand that his life would be spared if he " subscribed to a recantation, . . . and continued in the same mind to outward appearance until he was brought forth out of prison to go to the fire."[1]

How he repudiated his recantation, and thrust his right hand first into the flames, because it had signed what he repented,—how he expressed the deepest penitence for having been influenced by his wish to live (he was a married man with children),—with what resolute fortitude he endured the last act of the tragedy he had so dreaded in advance,—is an oft told tale. His strength at the last astonished both his enemies and friends; and set an example to the increasing number who chose to go out of earthly life by the same way, rather than forsake the Church in which they had been brought up.[2]

Sir William Cecil's laconic note that when Archbishop Cranmer was burnt at the stake at Oxford, " the same day Cardinal Pole said his first Mass,"—and that of the Protestants subsequently condemned to death " *many were mayds,*"—were set down without comment.[3] What Cecil thought and felt will be inferred from his later actions.

---

[1] Ib: p. 83

[2] From the Italian standpoint see " *L'Historia Ecclesiastica della Rivoluzion d'Inghilterra,*" 1594, Lib: III, pp. 387-388, cap. xviii. the death sentence upon " *Tommaso Cranmero, Arciuescouo di Conturbia, o petizion d'Arriago, haues gia sentenziato nella causa del diuorzio, contro la Reina Caterina. . . . E qual maniera tenne la Reina per cacciar tutti gli heretici.*" &c. A memorial to Cranmer is at Jesus College, Cambridge; a medallion portrait in marble, by Albert Bruce Joy, with gold and grey alabaster framework.

[3] 1554. " *13 April.* Disputation at Oxford with Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer. Many persons executed for religion, as Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester, Bradford, Sanders, Taylor, Ferrer, Bishop of St. David, Rogers.
In this year were burned 80.
19 May. Lady Elizabeth sent to Woodstock.
19 July Prince of Spain arrived at Southampton.
24 November. Cardinal Pole came into England
(1555) *16 October.* Ridley Bishop of London, and Latimer, burnt.
9 November Bishop Gardiner died.
(1555-6) *1 January.* Dr. Heath made Chancellor.
21 March Cranmer Bishop of Canterbury burned. Eodem die Cardinal Pole sang his first Mass.
27 June. 13 persons burnt at Stratford at one fire· and in the compass of that year were burned above 80 persons, whereof many were maids."

Extracts from " *Notes of Q Maries Reign* " Full transcript in Sec· XVII, with facsimile pages. For a lament by Robert Bott for " my deare frend which in coventrye was burnt of late," see " *A ballad concernynge the death of Mr. Robert Glover, Weytone, to maystrys marye Glover his wyf, of a frend of hers,*" Sloane MS. 958, ff. 8v-17, printed by Rollins, " *Old English Ballads,*" 1920, pp. 33-46. Glover was burnt " about the 20 day of September, 1555." Foxe's " *Actes and Monuments,*" ed: Townsend, vii, 384-399: or 19 Sep: Brice's *Register,* 1559; Arber's *English Garner, iv,* 158.

Outwardly he accepted Queen's Mary laws; as did the Princess Elizabeth.[1] But there were many who refused to compromise. Their executions for *heresy* must not be confounded with arraignments for *treason*. Though the Duke of Suffolk was a Protestant, Sir Thomas Wyatt, the chief rebel against the Spanish match had been a Catholic: a fact now sometimes forgotten.

Popular aversion to Spain did not end when Wyatt was beheaded; nor was it decreased by the many burnings of Protestants which followed. "About this time," says Holinshed, there came into England a treatise printed abroad, called *"A Warning to England."* It was confiscated; and a Royal Proclamation forbade Queen Mary's subjects to circulate any book or pamphlet impugning the Pope's dignity.[2]

In March 1556-7 when King Philip returned to London from Flanders, he rode through the City in state with the Queen. The following month, Thomas Stafford, second son of Lord Stafford, landed at Scarborough from France, and with a force of only thirty-two men, took the castle by surprise, and held it for several days; having persuaded himself that if a leader arose, all Yorkshire and the North would rise against the Spanish King Consort.

Captured by the Earl of Westmorland, Stafford and his principal helpers were sent to London to the Tower, and swiftly arraigned and condemned for High Treason.

On Friday the 28th of May, Stafford was beheaded on Tower Hill; and three others were hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn; their heads set up on Tower Bridge, and their quarters exposed over the City gates.[3] They had been fully aware what the penalty must be if they failed. But it was an age when consciousness of the eternal life of the spirit was so vigorous and vivid that men readily hazarded their heads for their principles, with a boldness proportionate to the intensity of their conviction that an everlasting heritage of joy hereafter would be their just reward, if they lost mortal life in what they felt to be their duty to their country.

---

[1] Louis Wiesener's *"The Youth of Queen Elizabeth, 1553-1558,"* 1879, is an answer to Froude, whom Wiesener (p. xiv) described as that "brilliant writer," but "the least reliable of living historians, because he systematically bound himself down to flatter all the narrow prejudices that Protestant and national feeling in England can still preserve. . . ."

But though Wiesener's book is more scholarly and less dramatic than Froude's, he too was not without his "prejudices," though of a different sort Eager to show Mary as of a clement and compassionate temper, he lost sight of the reason why she, at first so rapturously acclaimed by the people, became towards the last so execrated. Wiesener shows Fox's *"Actes and Monuments"* as inaccurate as to the Queen's treatment of Princess Elizabeth, and points out that Fox was a fugitive abroad during Queen's Mary's reign. But Wiesener omits to mention that Fox's flight abroad was for fear of being burnt as a heretic. That Queen Mary believed herself to be serving God and man by using terror as a means to induce conformity, is unquestionable. But to claim that this method was mild and conciliatory is a form of argument which only a shirking of the main facts makes possible. There are, however, ballads in praise of her "Princely liberall heart where conscience was or pitie moved." Harl: *Miscell:* (1813), x, 259: *"A newe ballade of the Marigolde,"* by Wm. Forrest, a priest acclaiming her as the Marigold superior to the Rose or Lily.

[2] IV. p. 83.

[3] Holinshed, IV. p. 87. These were "Strellie, Bradford, and Proctor." Captain Sanders was pardoned.

In the same month of May the Queen knighted Thomas Percy, son and heir to the late Earl of Northumberland, and restored to him the Earldom forfeited by his father when beheaded by Henry VIII for participation in "the pilgrimage of Grace" (Catholic rising). "How manie noble men restored" is one of her merits enumerated in an elegy on the "Most Excellent and our late virtuous Queene," Harl: Miscell: X, 259.

NOTE A: "MERCIFUL TO THE POOR."

Bishop Ridley's efforts to put his Christian principles into practice were to continue bearing fruit long after the mortal part of him was consumed in flames. In 1551, when preaching to the fourteen-year-old King Edward at Westminster, he had spoken so eloquently of the duty of those in authority *"to be merciful to the poore"* and *"comfort and relieve them"* that the King sent for him afterwards. Inferring that by *"those in authority"* Ridley meant the Sovereign, "for I am in highest place, and therefore must answer unto God," the young King then desired that some good system should be evolved by the Bishop, with the aid of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London. Examination ensued into the *"IX speciall kindes or sortes of poore,"* and a Table was drawn up, for relief suitable to the nature of the troubles:

"The poore by impotencie Poore by casualtie Thriftlesse poore	*Three degrees of poore*
1 The poore by impotencie are also devided into thre kyndes, that is to say	1 *The fatherlesse or poore mans childe* 2 *The aged, blinde, and lame* 3 *The diseased perso(n), by lepr(os)y, dropsy,* etc.
2 The poore by Casualtie are also three kyndes, that is to say	4 *The wounded Souldior* 5 *The decayed householder* 6 *The visited with grievous disease*
3 The thriftlesse poore are three kyndes, that is to say	7 *The rioter that consumeth all* 8 *The vagabond that will abide in no place* 9 *The ydle person, as the Strumpet and other*

Richard Grafton, in his *"Chronicle at large,"* dedicated to Sir William Cecil, afterwards summed up the measures taken by Ridley and his associates:—

> ". . . . first for the innocent and fatherlesse, which is the Beggers childe, ... they provided the house that was the late *Graie Fryars in London,* and nowe is called *Christes Hospitall* where the poore children are trayned in the knowledge of God and some vertuous exercise to the overthrow of beggery.
>
> "For the seconde degree is provided the *Hospital of Saint Thomas* in Southwarke, and *Saint Bartholomewe* in West Smithfielde, where are continually at the least two hundred diseased persons which are not only there lodged and cured, but also fed and norished.
>
> "For the thirde degree, they provided *Bridewell,* where the Vagabond and ydle strumpet is chastised and compelled to labour, to the overthrowe of the vicious life of ydlenesse.
>
> "They provided also for the honest decayed householder, that he should be relieved at home in hys house, and in the parishe where he dwelled by a weekly reliefe and pencion. And in like maner they provided for the Lazer[1] to keepe him out of the Citie . . . . that they also should be releeved at home at their houses wyth severall pencions."[2]

---

[1] Leper.

[2] *Chronicle,* 1569; and 1809. Vol. II. pp. 530-531.

NOTE B: "NAUGHTY AND SEDITIOUS MATTER."

On "the xviii of Auguste in the fyrst yeare of our most prosperous reygne" Queen Mary had rebuked the "*playing of Enterludes, and Printing of false fond bokes, Ballades, Rymes, and other leude treatyses in the English tongue, ... touchyng hygh poyntes and mysteries of Christien Religion. which bookes, Ballettes, Rymes and treatyses are chiefly by the Printers and Stationers set out . . . for lucre.*" And on the 30th of April, 1556, from St. James's Palace, the Privy Council requested the Earl of Shrewsbury to rebuke Sir Francis Leek for allowing "lewd persons" in his service to act dramas "*containing very naughty and seditious matter; . . . contrary to all good order*".

> "and in case any person shall attempt to set forth these sort of games, ... and do wander for that purpose, ... your Lordship shall do well to see them apprehended, ... and punished as vagabonds by virtue of the Statute made against all loitering and idle persons."[1]

This letter is sometimes now misquoted as if no other calling than that of the actor had been disapproved. But persons to "be adjudged Rogues, Vagabonds, and Beggars," and punished under the Statutes of Henry VIII (1531 and 1547) included

> "All Scholars and Sea-faring men which beg: all wandering persons which either beg, use unlawful Games and Plays, feign themselves to have skill in Physiognomy, Palmistry, or the like, or pretend to tell Fortunes;" all who falsely pretend to collect for Hospitals; "all Fencers, Bearwards, *common players and Minstrels wandering abroad, other than such as shall be authorised by Noblemen under their hands and seals;* all Jugglers, Tinkers, Pedlars, and petty Chapmen wandering abroad: all Labourers which wander and refuse to work for wages" of reasonable figure; likewise all "Egyptians" (gypsies).[2]

If judged "dangerous" because unwilling to be reformed, or if refusing to take service when offered, they could be banished from the Realm; and if any returned without license, they could be imprisoned. But seafaring men who had been shipwrecked were to receive "necessary relief."

The assumption that the orders of the Council denoted "Puritanical" antagonism to dramatic art is not justified by this letter; for it was not because certain "lewd persons" were actors that they were to be punished. The offence was that they had used their calling as a means to stir up indignation against "the King and Queenes Majesties."[3]

---

[1] Talbot Papers Vol. C. f. 229. Lodge's "*Illustrations*" 1838. Vol. I. pp. 266-268.

[2] The Act did not extend to children "under seven years of age." "*An Exact Abridgment of all Statutes In Force and Use From the beginning of Magna Charta, Untill 1641. . . . . . With a Continuation . . . . . untill 1670. Whereto is annexed Four Tables. . . . Cum Gratia and Privilegio Regiae Majestatis*" London, 1670. pp. 557-562. The Statutes of Queen Mary were printed by J. Carwood in 1554, "*Ano Mariae primo Acts made in the Parlymente begonne and holden at Westminster the seconde daye of Aprill.*"

[3] In 1860 the Roxburghe Club printed "*Songs and Ballads, with other Short Poems chiefly of the Reign of Philip and Mary. Edited from a Manuscript in the Ashmolean Museum, by Thomas Wright,*" but this work has been neglected; and when in 1920 Professor Hyder Rollins published "*Old English Ballads*" (Cambridge University Press), the labours of Evans (1810) and of Wright had also been forgotten by reviewers.

NOTE C: A PIONEER ARCTIC EXPLORER, 1553-1554.

"THE RIGHT VALIANT SIR HUGH WILLOUGHBY."

A prevalent notion to-day that our countrymen of the sixteenth century conducted their maritime enterprises in lawless fashion, as "pirates" and "corsairs," compels the reminder that some of the most remarkable Royal Letters licensing the various "Adventurers" were published so long ago as 1589, and have been so frequently reprinted that it is strange how they can be ignored.

Proportionate to the brevity of his life, few Monarchs have shown more zeal for exploration than Edward VI. Even granting that he was influenced in this, as in much else, by the Duke of Northumberland (Sir John Dudley, Earl of Warwick), the young King's personal interest was such that when Sir Hugh Willoughby and Richard Chancelor set out on their Arctic enterprise, he was distressed to be too unwell to bid them goodbye in person.

If the Sovereign did not provide them with extensive material aid, he gave what they valued more: namely a written address to *"all Kings, Princes, Rulers, Judges and Governours"* whom they might encounter on their travels. Wishing to the said Potentates "peace, tranquilitie and honour," he adjured them that even "as the great and Almightie God" inspired mankind to desire "to love and be loved," and "to give and receive mutual benefits, it is therefore the duety of all men, according to their power" to show affection to those who come to them as travellers and "seekers." Invoking "the example of our fathers and predecessors" in the encouragement of such "universall amitie," King Edward commended "certaine men of our Realme" who to "bring in and carry out merchandises" had equipped an expedition to "farre countries." In accord with their petition, His Majesty had "licensed the right valiant and worthy Sir Hugh Willoughby" to be their leader. All Kings and Princes of "countries to them heretofore unknowen" were requested to "permit these our servants free passage . . . . and if they shall stand in need of any thing, we desire you, for the nobilitie which is in you, to ayde and helpe them with such things as they lacke, receiving againe of them such things as they shall bee able to give."

In Latin, Greek, "and divers other languages" this letter to the unknown Kings and Princes promised "by the God of all things, . . . that we will with like humanitie accept your servants . . . . as friendly and gently . . . . as if they were borne in our Dominions, that wee may hereby recompense the favour and benignitie which you have shewed to our men. . . . ."[1]

Monarchs were the acknowledged chief protectors and patrons of all their subjects, and (in theory) were the natural allies of each other. Though clash of national interests now and then resulted in "sharp and cruell warres" (like those between England and Scotland, or between the English and French,) the obligation of hospitality to strangers led to many pleasant amenities. Nothing could be further from the truth than a now common belief that only the great nobility enjoyed prestige at the various Courts. Never was there a time when Sovereigns were more easily accessible to the lesser ranks, or the fruits of successful adventure more within reach of any man endowed with enterprise, energy and courage, or the relations between "noble" and "simple" more harmonious. It is typical that this mercantile voyage in 1553 was headed by a Knight of ancient and noble house, Sir Hugh

[1] From London, "The seventh year of our reigne." Hakluyt; MacLehose's ed: Vol. II. pp. 206-211.

Willoughby.[1] Also that Sebastian Cabot who drew up the "Ordinances and instructions" (9th May,) inculcated "*unitie, love, conformity and obedience in every degree.*" All took an oath to be faithful to the Crown, and "*not to give up, intermit or leave off the said voyage, ... until it shalbe accomplished so farre forth as possibilitie and life of man may serve. . . .*"

Dread of "dangers of the seas, perils of ice, intollerable colde," had caused some people to deny the possibility of success; and not only to withdraw themselves but to dissuade others. These doubters were sternly rebuked by Cabot.

The shipmasters were instructed to "write, describe and put in memorie the navigation of every day and night, . . . the lands, tides, elements, altitude of the sunne, course of the moon and starres," and compare observations, and do everything in their power to aid each other.

No "ribaldrie, filthy tales, or ungodly talk" were to be allowed: "neither dicing, carding, tabling nor other divelish games." If any man fell sick or diseased, he was to be "tended, relieved and comforted." There were to be no conspiracies, factions, discords, or confusions; but all were to have "brotherly love" for each other. They, being "all one most royal King's subjects," should always bear in mind "the great importance of the voyage" and the "honour, glorie, praise and benefite" which should acrue therefrom, not only to the voyagers themselves but to "the commonwealth of this Realme."

The flagship, the "Bona Esperanza," was only 120 tons. She carried "a pinnesse and a boat": With "Sir Hugh Willoughby Knight, Captain Generall," was "Richard Chancelour, Captaine of the Edward Bonaventure, and Pilot Generall of the Fleete."[2] Willoughby, "a most valiant Gentleman," had verie earnestly requested to have that care and charge committed to him": and "by reason of his goodly personnage (for he was of a tall stature), as also for his singular skill in the services of warre," the Merchants held him in high esteem.

Richard Chancelor, who "by common consent" was selected for the secondary command, had been "brought up" by Sir Henry Sidney, "a noble young Gentleman and very much beloved of King Edward." Sidney had praised the merchants for the love of Country which caused them to undertake the enterprise: "Wee also of the nobilitie are ready . . . to helpe . . . in so commendable a cause." He eloquently contrasted the lot of those who were going to hazard life and fortune upon the "raging sea." "We shall live and rest at home quietly with our friends, ... We shall keep our own coastes and countrey." But the adventurers went forth into unknown perils; and so should be honoured for their willingness to "trouble and vex themselves" for the sake of others."[3]

On the 12th of May the chosen few took leave "one of his wife, another his children, another his kinsfolkes; and another his friends, deerer," even than his kin:[4]

---

[1] Willoughby had been one of the "Knightes made in Scotlande by the Erle of Hertforde, the Kynges Lieutenant Generall," in 1544 (Harl: MS. 6063; and Metcalfe's *Book of Knights*, 1885, p. 74) Many others of his kin had attained distinction.—Among "Knights made by Kynge Edward the Fourthe in the fielde of Grafton besides Tewkesbury," 3rd May, 1471, was Sir John Willoughby, (Ib: p. 3). In 1483, "Knyghtes made by Kinge Richard the Thirde" included Sir Christopher Willoughby (p. 8); and Henry VII knighted Sir William Willoughby (p. 11), and Sir Henry Willoughby (p. 15); and Sir Henry was promoted to Knight Banneret in 1497, in Cornwall. Henry VIII also knighted Sir Robert Willoughby, Lord Brooke (p. 41), and Sir Christopher Willoughby (p. 47). On the field of Flodden (9th Sep. 1513) Sir Edward Willoughby won his spurs (p 57); and in 1537 Sir William Willoughby (p. 71). For a picture of Willoughby, "From the portrait at Wollaton Hall, by permission of Lord Middleton," published in 1903, see frontispiece, Vol. II of MacLehose's ed: of Hakluyt's "*Principal Navigations*"

[2] Hakluyt II, p. 2061, and see List of officers and mariners, pp. 212-214; and see p. 215, "The Juramentum or Othe."

[3] "*The Newe Navigation and discoverie of the Kingdome of Moscovia, by the Northeast, in the yeere 1553. Enterprised by Sir Hugh Willoughby, Knight, and perfourmed by Richard Chancelor Pilot, major of the voyage· Written in Latine by Clement Adams.*" Hakluyt, Vol. II, pp. 239-278.

[4] Clement Adams, "*The Newe Navigation,*" &c.

"They departed with the turning of the water and sailing easily, came first to Greenewich. The greater shippes were towed downe with boates and oares"; the mariners, clad in sky blue cloth, "rowed amain." And as they neared Greenwich Palace "the Courtiers came running out, and the common people flockt together . . . upon the shore; the Privie Counsel they looked out at the windowes . . . the shippes hereupon discharge their Ordinance, and shoot off their pieces, after the manner of warre and of the sea: insomuch that the tops of the hilles sounded therewith, and the valleys and the waters gave an Eccho, and the Mariners they shouted . . . . it was a very triumph."[1]

But Richard Chancelor was heavy hearted because "he left behinde him his two little sonnes, which were in the case of Orphans if he sped not well." A premonition of "sorrows and cares" overshadowed them as they left Harwich: *"many of them looked oftentimes backe"* at the land they might never see again.[2]

Although in May they should have had fair weather, yet by the 31st the winds continued so contrary that they could not get much beyond Yarmouth. By the 19th of June they came in among "innumerable islands" belonging to the King of Denmark, the inhabitants of which welcomed them graciously. On sailing further north, still "under the dominion of the King of Denmark," they encountered other "very gentle people"; but found scant merchandise. In August "terrible whirlwinds" arose; and then such "thicknesse of mists" that the "Esperanza," the "Edward," and the "Confidence" were separated from each other. More tempests and fogs were Sir Hugh Willoughby's portion. But he kept up "good hope"; and in September found land. But no man was to be seen: only "beares, great deer, and foxes; with divers strange beastes. . . ." He did not know what had befallen Richard Chancelor in the "Edward."[3] So then, as he recorded, "seeing the year farre spent, and also very evill wether, as frost, snow, and haile, as though it had beene the deepe of winter, we thought best to winter there. Wherefore we sent out three men South south west, to search if they could find people," but after three days they returned baffled: "After that we sent three Westward four daies journey, which also returned without finding any people. Then sent we three men South east three days journey, who in like sorte returned without finding any people, or any similitude of habitation."[4]

What they endured during the last Act of their life drama, no survivor returned to tell. The log book that had been kept by Willoughby was afterwards discovered by Chancelor, who added to it these words:—

"The river or haven wherein Sir Hugh Willoughbie with the companie of his two ships perished for cold, is called Arzina in Lapland, neere unto Keegor. But it appeareth by a Will found in the ship that Sir Hugh Willoughbie and most of the company were alive in January, 1554."[5]

Retrospectively, the names of the doomed ships,—*"Good Hope,"* and *"Confidence,"*— seem doubly ironical, in that Willoughby and his men not only perished after much suffering, but even ceased to be held in general remembrance after their own contemporaries had passed

---

[1] Ib: p. 245. "But (alas) the Good King Edward . . . by reason of his sicknesse was absent, . . . and not long after . . . his death followed."

[2] Ib: p 245.

[3] "The proceedings of Sir Hugh Willoughbie after he was separated from the Edward Bonaventure," Ib. II, p. 223.

[4] "Here endeth Sir Hugh Willoughbie his note, which was written with his own hand."

[5] Ib: p. 224.

away. Few of our Arctic explorers of later date recalled their example, though so nobly emulating their daring.[1]

In 1557, however, a Venetian cosmographer commended the voyages "*the Englishe men have made intending to discover Cathay*"; and he predicted that if such efforts were continued the new navigation should effect a "wonderful change" in the state of the world.

[1] A probable exception is Willoughby's descendant Admiral Sir George Le Clerc Egerton, K.C.B. (a subscriber to the present work), who when a Lieutenant took part in the Arctic expedition of Captain (subsequently Admiral) Nares in 1875-6; the flag for which enterprise was embroidered by Lady McClintock, wife of Admiral Sir Leopold McClintock who in 1857-58, in the "Fox," 170 tons, had found the traces of Franklin and his companions, and placed beyond doubt that Franklin had discovered the North-West Passage which our ancestors for centuries had struggled in vain to find. See McClintock's "*Voyage of the 'Fox' in Arctic Seas,*" &c., London, 1859; and E.E., Vol. III, pp. 90-91.

NOTE D: "A WONDER TO SEE": THE PROSPERITY OF RUSSIA, 1553-57.

Richard Chancelor's favourable reception at the Court of Ivan Vasilowich was commemorated by him in "*The booke of the great and mighty Emperor of Russia, and Duke of Moscovia,*" "to encourage others" to "travell into farre or strange countreys."[1] Approaching Moscow from the North, he was most favourably impressed. "Russia is very plentifull both of land and people, and also welthy." The natives are "great fishers" for salmon and cod; and "they have much oyle"; also flax, hemp, tallow, hides, wax, honey; and "corn in great plenty." Trade is brisk; and at "Novogorode" the Dutch merchants have a staple house.

> "The countrey . . . is very wel replenished with small Villages, which are so well filled with people that it is wonder to see them: the ground is well stored with corne which they carie to the citie of Mosco . . . . you shall mete in a morning seven or eight hundred sleds comming or going thither, that carie corne."

Some come from a thousand miles away. The folk who live where it is too cold to raise corn, bring fishes and furs:—sables, beavers, minks, ermines, foxes "white, blacke, and redde."

Moscow is larger than London and suburbs; but Chancelor regarded the houses as "very rude," in that they were of timber and "dangerous for fire." "There is a faire Castel," the walls of which, of brick, are said to be 18 foot thick; "but I do not believe it," says Chancelor, who could not test the truth of the report by visiting the fortress, because "no stranger may come to viewe it." There are "nine fayre Churches" in Moscow, and sufficient Ordnance of all sorts. But even "the Emperors or Dukes house" is hardly so "sumptuous" architecturally as might be expected. Rather it resembles an old-fashioned English building "with small windows."

When the Emperor gave audience to Chancelor, he was surrounded by his nobles,—"a faire company." He sat in a gilt chair, and wore "a long garment of beaten golde, with an emperial crowne upon his head, and a staffe of Christall and golde in his right hand." He enquired about King Edward's welfare, and Chancelor replied that the King had been "in good health" when the expedition left home. (Actually his fatal illness had begun.)

The imperial dining chamber, with its long tables, its cups of gold, and the "marveilous great pots" of gold and silver a yard and a half high, delighted Chancelor. The dinner service was all gold and "very massie." Two hundred persons were entertained, and the "Duke's Grace" called each one by name after the meal was over. Chancelor wondered how any man could remember the names of such a number.

"This Duke is Lord and Emperour of many countries": able to bring into the field 200,000 to 300,000 men; and, even so, to leave the Borders well guarded. He never requires

---

[1] Hakluyt's "*Principal Navigations*"; ed: MacLehose, Vol. ii, pp. 224-238. See p. 192, woodcut portrait of the Emperor; and "*A briefe Treatise of the Great Duke of Moscovia his genealogie, being taken out of the Moscovite manuscript Chronicles written by a Polacke,*" ib. pp. 182-194. "The Turkish Emperor, with great presumption boasteth. . . . Trojan blood" (so did the English) "Likewise the great Duke of Moscovia, to make himself and his predecessors seeme the more sovereigne, deriveth the beginnings of his parentage from the Roman Emperors. . . ." And although "no man is so fond as to accept of this report for trueth, yet will wee briefly set downe what the Moscovites have written. . . ." Russia is described as having become "civill" (civilised) "in ye yere of our Lord 572; "and Christian A.D. 988, when "having taken to wife Anna sister unto Basilius and Constantinos Emperours of Constantinople," "Vulodimir" (Vladimir) was baptised, "together with the whole nation" into the Greek Church, and changed his name to Basilius. After many wars he was saluted "by the name of Czar (which . . . . signifieth a king and not an Emperour)." Though suffering invasions and defeats from the "Tartarians," the Russian rulers took the title of "great Duke" and established a "royall seate" at "Mosco." There followed many wars; frequently disastrous; till Ivan Vasilowich, at "25 years of age . . . . of a strong body and of a couragious mind . . . . subdued the Tartars" and all other adversaries.

to press husbandmen or merchants into martial service: so great is his force of voluntary Cavalry. These Horsemen are also archers, in the Turkish fashion. The nobles and gentlemen, mounted at their own cost, are most magnificently arrayed. There are no Foot, except gunners and labourers, amounting to 30,000.

The Duke's own pavilion when he goes to the wars is covered with cloth of gold or silver, set with jewels. "I have seene the Kings Majesties of England and the French Kings pavilions, which are fayre," says Chancelor, yet not as gorgeous as the Russian Emperor's. The garments and equipages of his Ambassadors are superb "above measure": not only the Ambassadors themselves but their horses being magnificently attired.

As to daily life, every nobleman and gentleman has jurisdiction over his tenants; but they can appeal to a higher Court. There are no lawyers who plead; each man pleads his own cause. If a subject is dissatisfied with the verdict of the judges, he may deliver a petition into the Duke's own hand. The Duke (Emperor) takes great pains to see that justice is done; and yet even he is sometimes deceived by those about him. If, however, he detects any official corruption, the punishment is heavy.

The peasants are much given to "deceit"; and have no pride. They willingly sell themselves into serfdom: "yea and some will sell their wives and children to be bawdes and drudges." They live regardless of cleanliness; and eat rotten stinking fish, declaring "it to be more wholesome" than if it were fresh. "There be no such people under the sunne for their hardnesse of living."

As to religion, their church services, twice a day, are in their native tongue; and they keep Lent rigidly. But despite this piety, their standard of morals is shocking; for they regard the Ten Commandments as "abrogated" by Christ's passion and death; and "therefore (say they) we observe little or none thereof." *"And I doe beleeve them,"* adds Chancelor; deploring their "whoredom and drunkennesse."

The Russians in war are not skilful strategists nor tacticians; their methods are disorderly, but their bodily constitutions are so strong that "no cold wil hurt them." They can live on oatmeal and water, and lie on the snow-covered ground during their campaigns; and yet "labour and serve right well" under conditions which an Englishman could scarcely endure for a month. Chancelor believed each soldier to be equipped at his "own cost"; except the Harquebussiers, who get an allowance for powder. Men who win royal favour by brave deeds receive gifts of land; which entail feudal obligations. All ranks are in "wonderful great awe and obedience," at their Prince's "pleasure and commandement." "Oh that our sturdie rebels were had in like subjection to know their duety. . . ," exclaims Chancelor: The Russians "may not say, as some snudges in England say, 'I would find the Queene a man to serve in my place,' or make his friends tarrie at home if money have the upper hand. No, no!"

Because of this devotion, they are vigorous to defend their country. The magnificence of the "Great Duke" and of his Ambassadors and Horsemen is not hollow ostentation, but represents the power and might of Russia: which although so cold a climate is a prosperous and flourishing realm, with which England may be glad to enter into a league of amity.

King Philip and Queen Mary wrote and commended "the right High, right Mightie and right excellent Prince, ... John Vasilivich, Emperour of all Russia, great Duke," etc., for his "humanitie and gentleness" to Richard Chancelor, and for the satisfactory terms granted to English merchants. The imperial benevolence encouraged their Majesties to authorise a second expedition;[1] and the merchant-adventurers were bidden to try and "learne howe men may passe from Russia, either by land or sea, to Cathaia, and what may be heard of our other ships, ... advertising Syr Hugh Willoughbie and others of our carefulness for them and their long absence. . . . ."[2]

(It had not yet been suspected that the "long absence" was caused by death.)

---

[1] 1st April, 1555. Hakluyt, pp. 279-281.

[2] "Articles . . . for the Commission of the Merchants," 1st May, 1555. Ib: pp. 281-289.

On the second coming of Englishmen to Muscovia, the Emperor again was gracious. "Forasmuch as God hath planted all realmes and dominions" with different commodities to encourage intercourse and amity, he granted to Queen Mary's subjects (named), and their servants, *"at all times hereafter for ever" to come in "freely and safely with their shippes, merchandizes" and goods, to "all and singular" of his dominions; "and there tary, abide and sojourne, and buy, sell, and barter, . . . without any restraint, exaction," custom, toll or tax.* Moreover, *"we graunt that if any of the English nation be arrested for any debt, he shal not be laid in prison."* And if any English merchants' ships be robbed or "damnified" the Emperor promised to have reparation made, "consonant to equitie and justice": and undertook for his Heirs and Successors to continue the franchises and privileges he had accorded.[1]

The following year (1556) he sent an Ambassador to England. Twelve miles outside London the Russian and his suite were received by "fourscore merchants" in "goodly apparell" and wearing "chains of gold." They escorted him to the City, where he was met by Sir Anthony Browne, Viscount Montague, with Knights, Esquires and Yeomen, 300 of them; and then by the Lord Mayor and "the Aldermen in their skarlet." After being presented to the Queen, he was entertained for several months. At the festivities of the Order of the Garter, on St. George's Day, the Duke of Norfolk took charge of him. "Good wordes and commendations" were plentiful; also rich gifts. And that "amitie and traffique" between England and Russia should be the better encouraged, King Philip and Queen Mary's letters to the Emperor were "very tenderly and friendly written."[2]

In 1557, when Anthony Jenkinson went to Russia, he was entertained by the Emperor at dinner; and subsequently often saw him "walking abroad":

"he is not onely beloved of his nobles and commons but also had in great dread. . . . . *I think no Prince in Christendom is more feared of his owne than he is, nor yet better beloved. . . . . His Majestie heareth all complaints himselfe, and with his owne mouth giveth sentence, and judgment of all matters, and that with expedition." "He setteth his delight upon two things: First to serve God, ... and the second, how to subdue and conquer his enemies."* Before his time the rulers of Russia were not Emperors, nor Kings, but "onely Ruese Velike, that is to say great Duke. And as this Emperor, ... Ivan Vasilivich, doeth exceed his predecessors in name, that is from a Duke to an Emperour, even so much by report he doeth exceede them in stoutnesse of courage. . . ."[3]

A very different aspect of Russia appears through one of Queen Elizabeth's Ambassadors, who, nearly quarter of a century later, described that country so unfavourably that his book was "called in," as likely to stir up strife. To this we will come in its place. Meanwhile, though the valiant Sir Hugh Willoughby, our first Arctic explorer, had been frozen to death, and Richard Chancelor on his second voyage was fated to perish at sea, diplomatic and commercial intercourse between England and Russia had been established in a manner favourable to England, at a time when "Muscovia" was far more potent, wealthy, and victorious than we now are in the habit of remembering.

---

[1] "A copie of the first Privileges graunted by the Emperour of Russia to the English Merchaunts . . . 1555." 10 items. Op. cit., pp. 297-303

[2] ". . . the honourable receiving into England of the first Ambassador from the Emperor of Russia . . . . 1556." Op cit., pp. 350-362

[3] *"A Large Description of Russia"* Op. cit, Vol. II, pp. 438-439. Jenkinson, returning to Russia in 1561, in 1562 dedicated his map of Russia to Sir Henry Sidney: *"Russiae, Moscoviae et Tartaria Descriptio Auctore Antonio Jenkinsono Anglo, edita Londini Anno 1562 & dedicata illustriss. D. Henrico Sydneo Wallie presidi"* Reproduced by Ortelius, *"Theatrum Orbis Terrarum,"* Antwerp, 1570; and in MacLehose's Hakluyt, 1903, Vol III, p. 486. And see p. 384 for picture plan of *"Moscovia urbs metropolis totus Russiae Albae,"* from Braun and Hogenberg's *"Civitates Orbis Terrarum,"* showing the double-walled city prior to its destruction by the Crim Tartars, 24th May, 1571, when several English merchants were "smothered at the burning of Mosco." Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 169.

THE DECISIVE BATTLE OF PAVIA:

VICTORY OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES V.

OVER KING FRANCIS I. OF FRANCE, 24 February, 1525.

Showing the Castle of Mirabel in the background.

From the original on panel at Hampton Court Palace, attributed to Melchior Feselen.

By gracious permission of His Majesty the King.

(Photograph Walter L Bourke, Maidenhead, Berks).

Originally the property of King Henry VIII, this presumably is the same picture mentioned by Hentzner in 1598 when describing the treasures of Hampton Court "in the hall there are curiosities, . . . a picture of the battle of Pavia" *Itinerarium* Translated and published by The Hon. Horace Walpole, 1757, p. 81.

When Gaspard de Coligny-Chastillon (in 1555) was sent to negotiate peace with the Emperor Charles and Prince Philip of Spain, it appeared ominous that the room where he was received was decorated with representations of the battle of Pavia, in which his uncle the Constable, Duke of Montmorency, had been defeated and taken prisoner with King Francis I.

It was after that fight that the Abbot of Najera had written to the Emperor, "The victory is complete. . . . . To-day is the feast of the Apostle Saint Matthew, on which, five and twenty years ago, Your Majesty was born. . . . . *Your Majesty can from this day give laws to Christians and Turks at your pleasure"*

(Cal: S. P. Simancas, England and Spain; Henry VIII. Ed: Bergenroth. London, 1866. Vol. II, pp. 709.)

Not only because it was a crushing defeat for France was the memory of the battle of Pavia bitter to all Frenchmen who still took pride in their country's reputation. It was the more humiliating because some of the French nobility were in the army of the foe; for instance the Constable de Bourbon, now mainly remembered because of the rebuke he had previously received from the mortally wounded Chevalier de Bayard. "My Lord," said Bayard, "there is no need of pity for me, for I die as an honest man; but I have pity for you to see you serve against your Prince and Country and your oath."

Du Bellay. Cit, in note to *"History of Bayard, from the French of the Loyal Serviteur,"* 1883, p. 419.

For a long while there was in the Royal Armoury in Madrid a sword said to have been surrendered by "Francis I when he was taken prisoner at Pavia." In *"Castile and Andalucia"* by Lady Louisa Tenison, 1853, this sword is stated to have been given up to Napoleon during the Peninsular War, but "recently by order of the King" (of Spain) replaced by a facsimile. The facsimile is still in the *Real Armeria* But see the official *Catálogo,* 1898, as to whether the original sword, now in the Artillery Museum in Paris, was ever actually that of King Francis.

PROLOGUE.

Section XII. "The Great Foreign Captains."

When English manuscripts of the mid-sixteenth century seem dry and meagre, and we wonder at the lack of eloquence of John Russell, Earl of Bedford, when writing from outside "St. Quyntyns," the explanation is in our present oblivion of foreign affairs which to our ancestors were familiar. So before proceeding to the circumstances in which Queen Mary's "perpetual peace" with France was broken by King Philip, we must call to mind the reputations of the strongest men on both sides. Taking the adversary first: Gaspard de Coligny, Sieur de Chastillon, had been Lieutenant General against the English in France in 1549, and one of the Ambassadors to King Edward in 1550, after the French regained Boulogne. Born of most ancient and illustrious house,[1] second son of the late Mareschal de Chastillon, by his wife Louise de Montmorency, Sister of Anne, Duke of Montmorency, Constable of France,—Gaspard de Coligny Chastillon was at thirty-eight a warrior and statesman of mature experience.[2] In 1547, at the age of twenty-eight, the year of his marriage, he had been appointed Colonel-General of the Infantry.

Brantôme admits that the French Foot were then notorious for "pillage, robbery, plunder . . . murders," and other brigand-like crimes. But Coligny at once drew up Laws and Ordinances in which not only were rape and pillage made punishable by death, but penalties were imposed for blasphemy, bad language, and insults. By sheer force of character the Colonel-General reformed the whole of the Infantry.

> Though they "were neither his subjects nor his vassals, neither his hirelings nor his mercenaries, . . . when they were in his presence the slightest word of reproof was rarely needed, and in his absence his signet alone was enough to enforce obedience . . . it seemed as if he were born to command and they to obey.
>
> "If any of his soldiers . . . gravely offended, he never spared to punish. Yet he was beloved and honoured by men of all ranks, and when any of his soldiers had a private interview with him they were as pleased as if they had an audience of the King."[3]

Extra to the prestige of birth and ancestry—great advantages in that historically-minded age—he was so tall, strong, and handsome, that his outward person harmonised with his high spirit.[4]

---

[1] "*Preuves de l'Histoire de l'illustre Maison Coligny*," by Jean du Bouchet. Paris, 1662.

[2] For a clear account of his services before and during the defence of St. Quentin, and up to 1562, vide "*Coligny, The Earlier Life. . .*" By Eugene Bersier, Translation A. H. Holmden, London, 1884.

[3] Brantôme, "*Hommes Illustres et Grands Capitaines François.*" (M. de Chastillon). Bersier's *Coligny*, pp. 33-34.

[4] Vide, Vol. II, his full length portrait by "*un maître inconnu.*"

In 1551 King Henry II extended to the entire French Army the Laws and Ordinances of War made four years previously by Coligny-Chastillon for the Infantry. In the same year he was appointed Governor of Paris and of the Ile de France; but spent little time in Paris, as he was engaged in the war in which the Catholic King Henry II and Protestant Princes of Germany combined against their mutual foe the Emperor Charles V. They so defeated his Imperial Majesty as to give rise in 1553 to his remark *"that Fortune is of the feminine sex, and prefers a young King to an old Emperor."*

It was in 1553, after the Emperor was obliged to raise the siege of Metz, that Coligny was appointed Grand Admiral of France.[1] This title, originating in the far East, had first come into France during the Crusades of St. Louis. The office declined in importance when France ceased to be a maritime power; but King Francis the First had revived something of its dignity. At the time when Coligny-Chastillon undertook the Admiral's duties they were no sinecure; for he was responsible for controlling all the Vice-Admirals, and defending the coasts; he commanded the fleets, and had first claim upon all prizes taken at sea.

His only naval experience prior to this had been when commanding a galley in the attack of his predecessor on the Isle of Wight, he then being twenty-five years of age. He was subsequently to improve the Royal Navy, and give a stimulus to colonisation.[2]

We remember him now chiefly as the most illustrious victim of the Paris Massacre in 1572, and the greatest of Huguenots. But when he undertook the hard task of holding St. Quentin,—thereby to delay the Imperial troops and prevent them from advancing upon Paris,—he had never read any Huguenot theology; and few persons of quality seemed less likely to become leader of a sect which by 1557 had acquired so little social standing that its members were scarcely known by name to the group of courtly martiallists around the King.

King Philip's General, from whom our English Lieutenant-General was to take orders was Emanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy, whose nicknames were "Iron Hand" and "Prince of the hundred eyes." Appointed by the Emperor Charles V, in 1553, to command his forces, it was he who had organised and carried out the counterstroke after the Emperor had been repulsed before Metz.

At Thérouanne the Duke of Savoy had captured Francis of Montmorency, son and

---

[1] Pasquier, "*Recherches de la France,*" Vol. II, Ch: XV.

[2] The idea of founding the first French colony originated with Nicholas Durand, Sieur de Villegagnon, Vice-Admiral of Brittany, a Huguenot. (Beza, "*Hist. Eccles:*" ed. 1883, Vol. I, p. 185). Coligny-Chastillon, at this time still a Catholic, urged upon King Henry II the advantages Spain acquired from an oversea Empire. The expedition under Villegagnon sailed from Havre at Midsummer 1553, and landed at Rio de Janeiro, 15 Novr. upon a small island which was given the name of Coligny. In Nov. 1556 about 300 emigrants from France sailed from Honfleur, in 3 vessels, and arrived at the Island of Coligny on the 9th of March 1557. They were at first received affectionately by Villegagnon. But the colony was not a success. Efforts were renewed in 1560 and 1564.

René de Laudonnière, who commanded the expedition of 1564, gave in his "*Histoire notable de la Florida*" (p. 53) a depressing account of the difficulties and dissentions of the colonists: "the misfortune was that those who could not be quelled by fire or water, fell victims to their own folly," he adds bitterly.

heir of the Duke of Montmorency, and after the fight at Hesdin, one of his prisoners had been Robert de La Marck, Duke of Bouillon.[1]

During 1555, while northern France was still fighting the Imperial forces, the Grand Admiral de Coligny-Chastillon was appointed Governor of Picardy.

In October of that year when the Emperor Charles V announced his intention of abdicating in favour of his son Philip, he intimated his willingness to consider the question of peace. Coligny was then instructed to meet the Emperor's chief Councillors at Vaucelles, and discuss an exchange of prisoners; for the Emperor still had in custody the Duke of Bouillon, and the Duke of Montmorency's son; and also Coligny's younger brother François, Sieur d'Andelot. The chief Imperial prisoner was the Duke of Aerschot; and next in importance Count Mansfeld, (who was to meet and beat Coligny at Moncontour fourteen years later).

Peace was not easy to negotiate; but Coligny stood firm; and his Sovereign wrote to him (25th of January 1555-6,) *"I could not be more satisfied and well content with any servant than I am with you."*

On the 5th of February, he arranged a truce of five years between "their Imperial Majesties, the Emperor, his son the King of England, and the Very Christian King of France."[2] But when in March Coligny arrived in Brussels and was entertained by King Philip, it was noticed as ominous that the great hall of the Castle was hung for the occasion with Spanish tapestries depicting the defeat of Francis I of France at Pavia.

On Palm Sunday, the Emperor gave audience to the Admiral, and Coligny expressed the hope that the truce now concluded would *"bring forth a lasting peace;"* whereon the Emperor was most affable, and referred graciously to his own French ancestress. On the 29th of March, after taking the oath to observe the treaty, there ensued a conversation, repeated by Brantôme, in which the Emperor gave Coligny his opinions as to the chief martial geniuses of the time; putting himself first, the Duke of Montmorency second, and the Duke of Alba third.

Coligny supposed he had done excellent service to his King and country by securing peace. But the French envoys then in Rome were heavily rebuked by Pope Paul IV, a bitter enemy of the Emperor.[3] And Cardinal Carafa was promptly sent to France to exercise a counter-influence upon King Henry. A sword blessed by the Pope was presented to the King; whereupon a witty Frenchman wrote caustically,

> "Captain Carafa the Pope's nephew has been made a Cardinal by him, and suddenly sent over here, to bring us not the keys of St. Peter that he might open to us the Gates of Heaven, but the Sword of St. Paul . . . and therewith a challenge to recover the

[1] The 16th century delight in apt words is well exemplified in this Duke of Savoy. When he had been deprived of his lands by the King of France he took for his motto, *"Spoliatis arma supersunt"* (Arms still remain to be despoiled). After he had made practical demonstration of his strength, and could rest for a while, he changed his device to *"Reconduntur non retunduntur"* (They (viz: arms) are laid aside; not blunted). Mrs. Bury-Palliser's *"Historic Devices, Badges, and War Cries"* London, 1870, p. 231.

[2] For details see Ribier's *"Lettres et mémoires d'Etat . . . sous les règnes de François I, Henry II, & François II."* Paris, 1666.

[3] The language he used was rather profane than holy: vide *"Lettres et Memoires d'Etat servant à l'histoire de Henry II"* Vol. II, p. 665.

State of Naples, which is the toy of the Popes and the playground of foreign Princes . . . the House of Guise hold out the hand to this new legation[1] . . . it bodes no good that he, who as Head of the Church should be first father of Peace, should be the first author and promoter of war among Christian Princes."[2]

To follow in detail the machinations of Pope Paul IV would require many volumes. It suffices here to remember the Nemesis which came upon him: namely the siege of Rome by the Imperial forces. And it was no heretic but the Duke of Alba who was to take him prisoner.

On " the 20th of January 1556 " (7) Sir Anthony Cooke wrote " fro Straseborough " (Strasburg) to his son-in-law Sir William Cecil, "*It is said here that the holy ffather at Rome ys hardly handled by the Duke d'Alba. Whether ye be glad of it in England or sorry methynkes it is hard to say . . .*"[3]

The Pope being largely responsible for persuading the King of France to break the peace with Spain, not much sympathy was felt for him. In his capacity as Holy Father, he was treated with courtesy by the Duke. But as a temporal Prince he had to submit to King Philip's terms.[4] These, however, were merciful; for although he was bound over not to take part against Spain in the war, nor further to aid the Duke of Guise either morally or materially, Rome was not sacked, as it had been by the Imperial troops in 1527; and the King of Spain willingly undertook to do homage to the Holy See for Naples.

Nevertheless Don Fernando Alvarez de Toledo, Duke of Alba, whom the Emperor shortly before had rated third in the order of living Generals, was regarded thenceforth by his soldiers as the first.

---

[1] They seem to have had some such idea as far back as 1547. See Bouillé, "*Histoire des Ducs de Guise,*" Vol. I, p. 179.

[2] Etienne Pasquier, "*Oeuvres,*" Vol. II, p. 73.

[3] "Yor lovyng father-i-law Anthony Cooke." Orig:Holog: Hatfield MS 151. 141.

[4] On the Emperor's disapproval of the conditions as too mild, pungent remarks occur in "*The Cloister Life of the Emperor Charles the Fifth,*" 1852, pp. 112-115.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE SIEGE OF ST. QUENTIN, 1557.

From the fresco by Nicolás Granello and Fabricio Castello: painted for King Philip II; in the Hall of Battles, Escorial Palace, 1587.

(Photographs: Moreno, Madrid. Photographer's numbers in brackets.)

In "*The Escorial: Or a Description of that Wonder of the world. . . . Built by Philip the II^D of Spain. . . Written in Spanish by Francisco de los Santos . . . an Inhabitant there. Translated into English* . . 1671," the writer refers specially to "the paint in Fresco . ."

(p. 10) "there is very much of it, and of the best in Europe of this sort of Paint. There are 12 great pieces in the house, besides Histories 134 large and great . . . the workmanship of Peregrin de Peregrini, Lucas Cauxioso or Luqueto, *Granello and Fabricio, Sons of Bergamasco,* Francisco Urbino, Romul(o), Caravagali, and Barroso."

And again (p. 9) "The Pictures in Oyle colours and in Fresco . . . ennoble and give a Kind of awfull Majesty to the several places . . . they are in General 1622 Pictures of life and History, all in oyle . . . The greater part of them are originalls, and many of them of the most famous and celebrated Masters . . ." (names given).

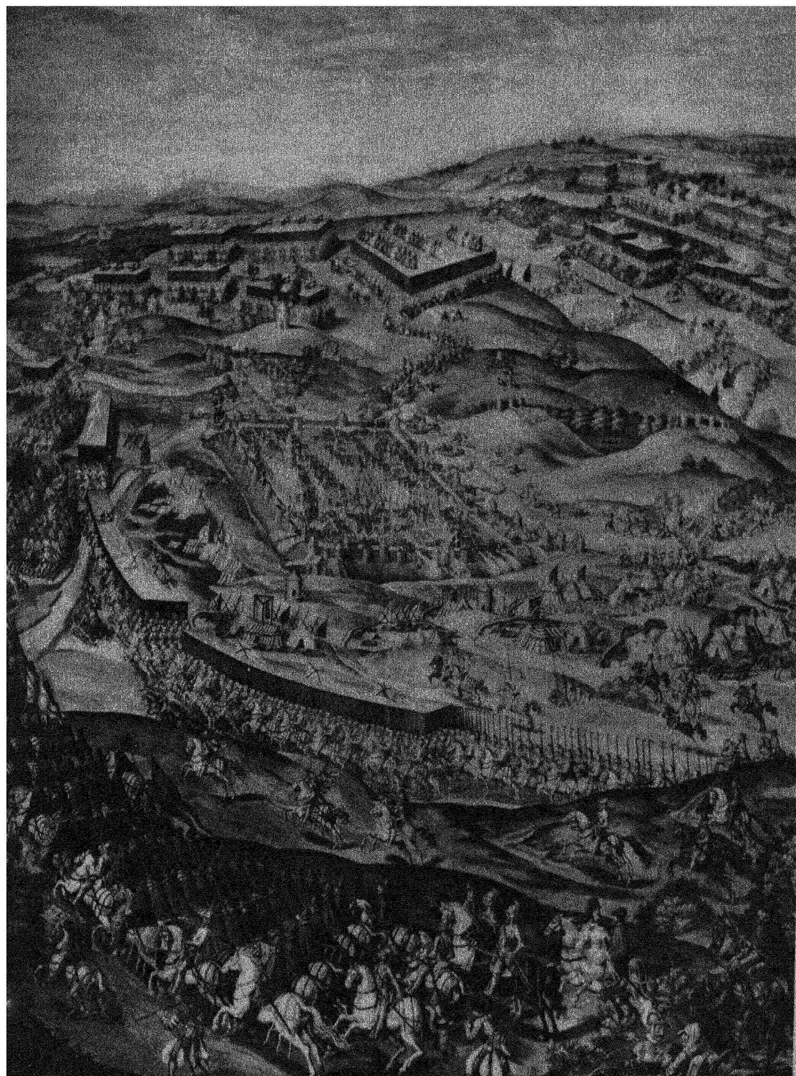
Those reproduced here are:

1. (53) *Preparativos para el sitio de San Quintin.*
   (Preparations for the siege of St. Quentin.)
2. (54) *Batalla delante de San Quintin.*
   (Battle before St. Quentin.)
3. (55) *Toma de San Quintin per los tercios Españoles.*
   (The taking of St. Quentin by the Spanish tertios.)
4. (56) *Rendicion del fuerte del Chatelet.*
   (The surrender of the fort of the Châtelet)
5. (57) *Salida del ejército Español de la plaza de San Quintin.*
   (The march out of the Spanish Troops from the fortified town of St. Quentin.)
6. (58) *Incendio de la plaza de Han y rendicion de su castillo*
   (The burning of the fortified town of Ham, and the surrender of its castle.)

Though "Granello and Fabricio" are described supra as "sons of Bergamasco," i.e. G. B. Castello il Bergamasco, an Italian architect and painter who came to Spain, Granello, according to Backer's "*Kunstler Lexikon,*" was son of Niccolossio Granello *Figonetto,* a Genoese fresco painter. Presumably Granello and Fabricio Castello, usually called "brothers," were half-brothers on the maternal side.

Castello is scheduled as painting in the Escorial between 1573 and 1593, and Granello 1575-93, in a dated list of artists, App: I, pp. 181-186, of "*El Monasterio de S. Lorenzo et Real de el Escorial y La Casita del Principe . . . Autor P. Fr. Julian Zarco Cuevas Religioso del mismo Monasterio Segunda edición. Imprenta del Real Monasterio del Escorial, 1924*"

Whether all six St. Quentin frescoes are by the "sons of Bergamasco" is uncertain; but is of minor consequence. The primary value is in the martial and topographical details, in which the Italian painters must have been instructed by Spanish warriors; possibly by King Philip himself.



THE BATTLE BEFORE ST. QUENTIN, 1557.

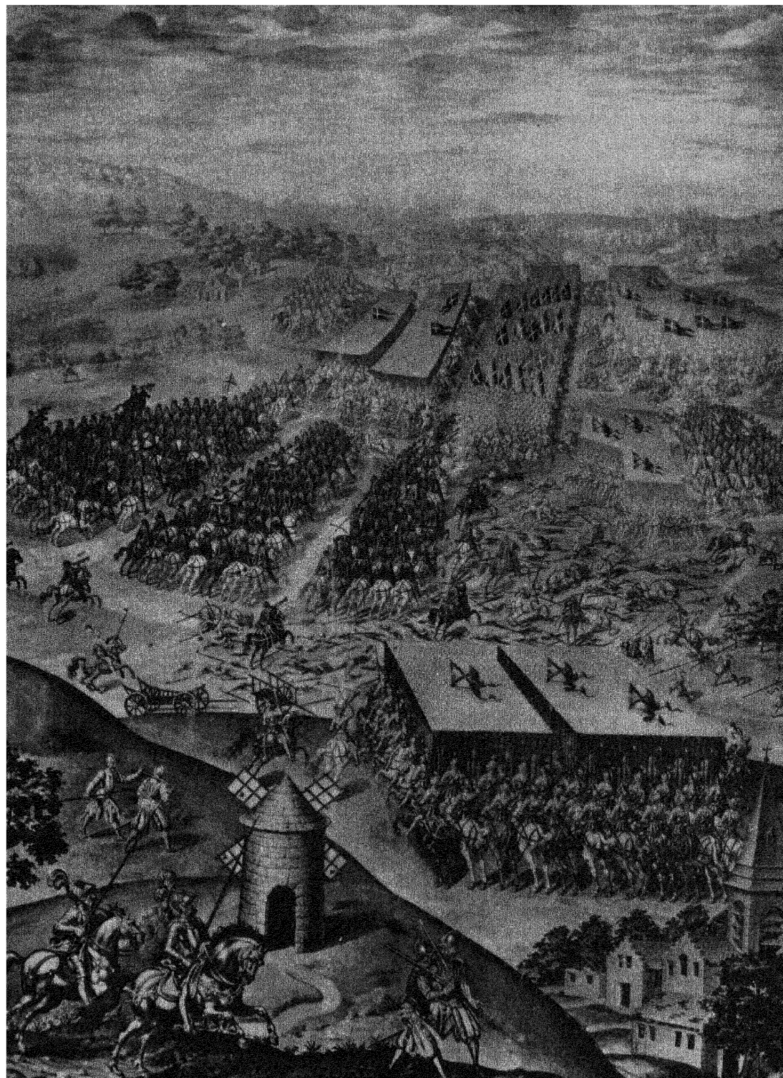
(2) *(Batalla delante de San Quintin):*

Fresco by Granello & Castello, Hall of Battles: Escorial Palace.

The English troops were under William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke and Sir Anthony Browne Viscount Montague.

Among Sir William Cecil's papers, *"Ye Jorney of ye Erle of Pembroke A° 1557 to St. Qyntyns"* gives the principal officers and their pay. The names of the noblemen are added in Cecil's hand Now first published from Hatfield MS 2399. (The sums in the original are in Roman figures).

		per diem £	s.	d
Comes Pembr	The Cap generall for his person	10	16	1
Vice com Montag	The Lieutenant General the staff .	5	6	6
Dns Grey	The highe Marshall and staff	6	16	0
Comes Rutland	The Capitaine generall of th'orsemen and staff ..	6	0	4
Dns Clinto	The Capitaine generall of the footemen and staff	6	10	4
Dns Rob. Dudley	The Mr of Thordonnce and staff	6	0	8
	The Threasurer and staff	6	0	8
	The Mr of the Musters &c. .		19	8
	Provost, Judges, &c.	3	8	8
	Surveyor of Victualles		11	8
	The Herbingers		11	0
	The masters of the Forrage		9	0
	The masters of the Skowtes		9	0
	The Harold and staff . .		16	4
	Captains, Standard bearers &c. and horsemen	61	15	0
	Captains and light horsemen	40	13	0
	Captains &c. and footmen (illegible)	414	0	8
	Total cost per diem . ..	726	16	6



THE TAKING OF ST. QUENTIN BY THE SPANISH TERTIOS.

(Toma de San Quintin por los tercios españoles.)

(No. 3) *Fresco, painted for King Philip II. in the Hall of Battles (Escorial Palace).*

For the medal struck by King Philip in honour of this victory, see "*Sylloge Nvmismatvm Elegantiorum Quae Diuersi Impp. Reges, Principes, Comites . . . ab Anno 1500 ad Anno usq 1600 . Opere . . . Iacobi Luckii . . . 1620.*"

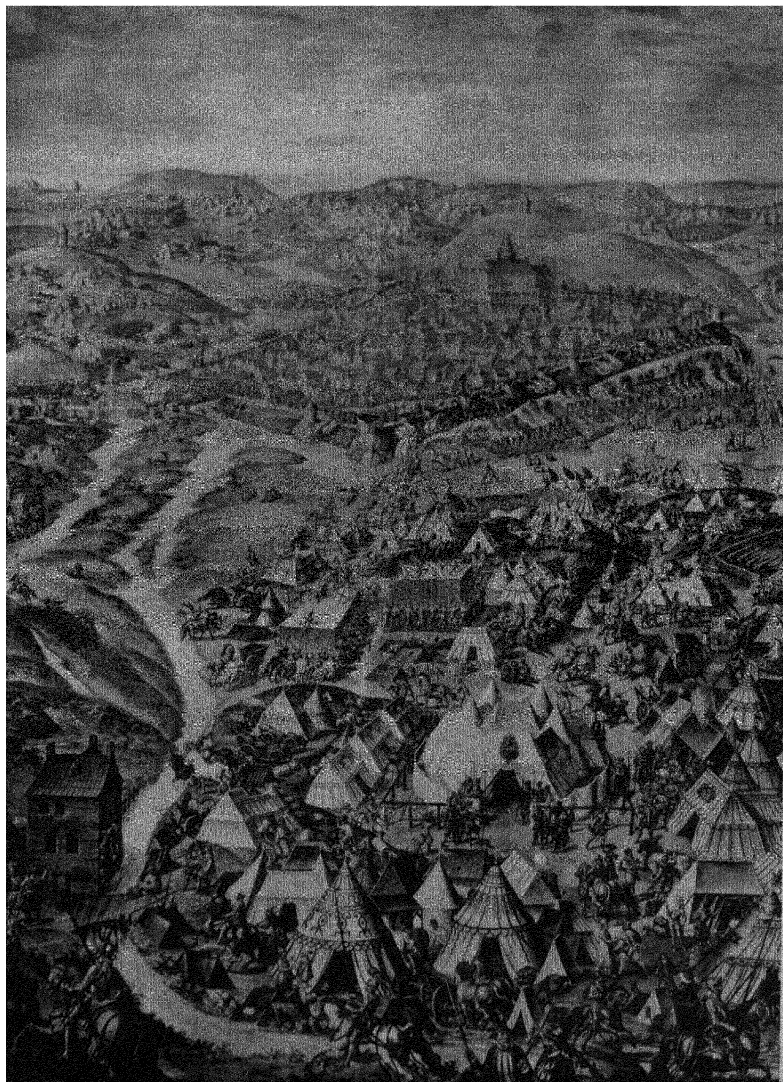
Two medals, cast in Antwerp, by Jacques Jonghelinck, were shown in the Tudor Exhibition of 1890.—

No: 228. Inscribed "*Philippvs D G Hisp. et Angliae Rex,*" with date and particulars of the fight.

No. 229 "*Anno MDLVII Den tag Avg ward Durch Kvnig Philip zv Hispan vnd Engelland, der Franzos Geschlangen der Connestabel vnd best adel gefang volstvrm berob vnd geplundert*"

See also "*Medallic Illustrations of the History of Great Britain & Ireland,*" London, 1885, p. 84: medal inscribed, "*Anno MDLVII den tag Avg ward Durch Kvnig Philip zv Hispan. vnd Engelland der Franzos geschlagen vnd best adel gefang. Volgend den XXVII des selben die stat Sanct Quintin mit dem stvrm bezob vnd geplundert.*"

(In the year 1557, on the 10th of August, the French were defeated by Philip King of Spain & England: the Constable & the principal nobility were made prisoners. On the 27th of the same month the town of St Quentin was taken by assault & plundered.)



THE SURRENDER OF THE FORT OF CHATELET.

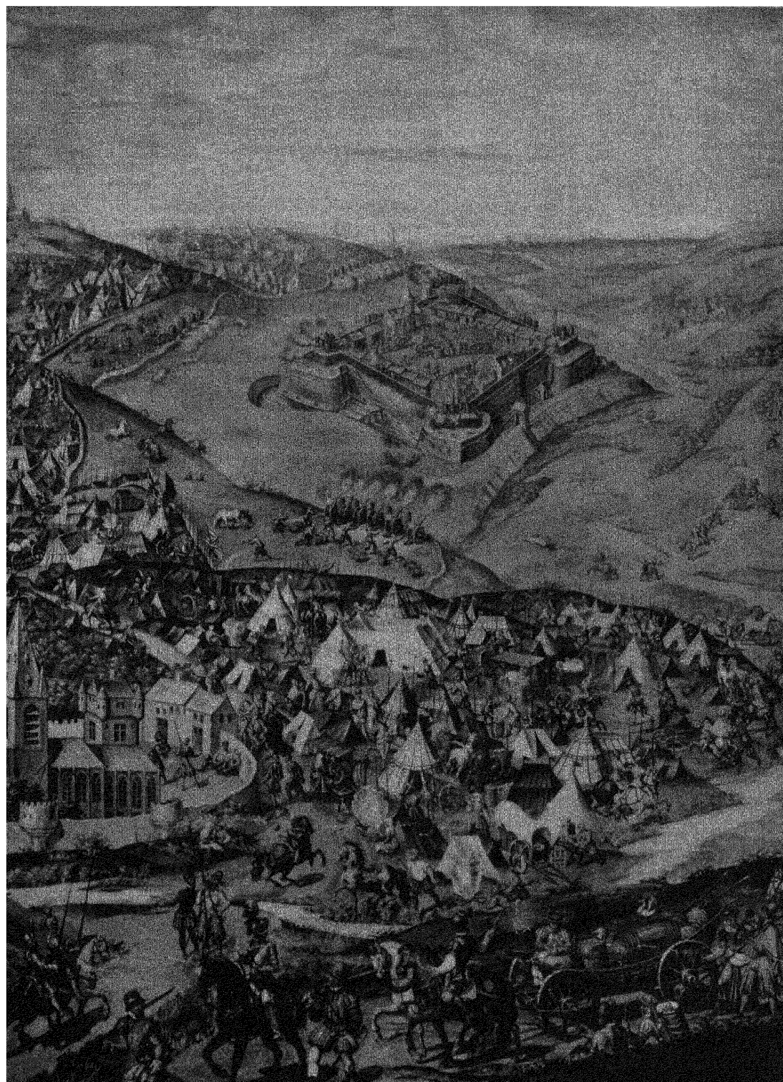
(Rendicion del fuerte del Chatelet) 1557.

(No. 4) *Fresco, by Granello & Castello.*

"From our Camppe besyde Hawne the 13th of September 1557," "To the Right worshipfull and my singuler good frende Sir William Cycill, knyght," the Earl of Bedford wrote "to advertise you of our doings now in France, it were too old to write you of the great overthrow, or of the winning of 'St. Quyntynes, or Chatelett.'" (Query, "*and* Chatelett"?)

Orig: *State Papers,* ed: Haynes 1740. p. 204.

Chatelet, a stage further on the way to Paris, is shown on various contemporary maps as enclosed within a square of fortified walls. Its capture may have given the impression that King Philip intended to advance to the capital, but see Note, plate 29

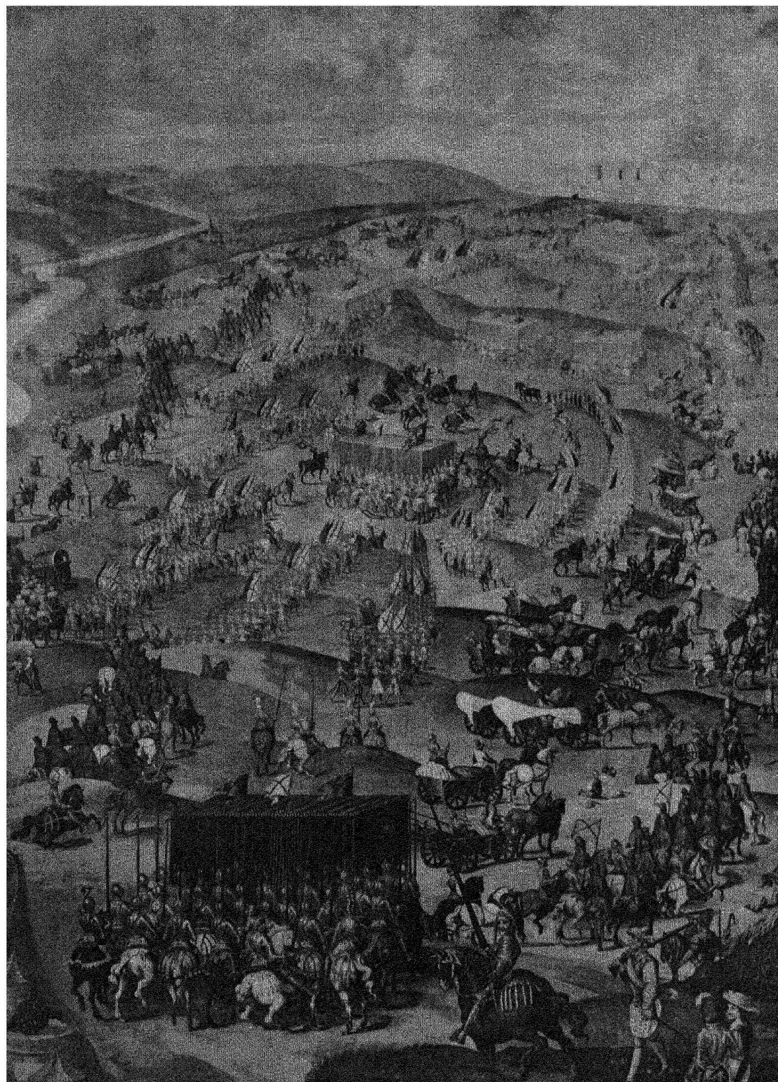


THE MARCH OUT OF THE SPANISH TROOPS FROM ST. QUENTIN. 1557.

(Salida del ejército Español de la plaza de San Quintín.)

(No. 5) *Fresco, by Granello & Castello. Circa 1587.*

Despite the English participation in King Philip's French war, and the rejoicings ordered by Queen Mary in his honour, we have not in the British Museum in English any pamphlet, or broadside proclamation, announcing the victory. The only contemporary pamphlets in the Museum are those issued to give the news to the people of the Holy Roman Empire, such as "*Newe Zietung Warhaffte unnd kurtze beschreibung der schlacht fur S Quintin, Zwischen der Konigliche Maiestat ause Engelandt, und des Konigs von Frankreichs Kriegsvolck, wie es sich eigentlich zugetragen hat Auff S Lavrentzen tag. Anno MDLVII.* 4to. (No 1313 d 8): *Warhafftige Zeitungen und grundtliche beschreibung welchermassen die Kun. Wurden auss Engeland vor Sant Quintin den zehenden Augusti Anno 57 . . . glucklichen Syg unnd Victoria erlangt haben*" (Augsburg?) 1557 4to (Nos. 573. f. 17, 1315 b. 21; and 1313. d. 28).



THE BURNING OF THE FORTIFIED TOWN OF HAM· AND THE SURRENDER OF ITS CASTLE.

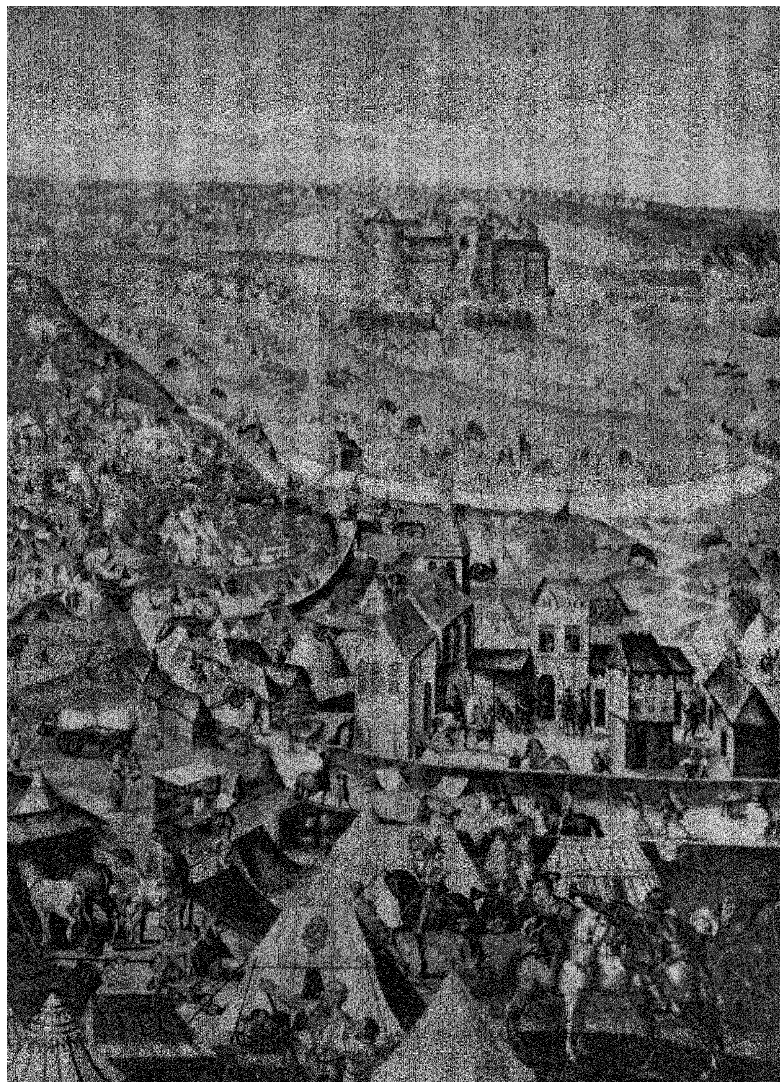
(Incendio de la plaza de Han, y rendicion de su Castillo.)

(No 6) *Fresco in the Sala de Batallas.*

"From our Camppe besyds Hawne the 13th of September 1557" John Russell, Earl of Bedford wrote "To the Right worshipfull and my singuler good frende Sir William Cycill, Knyght," "ye shall understand that the Duke of Savoy came before 'Hawne' the 8th of September; the King's Majesty the 9th. The Town gave over immediately. The Castle being indeed very strong, held out for a while"; but soon "yielded." "Thus may ye see how God prospereth the King's Majesty in all his proceedings. . . ."

"State Papers . from the Year 1542 to 1570
left by William Cecill Lord Burghley" ed: by Samuel Haynes. 1740. p. 204.

If we contrast the tone of Bedford, who fought in the war, with that of a 19th century arm-chair critic who alleged that "Philip was shivering in the rear at St. Quentin's," (an absurd phrase in relation to a Monarch whose rigid self-command and dominating temper were renowned,) we should be reminded that although some of King Philip's contemporaries looked to him to follow up this victory by a rapid march on Paris, the Parisians by strengthening of their defences, and letting it be understood they would resist to the uttermost, averted a siege That the King of Spain did not then hazard himself and his forces in the heart of his enemy's country, but wore down the French by other means, should not be mistaken for indolence or vagueness The terms he ultimately wrung from the French are not those which would have been obtained except by a conqueror



ANNE, DUKE OF MONTMORENCY, CONSTABLE OF FRANCE:

From an anonymous contemporary drawing

inscribed in a later hand, "*Anne de Montmorenci Connetable,*

blessé à la Bataille de St. Denis le 10 7bre 1567.

yl ne morue que 2 jours après."

Now in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

(Photograph Giraudon, 11555).

Godson of Queen Anne of Brittany, Anne, 1st Duke of Montmorency, came of a house which claimed to be almost as old and great as that of Bourbon

Born in 1492, educated with Francis Count of Angoulême, afterwards King Francis I, he fought in 1515 at Marignan, and in 1521 at Mezières, and subsequently at Milan; and in 1522 became a Marshal of France

It was in 1538 he was made Constable of France, in reward for having compelled the armies of the Emperor Charles V to retreat.

In 1540 he lost the favour of King Francis. Restored to office by King Henry II, he is now remembered mainly for his failure to relieve St. Quentin in 1557, and for the magnificence of his taste in art and architecture,—as exemplified in his beautiful Château de Chantilly

PROLOGUE.

Section XIII. **The Contest for "St. Quyntyns."** 1557.

The Peace of Vaucelles had been made possible in the first place by French valour in warfare: after which the Grand Admiral of France had exercised the utmost tact, patience, and firmness before he could obtain what he judged reasonable terms. His dismay was proportionate when, on returning to the Court, he found that in his absence the Duke of Guise, with Cardinal Carafa, had so dominated the King's mind that "the peace which a few months before had been solemnly entered into" was to be violated, "to the great dishonour of the French nation."

Coligny dreaded "disastrous issues from such perfidy, since God is always and everywhere the Avenger of perjury."[1] And it was to be upon Coligny himself that the worst brunt was vicariously to fall; though he did his utmost to avert the troubles he foresaw.

King Henry intended to wait, and attack Spain suddenly and at his own time; but Pope Paul IV grew impatient; and, at the end of July 1556, objected that the Emperor and King Philip had given aid to Roman nobles in rebellion against him, most notably to Marco Antonio Colonna. On this charge he arrested the Spanish Ambassador in Rome; and threatened to excommunicate the Emperor and King Philip; who, knowing their own power, did not appear perturbed.

Towards the end of 1556, Francis Duke of Guise, the principal French inciter of King Henry against the peace, led an army of over 12,000 across the Alps to the aid of the Pope. But still there was no open declaration of war by France against Spain. Coligny therefore made another attempt to impress upon his King the iniquity of rupturing the treaty. Failing to convince His Majesty, Admiral Coligny asked leave to resign his Governorship of Picardy. Though refusing to accept his resignation, the King remained offended.

> "You know, Monseigneur," wrote Coligny to his uncle the Constable, Duke of Montmorency, "the recompense which God gives and which man gives are wholly different; for God recompenses us after death, and the world during our lifetime. And *those whom God loves best are often most tried in this world;* but those whom Princes love are signalled out by favours . . .
>
> ". . . on my late journey to Paris, I had no gracious word, nor any other mark of favour by which I or anyone else might think that the King was pleased with me . . ."[2]

With the ungenerous satisfaction which small natures take in exercising power over great ones, it was to Coligny—who so loathed the violation of the truce,—that Henry II gave command to cross the frontier and begin hostilities against Philip of Spain in

---

[1] "*Gasparis Colinii,*" 1575, p. 13; and Bersier's "*Coligny; the Earlier Life*" (1884), p. 80.

[2] 25 August, 1556. Bersier, p. 81.

Flanders *without any declaration of war.* Hence, on the 6th of January 1556-7, the approach of the French army to Douay; which Coligny did not succeed in taking by surprise, so captured and burnt the town of Lens in Artois instead.

The enemy forces then began incursions into Picardy and Champagne. Affectation of peace on the part of the French was so palpably absurd that on the 31st of January, 1556-7, King Henry's Heralds at last put in words the war already manifest in deeds.

The French King's sympathy was with Guise in Italy; and to Guise accordingly he sent efficient supplementary troops; but no reinforcements to Admiral de Coligny.

Meanwhile the reception of the French in Italy did not tally with their hopes; though on the one hand the Duke of Alba, Viceroy of Naples for King Philip, refrained at first from taking the field against them, it became evident to Guise that the military co-operation of Pope Paul IV was in inverse proportion to the vehemence of His Holiness's language: a fact upon which the Spanish Viceroy was relying when he expressed himself as not in any hurry to " hazard the Crown of Naples against the brocade surcoat of the Duke of Guise."[1]

Though with intent to penetrate into Naples, Guise attacked Civitella on the 24th of April, it was so bravely defended that after 22 days he had to raise the siege.

Pope Paul, being short of soldiers, had recourse to other weapons. He excommunicated the Emperor and King Philip; who retorted by declaring his printed proclamations contraband, and confiscating them in the Spanish seaports. And though the Emperor did not take his son's advice that he should return to the world, yet from his cloistral retirement he raised extra forces and devised new imposts to pay for them.[2]

In the Treaty of Vaucelles, England had confirmed a former promise of peace; so King Henry II, even while himself violating his word to Spain, was indignant when the Spanish King's English wife repudiated her own " perpetual peace " with France, to meet the requirements of her Spanish husband. That King Philip had previously made up his mind to draw England into the war may be inferred from his letter, hitherto unnoticed, dated from Brussels the 1st of December, 1556,—to William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, " Knight of our Order of the Garter," then lately arrived in Calais:[3]

> " Philip, by the Grace of God, King of the Spains, England, France, the Two Sicilies, Ireland, etc.
>
> " To our well-beloved trusty Cousin and Councillor.
>
> " Your arrival in the city referred to was very welcome to us, because we understand how important your presence will be to the defence and safety of that business: and it is agreeable to know that you have there found everything in such order as to warrant the expectation that *with the assistance which you are expecting from England you will be able not only to withstand the intrigues and attempts of the foe, but also to gain glory.*
>
> " Indeed your presence there has so completely removed all the anxiety which we had about those matters, that we are calm and prepared in our mind. You can divine from our kindly feeling and love towards yourself to what extent we are indebted to you.

[1] J. A. de Vera y Figueroa, "*Resultas de la Vida de Don Ferd. Alvarez de Toledo, Duque de Alba.*" Milan, 1643, p. 66.

[2] A theme treated in Mignet's " *Charles Quint, son abdication,*" etc., etc., p. 69.

[3] Now first translated from "*A copie of the Kinges ma^ies lettre dated primo decembris 1556,*" " praedilecto & fideli Consanguineo et Consiliario nostro Gulielmo Comiti de pembroke ordinis nostro garterij equiti." S.P. Foreign, Q. Mary, No. 561. (Pembroke's Commission should be published with this, but no draft of it can be found in the R.O. or elsewhere).

"Wherefore we strictly exhort and warn you to behave in this matter as your nature, your love for us and our will towards you demand: and to keep us often and diligently informed of all matters which may there be brought forward, as you have undertaken to do: for this will be very pleasing to us."

To procure English troops for use against France was contrary to Article 8 of the Marriage Treaty, in 1554:

"*The realm of England by occasion of this matrimonie, shall not directly nor indirectly be intangled with the warre that is betweene the Emperor father to the said Prince of Spaine, and Henrie the French King;* but he the said Prince (as much as maie in him lie) on behalfe of the said realme of England, shall give no cause of anie breach;"

it being guaranteed that all the old treaties of amity between England and France were to remain unbroken.[1]

King Philip who had returned to England from Flanders in March 1556-7, went back there "in the middest of the sommer" because of the "great warre" that was "towarde betweene him and the Frenche King." Whereon "the common people began to mutter" that he sought excuses to absent himself from the Queen.[2] And she who, as Sir Thomas Wyatt had foreseen, could refuse nothing to her Spanish husband, "tangled" herself in the war; sending on the 1st of June her Norroy King-at-Arms to France with England's challenge.[3]

From Westminster "Marye the Quene" then wrote to the Earl of Shrewsbury;

"Right trusty and well-beloved Cousin, we greet you well. And send you herewith our Proclamacon of warre against the French Kinge, which our pleas(u)r is to have kepte secrete until the VIIth daye of this p(re)sent moneth, whiche shall be whit-mondaye, on whiche daye assembling the people together, you shall publish the same proclamacon . . . and although our proclamacon of warre be made against the Frenche, yet is there no enemytie intended against the Scotts, and therefore you shall cause commaundment to be given . . . that no hostilitie be shewed towarde them . . ."[4]

---

[1] Holinshed. Vol. IV (ed: 1808), p. 60.

[2] Grafton's "*Chronicle at large,*" 1569. In anno 1557.

[3] "Mary, by the Grace of God etc.

"To all, to whom these presents shall come, Greeting. Be it known that we, fully trusting in the faith, honesty, and diligence of our beloved William, Norroy King of Arms for our Northern Districts, have entrusted and commissioned him to approach the most Illustrious and Most Christian Prince King Henry, and in our name to disclose, propound, and declare certain commands and commissions, and to proceed to a declaration of war and intimation of hostilities according to the form written in certain instructions as to that matter from our Council and with the consent of the Councillors and signed by our hand.

"Promising in good faith and by our Queenly word that we shall hold ratified, determined, and settled whatever our said Herald shall do as preliminaries, and in any of the preliminaries: in witness whereof we have caused our seal to be affixed to this letter, signed by our hand.

"Given at our Palace of Westminster (the 1st) day of June in the year of our Lord 1557, and the third and fourth year of our Reigns."

Now first translated from Latin draft, "*Primo Junij 1557. M. of Noreys commission to the Frenche kinge.*" S.P. Foreign Mary No. 623 (b). No. 623[a] is a fair copy. Endorsed "Corrected in ye Body by Sr W. Petres hand." Both leave blank the day of the month; which date appears only from the endorsement of 623[b].

[4] Orig: in possession of Messrs. Maggs Bros: Item No. 168, Cat: No. 554, "*Autograph Letters and Historical Documents,*" 1931. Reproduced, Plate XIV.

The participation of England in this "warre against the French Kinge" was "against the mind" of all the "Council, nobility, and people" except Lord Paget.[1] But on the 6th of July 1557, Queen Mary none the less "caused an armie of a thousand horsemen, and foure thousand footmen, with two thousand pioners to be transported ouer to" King Philip's "aid";

> under the leading of diuerse of the nobilitie and other valiant capteins, whose names partlie follow: the earle of Penbroke capteine generall, sir Anthonie Browne viscount Montacute lieutenant generall vnder the said earle, the lord Greie of Wilton lord marshall,[2] the earle of Rutland generall of the horssemen, the lord Clinton earle of Lincolne,[3] coronell of the footmen, the lord Russell earle of Bedford, the lord Robert Dudleie earle of Leicester[4] and maister of the ordinance, the lord Thomas Howard, sir William West lord de la Ware, sir Edward Windsore after lord Windsore, the lord Braie, sir Edmund Briges lord Shandois, the lord Ambrose Dudleie earle of Warwike,[5] the lord Henrie Dudleie, Edward Randall esquier sergeant maior, maister Whiteman treasurer of the armie, Edward Chamberleine esquier capteine of the pioners, sir Richard Leigh trenchmaster, John Higate esquier prouost marshall, Thomas Haruie esquier mustermaster, sir Peter Carew, sir William Courtneie, sir Giles stranguish, sir Thomas Finch master of the campe, *and other nobles, knights, and gentlemen of right approved valiancie. although diuerse of them were suspected to be protestants . . .*"[6]

(These names are now repeated of set purpose; to dispel the notion that the Earls of Warwick and Leicester, Generals in 1562-3 and 1585-8, were ignorant of war: a fallacy more typical of our forgetful age than representative of theirs.)

If in the 20th century any Englishman in England refers to "the fighting at St. Quentin," it is assumed he is speaking of operations in the late Great War of 1914-18: so completely has it passed out of popular memory that England participated in the victory of 1557, in honour of which King Philip II built the Escorial Palace, "*the unique marvel of the world.*"

Such oblivion is the less explicable, in that allusions to "St. Quyntyns" are plentiful up to the last years of Queen Elizabeth's reign. But so scanty is the matter preserved in that connection in our Record Office, that we will rely instead upon the frescoes painted for King Philip, A.D. 1590. Many men were then alive who had taken part in the siege, battle, and capture of this stronghold, which the Coligny-Chastillon brothers defended gallantly but in vain. The frescoes of Granello and Castello are more than works of art. They afford the means of realising that when, in the "declining times" of King James the First, "Othello the Moor of Venice" was apostrophising on the English stage "*the pomp and circumstance of glorious War,*" this was no mere poetical hyperbole. And when we find Elizabethan Commanders admonishing their men to emulate "*Spanish discipline,*" Granello's paintings will furnish us with the means to understand what these two words called up to English minds.

If on the one hand the masses of our people grudged English men and money expended in the cause of Spain, English personages of quality were to find their own

[1] "Memorial. 20 May" (no year) in Sir Wm Cecil's hand (imperfect) 3 pp. Hatfield MS. Cal: I (1883), p. 154.

[2] Already Governor of Guisnes. [3] Not Earl of Lincoln till 1572.

[4] Not Earl of Leicester until 1564.

[5] The Warwick Earldom was not restored to him till the next reign.

[6] Holinshed: ed: 1587, p. 1133. (B.M. 2072. g.).

experiences of 1557 exceedingly useful when their time came to direct against Spain the lessons learnt from Spain. When a now-living penman, much applauded for supposed intimacy with the 16th century, lately asserted that the Spaniards of King Philip's day were " a century behind the times " in the arts of war, and therefore easily beaten, no Englishman arose and answered with a reminder of the Spanish victories. The more needful is it now to consider these events; not only from Spain's and England's point of view but from that of the foe.

Counting the English troops, King Philip's Captain-General, Philibert, Duke of Savoy, expected to have nearly 50,000 Foot and 12,000 Horse, including the Cavalry of the Low Countries led by William of Nassau Prince of Orange, and Counts Horn and Egmont. But King Henry II of France, the challenger, could bring into the field less than half this number. Many of his men were German mercenaries; some of his best French soldiers having been sent previously to Italy under Guise.

When his Lieutenant-General, the Duke of Nevers, Governor of Champagne, learnt suddenly at Pierrepont that the Spanish Army was approaching St. Quentin, the menace to Paris was only too plain. It was not possible that St. Quentin could offer a prolonged resistance. Though at one time of great strength, it had been weakened by the perversity of its citizens, who had protested against being charged with a garrison; their clamour causing nearly all the professional troops to be withdrawn.

The City Militia had neglected to repair the fortifications; and if besieged by an army powerful in Artillery, the result would be a foregone conclusion. Nevertheless Coligny-Chastillon was against leaving the townsfolk to their fate. If St. Quentin could be garrisoned, and held even for a few weeks, this would bar the road to Paris.

Coligny therefore volunteered for the thankless task; and on the 2nd of August left Pierrepont for Ham. There he reduced his force to 450 picked men. His Captains he bade leave their orderlies behind, because of probable shortage of provisions. Under cover of night on the 3rd of August, he succeeded in getting past the Spaniards and into St. Quentin; where he found that the Governor, Breuil, a Breton, had less than 200 soldiers, including gunners and archers. The Artillery consisted only of 15 movable cannon, and 21 small pieces on the walls.

Already the Spaniards had made an attack on the Faubourg d'Isle; and though repulsed for the moment by the City Militia, under the Mayor, Gibercourt, the weakness of the defenders was piteous, and the need for further reinforcements acute. Coligny sent word accordingly to his uncle Anne, Duke of Montmorency; and meanwhile took up his own quarters in the menaced Faubourg d'Isle, intending thus to preserve on the left bank of the Somme a position from which he might let in his reinforcements, if or when he received them.

Gathering the principal citizens into the Town Hall, he bade them bring together all the tools that could be used by them for repairing the ramparts. He formed Companies of townsfolk, women included; and ordered them to make an inventory of all their arms and victuals. Whereas the citizens complained that they had only provisions for three weeks, Coligny on investigation pronounced they had sufficient for three months. To his own Captains he gave charge of the different quarters of the town; and instructed them

" that every man who knew or thought of anything that it would be well to do, should tell me . . . ", some being experienced in other sieges.[1]

The city of St. Quentin, on the right bank of the Somme, to the north-west of the river, had one bridge communicating with the Faubourg d'Isle on the left bank, protected only by a low wall. As the south-west was nothing but a marsh, it was on the north, east and south, that the enemy was assembled. The east wall, the most exposed, was the more difficult to defend for lack of bastions. Flanked as it was only with round towers, Coligny's best engineer, St. Rémy, remarked that he had never been in " so bad a place." And though Coligny had decided to defend the Faubourg d'Isle, how to achieve this without more troops was a puzzle, even for so experienced a Commander.

On the 6th of August his brother Francis, Sieur d'Andelot, who was sent from the Constable in reply to Coligny's appeal, hoped to get into St. Quentin by the Gate of Pontoilles on the West. That Gate was not yet invested by the Spaniards; they were reserving it for the English who were expected almost at once.

The Duke of Savoy, through his spies, learnt of Andelot's intended advance. But Andelot, discovering that the Duke meant to intercept him, made a swift retreat, and then on the 8th a sudden surprise offensive, after which he again retired. To get through to the besieged was at the moment beyond human power.

The same day, 8th August, the English arrived, under William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, with a train of Artillery commanded by Lord Robert Dudley.

That night the heavy ordnance was planted so effectually that Coligny had no choice but to evacuate the Faubourg: first setting it on fire, so that a smoke screen should conceal his crossing of the Somme. During that operation the explosion of a powder magazine, in the turret flanking the Porte d'Isle, killed 40 soldiers, and made a breach by which 25 of the enemy could have marched in abreast if they had seen it. But it was hidden by the smoke, until the French built it up.

On reaching the town, Coligny called together such men as had any knowledge of war. They amounted only to 220. Many peasants, who had taken refuge within the walls, refused to work on the ramparts. Coligny could not afford to keep such " idle

[1] "*Récit du Siège de St Quentin,*" 1665, p. 192.

For the best contemporary French description of the fighting, see "*La Vie de Messire Gaspar de Colligny Seigneur de Chastillon, Admiral de France A Laquelle sont adiovste ses Memoirs sur ce que passe au Siege de S. Qventin. A Leyde, Chez Bonaventure et Abraham Elzevir. Anno CICICC XLIII*" (1643). Dedic: "*A Monseigneur le Mareschal de Chastillon*": Dated "*A Paris 25 Nov. 1642*": and signed D L.H. (4½ x 2½ inches. Part One, pages numbered only on one side. Part Two, separate title-page; and pages numbered on both sides). The Grand Admiral's narrative was written in captivity in 1557-8: his description of siege ends "*l'ay signé ce present escript de ma main au Chasteau de Gand, ce dernier de Mars, mil cinq cent cinquante et huict, auant Pacques. Chastillon.*"

Bersier in his *Coligny* (ch: VIII-IX, English trans: Holmden, 1884) supplemented Coligny-Chastillon's "*Discours sur le Siège de St Quentin*" with "*Extraits originaux d'un Manuscrit de Quentin de Fons*" (St Quentin, 1856) *et* "*Siège de St Quentin et bataille de St Laurent*" (St Quentin, 1859) edited by M. Ch. Gomart: and also "*Récit du Siège de St Quentin, par un officier Espagnol*" (ed: Gomart).

The English contemporary accounts are remarkably meagre. No apology is necessary, therefore, for following the course of events from inside St Quentin: while Granello's frescoes graphically represent the besiegers.

mouths." He proclaimed therefore that all who stayed in the town and refused obedience would be whipped for the first offence, and hanged for the second. If any were not prepared to help in the defence, they could depart that night: which seven or eight hundred chose to do.

The local Artillery was so old and weak that it could not reach the enemy at any distance; and the Admiral had not enough men to hazard sorties. There was nothing to be done except defend the ramparts. And this was achieved with great difficulty, the besiegers' Artillery keeping up such a steady fire that the workmen feared to face it. When commanded to repair the frequent breaches, they had to be kept at their task by force.

"At this time," says Coligny, the "most pressing necessity" was how "to get succour." The only posible way for troops to come in, he concluded, would be across the marshes, which the enemy had not attempted to occupy. Coligny contrived to send word to his uncle the Constable; who, on St. Laurence's day, left La Fere for St. Quentin. With 15 Companies of Foot, 5,000 Horse; and some 12,000 German mercenaries, the Constable expected to be able to approach by the Faubourg d'Isle; and cannonade the enemy which now occupied it.

While keeping them busy in their own defence, he intended to launch flat boats, which he transported on waggons, and across the watery marshes south of the town to put at least 2,000 men into St. Quentin.

Unlike Coligny, who when leaving Pierrepont had reduced his force to actual fighters, the Constable encumbered himself with so many civilian servants and so much baggage, that his army did not reach the scene of operations till nearly nine o'clock in the morning. Nevertheless he surprised the Duke of Savoy. But the advantage was only momentary; for the Spaniards directed so heavy a fire upon the boats crossing the marsh that not 2,000 men but only 400 could be conveyed into the city.

Coligny's dearly-loved brother, Andelot was one. He did not wait for the boats but swam the stream; and scarcely delayed to dry his clothes before he was out upon the ramparts. "I can truly say," wrote Coligny, "that but for him I should have sunk under the burden, . . . but from the time he entered the town he took the heaviest share."

The Duke of Savoy did not neglect any advantage. There was a road a little above St. Quentin, crossing the Somme by a small bridge. If the Constable de Montmorency had occupied this, he might have carried out his plans; but King Philip's General anticipated him; and leading the army to the east of the town, took control of that road, by which his troops reached the left bank and advanced towards the Constable's right.

Montmorency remained unaware of the manœuvre, until too late; for the Spaniards set fire to the stubble fields as they went along, and the smoke effectually veiled their movements. Not till two o'clock in the afternoon did the Governor of Champagne, General the Duke of Nevers, who had been sent to reconnoitre, see, to his dismay, that the enemy had so contrived that there was no option for the French but to meet at once in battle a force at least twice as strong as their own.

Count de La Rochefoucauld sent warning to the Constable; but that impassive veteran refused to accept the martial judgment of a junior, and answered that there was nothing to fear. The Prince of Condé then told the Duke of Nevers, who commanded

the Horse, that there was not a moment to lose. The only hope was to charge in full force before the whole Spanish Army was upon them.

But while the question was being debated, King Philip's Cavalry, headed by Count Egmont, galloped down the road, and separated Condé and Nevers from the centre. Nevers cut his way through to safety. But the Duc d'Enghien, Condé's brother, stayed fighting against hopeless odds; and died for the cause he could not save.

The Constable's Infantry kept steady; hoping to reach the woods of Jussy, where the enemy Horsemen would be unable to attack them. But as they retired in good order, seeming, like a forest of spears which neither Flemish Cavalry nor German gunners had succeeded in breaking, the Duke of Savoy brought up his heavy guns; and made enormous breaches in this solid mass of disciplined men. The Cavalry then rode in to the gaps. Whereon the German mercenaries began surrendering in large numbers; but the French gallantry strove to re-form. This was impossible; and so devastating was the Artillery fire that only a fourth of the Infantry survived to be captured. The rest had been mowed down as they stood. The defeat of the French was a matter only of a few moments.

There is not in our English Record Office any letter from King Philip to Queen Mary describing the battle of St. Quentin. The one account in our State Papers is an anonymous MS., docketed "August, St. Laurence day takyng of ye Constable, &c., of france," not till now published in extenso.[1] (It attributes to the Constable the larger force, which the French versions of the fight do not bear out. Otherwise there is little disparity.)

"The Constable of Fraunce, being upon St Laurence Day about eight of the clock in the morning come to succour St Quintyn, with a great number of horsemen both French and Almaynes, and with 30 ensigns of Almayn Footmen and 18 (ensigns) of French Footmen the best that were in France, the Duke of Savoy issued out of the Kings Majesty's camp with the most part of the Horsemen, and some Footmen of Spain and Almayn: leaving in camp about St Quyntyn such numbers of men as were sufficient for the siege: and encountered th' ennemies and fought with them: So as though the French were far more in number, and that the Duke's Footmen could not come in time, yet were the French broken and put to flight. And of the Almayne Footmen that were on the French side some were slain, and five thousand taken: unto whom the King's Majesty hath caused liberty to be given to depart to Almayne, having sworn them that they shall serve no Prince against his Majesty.

"Of the French Footmen were taken one thousand, and all the rest slain which were above three thousand. Of the French Horsemen many were slain, and the rest almost all were taken. There was Monsieur d'Enghien[2] (and) the Comte de Villars (slain).

"They lost 20 pieces of great ordnance. There were taken of the powerful persons these following: The Constable of France. His youngest son. The Duke Monpensier. The Duke Longavila.[3] The Mareschall St Andrewes. The Ringrave Coronell[4] of ye Almaynes. Rocha[5] de Mayne. Rocha Fors. The Viscount de Torroyna.[6] The Baron of Curton. The Prince of Mantoa.[7]

[1] S.P. Foreign (Mary). Calendared as dated 12 August, but the paper itself is only dated "August." Spelling now modernised from original.

[2] "*de Anguyen*" (Duke of Enghien).

[3] Longeville. [4] Colonel.

[5] In M. Godwyn's translation of "*Annales of England,*" of Francis Bishop of Hereford, 1630, p. 328 "Roche-du-Maine."

[6] Turenne. He died of wounds; and his son (the future Duc de Bouillon) succeeded to his Viscountcy at the age of five, and will appear often in this History.

[7] "Ludovico Gonzaga, brother to the Duke of Mantua." *Annales,* p. 328.

Besides these, many other gentlemen and Captains were taken. Of the Kings Majesty's side there were some hurt and only one gentleman slayn.

"His Majesty came to the Camp at St Quyntyn Thursday the XIJ of this month *and all the Englishmen with him.* Those that be within St Quyntyns are very fewe, and discouraged with the French overthrow."[1]

No such disaster had been experienced by the French since King Francis I had been defeated by the Emperor Charles's forces at Pavia 32 years before: the very battle with which King Philip had tapestried his hall in Brussels when he received Coligny for the conference on the peace.

On St. Laurence's day, 1557, the full extent of the calamity was not immediately visible to Coligny inside St. Quentin. Though only four hundred men had come in by the boats instead of 2,000, "it may be imagined what pleasure I felt in seeing those who had entered; and most chiefly my brother Andelot, who came to me like a second self upon whom I could rely."

The next morning this rejoicing was turned to grief; for the Spaniards hoisted in full view of the besieged the banners they had captured from the Constable.[2] The citizens of St. Quentin almost gave up hope; and the workmen hid themselves in cellars to avoid being called to do their part. Andelot, however, ordered his own men to drag the boats to the east wall, still the most exposed to the enemy's battery. Ever since the Spaniards had captured the Faubourg d'Isle they had so planted their guns as to reach across the Somme and take in this wall obliquely. But Andelot had the boats placed on the top of the parapet, and filled with earth, to make a shelter from behind which the French guns and gunners could resume operations.

Though there could be no doubt as to the final issue, the Coligny brethren decided that every day they could hold out would be for the good of their King and the safety of Paris. As long as their ingenuity could detain the Duke of Savoy outside St. Quentin, and bar him from advancing to the Capital, they meant to do so.

St. Rémy, the engineer who had been so disgusted by the weakness of the walls, had exercised his skill in countermining the foe; and the Duke of Nevers, after his escape from the losing battle, despatched 300 harquebussiers with orders to cross the marshes by night, and then endeavour to get over the Somme in boats. But they were discovered by the Spaniards; and less than half the number got across on the 22nd of August. They were desperately needed; for the previous evening the besiegers had brought up additional guns from Cambrai: These, with the English Artillery, under Dudley, still further battered the east wall.

"From our Campe before St. Quyntynes the 21st of August," the Earl of Bedford

[1] In *"Two English Queens and Philip,"* 1908, p. 150, Martin Hume alleged that "the English did not shine" in the St. Quentin operations. He gave no authority for depriving our Army of its laurels; but his statement appears to have arisen from a misreading of the letters of the Earl of Bedford (who did not describe the events); and also from oblivion of certain high praises of our General, the Earl of Pembroke, as uttered subsequently to Colonel Roger Williams by one of King Philip's most renowned and experienced officers, Julian Romero. II. 1. 10. (Vol. II, p. 200.)

[2] It was the duty of Standard Bearers never to give up the Standards, but to die in their defence. The capture of banners therefore was nearly always the sign of absolute overthrow of those whose ensigns were taken.

had written "*to myne especiall good Frende Syr William Cycill Knyght,*" of "our proceedings touching the overthrow.[1]

"I ensure you it was very great, and such another as the like hath not chanced to France of a good while. Since when Count Egmont with 2000 Spaniards and 'Swarttroters,' and as many of us, hath made a raid into France of twenty-two miles . . and found no great resistance. . . As for . . the town, I think it will be gotten, whereof our Soldiers will not be sorry, by reason they are pinched with scarcity, and hath been ever since our coming to the Siege; whereof divers are fallen sick . . ."

The plight of the besieged was dreadful; and, on the 24th of August, Coligny was obliged to put outside the walls 600 more "useless mouths." It was a hard necessity, those ill-fated people being exposed to appalling miseries whether they went or stayed. The same day King Philip ordered the English bowmen to shoot into the town, on eight arrows, a message that if the town surrendered, His Majesty would spare the people's lives, and not despoil them of their goods. The Admiral of France, he said, was deceiving them; and when, as was surely imminent, the town was captured by assault, they would all be put to the sword. Their one means of salvation was to surrender. But instead of obeying King Philip, the men who found the messages took them straight to the Admiral. It is not Coligny himself but a Spanish officer who recorded this incident. Back into the Spanish Camp the French Admiral shot arrows to which were attached in writing only two words: *Regem habemus.*[2]

King Henry had behaved to Coligny with unkindness and ingratitude, and had violated his treaty and flouted his advice; and then refused to discharge him from the duty of conducting a war which he had condemned as a dishonourable breach of the royal word. But Sovereign and Country were held to be identical; and though the Monarch as a man might bitterly disappoint those who served him best, they did not dispense themselves from the obligation of fidelity to the principle which Kingship theoretically represented.

By the 27th of August the combined English and Flemish Artillery had made eleven breaches in the walls. Coligny still would not surrender, though he predicted a general assault: "*Let every man prepare himself to give them a good reception,*" he said, "*and then God shall show what next we are to do.*"

He posted his 800 men so that they might defend the eleven breaches; and at 2 in the afternoon the assault began. Though destined to be entirely victorious for the besiegers, it was bought at a price by our English Master of the Ordnance; for his brother Lord Henry Dudley—whose death sentence Queen Mary had remitted under King Philip's influence—"was slain with the shot of a great piece, as he stooped upon his approach unto the wall, and staid to rip his hose ouer the knee, thereby to have been more apt and nimble to the assault."[3]

---

[1] Orig: Hatfield, *State Papers*, Haynes (1740) p. 204; and Hatfield Cal: I. (1883) p. 143.
[2] "*Récit du siège de St Quentin,*" &c., ed: Gomart, p. 394.
[3] "This was his end, of whome one saith thus:

Henricus Dudleius heros,
Ille annis generosam animam iuuenilibus efflat,
Quem referunt socii flentes in castra peremptum,
Vt mos christicolae est, velatum sindone gentis."

Holinshed, ed: 1587, p. 1134. (B.M. 2072. g).

Admiral de Coligny was in person defending the worst breach; but when the assault followed immediately upon a heavy battery, even the soldiers began turning and running away into the town.

Coligny bade them follow him back on to the ramparts. But he found himself alone among the enemy, except for two of his servants and his page, Aventigny.

A Spanish officer, called Diaz, who did not know Coligny by sight, entered into a single combat with him. But when the servants cried out "*This is the Lord Admiral,*" the Spaniard requested him to surrender; and struck aside the harquebussier who was about to shoot him.

Through the breach, which the Admiral had defended to the last, the Spaniard and his illustrious captive passed out; and Coligny, looking back, saw his brother still fighting, even though the town was in the hands of the foe.

Andelot had no intention of giving up his sword if he could possibly avoid so doing. And as if by a miracle he escaped. Wading breast-deep across the marshes, he got into the French camp before nightfall.

Meanwhile the victorious Duke of Savoy, with a discourtesy rare in persons of his rank in any age, received the Grand Admiral of France without any compliment on his valiant defence; and seated him at dinner at the bottom of the table, "not addressing to him a single word."[1]

The following day the Admiral wrote to his King:

> "I deeply regret not to have been able to carry out my good wish and large obligation to do you service; but my comfort is that your Majesty . . . will be satisfied when you learn that to the last I did all that became a gentleman and a man of honour. . . ."[2]

He had done more; for during 24 days, August 3rd to 27th, he had held back the armies of King Philip, and given King Henry time to rally and reorganise his forces. But gratitude was not the strong point of the French King; and he appears not even to have vouchsafed a reply to the Admiral's letter. It is from the narrative of a Spanish officer that we know of the unbending self-command with which the defeated hero behaved in the camp of the victor.

On the 29th of August, King Philip ordered St. Quentin to be evacuated before he made his triumphal entry. Some 3,500 women who remained, he bade his soldiers spare; and send away into French territory. But such men as could not pay ransoms were to be put to death.

The "Spanish discipline" was perfect in actual fighting. It was after victory that the rank and file too often soiled their laurels. Though not killing the women, they struck them with their swords to try and make them admit if they had hidden any money or jewels. Some of the poor creatures appealed for protection to the Bishop of Arras, who attended on the King; but others were wounded and ill-treated; and the piteous procession of old and young was grievous to behold. Some were over eighty years of age,

[1] "*Mémoires de Jean de Mergey,*" in Bersier's *Coligny,* p. 104.

[2] Bersier, pp. 104-5.

and could scarcely walk; others were carrying little children, and weeping as they passed the dead bodies of their husbands and their fathers.

All this extremity of anguish might have been averted, if in time of prosperity the citizens had not disdained soldiers; and, hugging themselves in a fancied security, protested against being " burdened " with a garrison. It was the weakness of St. Quentin which invited attack; and once it had fallen, it was to suffer the consequences for nearly a hundred years.[1]

On the 30th of August, King Philip with his Generals rode into what only a few weeks earlier had been a flourishing and happy town. Now its desolate condition was remarked compassionately by the Spanish officer already mentioned: " I walked through the place, looking around me; and *it seemed like a second destruction of Jerusalem.*"

Corpses were piled up among the burning ruins; the air was heavy with pestilential odours. And of the few men who remained alive "*not a single citizen . . . dared to own that he was French. 'How vain and transitory are the things of this world,' I said to myself . . .*"[2]

Such a tragedy had the Grand Admiral of France prophecied as the penalty for breaking the Treaty of Vaucelles. But though not even his own valour and virtue, with that of the brother who was his " second self," sufficed to save St. Quentin, their efforts were not entirely in vain. For Queen Catherine, while the King was at Compiègne, had been given time to get the Parliament to vote subsidies for the defence of Paris; and, on hearing that the subsidy was large and the city resolute, King Philip forebore to attempt its capture.

On the 31st of August the Admiral was escorted by two Companies of harquebussiers to Lille and thence to Sluys in Zeeland. There he was imprisoned in the Castle: which thirty years later was to be defended by Dutch and English troops against odds as heavy as those he had faced at St. Quentin.

During the conflict Coligny had kept up a continuous pressure of work; and though exposing himself to the utmost danger, tall and conspicuous, and an easy target, he had nevertheless seemed to bear a charmed life. Scarcely had he reached Sluys than he fell dangerously ill; and for six weeks was thought to be beyond recovery. But there was another fifteen years of service yet to be performed by him, before he, who had survived so many wars, was to be massacred in Paris in the name of peace.

Few men of great ability have been more unfortunate. Not only did he gain nothing by his services whether in negotiating the Treaty of Vaucelles, or (after it was violated against his advice) by enabling the King to remain in safety. He was to be the poorer for the rest of his life in consequence of his defence of St. Quentin. The Duke of Savoy fixed his ransom at 50,000 golden crowns: which had to be raised out of Coligny's own estates, after he had been a prisoner 17 months; the King not making any contribution.[3]

[1] Bersier (p. 107) quotes Q. de La Fons, "*Histoire particulière de la ville de St Quentin,*" as saying that the ramparts long remained in such broken state that in winter the wolves could come into the town; and at the time of writing, 1647, 90 years after the siege, La Fons shows the town as not yet restored to prosperity.

[2] "*Récit du siège*" &c.; ed: Gomart; Bersier, p. 107.

[3] Bersier, pp. 145-6.

Too proud to complain, the Grand Admiral of France was as patient in captivity as he had been bold and resourceful while by fighting he could hope to hold back the foe. His narrative, written in prison, ends with these words:

> "The only consolation I have is that which it seems to me all Christians should possess: namely that such mysteries" (meaning his own undeserved defeat), "do not take place without the permission of God . . . and I desire to humble myself before God in submission to His will."[1]

On the other side, the overthrow of the famous Coligny-Chastillon and his uncle the Constable was taken by the Earl of Bedford, after fighting for the King of Spain, as a sign "how God prospereth the Kynges Maiestie in all his procydings."[2]

No Englishman who served in that campaign would have believed it possible for a heedless posterity to forget one of the most decisive actions of the century.[3]

---

[1] "*Discours sur le Siège de St Quentin.*" Finished 31 March, 1558.

[2] Dated 13 Sep: 1557. Orig: Hatfield; *State Papers*, Haynes, p. 205.

[3] The British Museum does not appear to possess any English official description or proclamation of these events; but there is in B.M. (No. 573 f. 15) an account published in Vienna: "*Zeythungen, wie und welcher massen die Stät unnd Schlosser, Chastelet, Han, und Chaugni in Franckreych durfch die Khun wierde zu Hispanien . . . erobert und eingenommen worden, im Jar 1557.*"

There is also (catalogued under "Spain, Army, Appendix I. Accounts of Battles") "*Newe zeitung. Warhafte unnd kurtze beschreibung der schlacht für S. Quintin, zwischen der Konigleche Maiestat ause Engelandt und des Konigs von Frankreichs kriegsvolck, wie es sich eigentlich zu° getragenhat, Auff S. Laurentzen tag. Anno MDLVII.*" 4to. 1313 d. 8. Another of the same sort, *R Hofhalter, Wienn,* 573, f. 17. Also see No. 1315. b. 21, and Ib. 28, queried as printed at *Augsburg,* 1557. Nothing more as to this battle in B.M. Cat: either under England or France.

In "*A Catalogue of Sixteenth Century Books*" (No. 286; 1932, p. 29), Messrs. Ellis (29, New Bond Street, W.) give two St. Quentin newstracts, both small 4to, and both in Gothic type:

(152) "*Newe und Warhafftige Zeitung, Von der grossen Schlacht die sich zwischen dem König aus Engeland, dem Jungen Prinz, unnd dem Konig aus Franckreich, am tage Laurentii, zugtragen unnd begeben hat 1557.*" (Containing list of prisoners and of casualties).

(153) "*Warhafftige und gruntliche Zeytungen, ausz der Königklichen Mayestat zu Hyspanien und Engellandt, Veldtleger mit eygentlichen, von dem 14 tag Julii aus bis auff den ersten tag Octobris dieses 1557 Jars allenthalben Zugetragen, und wider dero feindt den König vō Franckreych mit hilff des Allmechtige glucklich ausgerichtet worden,* etc. *Gedruckt in Kayserlichen Reychstat Nüremberg, durch Johan Weygel, Burger, Formschneyder und Brieffmaller. 1557.*" (40 leaves).

There used to be, until lately, in possession of the Earl of Pembroke at Wilton, armour said to have been captured from the Duke of Montmorency in 1557 at St. Quentin. The Wilton House collection of armour was sold in 1921, 1922, and 1923, at Sotheby's.

APPENDIX.

"A LIST OF SHIPS APPOINTED 29 MAY, 1557, TO SERVE UNDER THE LORD ADMIRAL. together with the Number of Soldiers and Gunners in the Same."

Pepys MSS. Miscell: Vol. VII. p. 13. Printed by Charles Derrick, "*Memoirs of the Rise and Progress of the Royal Navy,* 1808. p. 19. (B.M. 598 p. 17).

Although the campaign of 1557 was military and not naval, no English men or gun could have been landed in France had not the English Navy guarded "the Narrow Seas."

The ensuing list of ships and barks is therefore relevant. Observe the largest vessel, *Jesus,* is 700 tons; the smallest, *Flower de Luce,* 30 tons; and the total tonnage of 21 ships is only 4,380.

Names	*Burthen Tons*	*Hacbutters or Arquebusiers*	*Soldiers*	*Mariners*	*Gunners*
The Great Bark ...	500	50	80	190	30
Jesus	700	50	80	190	30
Trinity .	300	20	40	140	20
Swallow	240	20	40	140	20
Salamander	300	20	40	140	20
Hart	300	20	40	140	20
Antelope ...	300	20	40	140	20
Ann Gallant	300	20	40	140	20
New Bark	200	10	20	84	16
Mary Willough(by) ..	160	10	20	84	16
Bull	180	10	20	84	16
Tiger	180	10	20	84	16
Greyhound . ..	180	10	20	84	16
Jer Falcon	120	8	20	66	14
Falcon	80	6	16	54	10
George	100	6	16	54	10
Bark of Bullen ..	60	4	8	44	8
Saker ..	60	4	8	44	8
Sonne .	50	4	—	34	6
Double Rose ..	40	—	—	26	4
Flower de Luce .	30	—	—	26	4
	4380	302	568	1988	324

In all, 21 ships, etc.

Unpublished sketch plan

of CALAIS IN THE REIGN OF QUEEN MARY:

in colours, on vellum, 14 x 21¼ inches.

Found among the papers of Sir William Cecil: now preserved at Hatfield House.

(Portfolio, No. 2).

Unsigned and undated: nothing to indicate whether sent home by the Deputy, Lord Wentworth, or the Comptroller, Sir Edward Grimston, or by the General, William Herbert Earl of Pembroke.

Shows sea coast of about 25 or 26 miles, with Calais in the middle and Gravelines about 12 miles away on the left. The dark painting in the foreground represents the sands.

The smaller label specifies that on the left of the map is Flanders, and on the right Boulogne and Ardres.

"This Black
and Redd
is flanders"

"this Blacke
& whitt is
the countrye
of Cowlley
Arde"

The drawing illustrates the manner in which attacking forces from the land side would be able to utilise the roads and neighbouring villages for supply. Newkirk, Oldenkirk, "Benyers Sangat," "St Martens paspdyng" etc.

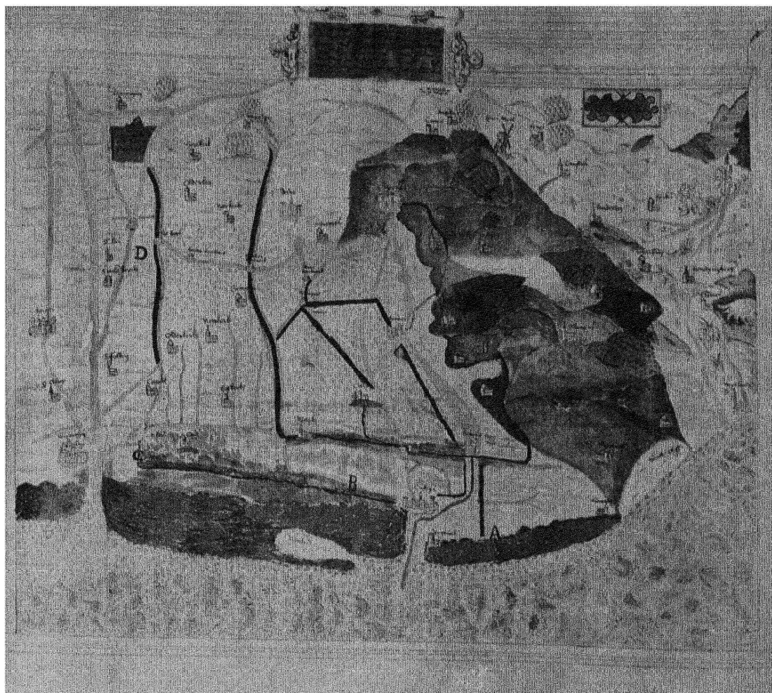
At the entrance to the roadstead, notice the Castle which the English had built long previously to protect the door of their French possessions. After the French regained Calais in 1558, this castle was no longer necessary, and was allowed to fall into disrepair. Sixteen years later it appears in Braun and Hogenberg's "*Civitates Orbis Terrarum,*" 1574, as in ruins.

"A dyscription howe Caillis may be
beseged wth eyght M footmen and
CC horsmen that al france shall
not compell y^{t} army to feyght
other then in defence of a forte
remove the sege or dysturbe ther victuels
that may com out of flanders"

There is in State Papers Foreign, Q Mary, Vol. XI, No 677, an unpublished "*note of all the Crewes & Garresons extraordinarye placed within the Marches of Callice,*" 30th October 1557, endorsed as "*An order for garrysons contynd in Calles & the Merces the 15° Novembris 1557*": with a memo of "*Thextraordinary nomber of men for Callays Guysnes & the marches there are thought mete to be M^{l} M^{l}*". their total wages, including "workemen," being £2,129, 12s. per month of 28 days.

The Cavalry are "*Light horsemen,*" and "*launces*", and "*fotemen converted into horsemen.*"

Among the extra men sent to Guisnes were "*XLViij gonners late of bulleyne*" (Boulogne), and at Newnham Bridge and "Rice bank" XV and XVI gunners from Boulogne. a deplorably inadequate number. The weakness of the garrisons, in time of war, and the over-confidence of the English, were an invitation to attack: enabling the Duke of Guise to possess himself in less than a week of the town which England had ruled for over two centuries.



D
B
A

FRANCIS, DUKE OF GUISE:

from a contemporary drawing by Dumoustier:

Described as *"François de Lorraine Duc de Guise dit le balafré" dumoustier delineauit."*

(Photograph. Giraudon)

François de Lorraine duc de Guise dit le Balafré [illegible]

UNPUBLISHED SKETCH OF SANDGATE CASTLE, KENT.

Water-colour, 21 $^{8}/_{16}$ x 28 inches.

From the original now at Hatfield House, in possession of The Marquess of Salisbury, K.G.

Docketed on the back "Sandgate Castell."

Not to be confounded with Sandgate in France, concerning which "From Calais this 14th July 1557" Thomas, Lord Wentworth and the Council at Calais wrote, "Whenas upon the commencement of the present warre wth France order hath been geven unto the inhabitants of the lordshipp of Sangat to put the Castell there in order," etc etc, and appealed for money Hatfield MSS. Cal. I, pp. 141-2 Re-examined 1932, from original, which is endorsed · "1557. 14 Julii th Deput and th Couns(el) of Callise £7 for ostwyk (illegible)."

This endorsement is in Sir William Cecil's hand. He was not in office at the time, so presumably went over the papers after Queen Elizabeth's accession, when the recovery of Calais, whether by diplomatic or martial means, remained under consideration for many years.

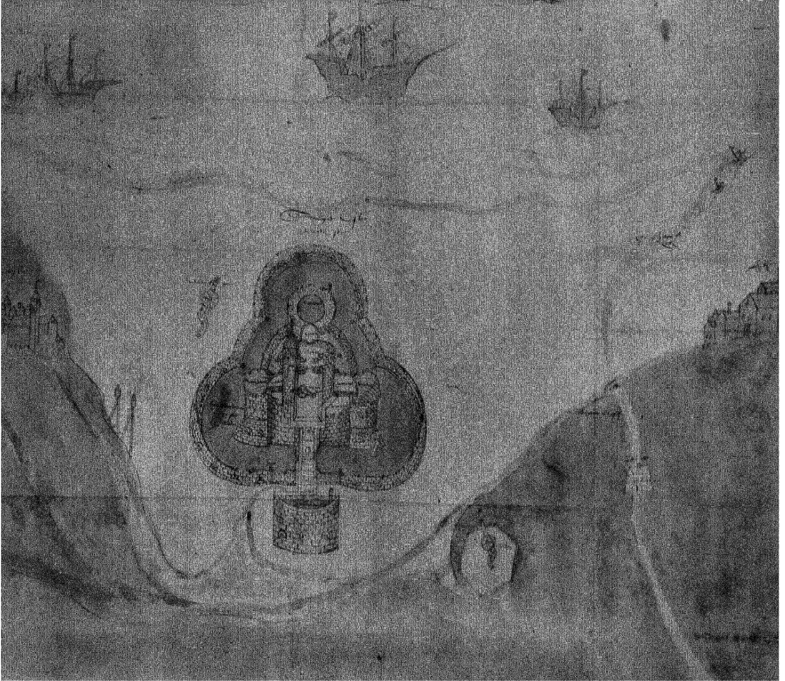
Notice that Folkestone, "Shoren Clyff," and "Hyethe" are marked on the drawing; and the opposite coast "France."

Undated, and if judged by the ships it might be of Henry VIII's day. That Monarch's memory (despite his tyrannies) long remained popular because of his "care and coste for the defending of the Realme against foreign invasion." After fortifying Deal ("Dele") he spent £5,000 on building "this platforme" (shown in the sketch,) "within the parish of Folkstone towards Hyth, and hee called it (of the sandie place where it is pitched) Sandgate castle."

See "*A Perambulation of Kent: Conteining the Description, Hystorie, and Customes of that Shyre. Written in the yeere 1570 by William Lambarde of Lincolnes Inn, Gent. first published in the yeere 1576, and now increased and altered after the Author's owne last Copie. Imprinted at London, by Edm Bolifant. 1596.*" (p. 171).

This was the first English County History, and was part of a vast M S. "Topographicall Dictionarie," of "the most famous places thorowe out this whole Realme. . . Now [living] in Kent, I . . . . begin with that Shire. . . " Dedication "To the Right woorshipfull, and vertuous, M. Thomas Wotton, Esquier," dated "From Seinecleres, this last of Ianuaire, 1570"(1) Wotton was a noted collector of books ("the English Grolier," he has been called); and apparently he paid for the printing; for "The xvj. of Aprill, 1576. Your Countrey man and very loving friende, T.W." dedicated it "To his Countriemen, the Gentlemen of the Countie of Kent".—"This Booke faire written (in gift) lately sent unto me, do I faire printed (by dedication) now send and commend unto you" It has been "from great antiquitie, ... with great studie . . . . . set out truly", &c Wotton says that except the Bible, there is nothing more profitable and delectable than the study of history, which is "within the compass of common understanding"; Lambarde's labours are to be commended to all his countrymen; not only to the Gentlemen of Kent in particular but "to all the Gentlemen of the whole Realme", who should be grateful to his "very deere friend" the author, and give him "harty and perpetuall thanks."

(33) F M Tenison's "Elizabethan England," Prologue, xiv (c).



PROLOGUE.

Section XIV. "Such a Buffet to England": *The loss of Calais* (1557-8).

In the Elizabethan "*Chronicle at large*" by Richard Grafton, 1569, though the victory at "Saint Quintaynes" is described as celebrated in London with "generall processions,"—and "in the streetes of every Citie and towne . . . were made Bonfires with great rejoysing,"—this "soddayn short gladnesse" soon turned to "long sorrow":

> "*For if ought were wonne by the having of saint Quintines, England gat nothing at all, for the Gayne thereof came onely to king Philip. But the losse of Calice, Hammes and Guysnes with all the Countrie on that side of the sea . . . was such a buffet to Englande as happened not in more than an hundred yere before;* a dishonour wherewith this realm shall be blotted" until England would give "some like requitall to the French."

But when Queen Mary declared war upon France (in June 1557) she had no premonition of disaster. And it was afterwards alleged by the French that the English had been so "confident" and "disdainful" that "they caused to be graven in hard marble aloft at the entry of the castell" the challenging boast:

"Then shall the Frenchmen Calis win,
When iron and lead like corke shall swim."[1]

The habit of our English Sovereigns of styling themselves Kings of "England, *France* and Ireland," originated when the Norman-descended rulers of our island owned far more French territory than the Kings who lived in Paris. Our King John was unpopular less because he was a tyrant than because he lost a large part of England's French possessions.

Edward III's victories of Cressy, Calais, and Poictiers, and Henry V's triumph at Agincourt were not classed by our ancestors as wars of aggression, but as the recovery of former territories and powers. And when King Edward III, on the 4th August, 1347, entered as conqueror into Calais, he ejected the French citizens and arranged to "people the town with pure Englishmen."[2]

Being the nearest point to the English coast, the naval and military importance of

---

[1] "*Tum Demum Francus premet obsidione Caletum,*
Cum ferrum plumbumue natabit suberis instar."

Holinshed's *Chronicle*, IV (ed: 1808), p. 102. Holinshed gives this as told by the French, "but how trulie let them say that are able (upon their own knowledge)." He adds that whereas it is shameful to the English if true, the shame should be to the French "if the report be false" (as apparently he thought it). It is repeated in De Bouillé's "*Histoire des Ducs de Guise.*" Vol. I. p. 723.

[2] "The kynge sent from London xxxvj burgesses to Calays, who were riche and sage, and their wyves and children," (says Froissart), and granted them "such liberties and franchysses" that Englishmen were glad to go and live in Calais.

Calais caused all our successive Sovereigns to deem their money well spent on keeping its defences in good order. The Plantagenet fortifications were elaborately improved by Henry VIII in 1532.[1]

In 1557, the year before Calais was lost, the Venetian Ambassador thus summarised its value:

> "Another frontier besides that of Scotland, and *no less important* for the security of the kingdom, . . is that which the English occupy on the other side of the sea, by means of two fortresses, Calais and Guisnes; guarded by them (and justly) with jealousy: *especially Calais, for this is the key and principal entrance to their dominions,* without which the English would have no outlet from their own nor access to other countries: At least *none so easy, so short and so secure: so much so that if they were deprived of it, they would not only be shut out from the Continent, but also from the commerce and intercourse of the world* They would consequently lose what is essentially necessary, . . and become dependent upon the will and pleasure of other Sovereigns in availing themselves of their ports; besides having to encounter a more distant, more hazardous, and more expensive passage."
>
> Calais being only "about 30 miles" from Dover Harbour, *"they can, at any time, without hindrance, even in spite of contrary winds, . . enter or leave the harbour (such is the experience and boldness of their sailors), and carry over either troops or anything else. . ."*
>
> Moreover as Calais is not more than ten miles from Ardres, the French frontier, and no further from Gravelines, the frontier of the Emperor, the English were able to "join either the one or the other as they please. . ."
>
> Calais is *"considered by everyone as an impregnable fortress, on account of the inundation with which it may be surrounded; although there are persons skilled in the art of fortification, who doubt that it would prove so, if put to the test. . .* Guisnes is also reckoned impregnable, situated about three miles more inland, on the French frontier, and guarded with the same degree of care . . . the same is done with regard to . . . Hammes . . ."[2]

The person "skilled in the art of fortification" who believed it possible to capture these fortresses, was Gaspard de Coligny, Grand Admiral of France. And though he was a prisoner after his overthrow at St. Quentin, the details of his project for the capture of Calais were known to his former friend, Francis of Lorraine, Duke of Guise. If the Queen of England had been aware of certain papers locked up at the Château de Chastillon, she might not have sent her Herald to Rheims with such alacrity. But in her proclamation to her subjects, announcing the war, she threw all the blame upon France, as guilty of encouraging both the Duke of Northumberland and Sir Thomas

---

[1] For details see MS. Cotton, Faustina, E. VII, pp. 33-38, 103-105, "A Devyse made by the kinges highenes at his graces being at the towne of Calis in the XXIIIJth yere of his reign, for the fortification of the said towne . . ." and "A devise for the Haven," printed by J. G. Nichols, *"The Chronicle of Calais,"* Camden Soc: 1846, pp. 125-129. Also Cotton MS Titus, BI., p. 208^{b}, "A Declaration of the nomber of Workmen and Labourers, with their wages, working beyond Sea, on the King's Majesties Fortifications, Anno Henric: 8 regni 33." Op. cit., pp. 197-201. In 1827 Ellis, in *Orig Letters* (cit. infra) could still remark that "The southern bulwarks are yet defended by the identical bastions erected according to the orders given by Henry VIII . . .": but by 1843 this was no longer the case." Murray's *"Handbook for France"* Henry VIII's campaign of 1544 was depicted for Sir Anthony Browne, at Cowdray Castle, in a series of contemporary frescoes; which perished by fire in 1793, but had been engraved in 1787 and 1788 for the Society of Antiquaries. These reproductions were reissued for the 1st Viscount Cowdray, in *"Cowdray and Easebourne Priory,"* by Sir William St. John Hope, London, 1919. Plates xiii, xiv, xv, pp. 48, 50, 52. That of the siege of Boulogne, July-Sept^{r}., 1544, is a marvel of detail.

[2] Giovanni Michele to the Doge and Senate of Venice. Translated in *"Orig: Letters,"* ed: Sir Henry Ellis (1827) 2nd ser: Vol. II. p. 226. With engraved view of 16th century Calais, from MS. Cotton. Augustus I. ii. 70. A view of the harbour of Calais is extant also: MS. Cotton. Aug: I. ii. 57. c.

Wyatt; as " also for having lately aided the rebel Stafford with shipping, men, money, and munition, thereby if it were possible to dispossess her of her Crown."[1]

That while using our English troops at St. Quentin, to contribute to the victory for Spain, King Philip allowed Calais to be reduced in strength, and cared nothing for its loss, was a reproach brought against him in England to the end of his days; as if his only aim when King Consort had been to advance himself and to reduce the power of our English nation. But it was not to his interest that the French, his foes, instead of Queen Mary his wife, should possess Calais: and we shall yet see his own words (hitherto overlooked) in that connection.

The responsibility for mismanagement appears to rest upon the Queen, and her Lieutenant-General, Lord Pembroke. His bravery no man can doubt; but his hitherto unpublished correspondence with Her Majesty and the Council shows him satisfied with a garrison much less strong than would have been wise.[2] Even while warning the Queen in July 1557, that " the French King hath planted great power and number of soldiers in 'Arde,' Boulogne," and all along the frontier, Pembroke only then asked for an extra two hundred men for the garrison of Guisnes; and another four hundred to be variously placed.[2] He did not demand more Artillery; and even by the 30th of October a " *Note of all the Crewes and Garrisons extraordinarye placed within the Marches of Callice* " shows Light Horsemen and Lances, but apparently no heavy Cavalry (" men at arms "); astonishingly few gunners; and still not one extra gun.[3]

The citadel of Calais had two principal gates, one opening upon the town. The other, the " Boulogne Gate " was only opened occasionally. The Sergeant-Major was responsible for locking both gates.[4] As to the Watch,

> " at 10 of the clock at night they have a great bell that doth ring for the space of quarter of an hour, so that it is heard in all the town, so that whatsoever they be that doth come out of the house after that bell without a lantern, either townsmen or others, he is carried to ward, except he be a soldier." All names of " strangers " who came into the town were taken by a " gentleman porter."[5]

In 1557 the usual routine went on as placidly as in time of peace. And though a rough map was sent home, indicating the possibility of a siege,[6] the Queen and Council, —even the soldiers themselves—took for granted that Calais, which had so long been safe, would remain English for ever.

But it is an axiom in war that the likeliest road to success is by some way the enemy thinks impossible. Accordingly Francis Duke of Guise put into action the plan formed erstwhile by Admiral de Coligny-Chastillon. For execution of it, the main responsibility

---

[1] " *Annales of England. Containing the Reignes of Henry the Eighth, Edward the Sixt, Queen Mary Written in Latin by . . . Francis, Lord Bishop of Hereford. . . Englished, corrected and inlarged with the Authors consent, by Morgan Godwyn. London . . . 1630,*" p. 326.

[2] In extenso, Appendix, pp. 113-114.

[3] S.P.F. (Mary). Vol. XI. No: 677. That this list and Pembroke's letter etc. have been overlooked till now may be because calendared in State Papers *Foreign*, which might be supposed to refer to dealings with foreign Powers, rather than to affairs of places where the English flag was yet flying.

[4] A Sergeant-Major had different duties from now; he was then one of the principal officers in Calais.

[5] " The manner of the guard of Calais." (n.d.). *Hatfield MSS.* Cal. I. p. 134.

[6] ante, Plate 31; and Portfolio No. 2.

was delegated to the Admiral's former Lieutenant, and to his brother François de Coligny, Sieur d'Andelot.[1]

As the story was afterwards told in Grafton's "*Chronicle at large,*" despite the open war between England and France,

"contrary to the ancient custome, . . . the towne of Calice and the Fortes thereaboutes were not supplied with any new access of souldiers; which negligence was not unknown to the enemie . . . The French King therefore, being sharpely netteled with the late loss of Saint Quintines and a great piece of his country adjoining, and desirous of revenge, thought it not meet to let slippe this occasion. . . . This practise was not so secret but that the Deputies of Calice and Guines had some intelligence thereof, and informed the Queen and her counsaile . . . "

Yet the danger was "so slenderly regarded" that provision for defence was not made until "*too late.*"

It can now be proved there were by November two thousand extra troops.[2] But they were too few.

The Duke of Guise, says Grafton, acted swiftly and with "marveylous polecy." Approaching the English frontier "under colour to vittayle Bulleyne and Arde," he "tooke a little Bulwarke at Sandgate by assaulte." Next he divided his army into two, and sent one half with heavy artillery along the Downs by the seaside "towardes Rise Bank; and the other part furnished also with battery peeces marched strayte forth to Newnham Bridge." Timing his arrival late in the evening, he surprised both the forts, and battered them so successfully with his guns that he was "maister of both by the next morning." The following day from the sandhills of Risebank, with five double cannons and three culverins, he began his battery against the town of Calais. This he kept up continuously until he made a breech in the wall near the Water Gate. The garrison now realised that the danger was extreme; and what Guise knocked down of the wall by day they built up by night.

But this battery near the Water Gate was a ruse to draw them away from the Castle. While the breach was being defended, the French had planted fifteen double cannons to cover the Castle, which was "olde and without rampiers."

As no adequate preparation had been made to defend it, the Governor decided that in case the French tried to come in that way, "a trayne with Barrels of powder" should be made in readiness to blow up the keep. "But the Frenchmen at their entry espied the

[1] At the time of the siege of Calais, Andelot (born in 1521) was aged 36. In the Hatfield House Catalogue of 1638 a portrait of "*Monsieur Shattilian*" is on the list, and was taken for the Grand Admiral de Coligny Chastillon, until 1859, when H.R.H. Henri d'Orleans, Duc d'Aumale identified it as a contemporary copy of a picture at the Château d'Eu of François de Coligny, S[r] d'Andelot; by Pourbus the elder.

The Hatfield copy is on panel, 22½ x 17 inches: "a life-sized bust portrait, face seen in three "quarters to the left; brown hair and moustachios. Wearing a gold embossed suit of armour. "Much repainted." No. 20 of "*A Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of the Collection of Pictures at Hatfield House. . . By Laurence Gifford Holland. . . By authority of the Marquess of Salisbury, K.G. Privately printed 1891,*" p. 13. For a full-length picture of Andelot with his two brothers see *Eliz. Eng:* II. 1. 4. (Vol. II.)

[2] S.P.F. (Mary). Vol. XI. No: 677.

trayne," and avoided it; and easily possessed themselves of the Castle, which had been evacuated.

They " thought to have entered the towne that way. But by the prowess and hardy courage of Sir Anthony Ager Knight and Marshall of the Towne, with his souldiers they were repulsed and driven back agayne into the Castell."

Sir Anthony Ager (or Aucher) of Bourne and of Ottringden (now Otterden) in East Kent, with his son and heir, and a Pusuivant-at-Arms, and some fourteen soldiers who would not foresake them, were long remembered as the heroes of the defence. They all died sword in hand.

The Deputy Governor, Lord Wentworth, then sent a Pursuivant to the Duke of Guise offering to surrender. After " long debate," the terms granted by Guise were that the town, with its artillery, victuals, and munition, should be yielded to the King of France. The inhabitants he undertook to spare, and those who chose to leave could have safe-conduct: except Wentworth himself, Sir Edward Grimston the Comptroller, and some fifty others who were kept to be put to ransom.[1]

At this juncture " there were in this towne of Calice five hundred Englishe Souldiers ordinary, and no mo(re)."[2] And of the civilians not fully 200 fighting men. Of women and children and other non-combatants there were a larger proportion; for " as they were counted when they went out of the gate " the " whole number " was 4,200.[2]

When the French marched in the day after the surrender, such of the citizens, men, women and children, as remained were bidden to leave their houses and go into the Churches of Our Lady and Saint Nicholas. The penalty was death if they refused. They were ordered to take their money, plate, and jewels with them. " A great part of that daye, and one whole night, and the next day until three at after noon " they were kept " without eyther meat or drink."[2]

While they were thus shut up, their houses were ransacked.

Calais which King Edward III had besieged for " one whole yere and more " before the French would surrender, had now been won by the Duke of Guise " *in lesse than viij dayes to the great marvaile of the world, that a town of such strength and so well furnished, . . . should so suddenly be taken and conquered. But most specially in the winter season what tyme all the Country about being marshe ground is commonly overflown with water.*"[3]

---

[1] Sir Edward Grimston's ransom was fixed at 10,000 crowns, a sum impossible for him to pay. No arrangements were made for his release when peace was negotiated between England and France, so he daringly attempted and carried out an escape. After describing how he contrived it, and the adventures that ensued, including a tremendous storm which drove him ashore in Jersey, he says, " And when I was upon the dry sands I kneeled down and made a cross and kissed it, giving God thanks that we were upon English ground." The MS. is docketed by his son, " 1594 Soli Deo honor et gloria," etc., etc., " A Discourse of my father Edward Grimston, his blessed escape out of captivity, being kept prisoner in the Bastille in the city of Paris in France XIX months."

See *Hist. MS. Comm: " Rep. on the MSS of The Earl of Verulam, preserved at Gorhambury 1906,"* pp. 13-22. A note is added, " This good old man, being at the age of 92, died the xxiii of February, 1599, Elizabeth 42, . . ." His portrait is at Gorhambury.

[2] Grafton, " *Chronicle at large,*" etc. Numbers by the time of the surrender.

[3] Grafton's " *Chronicle at large,*" 1569, II, pp. 557-558.

Precisely because the garrison of Calais believed no adversary would dare attempt the crossing of the marshes at that time of year, Admiral de Coligny-Chastillon, long previously, had suggested this to King Henry II as the sure way to surprise the English.[1]

Lest it be thought that Queen Mary had been callous to her subjects' danger, it is "to be noted," wrote Grafton in 1569, that when "credibly" hearing of the French approach, "she with all spede possible, but somewhat too late, raised a great power for the reskue. . . ."[2]

But "such terrible tempests then arose, and continued the space of foure or five dayes together, that the like had not been seene before in remembrance of man: wherefore some sayde that the same was done by necromancy, and that the Devill was raysed up and become French . . .

". . . no ship could brook the seas by reason of these extreme stormes . . . And such of the Queenes shippes as did adventure the passage, were so shaken and torne with violence of weather as they were forced to returne with great danger, and with the loss of all their tackle and furniture.

"Thus by negligence of the Counsaile at home, conspiracie of traitors elsewhere," and vigour of enemies, "this famous Forte of Calice was brought again into the handes and possession of the French," after more than two hundred years.[3]

---

[1] Bersier, *Coligny,* etc. (trans: Holmden, 1884, p. 118-119 note) points out that Bouillé in "*Hist: des Ducs de Guise*" is mistaken in supposing it to have been out of jealousy against Duke Francis that "the honour of having planned the taking of Calais is attributed to Coligny": "it is certain (1) that Coligny alone had prepared the attack on Calais . . . which Guise only executed according to the Admiral's plans, and with the valuable aid of Coligny's lieutenant Senarpont. (2) It was Andelot (Coligny's brother) who by his valour played the principal part in the attack . . ."

[2] Op. cit. ante.

[3] We are now so accustomed to Calais under French rule that to understand the feelings of our ancestors over the loss of a seaport held by England since 1347, we need to look back to the "*Libellus de politia Conservatoria Maris. Or The pollicy of keeping the Sea,*" written while the Plantagenets still reigned; and revived by Hakluyt in "*Principal Navigations*" (Vol. III, ed. MacLehose, 1903, pp. 114-147). In "An exhortation for the sure keeping of Calais," it is emphasised that the possession of the "two Townes Caleis and Dover" enables England to "bee Mistriss of the narrowe sea." Difficult to win, Calais is the "Jewel" to be cherished:—

". . . . Kepe the seas: East & Weste, South & Northe. . . . .
And chiefly kepe the sharpe narrowe sea
Betweene Dover & Caleis. . . . This unitie is God's pleasuance. . . . .
And *power causeth peace. . . . .*
Kepe the sea that is the wall of England."

An echo of this, in 1597, reverberated in "*Richard II*":

"Let us be backed with God, and with the seas
Which he hath given for fence impregnable."

APPENDIX.

Unpublished letter and Memo of WILLIAM EARL OF PEMBROKE, K.G. (Lieut.-General) to QUEEN MARY: from Calais, 23 July, 1557.

That *"the only way to sustain reputation is to increase it"* may seem a harsh saying; but in the history of nations any lapse from vigilance and efficiency is apt to bring a swift Nemesis. Queen Mary's grief for the loss of Calais is remembered to this day; but it would have been more to the purpose if she had emulated her predecessors in care and foresight for the defence, than had bewailed too late what might have been averted by "preparedness."

English dismay over the loss of Calais, was the more painful in contrast to the victorious memories which all ranks then took as their inheritance. When in February 1544-5, King Edward's uncle Edward Seymour Earl of Hertford, Lord Protector, afterwards Duke of Somerset, had inspected the "fortifications in the Marches of Calais," he "devised with my Lord the Earl of Warwick" (John Dudley) "then Lieutenant of Boulogne," so astutely, and they took "such order with the garrisons there," that with only 7,000 men they beat back 21,000 Frenchmen "that had encamped themselves over the river by Boulogne." The ordnance, carriage, treasure, and tents fell to the English; "and from thence, returning by land to Guisnes," Hertford captured on his way "within the gunshot . . . of Ardes, the Castle of Outings, called otherwise the Red Pile." The same year when his forces invaded Picardy, "the forts of Newhaven, Blanknestes and Boulogneberg" were begun to be built; and so well were the men "plied in work that in a few weeks ere his departing thence" the forts had been "made and left defensible."[1] But the quality and discipline of the English troops had deteriorated by 1557-8; and England had then no Generals equal to those who had defended the honour of King Edward.

As to the excellent intentions of William, Earl of Pembroke and his Council, there can be no question; but considering England and France were at war, his letter and memo, now first published, indicate imperfect realisation of the enemy's strength.[2]

"Pleaseth it your Highness to be advertised that after the receipt of your letters addressed unto me the Earl of Pembroke, concerning the placing of Sir Edward Braye in the charge and custody of your Highness' Castle of Guisnes, I, calling unto me such of your Highness' Council he(re) as hereunto have subscribed their names, upon due consideration and conference had of the same among us all, we thought good by these articles. . . hereinclosed, to answer the said letters for your Highness' further pleasure, thereupon to be determined as to your Highness shall seem most meet and convenient. Thus most humbly taking our leaves, we rest in prayers for the long and prosperous preservation of your Majesty, with great increase and most happy success. At your Highness town of Calais the XXIII day of July 1557,

Your Highness most humbly obedient and faithful servants,

PENBROKE[3]
A. Cornwaleys
Anthony Montagu
E. Clynton
Thomas Wentworth."

Instead of requesting a strong force, Pembroke contented himself with a minimum of reinforcements.

---

[1] Patten, *"The Expedition into Scotland."* 1st ed: 1548. Reprint, Arber, pp. 58-59.

[2] Orig: S.P. Foreign Q. Mary 649 (Vol. XI). Calendared (p. 325) as 22nd July (misprint for 23rd). (Not in P.R.O. card index of printed matter, 1930). Spelling now modernised.

[3] Pembroke's title is always spelt by himself with an n.

"In primis, the Castle of Guysnes,[1] according to the tenor of your Highness' letter, shall be delivered unto the said Sir Edward Braye, with the full and just number of officers, soldiers and furniture thereunto belonging, and as now the Lord Grey hath and keepeth the same.[2]

"Item: forasmuch as Lewis Dives is a man of good and perfect experience . . . and knoweth perfectly as well the said Castle and all places of strength and weakness of the same, as also the most trusty apt and serviceable men there remaining, and by his long continuance is able to do your Highness very good and acceptable service, we have thought him meet to remain there, to assist Sir Edward Braye in all his doings: And foi his pains in that behalf to have such entertainment or reward as your Highness shall think meet and convenient."[3]

The first hint of danger is in the paragraphs ensuing:

"Item: *for that the French King hath planted great power and number of Soldiers in Arde, Bolougne and other his pieces adjoining, to the often and great annoyance of your Highness' pieces and marches here, We think it good, if so it may stand with your Highness' pleasure, that for the greater safety of your pieces and people the number of 300 footmen now being in the town of Guisnes should be supplied with two hundredth men.*

"Item: . . . that Sir Henry Palmer should have the chief charge of governance of the same five hundredth men, and to have for that his new charge X s(hillings) by day over and besides iiii s(hillings) by day which he hath there presently.

"Item, *we think it meet and very necessary for the better defence of your said pieces and marches to have 300 footmen supplied in the Low Country, and one hundredth footmen more to be placed at Hammes and one hundredth Horsemen at the 'Cawsee,'* which new increase amounteth in whole to the number of 600 footmen and one hundredth Horsemen: of the which number of footmen and horsemen so many shall be left here as I the Earl of 'Penbrooke' shall be found to have above the number to me appointed. The residue then lacking must be provided and sent out of England, the certainty whereof shall be signified to your Highness with all speed."[4]

There is not a word about more Artillery. It is astonishing that the English Council could have imagined Calais and the open town of Guisnes secure in time of war with only such slight additions to the ordinary garrisons. But if the Earl of Pembroke and Lord Wentworth were satisfied, it seems hardly reasonable to throw the blame for the subsequent calamity upon the King of Spain.

---

[1] Five miles from Calais. (Sketch plan, Sec: xv).

[2] No figures. Actually Lord Grey of Wilton remained in command.

[3] A difficult point for a feminine Sovereign to judge. It was the War Council's business to have advised her.

[4] Signed "Penbroke, Anthony Mountague, E. Clynton, Thomas Wentworth, A. Cornwaleys, postscripte, albeit the lord Gray hath not subscribed yet was he present at the Conference and consented to the same."

QUEEN MARY'S "TOWNE & CASTLE OF GUYNES":

Cotton MS. Augustus I, ii, 23.

Defective; the part showing the walls in the rear being torn away.

In 1844 Sir Philip de Malpas Grey Egerton, Bart., M.P., &c.,—a descendant of William Lord Grey of Wilton the defender of Guisnes,—found among his family MSS. at Oulton Park, Cheshire, a narrative headed *"A Comentarie of ye servyces . . . yt my L. my father was employed in whyllst hee lyved, fr Lav Hollyngshead,"* in the hand of Arthur Lord Grey of Wilton.

This MS. Sir Philip issued in 1847 as *"A Commentary of the Services and Charges of William Lord Grey of Wilton, K.G. by his son Arthur Lord Grey of Wilton, K.G. With a memoir of the author, and illustrative documents."* London. Printed for the Camden Society.

In reproducing therewith the Cotton MS. plan of Guisnes, Sir Philip suggested that it might have been "drawn by a Spanish or Italian engineer, as the inscriptions are in bad French, interlarded with words of one or other of those languages." (He gave transcript with translations).

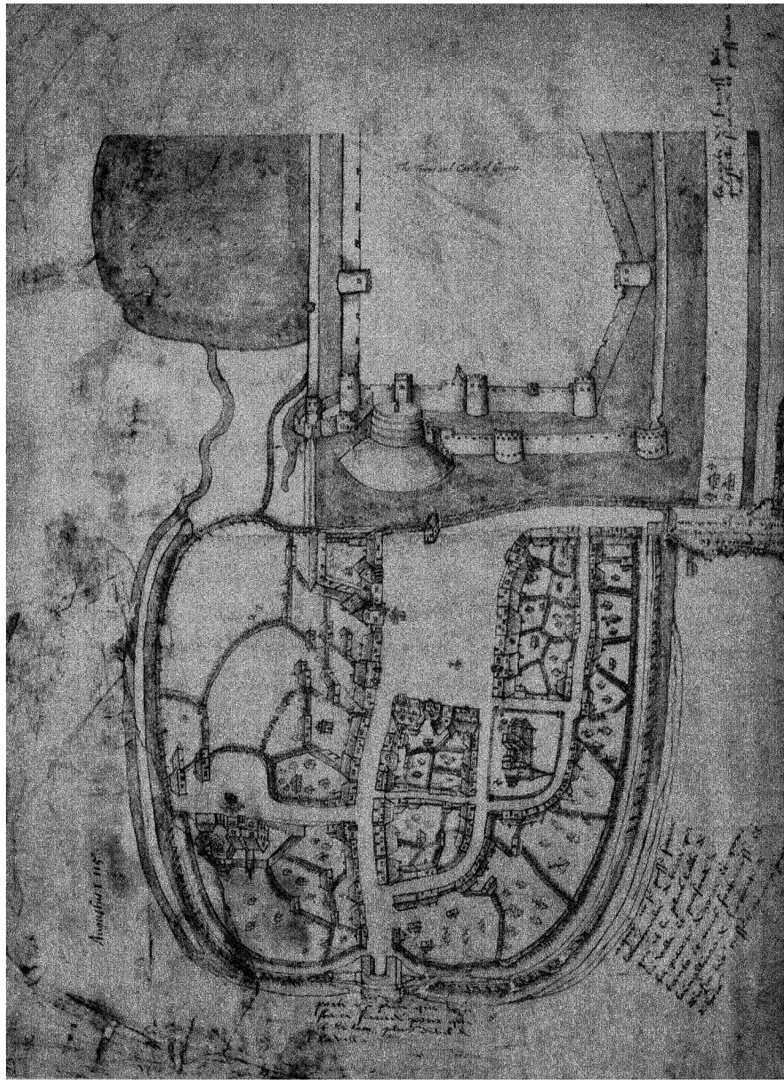
As the Spanish troops under Montdragone stood by Lord Grey to the last, it is probable that a Spanish officer was responsible for the sketch; which may have been drawn when Grey's appeal was first sent for reinforcements.

For three reasons it is now included:

(1) For foreign readers, who do not possess Sir Philip Grey Egerton's facsimile:

(2) Because it enables any reader to understand at a glance Lord Grey's letter to the Queen, 4th January 1557-8 (p. 115), in which he states that he has been obliged to evacuate the town and retire into the Castle:

(3) That as the victorious Duke of Guise was to leave not one stone of the fortifications standing on another, the plan affords a means of picturing this frontier fortress as it appeared when England was on the eve of losing it.



PIERRE STROZZI, MARSHAL OF FRANCE:

to whom Lord Grey of Wilton was handed over,
after his surrender to the Duke of Guise.

From the original at Versailles.

(Photograph: Giraudon, 16186).

Modern English historians usually confound Pierre Strozzi with his son Philip Strozzi, and put "Peter Strozzi" into Philip Strozzi's place as Admiral-General at the battle of the Azores in 1582. The portraits now reproduced, in their respective places, of both these warriors should end a confusion which was started by Sir Walter Raleigh and Sir Arthur Gorges, writing from memory in their old age, and making mistakes which have escaped the notice of all their editors (Full corrections, Vol. IV, under date)

RRE STROZZI MARECHAL DE FRA

THE BATTLE OF GRAVELINES, 13th JULY, 1558.

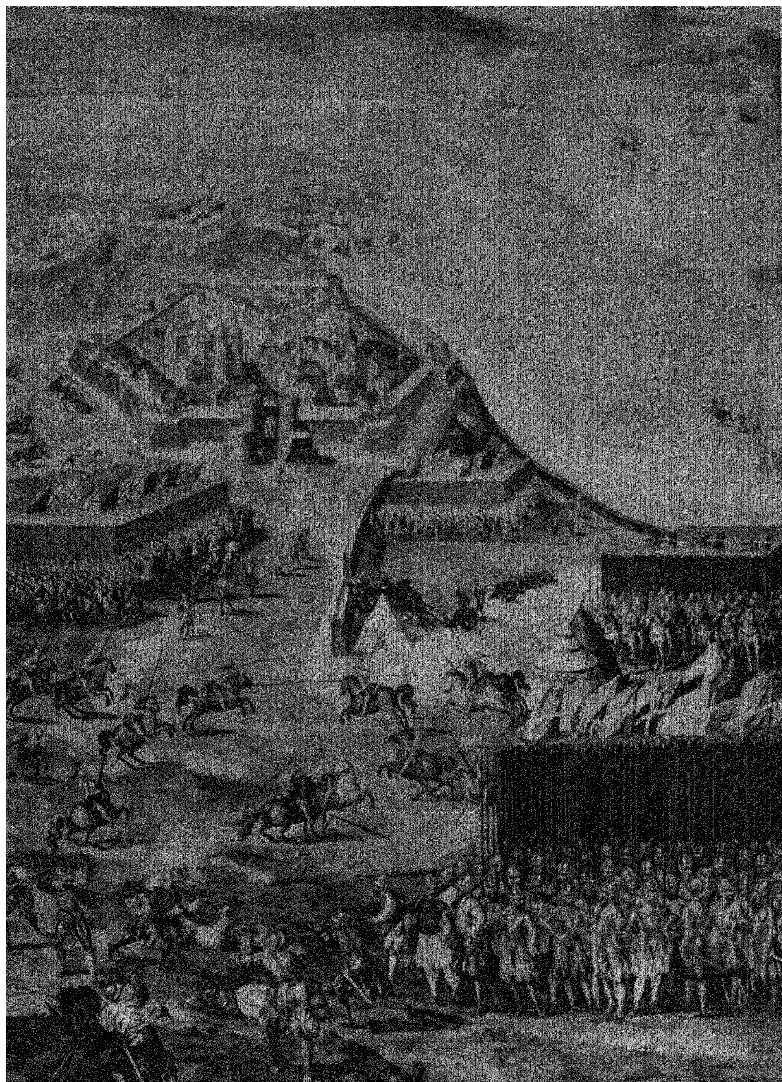
Fresco, by Nicholas Granello and Fabricio Castello, in the Sala de Batallas, in the Escorial Palace:

(1) *Showing the first stage of the conflict which subsequently terminated victoriously for King Philip's forces, partly owing to the timely arrival of Queen Mary's Navy.* (See No. 2.)

(Photograph, Moreno).

To-day if "the battle of Gravelines" is mentioned, our minds turn to the last stand of the Duque de Medina-Sidonia in July 1588, against Charles, Lord Howard of Effingham, Lord High Admiral, and Vice-Admiral Sir Francis Drake.

The Hispano-English defeat of the French thirty years earlier is forgotten; but the Escorial frescoes show how important that victory was esteemed by King Philip; who in 1559 was able to dictate peace on his own terms because he had won the war.



(2) *THE BATTLE OF GRAVELINES: by Granello and Castello,*

Second stage: when 8 of Queen Mary's ships had anchored, and were firing to prevent the French escaping along the shore, after King Philip's General, Count Egmont, had interrupted their siege of the Castle and town.

(Photograph: Moreno).

The Escorial, planned in honour of the taking of St. Quentin, was not completed until 1584. The frescoes of the campaign of 1557-58 are believed not to have been finished till 1587. Spain and England were then at war; but this did not cause falsification of past history. The ships are unmistakably of English not Spanish construction.

The detail is the more valuable as in England there is now an extraordinary dearth of material as to this battle. Grafton, Holinshed and Stow, all drawing from a common source, none of them name the ships which performed the service they describe.

Nor can the Record Office nor the Hatfield MSS supply the omission. But among the papers of Samuel Pepys, King Charles II's Secretary to the Admiralty, there is an undated list of "*Names of Queen Mary's ships with their several numbers of Men if they shall be appointed to serve in fashion of War.*" Miscell. vol. VIII. p. 153: and Derrick, "*Memoirs of the Rise and Progress of the Royal Navy*" (1806), p. 19 (B.M. 598. p. 17).

Although we cannot tell which 8 of these arrived opportunely on the 13th July, 1558 off Gravelines, the figures are of interest: 23 ships and 4 pinnaces.

Names	*Men.*	*Names*		*Men*
The Great Bark	260	The M^{n} Willoughby		120
Matthew	240	Faulcon		60
Paronses, or Paunces	220	Saker		50
Jesus	240	Jer Falcon		90
Mary of Hambr^{o}	180.	Phoenix		40
Trinity Henry	160	George		40
Sweepstake	200	Bull		120
Salamander	200	Tiger		120
Hart	200	Seven Stars	Pinnaces	35
Antelope	200	Sun	Pinnaces	30
Ann Gallant	200	Swift	Pinnaces	30
Swallow	140	Flower de Luce	Pinnaces	30
New Bark	120			
Jennet	140			3,565
Greyhound	100			

In all 27 Ships and Pinnaces.

Men to serve them		3,565
Wages and dead Shares: per month of 28 days	£1,436 0 0	
Victuals: Do. Do.	£1,782 10 0	
	£3,218 10 0	
Conduct for 3,000 Mariners	£450 0 0	

(37) E M. Tenison's "Elizabethan England," Prologue, xvi (b).

PROLOGUE.

SECTION XV. "Honest Dutie and Fame": *The Defence of Guisnes by Lord Grey of Wilton.* (January, 1557-8).

On the 4th of January, 1557-8, "at seven of the clock in the morning," the Governor of Guisnes, William Lord Grey, wrote to the Queen,

" . . . whereas I have heretofore always in effect written nothing to your Highness but good, touching the service and state of your places here, I am now constrained with woful heart to signify unto your Majesty" that "the French have won Newhaven-bridge; and thereby entered into all the Low country and the marches between this and Calais.

"They have also won Rysbank, whereby they now be master of the haven. And this night last past they have placed their ordnance of battery against Calais, and are encamped upon St. Peter's heath before it: So that *I am now clean cut off from all relief and aid, which I looked to have both out of England and from Calais, and know not how to have help . . . either of men or victuals.*

"There resteth now none other way for the succour of Calais, and the rest of your Highness' places on this side, but a power of men out of England, or from the King's Majesty, or from both without delay; . . . "

If victuals could be prevented coming to the French as well by sea as by land, this might force them to raise the siege. But "for lack of men out of England," Grey could only evacuate the town of Guisnes, drawing into its fortress such of the soldiers as hitherto were quartered outside; and then hold the fort as best he might: having "made as good provision of victuals" as the circumstances allowed.

"I will not fail to do the duty of a faithful subject and Captain, although the enemy attempt never so stoutly . . . I addressed letters presently to the King's Majesty by this bearer, most humbly desiring aid from him . . . "

Even to spare one messenger was inconvenient, as he was a valuable officer. Grey adjures Queen Mary to "credit him fully, and to hear him at large, even as directly as your Grace would hear me" in this "imminent danger."

"Thus trusting of relief and comfort forthwith from your Majesty for the safeguard of Calais and your other places here, I take my leave most humbly . . . At your Highness' Castle of Guisnes, most assured English even to the death . . . "[1]

His despatch reached England swiftly; and was answered on the 6th by the Privy Council,

"signifying unto him the receipt of his letters, and that the Queens Majesty hath

[1] Add: MS. 4104. art 11; and No. 714. Lord Hardwicke's *State Papers* (1501-1726) 1778. Vol. I. pp. 113-114, followed by John Highfield's account of the siege of Calais, pp. 114-120.

> written to the King's Majesty for aid: who, as is thought, is preparing towards the field before this time; and also that *her Highness is preparing an army with all speed possible to be sent over for aid of him, and the rest of that side. And in the mean time his accustomed good diligence in guarding the charge committed unto him, until succour may come . . . , is nothing mistrusted.*"[1]

For the Queen's fatal mistake of waiting to prepare until the last moment, heavy payment was to ensue. Warnings as to peril to Calais had been many and emphatic; but even when the Duke of Guise was on the eve of his triumph, the Council the very same day sent reassurance to Lord Grey in Guisnes; and the Earl of Rutland from Dover was writing to the Queen that it was improbable the French would succeed.[2]

By the time Grey's appeal reached his Sovereign's hands, Calais had fallen; and the plight of Guisnes was desperate. As Holinshed related,

> " so soon as the Duke of Guise (*contrarie to all expectation*) had in so few daies gained this strong towne of Calais (*afore thought impregnable*), and had put the same in such order as best served for his advantage, . . . pressing forward upon his good fortune, *without giving anie long time to the residue of the guides or capteines of the forts there to breathe upon their business,* he marched to the town and fortress of Guines, five miles away ": a place " large in Compasse, without walles or bulwarks, closed onlie with a trench."[3]

Lord Grey meantime had ordered the inhabitants to evacuate the town. All who could bear arms he called into the castle, which was well fortified " with strong and massive bulwarks of brick, having also an high and mightie tower . . . " (The other citizens he seems to have sent away).

Francis, Duke of Guise, with Francis de Coligny-Chastillon, Sieur d'Andelot, and his forces, marched unopposed into the town and lodged themselves in the empty houses. That night, while the French slept, " a chosen band of souldiers " was sent by Grey through a postern gate. Some of the enemy the English slew; others they " put out of their new lodgings; and, maugre the Duke and all the French power, consumed all the houses of the towne with fire."

But Francis of Guise, " with all diligence began his trenches."

> " And albeit the shot of the great artillerie from the castell was terrible, . . . yet did he continue his worke without intermission, *and for example sake wrought in his owne person as a common pioneer or labourer.* So that within less than three daies," he brought thirty-five pieces " to the brim of the castell ditch to batter the same on all sides. . . . "

Grey still hoped that the promised reinforcements might reach him in time; and the " manfull defense and valiant behaviour " of the garrison in the first stages of the struggle,

---

[1] Harl. MS. 643. f 198. "*A Commentary of the services . . . of William Lord Grey of Wilton, K.G.*" ed: Sir P. de M. Grey Egerton. p. 52.

[2] 6 January. 10 p.m. E. of R. (and others) to Her Majesty. 2½ pp. Cal: S.P.F. epitome, p. 357.

[3] See Plan.

as shown in Holinshed's *Chronicle* (1577), were derived from a narrative by Lord Grey's son and successor, himself one of the defenders.[1]

The Duke of Guise's battery, alternating with assaults, was carried on by a combined force of French and Gascons, with some Spaniards unfaithful to King Philip, and a body of Swiss mercenaries: the first three races working with their usual energy, the last with "statelie leisure."

The English and Spanish defenders, with pike and bill, repelled the assailants, day and night; and at first the "vehemencie and furie" of Duke Francis and his army were met by "no less sturdie obstinacie" of the defenders.

But as Lord Grey's men became more and more "tired, and greatly diminished in their numbers by slaughter and bloudie woundes," the Duke was able to "redouble his forces with fresh companies." Thus he could "continue so manie assaults one upon another" that the reduced garrison was in hopeless straits.

Time was when "mightie forts and strong Castells" had been held for many months, even years, against large armies. But that was before the days of heavy guns. Now the supposed "impregnable" Keep of Guisnes was already "ruinated" and "laid levell" by "the thundering shot of this dreadfull artillerie": an invention "of no great antiquitie, and not used among ancient warriors in former ages, but a late devise of a Franciscan friar." (*"Pity it is that ever he was borne"* to plague mankind with "such a pestilent invention."[2])

On Saint Sebastian's day, 20th January, towards nightfall, a trumpeter was sent by the Duke of Guise to Lord Grey, suggesting a parley. The soldiers, hearing "this news," came pressing "all in rowt, confusedlie," to beg Grey to "hearken to the message, and have consideration of their lives, which so long as any hope remained they had willingly ventured."

Queen Mary's Governor of Guisnes, even in extremity, was not the man to tolerate unsolicited advice from subordinates. Telling them he "marvelled" they should so mistrust his care for them as to forsake their places, he ordered them back to the shattered walls. But having thus maintained discipline, despairing of reinforcement he saw no option but to hear what terms the enemy might propose. His son Captain Arthur Grey, and other Captains, then met Andelot in the breach, which was heaped with dead and dying.

Andelot escorted them to his tent as hostages; and the next morning the Duke of Guise and Lord Grey met to confer. Grey stipulated that his men should march out with the honours of war; drums beating, ensigns flying. Guise ungenerously refused; whereupon Grey demanded his hostages back; and returned into the battered Castle with intention to continue the fight until the foe would consent to his terms. But the English portion

[1] The Oulton Park MS. being headed *"A Comentarie of ye services . . . yt my L. my father was employed in wyllst he lyved, fr. Lav. Hollingshead,"* might seem to mean that the Commentary of Arthur Lord Grey was derived "fr(om)" Holinshed, not written "f(o)r" Holinshed; but Sir Philip Grey Egerton, comparing the MS and printed narratives, found passages which satisfied him that Arthur Lord Grey was the author. Where Holinshed says "Maister Arthur Grey, my lordes sonne, and maister Lewes Dive" etc. the MS runs "My coozyn Dyve ***and myself***" etc.

[2] The development of gunnery however, was more due to Tartaglia than to the first inventor.

of the garrison came " crying upon him to have pitie," and surrender. He answered that for " pity " upon them he had consented to hearken to the " Composition "; but that if he had accepted without protest such degrading terms as the enemy offered, " yourselves (me thinketh) in vengeance thereof should turn your weapons upon me, and sacrifice so hartlesse a Capteine . . . "

" *We have begun as becomed us: we have yet held on as dutie doeth bind us; let us end then as honest dutie and fame doth will us.* Neither is there anie such extremetie of despaire in the case, but that we maie yet dearlie enough sell our skins ere we lose them: *Let us then either march out under our ensignes displayed, or else here die under them displaied.*"

The Spaniards, " good and hardie soldiers," stood by him loyally. But the English in a " mutinie " refused to go on fighting; and Grey was obliged to accept the enemy's conditions:

First, that the Castle, with what was left of victuals, artillery, powder, and other munitions, should be handed over to the Duke of Guise; " without wasting, hiding " or diminution thereof.

Secondly, that he and all the officers should remain prisoners at the Duke's pleasure, and be held to ransom.

Third, that though the soldiers might depart, armed and with their baggage, to what place was judged best, they must pass without sound of drum, and must leave behind them the ensigns which their Commander had fought so resolutely to save.

Guise came in person to receive the keys from Grey's own hand. The English Commander was then escorted out, " and given to the marshal Strozzie."[1] (His ransom was ultimately to be fixed at twenty-four thousand crowns, and he had to sell Wilton to pay it.)

When on the 2nd of January, the English and some Burgundian soldiers departed with bag and baggage towards Flanders, there were eight to nine hundred fit to have gone on fighting; but of Montdragone's Spaniards hardly any were left; they nearly all having held honour dearer than life, and so fought till they fell.

The Duke of Guise removed all munitions out of the Castle, and then entirely destroyed it.

After this, " there rested nothing within the English Pale on that side unconquered but the little Castell or Pale called Hemmes," (Hamme) " . . . of olde workemanship without Rampiers or Bulwarks ": But its " naturall situation " was such, " being of all sides environed with Fenses and Marshe groundes, it could not easily be approached vnto, either with great ordnance for the battery, or else with any armye to encampe there for a siege." It could only be reached by a narrow causeway, intersected with deep ditches of water.

The English Captain first ordered all the bridges to be broken; and then prepared to resist the enemy. But on hearing of the fall of Guisnes, he saw there was nothing left

[1] Pierre Strozzi; of the famous Florentine family; (see No: 35, his portrait) a naturalised Frenchman; father of Philip Strozzi who first saw service (aged 17) in this war: for whose later career see 1582, II. 5. 5. (Vol. IV).

to do but evacuate the fort "secretly the same night"; where he "conveyed himself with his small garrison by a secret passage" into Flanders.

The Duke of Guise at once took possession of the empty fort: whereon "remained there none other place of defence or strength of ye English on all that side of the Sea."[1]

Thus the King of France, whose gallant defender, the Grand Admiral, had been so recently and heavily defeated at St. Quentin, was by the counterstroke of Francis of Guise made "thoroughlie lord and master of all the English pale," excepting one castle near Gravelines "which after King Philip kept as his."

Ceasing to think of their humiliation at St. Quentin the previous summer, the French sang the Te Deum with many rejoicings over the recovery of Calais and of the forts adjoining. "Great riches of gold and silver, Coine, jewels, plate, wools and other merchandise" had fallen into their hands: as also 300 brasse cannons "mounted on wheels, and as manie of iron." And "now seemed everie daie a yeare to the French King until he personally had visited Calais and his new conquered Contrie."

At the end of January he arrived with a train of warrior nobles, and surveyed every part of the town, "divising with the Duke of Guise for the better fortification thereof, what should be added to the old, and what should be made new, and what should be taken awaie."

Thus matters stood when King Henry "made great haste for the accomplishment of the marriage" between his son and heir, the Dauphin Francis, and Mary the young Queen of Scotland, who "if the Scots had been faithful of promise (as they seldome be) should have married King Edward the sixt."[2]

On Sunday the 24th of April 1558, the wedding took place "with most magnificent pompe and triumphe . . . honourd with the presence of the most part of the Princes, prelats, lords and barons of both the realms."[2]

From Tuesday the 19th till Sunday, the marriage day, *"vng grand nombre de Princes et Princesses"* assembling at the Louvre, feasted and were merry, to a chorus of *"Trompettes, Clarions, Hautbois, Flageolz, Violes, Violons, Cistres, Guitterns et autres infinis"*; playing so "delectably" that "it was a marvel to hear them."

The shimmer of cloth of gold, the sumptuousness of "cramoisy," the gleam of gorgeous jewels, the assurances of *"joye, prosperité, et amour"* for the bride and bridegroom, are graphically rendered in an official pamphlet, published a week later.[3]

These rejoicings were but an interlude. The war was not yet ended. In July of the same year a further advantage was ahead for King Philip's forces, with the aid of his English consort's Navy. And soon he was to be in a position to dictate peace on his own terms. Thenceforth for nearly thirty years he was to enjoy a series of victories which we will need clearly to recall, before we can understand "the causes that governed the events," or be able justly to estimate "the policy of Queen Elizabeth."

---

[1] Grafton's *"Chronicle at large,"* 1569. Under Anno 1558. [2] Holinshed, Vol. IV. p. 103.

[3] 1st May, *"Discovrs dv grand et magnifiqve trivmphe faict au mariage de tres noble et magnifique Prince Francois de Valois Roy-Dauphin, fils aisne de tres chrestien Roy de France Henry ij de nom, et de tres haulte et vertueuse Princesse Madame Marie d'Estreuart* (sic) *Roine d'Escosse.*

Avec Privilege. A Paris. Par Annet Briere, en la rue des Porees, a l'enseigne Sainct Sebastian. 1558." Also *"A Lyon Jean Brotol"* (and facsimile reprint, *"Bordeaux, par G. Gonnouilhou. 1863."*) There was also *"Chant de Joie du Jour des Espousailles de Francois Roi Daufin et de Marie Reigne d'Ecosse,"* by J. Antoine de Baif. Paris, A. Wechel. 1558. (Sm. 4to).

PROLOGUE.

Section XVI. "Queen Maries Navy": (*The counterstroke at Gravelines, 13th July 1558.*)

After Calais, Guisnes, and Hamme had fallen in rapid succession, Englishmen mourned that of all the "ancient inheritance of the Kings of England" in France, nothing was now left except "the Isles of Jersey and Guernsey," which had "proved loyal" throughout 500 years.

Some of our countrymen regarded the loss of Calais as Heaven's rebuke to the Queen for her "rash violation" of the promised peace with France. But if she had been false to her word to France, the French had broken their pledges to Spain; and an English Protestant Bishop, recognising the Most Catholic King as the injured party, published, long after Philip's death, the following observations:[1]

> "Philip . . . against whom Henry and the Pope did most unjustly conspire, inlarged himself with a double victorie . . . The Cardinall Caraffa and the Duke of Paliane, who for their own ends had persuaded the doting Pope to throw the ball of discord betweene these Princes, were after for this very thing beheaded by Pivs the Fourth, who immediately succeeded Pope Paul. Paul himself in the meantime, the French being overthrown at Saint Quintin, was exposed to the mercy of the Spaniard whom he had irritated;"

these being "manifest signes" of the Almighty's displeasure against Princes who go back on their word, or provoke wars for unworthy aims, as Henry II did when reversing the Treaty of Vaucelles. And lest it be supposed that the loss of St. Quentin was counterbalanced for the French by the possession of Calais, "another overthrow" soon came to King Henry.

The present English notion that "Philip was shivering in the rear" at St. Quentin in 1557, and that the following summer he stayed in France merely as an excuse to neglect his unattractive wife, has arisen from inattention to what was written at the time. Soon after the loss of Calais, King Philip at Brussels sent for the Lord High Admiral of England, Edward Fiennes, Lord Clinton; who wrote down his "long discourse" on the possible recovery of Queen Mary's French possessions.[2] The King said that as Calais had been lost for lack of sufficient preparedness, the Queen should now guard her northern frontier, lest the French might endeavour to invade England through Scotland;

[1] Francis, Bishop of Hereford, translated by M. Godwyn, *Annales,* 1630. p. 332.

[2] Clinton's MS, "*The cause whereof I was sent for to Brussels,*" undated, has escaped notice in connection with Queen Mary, because the editor of the Hatfield Calendar, Vol. I. (1883) p. 148, No. 564, set it in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

a possibility of which "*His Highness seemed to have great care, and feareth that slackness may be a danger,*" as at Calais, "*whereof His Majesty gave warning, and offered aid which was refused.*"

"His Majesty commanded me to put the Queen's Majesty in remembrance of this"; and to admonish the Privy Council to "have good foresight of the defence of the frontier and the forts" on the Scottish Border; he "*saying that rather than such chance should happen as of late to Calais,*" *he would be at the defence in his own person.*

He had "intelligence out of France of great preparations for the sea, for transporting an army to Scotland under the Duc de Vendôme or the Vicomte de Chartres." So the Admiral was bidden to convey to the Queen the urgent need for victualling her Navy in readiness to serve "upon all occasions" to the end of September.

King Philip undertook further to "advertise the Queen what is to be done best for the advancement of their Majesty's service against the enemy"; and meanwhile adjured her that if the French Navy should attempt to reach Scotland, everything possible must be endeavoured against it by her own Navy.

"*His Highness, at my departing,*" adds Clinton, "*specially commanded me to declare his displeasure and grief*" *at the hindrance of his intended journey* "*to see the Queen's Majesty.*"[1]

King Philip's hands were full; for despite his victory at St. Quentin, the counter-stroke of the Duke of Guise at Calais and Guisnes had put the French in good heart again, and Guise had no intention of foregoing the advantage: "*Francis of Lorraine is constantly trying to persuade me that I am better prepared to go to war than ever I was,*" wrote King Henry II to the captive Duke of Montmorency, "*and that I could not possibly lose so much in carrying on the war as I shall by making peace.*"[2]

Philip of Spain, understanding the temper of the French, took his measures accordingly; and expected his Consort to do the same. On the 6th of April from Brussels he wrote to the Lord High Admiral, "*Praedelecto et fideli consiliario nostro D. de Clinton Admirallo Angliae ordinis Garteri equiti*":[3]

"Beloved and faithful Councillor

"We have learnt from the letter of the Count of Feria with what great vigilance and conscientiousness you carry through and administer everything which has been committed to you, which comes within your duty; and with what care and prudence you have fulfilled your part in preparing and equipping this fleet.

"Although this was not unexpected by Us, yet it was pleasing to know that in no point did

---

[1] The notion that Philip forsook Queen Mary and "broke her heart" was long to remain rooted in the English mind. Though the people disliked the Spanish King and were glad of his absence, and resented Queen Mary's Inquisition methods, it was such an age of domestic affection that even political antagonism to Spain did not prevent our "common sorte" being sorry for their Sovereign in what they supposed to be the wreck of her personal happiness. So late as 1579 we shall find the griefs of Queen Mary brought up as a popular argument against Queen Elizabeth's possible marriage with a foreigner. Actually Philip of Spain appears to have been a courteous and considerate husband.

[2] Delaborde. Vol. I. p. 345; cit Bersier's *Coligny,* (trans: Holmden) p. 144.

[3] "*Philippus Dei Gratia Rex Hispaniarum, Angliae, Franciae, Utriusque, Siciliae, etc.,*" dated "*Bruxellae Die sexto mensis Aprilis M.D. Lviij.*" Now first translated from original (not holog:) Hatfield MS. 147. 12.

you fall below the expectations We lately conceived concerning your loyalty and love towards the most Sovereign Queen our dearest spouse."[1]

"We give you our thanks, and exhort you not to allow this frame of mind, this care and diligence in the overseeing of necessary labours, to faint or flag. From Us you may confidently look to receive anything you deserve. . . ."[2]

Holinshed tells that when the warnings reached the Queen and Council they were dismayed. England was not then "furnished with any garrison of soldiers" sufficient to repel a foreign invader "on the sudden." All the more need not to sit down and await attack; but "now while the French King was occupied in wars with King Philip," boldly to take the initiative. The place chosen for the English to try and capture was Brest in Brittany; a port which in Richard II's day had been held by an English garrison. Accordingly after the matter being "well debated" in Council, the royal commands were issued to the Lord High Admiral to "prepare himself with all the Queen's ships of war, furnished with soldiers, munition and victuals" to join King Philip's fleet.

Meanwhile, the Duke of Guise's Captain of Calais, Monsieur de Thermes, "a man very expert in the wars," decided "to do some singular service to the French King his master. And espying well the negligence of the Flemings, his neighbours," and how little they realised "the great weakening of their country" by the English loss of Calais,—no more provision being made for their defence than when Calais had been English,—he decided to invade Flanders while King Philip was in France.

Drawing from the garrison of Calais "so many of his soldiers as might be spared," he added to them all the forces in the garrisons of "Artois, Bullognois, and Picardy," the total amounting to 700 Foot, and 300 Light Horse which were Scottish, 14 Ensigns of French Foot; yet more "Almains;" and some four or five hundred French men-at-arms (heavy cavalry).

With about 9,000 Foot, and 1,500 Horse, Thermes invaded Flanders, "with full determination to spoil and waste all King Philip's country along the sea coast:" especially Dunkirk, whence he planned to surprise and capture Gravelines.

He began by besieging Berg near Dunkirk. It was the old story of the strong man armed who only keeps his house till there comes one stronger than he. Berg though small was rich. The citizens had scant zest to fight to save their goods; they thought to do so by capitulation. But the Frenchmen put the town to the sack none the less.

Next, "without long staying," Thermes "marched forth to Dunkirk," which he battered so "sharply" with heavy artillery that "in less than four days he became master of the towne." Here also the inhabitants (as the bitter result of their false sense of security) were utterly despoiled: the French taking from them "more plenty" of

---

[1] "*quam de virtute et amore ergo Serenissimam Reginam conjugem nostram charissimam*" (If this had been written of Queen Elizabeth, some of our 19th century scandal-mongers would have imagined "*amore*" to have an improper significance; and without quoting the context would have made Philip II the "authority" for an "amour" of the Queen with a subject! Nobody will think of "discovering" any such thing about Queen Mary. But it will be useful at the outset to understand that in the 16th century it was expected of all good subjects to "*love*" their Queens, and that this word "*love*" was then oftener used in a dignified and decorous sense than as a term of reproach.)

[2] Signed "*Philippus*" as his Latin letters to Englishmen usually are, (Not "*Yo el Rey*" as was the custom in Spanish). Signed also "G. Perezius" (Gonsalvo Perez, Principal Secretary of State, translator of Homer; and father of Antonio Perez, of whom much will follow.

" good booties than in any place before." Not only soldiers, but even " lackies came away rich."

After setting part of the town on fire, and putting all the countryside " marvellously in fear," Thermes continued his progress, and wasted " all the most fruitful part of Flanders even almost to Newport."

It appears ironical that though King Philip warned Queen Mary of a possible invasion of England by the French, he seems not to have anticipated their sudden inroad upon Flanders.

The victorious advance of Thermes was interrupted by illness. He went back to Dunkirk to rest, but, still hoping to capture Gravelines, he ordered his main force to within half a mile of the walls. King Philip's garrison sallied forth, and there were " divers skirmishes." But lacking their Commander's presence the French were less forward than they had been at Dunkirk.

Meanwhile, on hearing of the invasion, King Philip's Lieutenant-General for the Low Countries, Count Egmont, assembled some 14,000 or 15,000 Foot, and 3,000 Horse —1,500 of which were *" swart Rutters,"* i.e. Germans—and marched to the rescue of Gravelines.

On hearing of Egmont's intention, Thermes dragged himself out of his bed in Dunkirk, and with " all possible haste " rode towards Gravelines; " where he was no sooner arrived " than the first sight that greeted him was " his enemies ready ranged in the field." Seeing himself outnumbered, he thought of " nothing else but how he might bring home his army in safety to Calais." His soldiers were eager to get away with their plunder; but just as arrangements were being made for transport of their accumulated spoil, Egmont cut in between them and the frontier, in such fashion that Thermes saw no way to retreat except along the sands between the town and the sea. He thought thus to reach Calais, very much richer than when he had set out.

So he might have done: had it not been that " by good chance " for King Philip's cause, certain of " Queen's Marie's ships of war " were upon that coast; and in the crucial moment came in and anchored so close that their guns commanded the very stretch of sand by which Thermes had meant to effect the withdrawal of his army. He then promptly led his vanguard across the river near the town; thinking there to be out of range of the naval guns. As he was waiting for his other battalions to cross the bridge, he found himself foiled anew; for " there came such thick hailshot of artillery out of the town on the one side, and from the English ships on the other side, that there was a full battery made upon the Frenchmen on all sides." But their discipline was excellent: they " abode without breaking order," and went on crossing the river.

Count Egmont then hurled upon them " two great troops of Horsemen, of 1,500 apiece," Germans and Burgundians, " whereof the one in front and the other in flank gave strong charges upon the French vanguard."

Thermes put up a gallant resistance.

Before he had " well recovered breath," Egmont attacked in person, with 1,800 heavy Cavalry, and all the Foot. The German mercenaries of France then fell into

disorder: " Beaten back with artillery, as well of the town as the ships," they left the whole brunt to fall upon their French paymasters.

So effectual then was Egmont's Cavalry that by the time the Foot on both sides " came to the push of the pike," Thermes had surrendered himself a prisoner. With him were captured all his officers; most notably Senarpont, who had played so large a part under Andelot in the capture of Calais; also the Governor of Picardy, and " a great muster of other gentlemen, valiant Captains, and soldiers."

The " bands of Calais went to wreck," so that very few returned home to bring tidings how the English naval guns upset their calculations.[1]

If these facts had been known at once to Queen Mary, this would have been the moment for the English to have recaptured Calais. Could they have taken the diminished garrison by surprise, they could have been masters in as short a time as it had taken Guise to dispossess them. But unaware that Thermes had left Calais, our Lord High Admiral effected his juncture, as ordered, with King Philip's Navy, and, the wind and weather being favourable, the combined fleet of " seven score ships of war " appeared on July the 29th at break of day " before the haven of Conquet " in Brittany.

" As the manner is, they sounded their trumpets, and with a thundering peale of great ordinance gave a loud salute unto the Bretons." By eight o'clock in the morning they were masters of the town. In spite of serving " the most Catholic King " they were not content with sacking " many pretty towns and villages " round about; they looted the " great Abbey." The Flemings, being the most " covetous of spoil," then pressed inland; but " encountered the power of the Country "; and some 500 were slain, —the rest escaping with difficulty to the ships.[2]

Meanwhile the two Admirals learnt that King Henry's Lieutenant-Governor of Brittany, the Duke of Estampes, was advancing with 20,000 Horse and Foot. It was therefore neither expedient to attempt the attack upon Brest nor to remain longer in Conquet. " Moreover there were such numbers of people raised in all these parts for the defence, . . . that the Admirals afterwards attempting to land their men " found more " loss than gain," and so returned home without achieving any further enterprise."[3]

Ashore, the " two mighty Kings," Philip and Henry, were facing each other on

---

[1] Holinshed's rendering of this " great victorie " (Vol. IV, ed: 1808, pp. 118-119) has been followed for two reasons: (1) it is the version the Elizabethans were accustomed to read (Grafton's and Stow's are exactly similar); and (2) the present writer has not found any English despatch describing the fight, not even among the extra MSS in Hatfield Muniment Room still in process of being examined.

Which of Queen Mary's ships so opportunely came up remains uncertain; not the main squadron; for the Lord High Admiral is described by Holinshed as not knowing of the victory until considerably after the event.

The coast line at Gravelines has changed. It would not now be possible for a squadron to anchor so close in as certain of Queen Mary's ships did ships did on the 13th of July, 1558.

Though fuller particulars are yet to find, enough has been said to account for the English ships in the fresco by Gianello.

[2] " A great slaughter of the Flemings occasioned by their own covetousness," is Holinshed's marginal note. IV. p. 120.

[3] Holinshed. IV. pp. 119-120.

the Somme; where they had " intrenched their camps," each hoping to wear the other down without need of further pitched battles.

Had Thermes been able to carry out his plan for conquering Flanders, King Henry could have dictated a peace favourable to France. Or had the English swooped down upon Calais, King Philip would have been able to make such terms with France as should have satisfied England. But slowness of communications then inevitable, made the saving of Gravelines of less effect upon the general situation than if it had been followed up by the combined English and Flemish fleets.

Nevertheless the action was sufficiently vital to King Philip for him ultimately to employ certain of his Italian painters to " eternise " the means by which Flanders was saved for Spain.[1]

This victory did not console Queen Mary for the loss of Calais; and soon after she " fell sick of a hot burning fever " which had already " consumed a marvellous number " of her subjects: more even than had fallen in the wars."[2]

As autumn drew towards winter, she became increasingly melancholy; but hoped every day for peace with France, and that King Philip would return to England.

The first was not to happen during her life. The second never.

[1] Two frescoes ante. A recent supposition started in Madrid that these frescoes have been misnamed, and should now be taken as the battle of Alcántara outside Lisbon, 1580, arises from inattention both to the topography and the particulars of the fighting. According to the judgment of Professor Geoffrey Callender. F.S.A., Royal Naval College, Greenwich, the ships in the fresco depicting the second phase of the battle are unmistakably English. There were no English warships on the Coast of Portugal when the 3rd Duke of Alba captured Lisbon in 1580. For the actual operations in Portugal, with the Spanish and Portuguese fleets in the Tagus, see II. 4. 7, contemporary drawing newly discovered and first published in "*Elizabethan England,*" Vol. IV, Plate 5.

[2] Holinshed, IV. 121. The victims were of all ranks, "as well noblemen as bishops, judges, knights, gentlemen, and rich farmers"; also "cleargie and other ancient and grave persons."

PROLOGUE.

Section XVII. "When no other remedy would serve."
(*The death of Queen Mary.* November, 1558.)

On the 1st of January 1557-8, the entry in Sir William Cecil's chronology had been brief but significant: "*The French came to Calliss, and within four days won all of that side. A murmur of the People for it.*"[1]

This "murmur" so increased in the ensuing months, that when the Queen "seemed neither to have the favour of God, nor the hearts of hir subjects, nor yet the love of hir husband," Holinshed thought she might by her own unhappiness have become pitiful for others. But she would not "revoke her bloodie lawes" nor "spare hir own subjects."[2] And Cecil noted, "*In June now burning in Smythfield seven at on(e) fyre . . . at Braynford six at one fyar.*"[3] Thus, says Holinshed, "the poore servants of God were drawne dailie by heapes most pittifullie as sheepe to the slaughter:" until it "pleased the heavenlie Maiestie of Almightie God, when no other remedie would serve, by death to cut hir off which in hir life so little regarded the life of others."

Such was not the standpoint of those around Queen Mary. Jane Dormer, then betrothed to the Spanish Ambassador, the Conde de Feria (afterwards Duke), was wont, in her old age in Spain, to look back sadly upon Queen Mary's last illness: and relate how Her Majesty "comforted those of them that grieved about her; she told them what good dreams she had, seeing many little children like angels playing before her, singing pleasing notes, giving her more than earthly comfort. . . ."[4] Apparently she was not haunted by the ghost of Jane the Nine-Days Queen; nor of any of the "maydens" who had suffered death by fire rather than desert the Church in which they had been brought up.

While an epidemic of fever and ague swept across England in Autumn 1558, and Queen Mary was in the throes of her deadly disease, King Philip in camp near Amiens, and his foe the King of France on the north bank of the Somme, were "so neere to one another that it might be thought impossible for two such spirited Princes commanding so great armies to depart without a battle."[5]

But both had sufficient reasons for desiring an agreement; and King Henry appointed the Constable, Duke of Montmorency, as his chief emissary for discussing a treaty. The Duke of Alba and the Prince of Orange, with others, conducted negotiations,

---

[1] *State Papers,* ed: Murdin. p. 747.
[2] Vol. IV. p. 140.
[3] (1558) *State Papers* Murdin. p. 747. Facsimile, E.E. Plate 39-39b.
[4] "*The Life of Jane Dormer, Duchess of Feria, by Henry Clifford,*" from an MS in possession of Lord Dormer. Ed: Rev. J. Stevenson, S.J., 1887. p. 70.
[5] Francis, Bishop of Hereford. *Annales,* trs. Morgan Godwyn (1630). p. 335.

for King Philip. Peace terms were not then arranged by persons who knew nothing about war.

"Much altercation was had about the restoring of Calais, which the French were resolved to hold;" but "Philip would have no peace" unless Calais were given back to his Queen *"whom in point of honour he could not forsake."*[1]

On the 21st of September 1558, his father the Emperor Charles V died in the monastery of Yuste. As soon as the news reached England, Princess Elizabeth wrote to condole with her brother-in-law. King Philip in response bade the Count of Feria pay her a visit.[2] She referred affably to the ancient alliances and affection between King Philip's ancestors and her own.[3] But in modern matters she gave Feria cause for apprehension: "It appears to me," he wrote privately, *"that she is a woman of extreme vanity, but acute. She must have heard her father's system of government greatly applauded. I much fear that in religion she will not go right, . . . she is inclined to favour men who are supposed to be heretics."*[4]

By this time both the Ambassador and the Princess realised that the Queen was dying.

On her coming to the throne in 1553,—feeling her to have been first unjustly excluded and then deservedly triumphant over her enemies,—the people had fervently acclaimed her. But, in the five years ensuing, her popularity had waned: and we may infer that the "murmur" to which Sir William Cecil refers was taking the form of angry ballads: for on November 12th a Bill was sent up to the House of Lords *"that no man shall print any book or ballad etc., unless he be authorised thereunto by the King's and Queen's Majestys license under the Great Seal of England."*[5] On the 14th this was again put before the Peers; and a third time on the 16th. But it did not pass. And on the 17th, between three and four in the morning "Queene Marie died at Saint James's":[6] "cut off in the two and fortieth yeare of her age."[7]

> "As touching the manner of whose death, some say she died of a timpanie." Others "supposed she died of thought and sorrow. Whereupon her Councell seeing hir sighing, and desirous to know the cause, to the end they might minister the more readie consolation unto her," assumed she was grieving for "the Kings Maiestie hir husband, which was gone from her: To whome she answering againe: 'Indeed (said she) that maie be one cause, but that is not the greatest wound that pierceeth mine oppressed mind:' But what that was, she would not expresse to them. Albeit

[1] Ib: p. 336.

[2] On 10th November. Gonzales, *"Memorias,"* Vol VII. p. 254.

[3] His ancestor, Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, had married Isabel, daughter of John I King of Portugal, by Philippa, daughter of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster. On the strength of this descent a Spanish claim to the Crown of England was subsequently to be urged for Philip II by some of the English Catholics.

[4] Gonzales, *"Memorias,"* &c., pp 234-237. Princess Elizabeth had conformed outwardly to the Church as re-established by her sister.

[5] *Journal of the H. of Lords.* Vol. I. pp. 539-540.

[6] Hatfield MS 229. (3). Sir Wm. Cecil's Chronology.

[7] Bp. of Hereford's *Annales,* Trs. Godwyn, (1630), p. 338.

afterward she opened the matter more plainlie to Mistress Rise and mistress Clarentius (. . . which I heard of Mistress Rise hirselfe) who then being most familiar with hir, . . . told hir that they feared she tooke thought for King Philips departing from hir. Not that onelie (said she), but when I am dead and opened, you shall find Calis lieng in my hart."[1]

And because she had the heart to be distressed for this national loss, much was retrospectively forgiven her: "If we account her Religion a deformity," wrote the Protestant Sir Richard Baker looking back from the next century, "yet her constancy and devotion in it we must needs count a beauty . . ."[2] But Holinshed, who had witnessed the Smithfield fires, expressed himself differently:

" . . . never was read in storie of anie king or queene of England since the time of King Lucius, under whom in time of peace, by hanging, heading, burning, and prisoning, so much christian blood, so manie Englishmens lives were spilled within this realme, as under the said Queen Marie for the space of foure yeares . . ."

And while she, and those who advised her, believed her persecutions to be "sound and Catholike, . . . acceptable and blessed of Almighty God," an increasing number of her people protested that "never no reigne of anie prince in this land or anie other" showed, proportionate to the short time, "so many arguments of God's great wrath." If the Church of England which she overthrew had been "so detestable," asks Holinshed, how was it "that almightie God to spare these poore hereticks rooted out queene Marie so soone from hir throne, after she had reigned but onelie five yeares and five months?" The "Papists" might have retorted by asking why Edward VI, the Protestant King, had been so early taken? But Holinshed regarded Queen Mary's reverses and death as a Nemesis:

". . . first incontinently the fairest and greatest ship she had, called great Harrie, was burned: such a vessell as in all these parts of all Europe was not to be matched. Then would she need bring in king Philip, and *by hir strange marriage with him make the whole realme of England subject to a stranger*. . . With king Philip also came in the pope. . .

"After this, what a dearth happened in hir time here . . . in so much that in sundrie places hir poore subjects were faine to feed of acorns. . .

"Furthermore, where other kings are wont to be renowned by some worthie victorie and prowess by them achieved, let us now see what valiant victorie was gotten in queene Maries daies. King Edward the sixt . . . how manie rebellions did he suppresse in Devonshire, in Norffolke, in Oxfordshire and elsewhere?[3] What a famous victorie in his time was gotten in Scotland. . . .

"King Edward the third (which was the eleventh King from the conquest) by princelie puissance purchased Calis unto England, which hath beene kept English ever since, till at length came Queen Marie . . . which lost Calis from England againe."

Public calamities and personal disappointments were alike seen by Holinshed as parts of the same manifestation of God's wrath:

"For after that he had taken from her the fruit of children (which chieflie and above all things she desired) then he bereft hir of that which of all earthlie things should have beene her chiefe staie and honour, and staffe of comfort: that is, withdrew from hir the affection and companie

---

[1] Holinshed. IV. p. 137.

[2] "*Chronicle of the Kings of England.*" ed: 1670. p. 324.

[3] From the opposite standpoint we might construe the rebellions as evidence of his unpopularity.

even of hir owne husband, by whose marriage she had promised before to herselfe whole heapes of such joy and felicitie."[1]

For many weeks the Archbishop of Canterbury had been ill of fever; and on the 18th of November, the day after the Queen's death, Sir William Cecil set down, without comment, "Cardinall Poole dyed at Lambeth."

On the 21st the Conde de Feria wrote from London to King Philip describing the Queen's last days:

"She had been unconscious most of the time since I arrived; but always in the fear of God and love of Christianity, indeed the nation soon sees what a good Christian she was, for since it was known that she was dying, they have begun to treat the images and religious persons disrespectfully.[2]

"On the night of the day of the Queen's decease the Cardinal also died. He was very weak with continual fever, and his servants did not take care to conceal the death of the Queen from him. He was so afflicted by it that it hastened his end . . . it was thought he died a very wealthy man, and if he received what they say he did, he must have been so. I have not been able to learn for certain yet. It was a mercy for God to take him; and *I do not think your Majesty loses much with him, according to what these people tell me,* although I thought otherwise formerly."[3]

However grieved the Cardinal was for the Queen's death, the masses of the people in London shed no tears; and Protestants everywhere were thankful her reign was ended, during which "so manie men, women, and children were burned, manie imprisoned, and in prisons starved, divers exiled, some spoiled of goods and possessions, . . . so manie weeping eyes, so manie sobbing harts, so manie children made fatherless, so manie fathers bereft of their wives and children, so manie vexed in conscience. . . ."[4]

---

[1] p 140. Among anonymous popular ballads (undated) is "*The Lamentable complaint of Queen Mary for the unkind departure of King Philip, in whose absence she fell sick . . .*".—

'Mary doth complain,
Ladies be you moved
With my lamentations
And my bitter moan.
. . . .
Gentle Prince of Spain,
Come, O come again,
And sweet content to thee I'll bring.
. . . .
For thy royal sake,
This my country's danger,
And my subjects woes
I daily do procure.
. . . .
But now my great good-will
I see is not regarded,

I, unhappy Queen,
Left here in woful plight:
On our English shore
Never shall I more
Thy comely personage behold.
. . . .
Oh, my heart is slain;
Sorrow, care and pain
Dwell within my sobbing breast.
. . . .
Thy picture when I see, . . .
Causes tears amain to flow,
The substance being gone.
. . . .
Let my love be shown
That for his sake is forc'd to die."

In extenso, "*Old Ballads . . . Collected from rare copies and MS, ... from public and private collections,*" &c. Ed: Evans, London, 1810. Vol. II. pp. 127-131.

[2] Cal: "*State Papers relating to English Affairs, preserved principally in the Archives of Simancas. Vol. I. Elizabeth. 1558-1567. Ed: Martin A. S. Hume*" (1892). 1. 1. (Quoted as Cal: S.P.S.).

[3] 21 Nov: 1558. Cal. S.P.S. Vol. I. p. 3. Cardinal Pole's portrait on panel (9¼ x 9 inches), head and shoulders, is at Corpus Christi (Oxford); and a larger picture on canvas (43½ x 34 inches) is at Magdalen: three quarters figure, seated, his right hand holding a paper; curtain and panel with inscription. A similar picture is at Lambeth Palace (said to be a copy of a portrait by Sebastian del Piombo, formerly in the Barbarini Gallery, Rome); and another something resembling it is at Wardour Castle in possession of Lord Arundel. He was the last Roman Catholic Archbishop to be buried in Canterbury Cathedral.

[4] Holinshed. iv. 155.

Unless we carry in mind this mournful picture we will the less understand why Queen Elizabeth was to be so rapturously welcomed, so uncritically admired, so superlatively praised, by her Protestant subjects: not only on her accession but throughout a reign as long and prosperous as her sister's had been brief and " tragicall."

Whereas partisans on either side have mostly stated their case as if it were obligatory to refuse compassion to their opposites, the latest fashion in agnostic history is yet more limited in sympathy. We are invited to regard with scorn every man " superstitious " enough to rate his soul's salvation dearer than his earthly existence. But in the 16th century, whether men were the judges who doomed their fellow creatures to the most terrible form of death for matters of dogma, or whether they were those who refused to accept life at the cost of denying what they believed, or of professing what they doubted, theirs were minds to which indifference and apathy were inconceivable.

Queen Mary's chief Inquisitor lived to be himself accused of heresy in Spain, whereon he protested that his punishments of heretics in England had sufficiently proved his zeal.

As soon as the news of the Queen's death was brought to the House of Lords, the peers sent for the Speaker and the Commons. The Knights and burgesses of " the neather house " unanimously accepted the " Ladie Elizabeth " as their lawful Sovereign, with evident " joy." Whereupon, while she was still at Hatfield, the Heralds were called to the Palace of Westminster:

> " Directly before the hall doore, in the forenoon of the same daie after several soundings of trumpets, . . . they proclaimed the new quene . . . Elizabeth by the grace of God Quene of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, . . . to the great comfort and rejoicing of the people, as by their manners and countenances well appeared."

The Duke of Norfolk, with the Lord Treasurer, and Earl of Oxford, and other peers temporal and spiritual, went from Westminster into the City of London, that the same proclamation be made to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen at Cheapside Cross, " with no less universal joy and thanksgiving."

> " And so," says Holinshed, " our most gratious sovereigne ladie queene Elizabeth began hir happie reigne . . . upon the foresaid 17th day of November . . . 5525 years after the creation of the World," 1558 after the birth of Christ, and in the first year of the Emperor Ferdinand, the 12th of King Henry II of France, and the 16th of " Marie Queene of Scotland."

For some of Queen Elizabeth's subjects, her rule was to be far other than " happie." But on her arrival at Charterhouse, " great multitudes of people came abroad to see hir grace," (as the Protestant Holinshed expressed it,)

> " with hartie prayers for hir maiesties prosperous estate." For now " the stormie, tempestuous, and blustering windie weather of Queen Marie " was at an end; " the darksome clouds of discomfort dispersed, the palpable fogs and mists of most intollerable miseries consumed, and the dashing showers of persecution overpast."[1]

[1] Vol. IV, p. 155.

A few days afterwards, at 2 in the afternoon, " taking her chariot " from Lord North's house in the Barbican, amid great " presse of people, of whom the streets were full as she passed," Queen Elizabeth drove to the same Tower of London where she had been taken as a prisoner after Sir Thomas Wyatt's rebellion; but which she entered now as Sovereign of England, to the acclamations of a delighted populace.[1]

Some thronged " upon some particular affection to her person, . . . some upon an ordinary levity and delight in change, and not a few because they would do as others did." But all competed " who should most nearly approach unto her," and who should accord to her the most " honourable titles and happy wishes."

> " Now if ever any person had either the gift or the style to win the hearts of people, it was this Queen. . . . . All her faculties were in motion, . . . her eye was set upon one, her ear listened to another, to a fourth she addressed speech. . . . . Some she pitied, some she commended; some she thanked; at others she pleasantly and wittily jested "; so distributing " her smiles, looks, and graces " that the people " redoubled the testimonies of their joys."[2]

This is the Elizabeth of Protestant tradition: " her vertues such as to make an Ethiopian beautiful ";—" of divine wit," of eloquence " ready and easy "; skilful in languages, in " learning, and affairs "; and in *" the hardest art of all others, that of commanding men."*[3]

How far such a glowing eulogy was deserved, the ensuing History will reveal.

---

[1] 28th Nov^{r}. is Holinshed's date. Hayward gives 19th Nov^{r}: *" Certain yeares of Queene Elizabeth's Reigne,"* (Camden Soc:) p. 10.

[2] Hayward; writing for Henry, Prince of Wales, early in the next century. [3] Ib: p. 8.

QUEEN MARY:

From a contemporary bust in the Barons' Hall at Lumley Castle: in possession of Major-General The Earl of Scarbrough, K.G., Sub-Prior of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in England.

Included in the Inventory of Lord Lumley's possessions recorded in his "Red Velvet Book and therefore of undeniable authenticity:—

"In the uppermost front of the Hall, there standeth a great staturie on horseback . . . . of King Edward the 3"; and "six small pictures in whyte marble in memorie of his six sonns. . . . " "Upon the same front there are also Foure livelie statues all wrought in whyte marble in memorie of K. Henry the 8, King Edward 6, *Queene Marie* and Q. Elizabeth in whose reignes his Lo^p lived."

In the same MS. book is *"A Certyficate from Mr. John Lampton Stewarde of Howsehold to John Lord Lumley, of all his Lo: monumentes of Marbles, Pictures and Tables in Paynture . and Regester of Bookes. Anno 1590."* (In this, the word "statuary" is used as a synonym for a full-length painting.) It includes:—

"The Statuary of King Henry the eight and his father Kinge Henry the seventh joyned together, doone in white and blacke by Haunce Holbyn. The Statuary of Kinge Henry the eight alone doone in oyle colures." "The Statuary of his sonne King Edward the sixt. . . " "The Statuary of Quene Anne Bulleyne"; and among "Pictures of a smaller scantlinge," "Of King Henry the eight. Of King Edw: 6. being Prince *Of Quene Marye, drawne by Garlick* Of Quene Elizabeth as she was comyng first to the Crowne. And agayne, as she was the XXXth yeare of her Reigne."

See *"The Records of the Lumleys of Lumle Castle by Edith Milner, edited by Edith Benham"* London, 1904, pp. 322, 327-329.

1555 16. octob. Bishop Ridley and Latymer burnt

9. Nov. Bish. Gard. dyed
19. Nov. phil[illegible] archdeacon of winchester
18. Janu. D. [illegible] minister [illegible]
[illegible] payth made A. [illegible]

1556 21. March Cranmer Bishop of Cant[illegible] burned
he wrate [illegible] his first work
vnder the Cardinal 1555
25. Marz. he received his pall

Kof spain returned out of flanders
27. Jun 13 [illegible] burned at stratford at one tyme
and [illegible] of [illegible] whereof many were [illegible]
Ao Dni. 1555 until sept. 1556 dyed
whereof 4 had been
my [illegible] Elizab. marryed [illegible] in London 7. aldermen
of [illegible]
Maior of London

1556 [illegible] March 1556 [illegible] went to [illegible] through [illegible]
[illegible] 4 Mar. [illegible] 1556 [illegible] burnt in [illegible]
3. March

2 Mart. 1556 [illegible] went to [illegible] and [illegible]
[illegible] after [illegible]

The last portion of SIR WILLIAM CECIL'S holograph Notes of "QUEEN MARIES REIGN": now first reproduced in facsimile from the original, Hatfield MS. 229 (2).

Though Murdin published in 1759 these and other of Cecil's Chronological Notes, *"State Papers,"* pp. 746-747, few educational establishments were among Murdin's subscribers. The Notes are therefore now repeated: revised from the original MS.[1]

Sir William Cecil did not make any comment upon the events as he set them down; and there are remarkable omissions of tragedies relating to his own political party: most conspicuously the nine days reign of Queen Jane; and the executions of the Duke of Northumberland, Lady Jane and her husband, and of the Duke of Suffolk, and Sir Thomas Wyatt.

NOTES OF Q. MARIES REIG[N].

1553. K. edward died 6 Julij, and reigned. 6. yeres fyve môth.
begã. 6. Julij a ^{o} 1553
She was crowned. ulti. Sept. 1553.[2]
latỹ servyce begã. 6. Decebr. 1553.
14 Janv. ye marriadg wth K. philip. cõcluded.[3]
25 Janv. 1553. Wyatt rebelleth.
— feb. 1553. Wyatt taken.
xv Mart) Er. of Devon }
xviij Mart) lad Elizab } Com̃ to ye Toure.

1554. 13. Apill. Disputatiõ at Oxford w^{t} Crãmer, Rydley and Latym^{r}
many p̃sons executed for religion as Hooper. b. of Glocester.
bradford sãnders taylor ferrar B. of St Davids rogers.
in this yere war burned 80
19 Maij lad. Eliz. sent to Woodstock
6° Julij 2° Marie 19. Julii. p̃ce of spãy arryved at sowthãptõ.
St James first ye marriadg at wỹchestr
24 Nov. Card. poole cã into England

[1554-5] 18 febr. B. of Ely and L. Montagu. went to Rome in Ambass'.
Maij Card. poole. B. of wỹch. L. Cha. Er. Arñd
L. paget went to Callis & treated for
peace betw. ye frẽch. and ye Emp^{or}.
6 July 3° Marie
4. Sept. k. philipp passed to Calles.

---

[1] Murdin, usually a careful transcriber, omitted some lines and misread various words in these memoranda.

[2] Guaras says 1st October the Coronation.

[3] Negotiations for the marriage, conducted by Count Egmont.

[*Facsimile is from 16th October to end.* The line by line transcript should enable even a novice to read the MS.].

16 octb. Ridley. B. of lo(n)don and latym(er) burnt
9 Nov: Bish. Gard(ner) dyed
18 Nov: philpott archdiaco of wynch(ester) dyed
[1555-6] p^{o}[1] Janv. D. Heth mad(e) Chancellor
L(ord) pagett mad L. pr(i)ve Seale
21 March. Cranmer Bish. of Cant(erbury) burned
eodem die Cardinall poole sang his first mass
1555[2]
25 Mar. he receaved his pall
k. of Spayn retorned out of ffianders
27 Jun 13[3] p(ers)ons burnt at stratford at one fyre
and in ye co(m)pas of y^{t} yere war burnd above 80 p(er)s(ons)
wherof many war mayde(n)s
fro(m) Decb. 1555 until Oct 1556 dyed
in londo(n) 7 ald(er) men whereof 4 had been
maier Londo(n)
in March 1556 I went to burley through Suffolk w^{t}
my brother baco(n)[4]

(*marginally added*) my Sist^{r} Elizab. married at burley to robt wynfeld ye yong^{r} of upton 1556

3 Marie p^{o} July 1556 Mr Bradford burnt in Smythfield
(*Space*)
[1556-7] Mart 1556 I went to Redgrave[5] and so to burley
w^{t} Mr Nich. baco(n) attor(ney) of ye wards.

(*next page*) Q Marie
1557. 7 Junij
warr p(ro)claimd agaynst the fr. kyng. and
4 Mar[6] vj Julij to ayde ye k. of Spayn, a power of I^{m}[7] hors IIII^{m}[8] footmen
4^{a} & pyoneers war sent to st Qnyns.[9]
in this yere war borned about Londo(n) above 64 whereof 20 war women
I qrt of Whet at iiij m^{ks}.
Malt at xliiij^{s}. Pease at xlij^{s}.
[1557-8] I^{s} Januar. ye fr(ench) ca(me) to Calliss & wi(th)in 4 days
wan all on y^{t} syde
a mrmur of ye people for it
a seco(n)d loane had
in June new burning, in Smythfield vij at on(e) fyre
A^{o} 6° Mar; July at bray(n)ford 6 at o(ne) fyar.[10]
Qu Mary reigned v yeres v mo(n)ths & 22 dayes.[11]

---

[1] primo.

[2] 21 March 1555 (1556 new style). In pencil in margin "1556."

[3] Altered from 27.

[4] Brother-in-law, Nicholas Bacon, who was married to Lady Cecil's sister Anne, daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke.

[5] The Bacon family estate in Norfolk.

[6] i.e. 4th year of Queen Mary's reign (not 4th March).

[7] 1000. [8] 4000.

[9] Murdin in 1759 printed this "1000 Prisoners of War sent to St. Qyntin." It has escaped notice that we had then no prisoners of war. It was *"pyoneers"* (i.e. sappers) who "war" (*were*) sent to St. Quentin.

[10] Up to here the jottings seem to have been set down after the events; but whereas the words "were burnt" are used for the previous entries, observe that *"new burning"* is the phrase in June 1558. Possibly this is the date at which all the foregoing notes were compiled.

[11] Seven pages further on.

"1558. 17 Nov. Q. Mary died at St. James's near West^{m}
The same day the Queenes Matie was proclaimed Queene of England."

This begins a separate Chronology: Hatfield MS, 229, consisting of three chronologies: viz, (1) *Memoria Mortuorum;* (2) Notes on Queen Mary's reign, and Queen Elizabeth's (occasional) up to 1576; (3) Notes more carefully written up to 1596.

PRINCESS ELIZABETH.

Now first reproduced from the original (panel, 20 x 14 inches)

in possession of The Lord Kenyon.

History unknown; but it is traditionally believed to have been in the family from the time when it was first painted.

Inscription "Princess Elizabeth afterwards Queen of England," later in date than the painting.

Black dress; overdress embroidered in gold; gold-embroidered ruffs, gold and jewelled headdress, gold girdle. Velvet-bound book with the Royal Arms on front.

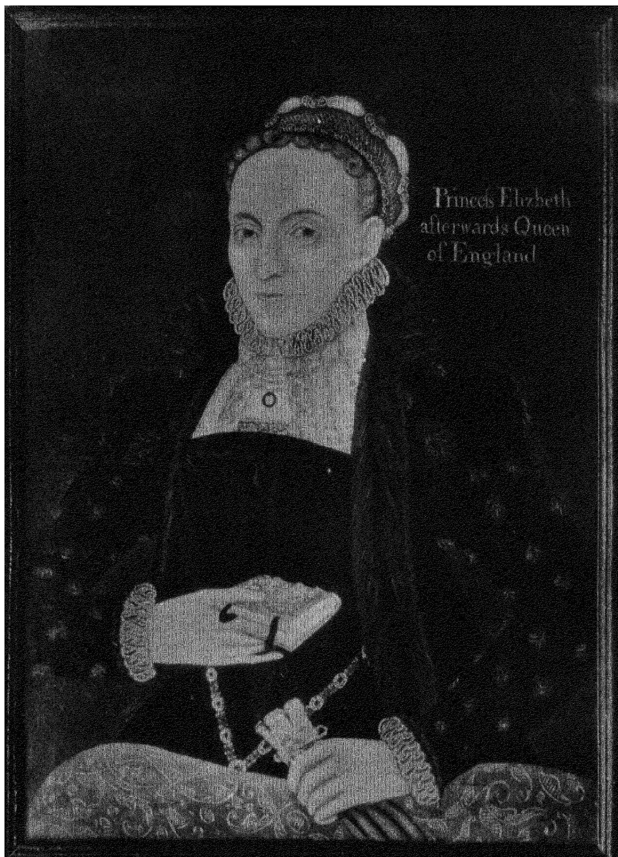
Shown in the Tudor Exhibition of 1890.

The earliest portrait of Queen Elizabeth after her accession is at Warwick Castle
It represents her clad in ermine-lined cloth-of-gold robes, and appears to have been painted from life. for she is not wearing the small and conventional Crown of many later pictures, but one in which every jewel seems to have been depicted with care (as also the orb and sceptre) from the actual regalia. The Crown is conspicuously too large for the Queen; and so presumably was the same which her sister had found so heavy that she had to put up her hand to ease the weight, as described by a Spanish witness of her Coronation.

The Warwick Castle Queen Elizabeth is young and gracious, with red-golden hair worn in loose tresses, to emphasise her maiden condition. The features and colouring closely resemble Major Radclyffe's miniature of her as Princess (ante, plate 16a), in which her hair also is flowing unconfined.

As this volume is passing through the press, there is being shown at Chesterfield House, *"Loan Exhibition depicting 'Children throughout the Ages',"* April-May, 1934, No. 261, "Portrait of a little girl. Traditionally attributed to Holbein and said to be a portrait of Queen Elizabeth as a child. It was in the collection of King James II T.Q L, turned slightly to left, she wears a red dress, with ruff and cuffs trimmed with lace, and holds a pear in her left hand. Oil on panel, 20 x 15 (inches) Lent by The Earl Temple of Stowe."

No 545, lent by the same peer:—"Queen Elizabeth's Christening Clothes. Part of robe, cap and mittens, trimmed with lace. Given by Anne Boleyn to one of her Maids of Honour, an ancestress of Lord Temple. . . ."


Princess Elizabeth
afterwards Queen
of England

Elizabethan England.

BOOK I.

"A most renownèd Virgin Queen."

(1558—1583)

" A most renownèd virgin Queen
Whose like on earth was never seen."

" A famous dittie of the joyful receaving of the Quenes most excellent maiestie . . . . at Her Graces coming to Saint James."

VOLUME I

FROM THE ACCESSION OF QUEEN ELIZABETH, 1558,
TO THE FLIGHT OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS INTO ENGLAND, 1568,
AND THE RETURN OF CAPTAIN HAWKINS FROM MEXICO, 1568-9.

CONTENTS OF "ELIZABETHAN ENGLAND" BOOK I. 1558—1583.

Every section in the ten volumes is headed with a phrase drawn from the period depicted, with a sub-heading to indicate the theme or subject to follow. (See Note on the System of Compilation, p xv).

PART I.

"The art and manner of Governing" (1558—1568).

CHAPTER 1

"THE GREATEST RARITY." (1558-1563)

Section — Page

1. *"To win the hearts of people"* . . . . 141 Vol. I.
   (The accession of Queen Elizabeth. 1558).
2. *"Incomparably more feared than her sister"* 155
   (Queen Elizabeth through Spanish eyes. 1559).
3. *"To enjoy peace more sweetly"* 171
   (Firm language and strong actions of the Queen's Ministers. 1559-60).
4. *"Lords of Truth"* 189
   (Castiglione's *"Cortegiano"* in English. 1561).
5. *"Registered in the Book of Fame"* 213
   (The defence of Havre under Ambrose Earl of Warwick 1562-63).
6. *"Bashfulness appropriate to my sex"* 239
   (Queen Elizabeth's second Parliament. 1563).

CHAPTER 2

"AS IF IT SHOULD NEVER HAVE END."

1. *"Solyman the most magnificent Emperor"* 259
   (The defence of Malta against the Turks. 1565).
2. *"An Armada of the Queen's Majesty of England":* 281
   (Hawkins' voyages to the New World, 1564-1568).

CHAPTER 3

"THE POWER OF FORTUNE'S SPITE." (1566-1569)

Section Page

1. *"A verie sharp encounter"* 311
(The battle of Langside. 1568).

2. *"Now what is to be done with such a Ladie?"* 323
(Mary Queen of Scots in England. 1568).

PART II.

"**Particularly the Power of Spain.**"

CHAPTER 1

"TO REIGN THEREAFTER OVER THE WHOLE WORLD." (1567-1574)

1. *"Exceeding all Spaniards of his time"* . . . . 3 Vol. II.
(Don Fernando, Duke of Alba. 1567-69).

2. *"We might be reformed by strangers"* 21
(The rebellion in the North. 1569).

3. *"The sentence of anathema"* 43
(Pope Pius V against Queen Elizabeth. 1569-70).

4. *"England an asylum for the damned"* 56
(The case of Cardinal de Chastillon. 1568-71).

5. *"Blows which the Turks have received"* 77
(The battle of Lepanto. 7 October, 1571).

6. *"To inflame our realm with firebrands"* 101
(The intended Spanish invasion of England. 1571).

7. *"Repentant, but now too late"* 127
(The fall of Thomas, Duke of Norfolk. 1571-72).

8. *"The Queen's Grace and your Lordship"* 151
(Sir William Cecil's elevation to the peerage, 1571, and election to the Garter, 1572).

9. *"These be no days of dalliance"* 169
(The coming of age of Edward 17th Earl of Oxford. 1571).

10. *"Whatsoever 'Our Mother' commandeth"* 179
(The Paris Massacre, and its results. 1572-74).

CHAPTER 2

"ENGLAND'S HONOUR." (1573-1576).

Section		Page
1.	*"Chevallrie, Pollicie, and Philosophie"* (Sir Humphrey Gilbert's Academy. (Circa 1573)).	209 Vol. II.
2.	*"Princely Pleasures"* (The welcome to Queen Elizabeth at Kenilworth. 1575).	1 Vol. III.
3.	*"The Sonne of a most noble Father"* (The boyhood of Viscount Hereford).	17
4.	*"Left young unto the world"* (Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex. 1576-77).	43

CHAPTER 3

"DANGEROUS AND PERILOUS TIMES." (1576-1578)

1. *"True Dealing"* 61
(England's policy, and Philip Sidney's embassy. 1576-77).

2. *"To prevent a mischief betimes"* 85
("How Her Majesty may annoy the King of Spain." 1577-78).

CHAPTER 4

"THE BALANCE OF POWER." (1574-1580).

1. *"The pledge of our Independence"* 107
(The young King of Portugal. 1574-77).

2. *"A rare and straunge battaile foughten in Barbarie"* 129
(The overthrow of King Sebastian. 1578).

3. *"She dreameth of marriage"* 149
(The Queen's humours in 1578).

4. *"The discoverie of a gaping gulf"* 167
(Popular antagonism to the French match. 1579).

5. *"If he should get the Crown of Portingale"* 189
(Lord Burghley's forecast of King Philip's ambitions. 1579).

6. *"Generally beloved of the people"* 207
(The election of Dom Antonio as King of Portugal. June, 1580).

7. *"A King of their own nation"* . . . . . 1 Vol. IV.
(Dom Antonio's defeat by the Duke of Alba. August, 1580).

8. *"For the love of you"* 23
(Further adventures of Antonio. 1580).

9. *"Her Majesty being somewhat perplexed"* 47
(The invasion of Ireland. 1580).

10. *"So strong an arm and so long a sword"* 63
(Spanish threats against Queen Elizabeth. 1580).

CHAPTER 5

"OUR REALM SHALL BE HIS SANCTUARY." (1581-1582)

Section | Page
1. *"A King anointed and crowned"* . . . . 79 Vol. IV.
(Dom Antonio in England. 1581).
2. *"To serve Dom Antonio, King of Portugal"* 96
(Lord Burghley's plans for "a great and royal war." 1581).
3. *"Friendly to him and hostile to me"* 123
(King Philip's protest against Queen Elizabeth's welcome to Antonio. 1581).
4. *"Loth to depart"* 147
(The Queen's French suitor. 1582).
5. *"The Sea-fight at the Islands"* 165
(The Battle of St. Michael's. 26 July, 1582).
6. *"The present unhappy end"* 217
(Aftermath of the Spanish victory. 1582).

CHAPTER 6

"HIS COUNTRY'S SERVICE AND HIS OWN HONOUR." (1582-1583)

1. *"Without any charge to Her Majesty"* 237
(Sir Humphrey Gilbert's final expedition).
2. *"In the right of the Crown of England"* 257
(The annexation of Newfoundland. 5 August, 1583).
3. *"Heaven is as near by sea as by land"* 271
(The death of Sir Humphrey Gilbert. 9 September, 1583).
4. *"He that dies nobly, lives for ever"* 291
(The Spanish conquest of Terceira. July, 1583).

NOTES AND APPENDICES *to Part I, Vol. I.*

	Page
"*Not prejudiciall to his Crowne*" (Henry VIII's innovations)	142
"*Prohibition or permission*" *to printers,* 1559	152
"*A Worthy Subject*": Sir Thomas Cheyney, ob: 1559	153
"*To acquaint men with virtue again*"	154
Simancas in 1852	156
Unpublished List of English Cavalry in the Scottish Wars	172
Sir William Cecil's Military MS. Books	174
"*The Meaning and Interest of English History*"	181
"*Amitie and Humanitie*": intercourse with the Tsar of Russia	183
The Founder of the Royal Exchange, Sir Thomas Gresham	186
Castiglione's "*Courtier*" in Spain	190
Machiavelli, Osorio, and Castiglione	192
Blundevill's "*Arte of Ryding,*" circa 1560	202
Queen Elizabeth and the Queen of Scots. 1561-62	205
Spanish Notes, 1562	212
Unpublished list of Officers of the Havre Expedition, 1563	214
"*Most Needful for us both*" (friendship between the English and Scottish Crowns)	237
Authorities for Parliamentary proceedings	240
The death of Lady "Amye Duddley," 1560	241
The alleged plot to dethrone Queen Elizabeth, 1563	246
The heart of an Ambassador (Augier Ghislain de Busbecq)	262

NOTES AND APPENDICES *to Part I, Vol. I.*

Page

"Vita Caroli Magni et Rolandi," 1566 280

The Hawkins Family 282

"Strange and Wonderful Things" (Adventures of Job Hortop) 305

"Character, Influence and Achievements" of Hawkins 306

Drake at San Juan de Ulua 307

"Discontents of the Moorish Nation" 308

Scotland and France 310

Bibliographical Note on Mary Queen of Scots 312

An Italian View of Mary Queen of Scots 313

The extraordinary prediction of Bassentyne 324

"His so audacious slandering of his Sovereign Ladye" 337

The Queen of Scots and her Commentators 340

The Regent Murray 344

Table of the Parliaments of Queen Elizabeth . . . . *facing* p. 240

PART I.

"The art and manner of Governing."

CHAPTER I.

"THE GREATEST RARITY."

SECTION I.

"To win the Hearts of People."

(The Accession of Queen Elizabeth. 1558).

" . . . that virtue which of all other human things is of highest value, and yet the greatest Rarity: namely the art and manner of governing and ruling well."

Count Baldassare Castiglione. *"Il Cortegiano."*
(Translation by A. P. Castiglione, 1727, p. 378).
First "done into English" by Thomas Hoby, as *"The Courtyer of Count Baldessar Castilio . . . . Very necessary and profitable . . . ."* 1561.

" Now if ever any persone had eyther the gift or the stile to winne the heartes of people, it was this Queene . . . ."

Sir John Hayward, *"Certaine yeares of Queene Elizabeth's Reigne,"*
written in 1612, at the request of Henry Stuart, Prince of Wales.
Harleian MS. 6021 (Camden Soc: 1840, p. 6).

" O Lord almightie and everlasting God, I give Thee most heartie thankes that Thou hast been so mercifull vnto me, as to spare me to behold this joyfull daie . . . . ."

" The Praier of Queene Elisabeth as she went to hir Coronation." (Holinshed, Vol. IV, p. 176).

"NOT PREJUDICIALL TO HYS CROWNE."

". . . the King shall swere that he shall kepe and mayntene the *lawfull* right and liberties of the old tyme graunted by the righteous Cristen kinges of England *to the holy chirche, nott prejudyciall to hys jurysdiction and dignitie royall. . . .* And that he shall graunte to hold lawes and *approved* customes of the realme, and *lawfull and not prejudiciall to hys crowne or imperiall juris*[*diction*]."

Henry VIII's alterations to the Coronation Oath. (Cotton MS. Tiber: E. VIII. f. 89); italicised words in his own hand are important to observe, being the basis of Queen Elizabeth's subsequent supremacy.

On her accession "Elizabeth, by the Grace of God, Quene of England, France and Ireland, Defendour of the Faith," issued a Proclamation that the Almighty having called out of mortal life "our dearest Suster of Noble Memory, Mary, late Quene," &c., &c., and conferring upon "Us as the only Right Heyre by Bludde and lawful Succession the Crown of the foresaid Kingdomes, ... we do publish . . . . to all maner Peple" that since the death of Queen Mary they are "in Law and Nature bound only to us as to their only Sovereign Lady and Quene." Promising "no less love and Care towards their Preservation than hath been in any of our Progenitours, and not doubting on their Parte but they will observe the Duty which belongeth to natural, good, and Loving Subjects, . . . we streightly charge and command . . . . every degree to keep themselves in one Peax" [Peace] "and not to attempt, upon any Pretence, the Breache, Alteration, or Chaunge of any Ordre or Usage . . . . . upon payne of our Indignation. . . . ."

Strype's "*Annals*" of "*The First Twelve Years of Queen Elizabeth's Happy Reign,*" compiled from State Papers, Original MSS., &c. London, 1709. (App: 1.)

PART I.

"The art and manner of Governing."

CHAPTER I.

"THE GREATEST RARITY."

SECTION I.

"To win the Hearts of People."

(The Accession of Queen Elizabeth).

IN a beauty-loving era—when words, signs, symbols and colours had not yet lost the vividness of their appeal,—all ranks were in better "unitie and concord" than in later and less dramatically-minded ages.

Though Shakespeare was unborn in 1558, the contemporary descriptions of the welcome given to Queen Elizabeth by the citizens of London at the beginning of her reign read like the opening scenes of a play. An eager alertness, a general delight in majesty and magnificence, a zest for "prettie speeches," a "solemne" yet joyous sense of the dignity of England, as incarnate in "the Imperiall Crowne," were then widely prevalent. And though, in the drama about to unfold, the later acts will contain subtle injustices, bitter anguish, and sorrowful mysteries, life in the sixteenth century might sometimes be terrible but was seldom drab or uneventful. The Crown was not hedged about with obstacles between the Sovereign and the people. "Owning no superior except God," Monarchs were readily accessible; and the blend of gorgeous ceremonies with easy graciousness, and absolute authority with openness to personal "suits," was to be exemplified in Queen Elizabeth in a superlative degree.

At Queen Mary's first coming to the throne, the mere fact that the people held her, and not Lady Jane Grey, to be the "lawfull Queene" had secured for her their willing obedience. Subsequently matters of religion aroused antagonism; and her severities, while temporarily crushing dissent and sedition, undermined her popularity.

Disappointment in Queen Mary, far from prejudicing the people against Monarchy as such, only aroused a yearning for a more "loving Sovereigne." The perils of Princess Elizabeth, her rumoured (though denied) complicity in Sir Thomas Wyatt's rising, and her imprisonment in the Tower, had endeared her to many manly minds. And though on her accession she inherited a diminished treasury, and the prestige of England had waned abroad since the loss of Calais, all the more

eager were Englishmen at home to see in the new Monarch the emblem of hope and of returning prosperity.[1]

The first public event of Elizabeth's reign was the funeral of her sister. On the 13th of December

> "the corps of Queen Marie was right honourably conveyed from her Manor of St. James, unto the Abbey of Westminster. Her picture [effigy?] was laid on the coffin, apparelled in her royal robes, with a crowne of gold set on the head thereof. . . ." The hearse was "richly decked with pennons, banners, and scutcheons of the Arms of England and France."

After the body had "rested all that night," it was brought next day to the "new chapel" of Henry VII, to be buried on the North side, according to the rites and ceremonies of the Catholic Church. And on Christmas Eve in the Abbey there was a "solemne obsequie" for the Emperor Charles V, who had died in September.[2] The retrospective summaries which represent Queen Elizabeth as flaunting her Protestantism in the face of all the world immediately on her accession so far depart from reality that at the beginning of her reign the Spanish Ambassador at first believed King Philip might do well to marry her. Even when the Epistle, Gospel and Litany were ordered to be read "at masse time in the English tongue in the churches in London,"[3] it was still by no means certain that the new Sovereign would revert entirely to the methods of King Edward.

On Saturday the 14th of January, the Queen made her progress by water, from the Tower to Westminster.

> Attended by "gentlemen, barons, and other the nobilitie . . . , as also with a notable traine of goodlie and beautifull ladies," she was received "at her entering the citye" with "praiers, wishes, welcomings, cries, tender words and all other signes, which argued a woonderful earnest love of most obedient subjects towards their soueraigne."

Holinshed, who saw it, tells of her "merrie countenance" and gracious looks at those who stood far off, and her "gentle language" to those who were near.

[1] In Holinshed's *Chronicles,* the first year of "*The Peaceable and prosperous regiment of Blessed Queene Elizabeth*" fills 33 large quarto pages (Vol. IV, ed: 1808, pp. 155-188). This, in its first edition, 1577, was the book in which the younger Elizabethans were to read of the opening of the reign. (In a long list of works of history, philosophy and theology, Latin and Greek, it is the only work in English purchased for a near relation of the Queen when at the age of ten he started his career at Cambridge). (Vide E.E. II. 2. 4).

We will now first see "An°. Reg. I" through admiring English eyes; and then (I. 1. 2) as rendered by the disgusted Spanish Ambassador.

[2] ". . . in the monasterie of S. Iustus in Castile, being then of age about eight and fiftie years, having governed the Empire before he renounced the same, a six and thirtie yeares; and his kingdoms of Castile, Arragon, Naples, Sicile, and others aboue fortie yeares. Moreover in this yeare 1558 there died two of the said Emperors sisters, that went with him into Spaine, after he had resigned the Empire: to wit Queen Leonor, first married unto Emanuell King of Portugall, and after his decease vnto the French King Francis the first . . . . she deceased in Februarie. . . . . His other sister Marie, Queene of Hungarie, late Regent of the Low Countries, deceassed on Saint Lukes daie, the eighteenth of October . . . . in so much that King Philip did celebrate the exequies, in towne of Brussels, of his father the Emperor, of his aunt Marie queene of Hungare, and of his wife Marie queene of England, in this present month of December . . . . after the most pompous and solemne manner." Holinshed, IV. p. 158.

[3] Proclamation through the Lord Mayor, 30 Dec: for Sunday, 1st of January. Ib. p. 158.

> "To such as bade God save hir Grace she said againe God save them all, and thanked them with all hir hart;" and even as at her first coming from Hatfield, so now, her manner "planted a wonderful hope in them. . . ." For "she did not onely show hir most gracious love toward the people in general," but even if the humblest persons offered her flowers or "moved her to any suit," she "stayed her chariot and heard their requests."

"Music of instruments" greeted her; and a child "in costlie apparel" made a rhymed oration, ending "God thee preserve we praie, and wish thee ever well"; at which words "all the people gave a great shout" of assent. The Queen's eyes were fixed in "perpetual attentiveness" upon the child, and her "rejoising visage" was observed with satisfaction.

When she "marched forward towards Gracious street" (Gracechurch Street) she found a pageant of Henry VII's marriage with Elizabeth the White Rose of York; with figures of their posterity and alliances: "the right worthie Ladie Queene Anne" (Boleyn) figuring with diadem and sceptre,—and nothing to remind the world that she had perished on the scaffold. "Sentences concerning vnitie" were prominent; and a child spoke the "meaning" of the pageant, predicting that even as the wars of the Roses had ended when Elizabeth of York wedded Henry of Lancaster, their grandchild Queen Elizabeth would bring further peace and concord to England. So great was the noise and applause that Her Majesty could scarcely hear the speeches. She commanded silence, and bade that the verses be repeated in English, though she could see the Latin rendering of the same on "two tables" in the "forefront" of the performance.

In Cornhill was depicted "worthie governance": Religion, Love of Subjects, Wisdom and Justice trod their "contraries" under foot; stamping upon Superstition, Rebellion, Insolence, Folly, Vain Glory, Adulation and Bribery. Every one of them wore their names on their breasts; and "his apparell" accorded with his name.

Then followed a "heavenlie melodie"; and a pageant representing the Beatitudes from the 5th chapter of St. Matthew.

At Cheapside the Queen was met by Time and Truth. Truth in the person of a child presented her with a Bible, which she promised she would "oftentimes read." She then handed it to Sir John Perrott to carry.

Cheapside, the abode of the goldsmiths, was decorated with tapestry, cloth of gold and silver, velvet, damask and satin. Out of the windows hung banners and streamers all along both sides of the street "till her grace came to the upper end of Cheape." There the Recorder of London (Ranulph Cholmondeley) presented her with a purse of crimson satin, richly embroidered, containing a thousand marks in gold; asking Her Majesty not to measure the gift but think of the dutiful minds of the givers. She took the purse in both hands, and answered "so pithilie" as to delight all who heard her.

As she came towards Westminster there was no less applause than when first she had entered the City. Long was it remembered how affably she had accepted the homage of the people: *"How many nosegaies did hir grace receive at poore womens hands? How oftentimes staid she her chariot when she saw any simple*

bodie offer to speak to hir . . . ?" Even "a branch of rosemarie" she did not disdain, but kept it "in her chariot" till she arrived at the palace.

At St. Paul's School she stopped to hear an oration in Latin from one of the boys.[1] At Ludgate and in Fleet Street elaborate scriptural pageantry awaited her, the most acclaimed figure being Deborah:

"In warre she through Gods aid
did put hir foes to flight,"

and having gained victory "by dint of sword,"

"In peace she through Gods aid
did alwaies maintaine right."

At Temple Bar the Queen was received by ancient British "giants," and singing children; and a "child richlie attired as a poet" sang a hail and farewell of the City to its "loving ladie."[2]

For an auspicious day and hour for her to be crowned, the astrologers had been consulted: and, whether their advice be deemed sapient or fantastic, there is no denying that their unanimous predictions of a long reign and a series of triumphs were amply fulfilled.[3]

After the Coronation service in Westminster Abbey, the "regall and most solemne feast" in Westminster Hall was conducted in the same fashion as for Queen Mary; and while the new Queen sat at dinner, "Sir Edward Dimmocke knight, hir champion by office, came riding into the hall in faire complete armour, mounted upon a beautiful courser, richlie trapped in cloth of gold." Casting down his gauntlet he offered to fight any who denied the Lady Elizabeth to be the lawful Sovereign.

No dissenting voice being raised, the Queen drank to her champion from a golden cup, and sent him the cup "for his fee," according to the ancient custom.

Early in the next century, the Jesuit Father Parsons in his Story of the "*Domesticall Difficulties*" of English Catholics, stated that "after the entrance of

---

[1] In extenso, Holinshed, IV. p. 169.

[2] Observe that the word "love" which in modern pseudo-Elizabethanism is used always as a synonym for scandal, was then commonly otherwise intended. The Queen is described as received "with the most tender obedience and *love*, due to so gracious a quene and soveraigne ladie," in "*The Passage of our most drad Soveraigne Lady Quene Elyzabeth through the citie of London to Westminster the daye before her Coronacion. Anno 1558.*" (Colophon) "*Imprinted at London in fletestrete within Temple barre, at the signe of the hand and starre, by Richard Tottill, the xxiii day of January*" (1558-9. B.L. small 4to. Shown in B.M. Coronation Exhib: of 1902.)

[3] This recourse to the stars was not peculiar but usual. Astrology was then linked with Astronomy in Spain and France as well as England. "*Les Propheties de M. Michael Nostradamus*" were published in 1555 In 1557 "*Les Institutions Astronomiques*" of Jean Pierre de Mesmes had been issued at Paris; and in 1556 "*Les Principes d'Astronomie et de Cosmographie*" was translated by Claude de Boissière from the Dutch. The Scottish astronomer Bassentyne held the Chair of Mathematics in Paris University. His "*Astronomia,*" (Lyons, 1559), bound for King Henry II and Queen Catherine (de Medici) is still in the Bibliothéque Nationale, Paris. (Sharman, "*The Library of Mary Queen of Scots,*" London, 1889, pp. 81, 114, 138.) For French Royal patronage of Nostradamus, and his prophecies, see II. i. 7. App. B.

Q. Elizabethe to the crowne of England . . . . *she from the first day shewed her selfe inclined to leave the Catholike Religion* ";[1] and circa 1561 Father Nicholas Sanders wrote to Cardinal Moroni,

> "After the removal in one day of the two brightest figures in all England, Queen Mary and Cardinal Pole, . . . *Elizabeth began to remove all the Catholics from the Council, and to replace them by Lutherans, and it was no longer doubtful to any one what in her heart she had resolved and decided to do in religion.* Then the small band of Bishops, deprived both of their support and of their guide, . . . seemed to us who were there, vividly to represent the state of things which existed in the Roman Church, at the time when the fierce persecutor Nero, after making martyrs of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul on one and the same day, threatened the rest with destruction."[2]

This is more rhetorical than exact, for Queen Elizabeth's accession was not marked by martyrdoms;[3] and none of the Privy Councillors were at once dislodged from their places[4]: a few were added: most notably the recently restored Marquess of Northampton (condemned to death by Mary), the Earl of Bedford, Sir Francis Knollys, Sir William Cecil, and Nicholas Bacon.

Ambassadors were sent " to the Pope, to the Emperour, and other Princes of Germany, to the French King, to the King of Spaine, to the King of Denmarke, and to the State of Venice."

> " . . . . *The Pope desired above all things that Religion should not be changed in England. This did not the Ambassador either obstinately deny, or in any wayes grant: but it could not be assured, he said, unlesse the Pope would first declare . . . that the marriage of the Queen's mother with King Henry was lawful . . . .*"[5]

The first " ominous portent " was that Dr. Heath, Archbishop of York, was required to resign his office of Lord Chancellor. Queen Elizabeth did not appoint another Chancellor in his place, but made Nicholas Bacon—whom she knighted on the 23rd of December,—Lord Keeper of the Great Seal.[6]

---

[1] Stoneyhurst MS. "*Catholic Record Society Miscell.*" *II.* 1906, p. 59.

[2] Vatican Arch, Arm, lxiv, Vol. 28, f. 252. Translated, "*Catholic Record Society Miscell:*" Vol. I. London, 1905, p. 24.

[3] Weisener, "*The Youth of Queen Elizabeth,*" 1878, Vol. II, p. 183, (without mentioning that Cranmer was burnt alive by order of Queen Mary,) says "It is well known that the ordinances and laws by which the heretics were devoted to death, had been those of the reformer Cranmer under Edward VI, and *became those of Elizabeth as soon as she was Queen.*" But we shall see that Queen Elizabeth subsequently executed Catholics under the Statute of Treason, and not by Smithfield fires.

[4] They were Nicholas Heath, Archbishop of York (Lord Chancellor); William Paulet, Marquess of Winchester (Lord Treasurer); Henry FitzAlan, Earl of Arundel; Francis Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury; Edward Stanley, Earl of Derby; William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke; Edward Fiennes, Lord Clinton (Lord High Admiral); William Howard, Lord Howard of Effingham (Lord Chamberlain); Sir Thomas Cheyney, Treasurer of the Household; Sir William Petre, Sir John Mason, Sir Richard Sackville, Dr. Nicholas Wotton. Of these, Cheyney died 8th December. See Note, p. 153.

[5] Hayward, "*Annals of . . . Queen Elizabeth.*" p. 12.

[6] He performed much the same work as a Lord Chancellor. Hayward (retrospectively but correctly, *Annals,* p. 13) calls him, "a man of greate diligence and ability, . . . whose goodness preserved his greatness from suspicion, enveye and hate." Dr. Heath is described by Hayward as "a man of most eminent and generous simplicity."

Even so, it was not yet certain abroad that she would become openly Protestant; and despite her favours to "heretics" the Spanish Ambassador was still of opinion that King Philip might again be King Consort of England.[1]

> "The English common people," Dr. Sanders subsequently told Cardinal Moroni, "consist of farmers, shepherds and artisans. The two former are catholic. Of the others none are schismatics except those who have sedentary occupations, as weavers and shoemakers, and some idle people about the Court. The remote parts of the kingdom are still very averse from heresy, as Wales, Devon, Westmorland, Cumberland and Northumberland. As the cities in England are few and small, and as there is no heresy in the country, nor even in the remoter cities, the firm opinion of those capable of judging is that hardly one per cent. of the English people is infected."[2]

This seems rather to be what Sanders wished to believe than what was the fact. Even in the Middle Ages, before Protestantism was dreamt of, the English had never been particularly docile to Rome; and in the 16th century the quarrels of Henry II and of King John with the Pope were remembered and applauded. It was soon to be claimed in Parliament that the Bill for "*restoring to the Crown the Ancient Jurisdiction over the State Ecclesiastical and Spiritual, and abolishing all Foreign power repugnant to the same,*" did "*declare no more than the Ancient Kings of this Realm had always aimed at.*"[3] But in January 1558-9 when the Queen opened Parliament, none except her intimates knew what drastic changes were to ensue.

At the assembling of both Houses the Queen, in the House of Lords, sat in her Chair of State, between two vacant seats: that on her right being "anciently" reserved for the King of Scots, and on the left for the immediate heir to the Crown. On the north side were the Spiritual Lords, including the Abbot of Westminster ("*the last Abbot that ever sate in the said House, . . . since this first Parliament of her Majesty*").[4] On the left, on the front bench, sat the Temporal Peers in their robes: the Duke of Norfolk and the Marquesses of Winchester and Northampton being the only ones of that rank. Then came the Earls; and Viscounts.[5] The

---

[1] Dr. Nicholas Sanders' retrospective *Report* (C.R.S. Vol. I, pp. 1-23 Latin, and pp. 24-47 translation,) is of great interest as showing the intensity of feeling of Sanders against the "rabid wolves from Geneva," and giving notes on the characters and sayings of the dispossessed Bishops, and "*What Women have suffered for the faith*" ("Mistress Clarence, nurse to Queen Mary, lives in banishment in Spain" etc.) But Fr Saunders' comments on the Parliamentary proceedings seem not to have been compared by the editors with the Journals of the Parliament of 1558-9, nor with the letters of the Spanish Ambassador, both of which are essential to a detailed understanding of the situation as it appeared at the time, both to Queen Elizabeth's supporters and to her adversaries.

[2] Op cit., p. 5. But contrast with Dr. Sanders' estimate what Hayward describes of the "fervency of the common people . . . in beating downe, breakinge, and burning images, . . . declaring themselves noe less disorder'd in defacing of them than they had been immoderate and excessive in adoring them before; yea, in many places, walls wer razed, . . . rood-loftes, relickes, sepulchres, bookes, banners, coopes, vestments, altar cloathes wer, in divers places, committed to the fire, and that with such shouting, and applace of the vulgar sort, as if it had beene at the sacking of some hostile city . . . . not many dayes after this fyring of images, . . . in London a mightie tempest did arise . . ." *Annals*, pp. 28-29.

[3] D'Ewes, *Journals* of Parliaments, pp. 28-29. [4] D'Ewes, *Journals*, &c., p. 10.

[5] Two Viscounts: *Hereford* (Devereux), and *Bindon* (Lord Thomas Howard). Patent of Bindon's creation by Queen Elizabeth is in *Fœdera*, vol. xv, 495. The *Beauchamp* Viscountcy was revived by her for Edward Seymour, but he sat in the House as *Earl of Hertford*. He was the eldest son of the Protector Duke of Somerset and Earl of Hertford, whose titles had been forfeited when executed by King Edward VI.

Barons sat on the back bench; beginning with Lord Clinton, in virtue of his office as Lord High Admiral.

Sir Nicholas Bacon as Lord Keeper of the Great Seal stood on the Queen's right; the Chief Justices and other Judges were on the Woolsack to the north; and the Master of the Rolls, with the Lord Chief Baron, the Queen's "Learned Council," and others, to the south.

The Knights, Citizens and Burgesses of the House of Commons were then sent for, to the Upper House, and "standing below the rail at the nether end of the House" they listened to the Lord Keeper's oration.[1] Stating that "divers things that are to be done here in Parliament *might be reformed without Parliament,*" but that, confiding in the fidelity, wisdom, and discretion of both Houses, the Queen was ready to consult them, he announced her desire for "a uniform order of Religion." Deploring *"the losses and decays that have happened of late to the Imperial Crown,"* he urged them to consider the best means to repair all mischiefs. They were bidden to refrain from *"Sophistical, Captious and frivolous arguments and ostentation of Wit, . . . more beseeming for schools than for Parliament Houses,"* and to avoid opprobrious names such as "Heretick" and "Papist," as Her Majesty's dominant wish was for "Concord and Unity."

Deploring the loss of Calais, a stronghold won so honourably, and so long and valiantly kept that it had for centuries bred fear to our foes and assurance to our friends,—it being also a great help to "our Merchants, their traffick and entercourses," and a protection against piracy,—Sir Nicholas pointed out that lacking this port, there would now be *"new increased charge for the continual maintenance of the English Navy, to be ever in readiness against all evil haps: the strongest Wall and defence that can be against the Enemies of this Island."*

Improved fortification of Berwick and all the northern frontier also would be requisite.[2] Speaking in the presence of warriors, the Lord Keeper humbly apologised for his own lack of experience in martial and maritime affairs; but was sure that the necessity for strength and vigilance would be evident to all. To be "burthensome or displeasant" was the last thing Her Majesty intended; but *"this is no private cause of her own, . . . but a matter for the universal weal of this Realm, . . . the preservation of every man, his house and family.* Yet Her Majesty's Will and Pleasure is that nothing shall be demanded or required of her Loving Subjects" except that which they should be ready *"gladly, frankly and freely to offer: so great is the trust she reposeth in them, and the love and affection that her Highness beareth towards them . . . ."*

When there was no income-tax, and when the main taxation was upon foreign imports (so that home industries might be stimulated), the ordinary revenues were insufficient for emergencies. It was therefore the custom of the Crown on occasion

[1] 7 Columns of print, folio; op. cit. pp. 11-14.

[2] Numerous unpublished drawings of the walls of Berwick have been examined by the present writer. Some appear to be of this date; and some a few years later. (See II. 1. 2: collotype No: 6)

to appeal for money: not vaguely but with a plain definition of the purposes for which the subsidies were required.

The main objects of the first Parliament of Queen Elizabeth were, as the Lord Keeper announced, the establishment of religious "unitie" and the raising of funds for the defence of the realm. The methods in relation to the first we will soon consider; and that the second was recognised as essential is a significant fact. No man could demur *"that loveth his Country, or hath wit to foresee his own safety,"* said the Lord Keeper.

For the securing of the Succession, the Queen's speedy marriage was urged by the Commons.

As her legitimacy had been questioned abroad, and by Catholics at home, Parliament reversed King Henry VIII's Attainder against Queen Anne (Boleyn): such reversal being judged as the most practical answer to any future criticisms.[1]

The Knights and Burgesses of the Lower House asked for a special audience of Her Majesty that they might plead with her "to dispose herself" to take a Consort, so that "the feares of her faythfull subjects and friendes" and "the ambitious hopes of her enemyes should be clean cutt offe."

> "The Queene, after a sweete graced silence, . . ." thanked them for their "love and care" for her person and the Realm: ". . . for the manner of your petition, I like it well," because it has no limitation "eyther of persone or place. If it had been otherwise,—if you had taken upon you to confine or rather to bind my choyse, . . . to frame my affectione according unto your fantasyes,—I must have disliked it very much. . . . . soe had it bene a greate presumption for you to direct, to limit, to command me, ... whome you are bound in duty to obey.[2]
>
> ". . . . . I have hitherto made choyce of a single life, which hath . . . contented me, and I trust hath beene most acceptable to God . . . . ." Whether or no it please God to change this conviction, "I will never conclude anything . . . . hurtfull to the Realme, for the preservation and prosperity whereof as a loving mother I will never spare to spend my life . . . ." And if it should "please God that I still persevere in a virgines state, yet you must not feare" any lack of provision for a suitable heir and governor.
>
> ". . . I take your Coming in very good parte, and agayne give harty thankes to you all: yet *more for your zeale and good meaning than for the matter of your suite."*[3]

---

[1] This of Queen Anne was not the only attainder reversed. There were numerous Bills for "restitution in blood" of the heirs of those who had been executed by Queen Mary.

Incidentally one German-born man "Gerson Wroth" was permitted to be naturalised as Her Majesty's subject.

As to other business, the exporting of horses into Scotland was forbidden: and "the punishments of divers treasons" and *"punishment of false rumours or tales"* were defined; the *"use and practice of Enchantment, Witchcraft and Sorcery"* was made felony. For the proceedings in detail see D'Ewes, *Journals*, etc. pp. 1-56.

[2] Thus Hayward, *Annals*, etc. p. 31, based on Grafton's contemporary *Chronicle*, Vol. II. p. 565 (ed: 1809). In the *Journals* of the Parliaments, D'Ewes (p. 47,) the words are "If it had been otherwise I must needs have misliked it very much, and thought it in you a very great presumption . . . (you) whose Duties are to obey." This is given as *"Copied out of a Printed Copy, garnished with Gilt letters, given to the Lady Stafford,"* etc. Petition was mooted 4th Feb. and presented on 6th; and the answer not given till 10th Feb. (Vide *Journals* of the Parliaments).

[3] Grafton's *Chronicle*, II. p. 565. Hayward's *Annals*, pp. 31-33.

In this her first official answer we get the key to her methods: to hear graciously the wishes of her subjects, but always to show that it was not for them to constrain her. They might suggest; and she would consider and decide.[1]

Though marriage could be postponed, a decision as to a National Church was urgent. But before surveying the methods by which the changes were introduced, we should see how the situation was viewed through Spanish eyes in London, while the French King and the King of Spain were still "with two mighty armies" confronting each other on the Somme: "so neare together" that many were surprised they avoided a pitched battle and fell instead to discussing terms of peace. Queen Mary's Commissioners for this purpose, the Earl of Arundel, the Bishop of Ely, and Dr Nicholas Wotton, had been confirmed in their authority by Queen Elizabeth within a week after her accession.[2] In noting Parliamentary procedure in England during 1558-9, we should remember that the peace with France was not finally signed until the 2nd of April ensuing; and that the appeal of the Lord Keeper on Her Majesty's behalf for a subsidy for Defence of the Realm, was no mere conventional formula, but the necessary recognition of an immediate danger. On the 20th of February, Lord Paget, being too ill to attend Parliament, wrote to Sir William Cecil and Sir Thomas Parry to take warning from the surprise of Calais, and remember that *"the French do all their things with great celerity and diligence."* "If the French should invade us by sea or by Scotland, the King of Spain would also enter as our friend or foe." It would be woeful to have a lingering war; "for we have been plagued of late with famine and pestilence." Paget therefore adjured Cecil and Parry to advise the Queen to *"put her sword into her hand. She shall the better make her bargain with her doubtful friends and enemies."*[3]

---

[1] From 1558-9 up to 1584, by high and low, she was persistently urged to marry. When English prose pleadings did not move her, the suppliants tried verses, in French, Latin, Greek and Hebrew (Cal. S.P. Foreign, VI. No. 2. p. 1.) Upon her numerous possible husbands there has been more than enough animadversion · some of the latter critics of her conduct postulating morbid and grotesque reasons to explain her aversion to marriage. Recent statements (1933) that her character is an "enigma impossible of solution" is only a manner of saying that there has not been available any History in which her personal life and the national matters are shown in relation to each other so clearly that we can come to know her through the eyes of both friends and foes.

[2] Confirmation, 23 Nov. 1558. Forbes's *State Papers*. i. 1. & 8-84.

[3] Haynes, *State Papers* (1740), p 209. There ensued a truce with the Scots, "*A Edinbourg le 18ieme Jour de Mars 1558*"(9), (Ib:) "Henry Clentin, Seigneur D'oysel, de Ville Parisis, Sainct Aignan, et Chevalier d'Honneur . . . . Gentilhomme ordinaire de la Chambre du Roy tres-Chrestien, & son Lieutenant General en ce Royaume & Pays d'Escosse"; only undertaking not to permit invasions of the English frontier, by no matter what nation, between 16 March to 16th May. This was signed by the Earl of Northumberland for Queen Elizabeth and by the Earl of Bothwell for Scotland. It was but a brief respite. See I. 1. 3, for the sequel.

NOTE A. "PROHIBITION OR PERMISSION:"

QUEEN ELIZABETH'S LEGISLATION AS TO "UNFRUITFUL, VAIN & INFAMOUS BOOKS."

Whatsoever murmurings arose against the measures taken in Parliament in 1559, few complaints were put on paper until long afterwards; for to prevent "*disorder of publication of unfruitful, vain, and infamous books,*" as Her Majesty's Councillors expressed it, the Crown enacted that no book or paper "*in any language whatsoever*" should be issued unless licensed by the Sovereign in person, or by six of the Privy Council, or by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishop of London, and the Chancellors of both Universities.

Printers were instructed to apply for their licences through Her Majesty's Commissioners in the City of London. It was proclaimed that if any printer "sell or utter any manner of books or papers" not thus licensed, he would be punished according to the "quality of the fault."

These orders did not apply to secular works already allowed in the Universities and schools; but all books touching "*matters of religion or policy or governance that have been printed, either on this side of the seas or the other side,*" were to be referred to the "*prohibition or permission*" of the Commissioners, before printers undertook to issue any of them. To these instructions "*Her Majesty straitly chargeth and commandeth*" her subjects, "*especially the Wardens and Company of Stationers to be obedient.*"[1]

Though the reign of Queen Elizabeth is nowadays oftenest studied for its literary activity, we do not sufficiently remember that the gradual increase of creative efforts, culminating in Shakespearian drama, occurred under one of the most absolute of Monarchies. Queen Elizabeth did not adapt herself to popular humours in order to keep her Crown on her head; "Her Majesty's Will and Pleasure" was announced; and disobedience thereto brought dire penalties upon high or low.

A favourite English 19th century antithesis between Spain sunk in darkness under "superstitious Philip" and cut off from artistic beauty, and an England blossoming in the sunshine of exuberant freedom, is misleading. Freedom, as the word is now understood [i.e., liberty to express any idea whatsoever, no matter how subversive or injurious], did not then exist, in England any more than in Spain.[2] Therefore at the outset we should realise there was no "liberty of the press." The phrase "*liberty of the press*" can be found in English in 1585,—in connection with the prosecution of unlicensed printers who had taken the "liberty" of producing works which brought much trouble upon themselves. The circumstances will be analysed later (Book II). Meanwhile let us prepare for the demonstration that English literature was to reach its apotheosis, not in an era of revolutionary ferment and confusion, but when "*the prerogative of age, Crowns, sceptres, laurels*" was accepted by the majority of men as a law of Nature.

"Idle words" and "false news" were severely punished; also speaking evil of dignitaries, and using blasphemous language. There was one notable instance in which the criticising of superiors led to a penalty appearing the more cruel in that the motives of the critic were what *he* conceived to be the Queen's essential welfare (ii. 4. 3). Yet although the laws bore harshly upon exceptional cases, the general effect of Elizabethan severity was not the quenching of the exuberant spirit of the nation, but rather the directing it to large issues and great enterprises, the full value of which we will best be able to estimate after we have followed Queen Elizabeth's reign to the end,—both in its good and evil aspects.

---

[1] Cardwell's "*Documentary Annals,*" Vol. I, p. 229; and "*Notes and Queries,*" Nov: 1850, p. 425.

[2] But when English historians assert the Inquisition to have crushed literature, they may be echoing a statement made by the Constituent Cortes in 1812, at Cadiz, that "*on the advent of the Inquisition, writers disappeared*" For the answer to this, see Aubrey F. G. Bell's "*Notes on the Spanish Renaissance,*" in "*Revue Hispanique,*" New York, Paris, (and Brussels), 1930, t. LXXX; especially pp. 325, 326, 400. Bell points out that "In no other country were so many Universities founded as in Spain in the sixteenth century."

NOTE B. "A WORTHY SUBJECT AND A GOOD MAISTER."

On Thursday, 8th of December, 1558, most "quietlie and patientlie," with the "sweetest face," Sir Thomas Cheyney, K.G., P.C., Treasurer of the Household and Warden of the Cinque Ports, died in London: having served three Kings and Queen Mary, across a period of sixty years.

> "For twenty years before his departure, he kept in his stable continually winter and summer twenty great horses at the least, and eight or nine geldings, besides sixteen or seventeen geldings which were kept at grass; and had in a readiness furniture for them all to serve in the field; . . . .[1] Besides this, he kept so bountiful a house, and was so liberal and good to his men, that well was that nobleman's son, . . *or other,* that might happen to be preferred into his service. . . . .
>
> "The number of his servants to whom he gave liveries were 205, whereof in household were six score, besides strangers that were daily coming and going. And his servants had no just cause—either for lack of great wages truly paid them every quarter, and board wages every Sunday, or plenty of meat and drink, and lodging on good feather beds,—to live out of order. . . . . Whether this realm hath not lost a worthy subject, and specially his men a good maister, let all men judge that knew him."[2]

He was so concerned as to the welfare of his servants, that after his death they should not "run at random," that "like a noble man he prevented [it] after this liberal sort":—By his Will he gave annuities to some, and to others a year's wages; and arranged that if they did not get work elsewhere they were—"so long as they used themselves like honest men"—to receive "meat, drink, and lodging" in his house until his son came of age, three years hence.[3]

". . . . His wit, experience and valiantness," and his "bounty, liberality, and courtesy" to all ranks at the Court, was such "that they were ever glad to have him there. . . . ."

His courage was "*so well known to the Frenchmen that they both feared and loved him wonderfully* . . . . he was so worthy a gentleman, and such a necessary member in the commonwealth," that his death was "*lamented of all good and true English hearts.*"[4]

---

[1] The keeping horses for Defence of the Realm was according to Statute law: but "voluntary increase" of the obligatory number is implied above.

[2] This description, in Holinshed's *Chronicle,* An. Reg. I (Vol. IV. pp. 157-158) was addressed to readers many of whom would have known Cheney in person, and all have known him by name.

[3] A now current delusion that servants in the 16th century were habitually ill-used arises from neglecting to consult the sources from which representative facts can be ascertained.

[4] We shall see that in the Elizabethan era there was rarely any unemployment. Superficial recent glimpses at social conditions lead sometimes to the large retinues being regarded as mere ostentatious pageantry, detrimental to all concerned: a standpoint which would have astonished Elizabethans. In the course of the ensuing ten volumes the conditions of daily life will unfold from many sources. The present writer has read through a number of unpublished letters from servants, and many from their masters to them; and will quote such as bear on matters of interest. An assumption heard of late that the "many" were then "sacrificed" to the "luxuries of the few," is a basic misunderstanding. Certainly the major nobility were few. But each eminent personage's house was a centre in which congenial work was to be found.

A recent assertion as to ill-feeling between the nobility and the London citizens rests on no solid basis. In days when distinctions of rank were universally accepted, there was considerably less acrimony and more goodwill and courtesy than after "honours" became easier to obtain. Of prejudice against foreigners (sometimes unfair) we will treat when the episodes occur. But among themselves, Englishmen of the 16th century were aware that the interests of all ranks were intertwined; and they behaved accordingly.

NOTE C. "TO ACQUAINT MEN WITH VIRTUE AGAIN."

A memo of twenty-four matters to be considered in Parliament, 1559, preserved at Hatfield, relates to vagabonds, labourers and servants, husbandry, purchase of lands, merchants English and foreign, apprentices, schoolmasters; education of the nobility; students of law. Also to haberdashery; wines; the "stillyard" and staple; Licenses, bankrupts, perjury; iron mills; sugar; Sheriffs; leather and shoes, and last but most important, the Navy and the fisheries.[1]

Owing to the "looseness of the times" disorders having arisen, there must be renewed an "*awe of the law to acquaint men with virtue again*" It was specified "*no man hereafter receive into service any servant without a testimonial from the master he last dwelt with, . . . witnessing that he left with the free license of his previous master.*" There was to be no further using of apprenticeship as "*a cloak for vagabonds and thieves*"; and because there had been such decay of husbandry that the masters could not get skilled servants to till the ground without disproportionate wages, the receiving of apprentices for handicrafts and merchant-trading was to be restricted to such as had fathers in a certain position. They were not to be of a type more suited to remain agricultural labourers.

As to education, no man under the degree of a Baron was to have his children taught at home; for this custom had caused "decay" of the Universities and schools; and the nobility were especially admonished to send their children to a University in England "or beyond the sea," from the age of twelve to eighteen; and *one third of the free scholarships at Oxford and Cambridge were to be filled by the poorer sort of gentlemen's sons.*

Unless the nobility were well educated, the Sovereign would be obliged to make use of new men; "which for the most part neither affecting true honour, because the glory thereof descended not to them," cared less for the service of the common weal than to advance themselves "*hastily*" to wealth or credit. Therefore it was suggested that none should study the laws unless he be descended from a peer or gentleman; such being most fitted for "rule and government."[2]

In the interests of the poor, the Crown was to consider the prices of leather; it being objected that a pair of shoes which "within this half year was at 12^{d}." had already increased to 20^{d}. and 2/-. The remedy was to call the most skilful tanners and shoe-makers before the Queen's Council, to arrive at a proper understanding.

The old Catholic rule of eating only fish in Lent was to be kept up "*for policy's sake. so that the sea coasts shall be strong with men and habitations, and the fleet flourish more than ever*", the fisheries being the nurseries of the Navy.

In the 24th Article, "*The Navy,*" it is specified that if any man object to the articles relating to wine and merchandise, supposing they would be injurious to the Navy, the answer is "that *England was never in so great wealth and strength, both by sea and land, as when those laws were observed There are new navigations since . . . . which will alone maintain as great a Navy . . . .* those to Guinea, to Barbary, to Muscovy; yea the navigation into Flanders, Antwerp and Spain was not then half so much used as now."

Many commodities now purchased from France and Flanders could as well be grown at home: hemp, flax, woad, and madder. Much now brought from "beyond the seas" should by "diligence" be "here found better."

The encouraging of home industries, the increase of efficiency in all ranks and callings, and the repression of abuses, were considered in their bearing upon the prosperity of the entire nation.

---

[1] 8 pp. Hatfield MS. Epitome, Cal. I. pp. 163-5.

[2] But see "*The Institucion of a Gentleman,*" 1554 and 1568, saying that "by vertue, wyt, pollicie, industry, knowledge in lawes, valiency in arms," men lowly born can win public honours and be termed gentle, "of which sort of gentlemen we have now in England very many. . . ."

PART I.

"The art and manner of Governing."

CHAPTER 1.

"THE GREATEST RARITY."

SECTION 2.

"Incomparably more feared than her sister."

(Queen Elizabeth, through Spanish eyes. 1558-1559).

" She seems to me incomparably more feared than her sister, and gives her orders and has her way as absolutely as her father did."

The Spanish Ambassador, Count of Feria (about Queen Elizabeth) to King Philip II. 14th Dec: 1558. Cal: State Papers, Simancas. Eliz: Vol. I, pp. 31-32.

" For God's sake, move that good Queen to put her sword into her hand. She shall the better make her bargain with her doubtful friends and enemies."

Lord Paget to Sir William Cecil and Sir Thomas Parry, 20th Feb: 1558(9).
" State Papers": ed: Haynes (1740), p. 209.

" A woman who is a daughter of the Devil, and (approved by) the greatest scoundrels and heretics in the land."

The Spanish Ambassador, describing Queen Elizabeth, to Philip II.
29 April, 1559. S.P. Simancas. Cal: I, pp. 67-68.

" Loe here the pearle,
Whom God and man doth love :
Loe here on earth
The onely starre of light. . . .
Oh Princely Dame,
There is none like to thee."

Street Ballad in honour of Queen Elizabeth. " A Collection of . . . Blackletter Ballads . . . . between the years 1559 and 1597. . . London, 1867." pp. 37-41.

SIMANCAS IN 1852.

Students now accustomed to the English Calendars of the Simancas MSS. do not realise the handicap under which historians formerly worked, when the calendaring of "*Documentos inéditos*" was still in its early stages. Lady Louisa Tenison, in her "*Castile and Andalucia,*" written at Seville 1851-52, and printed in London, 1853, described "an expedition to Simancas" (pp. 393-394):

". . . . we ascended to the castle through streets ankle deep in mud. We had a letter to one of the officials, who escorted us over the building where the archives are deposited. He declared there was not anything to see, that all those little packages of papers contained positively nothing! To do him justice, he seemed in most blissful ignorance as to their contents . . . . we passed through forty-three rooms, in which ninety thousand packages of papers await the investigation of the curious. The ground was strewed with above thirty tons of documents, all relating to the Inquisition, which had but lately arrived from Madrid.

"As we were leaving, we met the Secretary," who referred to various important MSS and asked had these been shown. The reply was negative. "He then escorted us back through many mysterious corners and up winding staircases into a small octagonal room, where the Wills of some of the Spanish Sovereigns are preserved." Several of these could be examined, and also the "capitulation of Granada, signed by Boabdil . . . ." "When Philip II chose Simancas for the Archives, the Court was most frequently at Valladolid, two leagues away"; but now the records are "at a most inconvenient distance from the capital."

(Even to-day, 1933, there still remain many MSS. awaiting examination.)

KING PHILIP II OF SPAIN AND I OF ENGLAND:

in the armour he wore at the siege of St. Quentin, 1557.

From the original by Antonio Moro, in the Escorial.

(Photograph, Moreno).

See *"El Monasterio de S. Lorenzo el Real de el Escorial y La Casita del Principe . . . autor el P Fr Julián Zarco Cuevas Religioso del mismo Monasterio. . . . Imprenta del Real Monasterio del Escorial, 1924,"* pp. 131-135. Described as "Felipe II a los trienta años, con la armadura que llevaba en el sitio de San Quintin," this picture is still suitably housed in the palace, the planning of which King Philip began in 1561 to commemorate his victory over the French.

If Moro's masterpiece be compared with Titian's rendering of the same Prince six years earlier (prologue, sec. vi), an increase in strength will be noticed both in the expression and figure of that Monarch, who not only was a formidable organiser of wars but was founder of the Royal Armoury in Madrid. Next in magnificence to the suits of armour made for his father the Emperor Charles, those of Philip as Prince and King are the most conspicuous. See *"Catálogo Histórico-Descriptivo de la Real Armeria,"* by the Conde de Valencia de San Juan, Madrid, 1898· drawn upon in *"Spanish Arms and Armour, being a historical and descriptive account of the Royal Armoury of Madrid, by Albert F. Calvert, with 386 illustrations,"* London, 1907. See especially Calvert, pp. 114-128, and plates 43 to 52*b*, which last is of the Equestrian "Armour of Philip II, engraved with the Royal Arms of England."

The mediaeval custom of garnishing swords with mottoes was approved by King Philip Sword G 47; parade armour, no· A239 of official *Catálogo*, and Calvert, p 127· with hilt carved by Clement Horn of Solingen, has its blade inscribed "Pro Fide et Patria: Pro Christo et Patria," &c, "Soli Deo Gloria", and on the other side "Pvgna pro Patria," &c., &c. The pacific and procrastinating Philip of modern English history bears no resemblance to the actual Philip, whose untiring energy and boundless ambition for the advancement of Spain remained for 40 years a chief factor in world politics. The advice given to him by his father the Emperor, filling 32 folio pages of the old *"Generall Historie of Spaine"* (1612, pp. 1042-1074) emphasised that as "an honourable peace" is the aim of war, he must in time of peace have "discretion and diligent foresight," and thus never invite or encourage aggression from his enemies. The Navies should be kept "always in readiness"; and "valiant soldiers, able leaders," and "good orders" should concur. "Be just at home, and bountiful abroad. . . . I will never cease to pray for your good success," wrote the Emperor, when laying down the sceptre and retiring to the Monastery of Yuste.

HOLOGRAPH LETTER OF PHILIP II OF SPAIN TO QUEEN ELIZABETH, 29th April, 1559.

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

King Philip's communications to Queen Elizabeth are usually in Latin, in secretarial script, signed by the King. This letter from Brussels is the only one in Spanish and all in his own hand which has come to light in England. Its manner and matter should be compared with the instructions he sent at the same time to his Ambassador. (I. 1 2, p. 159).

Señora,

No escribo muy vezes a V.al. por saver q. El / conde de feria le da siempre quenta de todo / lo q se ofreze; agora lo hago solamente movido/del gran deseo y cuydado q. tengo de ver tan bien / puestas y establidas las cosas de V al. como las / mias proprias (pues en efeto las tengo por / tales) para q con dar esta el conde a V al le diga / lo q. cerca dellos me ocupe y parece q. Neve / de proveer con tiempo. ruego mucho a V al. de / crea como amy mismo, y haga mirar en / ello como negocio en q no le va menos q / la cons[er]bacion y seguridad de su Reyno, y por / cierto V al q. en esta y en cualquiera otra / cosa q. le tocare me hallara siempre tan verda/dero y buen her^no^ como lo he sido por lo pasado / y selo dira El Conde a quien me Remyto en / todo por no cansar a V.al. con larga carta / cuya serma persona y Real estado n^ro^ Señor / guarde y prospere como deseo. de Bruselas / a 29 de Abril 1559

buen her^no^ de V al.

Yo el Rey.

Madam,

I do not write very often to your Highness, knowing that the Count de Feria always gives account to you of all that is happening; I am only doing so now because I am impelled by the great wish and anxiety I have to see the affairs of your Highness as well arranged and established as my own (as in effect I hold them to be) so that when the Count hands these to you he can tell you that I am occupied by them, and that it is well to see to them in time. I much beg your Highness to have faith in him just as much as you would in me, and to look upon this as a matter which concerns nothing less than the preservation and security of your kingdom, and most certainly your Highness in this and in no matter what other affair which concerns you will find me always as true and good a brother as I have been in the past; and this will be told to you by the Count to whom in all this I entrust myself so as not to weary with a lengthy letter your Highness whose serene person and royal estate may Our Lord guard and prosper as I desire. From Brussels, 29 of April, 1559.

The good brother of your Highness

I the King

[illegible] vio mas veces al [illegible] junto
cuna serenita [illegible] siempre [illegible] carta de toda
lo que [illegible] lo sego [illegible] mandado
del [illegible] tengo [illegible] por bien
[illegible] al [illegible] como [illegible]
tengo por

[illegible] deseo [illegible] me [illegible] [illegible]
de obedecer en tiempo [illegible] ruego [illegible] al [illegible]
ideo como [illegible] mismo [illegible] [illegible]
ello [illegible] mo negocio [illegible] menos [illegible]
a inovacion [illegible] deste Reyno [illegible]
[illegible] al [illegible] en ella [illegible] qualquiera otra
cosa [illegible] tocare me hallara
[illegible] y bien [illegible] como [illegible]
[illegible] Dios El Conde [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]
[illegible] 29 de abril 1659

[illegible]

PART I.

"The art and manner of Governing."

CHAPTER 1.

"THE GREATEST RARITY."

SECTION 2.

"Incomparably more feared than her sister."

(Queen Elizabeth, through Spanish eyes. 1558-1559).

AS when England and Spain came at last to open war, Queen Elizabeth's chief Councillor informed the world that King Philip from 1558 onwards had steadily intended ill to Her Majesty; that his Ambassadors had from the first attempted to deceive her, and that the Count of Feria, at the Queen's coming to the throne, had been her bitter enemy, let us see what Feria himself wrote privately to his master from England a few weeks after her accession. These letters (not accessible until more than two centuries later), amply confirm Cecil's retrospective rendering of the situation. On the 14th of December, Feria expressed in cypher to King Philip his regret "not to be able to send more pleasing intelligence."

> "But what can be expected from a country governed by a Queen . . . . who although sharp is without prudence, and is every day standing up against religion more openly? The Kingdom is entirely in the hands of young folks, heretics, and traitors, and the Queen does not favour a single man whom Her Majesty who is now in Heaven would have received, and will take no one into her service who served her sister when she was Lady Mary. . . . . The old people and the Catholics are dissatisfied, but durst not open their lips.
>
> "*She seems to me incomparably more feared than her sister, and gives her orders and has her way as absolutely as her father did.* Her present Controller, and Secretary Cecil govern the Kingdom, and they tell me that the Earl of Bedford has a good deal to say. . . ."
>
> "*Everybody thinks that she will not marry a foreigner, and they cannot make out whom she favours, so that nearly every day some new cry is raised about a husband. . . . . I see no disposition to enter into the discussion of any proposal on your Majesty's behalf. . . . .*
>
> "*What can be done with the Councillors, individually but not as a body, is to dissuade them from her marriage with an Englishman. . . . .*" The Queen herself "complained to me of her sister's having married a foreigner," and she is "*as much against her sister as she was previous to her death. . . . I can get at her through this feeling. We must begin by getting her into talk about your Majesty, and run down the idea of her marrying an Englishman, and thus to hold herself less than her sister, who would never marry a subject. We*

must tell her that one of the reasons the Queen now in Heaven disliked her was her fear that if she died your Majesty would marry her. . . ."

Reminding her of the claim of the Queen of Scots to the English Crown, Feria had told her that to be allied with the King of Spain or some of his nearest kin was essential to England's safety:

"When your Majesty married the late Queen, the French felt it very keenly, as they will if you marry this one, and particularly as she is more likely to have children, on account of her age and temperament; in both of which respects she is much better than the Queen now in Heaven, although in every other she compares most unfavourably with her. No one understands better than your Majesty the affairs of this country . . . . and I do not see therefore how anybody can advise your Majesty better than you can advise yourself. . . . ."[1]

Again on the 20th of February, 1558-9, an exceedingly long letter from Feria to King Philip refers to "the two questions of Religion and Marriage" as really "only one": the discussion of which would be easier after the peace with France. "I have thought it best not (yet) to speak in earnest to the Queen about religion; although I see her plainly going to perdition." Nevertheless "if the marriage is carried out, all the rest will soon be arranged." But the last audience had been most unsatisfactory, *to the effect that she did not mean to marry"*; and she *"questioned the power of the Pope . . . ."*

The Ambassador was apprehensive of *"the wickedness which is being planned in this Parliament . . . The Queen has the entire disposal of the Upper Chamber in a way never seen before in previous Parliaments; . . ."*

". . . there are several who have hopes of getting her to marry them, and they are careful to please her in all things, and persuade the others to do the same; besides which there are a great number whom she has made Barons to strengthen her party;[2] and that accursed Cardinal" [Pole, the late Archbishop] "has left twelve Bishoprics to be filled, which will now be given to as many ministers of Lucifer, instead of being worthily bestowed. . . ."[3]

In this same month of February, 1558-9, King Philip forced upon the King of France the crushing treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis: the sword being (then, as often,

---

[1] Cal: S.P.S. (Simancas) Eliz: Vol. I. pp. 31-32.

[2] What she actually did was to restore William Parr, Marquess of Northampton, Baron of Kendall, Marmion and St. Quintin, whose titles had been forfeited under Queen Mary; and also she conferred the Earldom of Hertford upon Edward Seymour, whose father Edward Earl of Hertford and Duke of Somerset had been beheaded by Edward VI. Far from creating "a great number of Barons," in the whole of her reign she created very few. In *"The Noble Men, their Creation and Armes since William the Conqueror"* (MS. compiled after 1586 and before 1597), the Barons of *Elizabetha Regina* are 8: *Bindon* (Howard), *Hunsdon* (Carey), *St. John of Bletso, Buckhurst* (Sackville), *De La Warr* (West), *"Burghleigh"* (Cecil), *Compton, Norris of Ricott, Todington* (Cheyne); and also the *Denbigh* Barony recreated with the Leicester Earldom (1564). Queen Mary's Barons created were 5: *Howard of Effingham* (Lord Wm. Howard), *North, Williams of Thame, Chandos of Sudley* (Bridges), *Hastings of Loughborow;* and she had restored in blood Edward Courtnay, son of the Marquess of Exeter and Earl of Devon; and also Thomas Percy to the forfeited Earldom of Northumberland.

[3] Cal: State Papers, Spanish, (Simancas) Eliz: I. pp. 31-32. The Protestant Bishop of Hereford treats Cardinal Pole's memory much more tenderly than the Count of Feria: "He was a man admirably learned, modest, milde, of a most sweet disposition; wise and of excellent dexterity in the managing of any affairs;" and would have been "incomparable" if he had not "forced his nature to admit of those cruelties exercised upon Protestants." *"Annales . . . . . Englished . . . . . and inlarged with the Author's consent by Morgan Godwyn."* London, 1630. p. 34.

sheathed or unsheathed) the most potent arbiter in diplomacy. This latter fact we are apt to overlook, because historians wrap it up in misleading phrases. "*Satisfied for the time, and requiring temporary repose, France entered into a treaty of peace,*" is the way negotiations are rendered in "*France, its History and Revolutions*" by W. Chambers, LL.D.; without one word about the battles of St. Quentin and Gravelines, nor any hint that King Philip dictated peace on his own terms because he had won the war. By the context, if we did not know otherwise, we would believe the assertion that France was then enjoying "a degree of power which made it a menace and sometimes a terror to the surrounding nations." Actually, from the time of the defeat of Francis I by King Philip's father at Pavia, (1525), the Empire had been gaining; and except for the capture of Calais and Guisnes from the English by the Duke of Guise, France retrograding. But as Philip II had ceased to be King of England, the restitution of Calais, one of his chief demands while Queen Mary lived, and one of the main objections of the French to peace, was no longer so vital to him in 1559. None the less, King Philip determined to persuade Queen Elizabeth that he was the only champion she could hope to secure. On the 24th of April he wrote to his Ambassador,

> "*Endeavour to confirm the Queen and her friends in the fear you say they feel of the peril and danger . . . so that they may understand thoroughly that they are ruined unless I succour and defend them. . . . The Duke of Alba, Ruy Gomez, and the Bishop of Arras, tell me that . . . the Queen's Commissioners at Chateau Cambrésis . . . confessed that this was so. . . . When you have frightened the Queen . . . in the manner you find most suitable, . . . assure her from me that I will never fail to help her, . . . and settle her affairs exactly the same as if they were my own; . . . on account of the great love and affection I bear her, . . .*"

The peace and alliance with France shall not disturb amity with England; but Feria must talk to the Queen as to her probable loss of her Kingdom,—"*which God forbid!*"—and to prevent which she is to be advised not to allow "*any innovations in religion.*" "*If she will remain Catholic,*" *and* "*take one of the Archdukes my cousins for a husband,*" *His Majesty will be* "*a good brother to her . . . .*"

> "I have been very glad to learn what you say about the Queen refusing the title offered to her of Supreme Head of the Church, and delaying her sanction to what had been done in Parliament, because it looks as if there were still some hopes of salvation.
>
> "Seeing this, and *how damaging it would be if the Pope were to declare her a bastard, which he might decide to do since I am not to marry her, I thought it time to approach His Holiness, . . . asking him not to make any change until the result of my efforts were seen. . . .*"
>
> Postscript: "Since writing this I have received your last letter . . . . in the matter of religion what you say about the Parliament having agreed that the Queen should take the title of Governess of the Church fills me with new anxiety. . . . ."[1]

But nothing could have been more affable than King Philip's personal letter

[1] Cal: S.P.S. (Simancas) Eliz: Vol. I. pp. 59-61.

to her, all in his own hand, in Spanish.[1] If he had written seldom, it was because he knew that the Count of Feria kept her informed of all his actions. But now, "moved by the great desire and anxiety I have to see your Highness's affairs arranged, as if they were my own (as in effect I regard them)," the most urgent need is to "settle a matter on which depends no less than the preservation and security of your Kingdom,"—meaning her marriage.[2]

"Beseeching" her to believe the Count of Feria "as you would myself," he protests that in relation to the marriage "as in any other thing that concerns Your Highness, you will always find me as true and good a brother as I have been in the past . . . ." Compliments ensue to her "most Serene Person and Royal Estate," that they may prosper as he would wish.

The same day that he wrote thus from Brussels, 29th of April, his Ambassador was writing to him from London to describe the efforts made to "frighten" Queen Elizabeth. She had shown no discomposure, but had said that she "did not wish to argue about religious matters." Feria told King Philip how he rebuked her for "wishing to revoke the good and holy laws that God, your Majesty and the late Queen had enacted here . . . ." She replied she would be glad of "three hours talk" with King Philip if he would come to England.

Incidentally she announced her intention to punish severely certain persons for playing comedies in which the King of Spain was represented unbecomingly. But Feria doubted any such punishment; for he believed Sir William Cecil responsible for "the arguments to construct these comedies."[3]

> "At the end of the colloquy she said she 'hoped to be saved as well as the Bishop of Rome.' I told her of *the good offices your Majesty had rendered to her with the Pope in order that he should not proceed against her,* and asked her not to let them persuade her that this was a small matter; as for a schism less grave than heresy a King of Navarre had been deprived of his Kingdom by a sentence of the Pope, and remained without it to this day. . . .
>
> "*It is very troublesome to negotiate with this woman, as she is naturally changeable;* and those who surround her are so blind and bestial that they *do not at all understand the state of affairs.*"[4]

But actually their astuteness occasioned the Ambassador much inconvenience; and he begged to be relieved of his task.

On the 8th of May the King wrote giving him permission to quit Queen Elizabeth's realm as soon as Parliament rose; and to go to France as one of the hostages of peace. The King added, "*You will try to leave her in as good a humour as possible, managing this with your great tact and prudence as usual.*"

That same Monday, the 8th of May, the Queen had gone in person to the

---

[1] Hatfield MS. 2. 18. Calendered briefly. Now published from orig: Signed "*buen her(ma)no de V(uestra) Al(teza) Yo el Rey*" See facsimile. Plate 42.

[2] This, the main point of the epistle, is omitted from the Calender epitome.

[3] Shakespeare was not yet born in 1559, and even the most daring maker of hypotheses may stop short of "discovering" in Sir William Cecil "the real Shakespeare"!

[4] Ib: pp. 61-63.

House of Lords to dissolve her first Parliament, which had sat only since the 25th of January.[1] It had provided for the Defence of the Realm; reversed Queen Mary's attainders; passed numerous private Bills, affecting agriculture, trade, and industries. Most far-reaching of all,—after much discussion and many amendments, both Houses accepted the Statute described on the 29th of April as *"The Bill for restoring the spiritual Jurisdiction to the Imperial Crown and abolishing Foreign Power."* That is to say, the authority of the Pope was repudiated; and all ecclesiastics, as well as lay officials, were required to recognise the independence of England, as in King Edward VI's day.

The consternation of the Catholics was proportionate to the power they had enjoyed under Queen Mary. And as most men have one measure for themselves and another for their opponents, the Bishops, placed in the unhappy position of having to choose between the Pope and the Queen, were too dismayed to thank the Sovereign that she did not emulate her sister's methods. Of King Edward VI's Bishops, Queen Mary had burnt five, and deprived six; four had escaped abroad. Only nine conformed. Of Queen Mary's twenty-five Bishops, three were imprisoned; several were fined; but none incurred the death penalty.[2]

Not reflecting that Queen Elizabeth's reign opened more mercifully than Queen Mary's, the Spanish Ambassador wrote in exasperation to his Sovereign that " This country " had " fallen into the hands of a woman who is a daughter of the Devil, and of the greatest scoundrels and heretics in the land . . . ."

> " if there is to be a struggle, it will be more hellish than ever. *The saying of the (Church) service in English and the abolition of the Mass passed by three votes in the Upper House . . is all roguery and injustice. . . . ."*
>
> " On St. George's Day they gave the Order [of the Garter] to . . . the Duke of Norfolk, the Marquess of Northampton, who had it before he was attained, the Earl of Rutland and Lord Robert " [Dudley]. . . . .
>
> " The Secretary [Cecil], Bacon [Sir Nicholas], the Treasurer of the Household and Lord Robert rule everything. *It is to be supposed that when the Pope knows what has happened he will proceed against the Queen and people here. . . . ."*[3]

Feria suggests that everybody should be excommunicated, except the Catholics; though in the Bull pronounced against King Henry VIII there had been no exceptions. And equally indignant against the heretical Queen was the new Spanish Ambassador, the Bishop of Aquila.[4]

> " At eight o'clock on Monday,"—he reported to King Philip,—" the Queen went to Parliament and exactly confirmed what they had adopted . . . . she only left open for consideration the clause where she is to take the title of head of the Church, and for the

---

[1] For full particulars, see D'Ewes, *" Journal of all the Parliaments,"* &c, pp. 1-56.

[2] See Table by Sir Clements Markham, K.C.B., *" King Edward VI . . . "* (1907), p. 136. Those burnt at the stake by Queen Mary were Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury; Ridley, Bishop of London; Latimer (erstwhile Bishop of Worcester); Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester; and Ferrar, Bishop of St. David's. For Table of Queen Mary's Bishops, see op. cit. p. 217.

[3] 10 May, 1559. Ib: pp. 67-68.

[4] Born in Naples, of Spanish parents, Don Alvaro de la Quadra, Bishop of Venosa, 1542-51; Bishop of Aquila from 1551.

present only assumes the style of Governor. This is said to have been done on the ground that she may marry, and her husband might thus take the title. *It is only a question of words, as 'Governor' and 'head' after all mean the same thing."*

"It is said that the Bishops will be offered the oath, which they will not take, and that they will therefore be deprived at one blow, and the new Bishops put in their seats. . . . .

"The heretics of our own times have never been such spoilt children of the Devil as these are, and the persecutors of the early Church were surely not impious enough to dare to pass such unjust acts as these."

(But the "heretics" under Queen Mary can hardly be described as "spoilt" children).[1]

As to the intended deprivation of the Bishops, the Ambassador concludes,

"To force a man to do a thing whether he likes it or not has at all events some form, however unjust, but to force him to see a thing in the same light as the Sovereign sees it is absurd, and has no form either just or unjust; and yet such is the ignorance here that they pass such a thing as this."[2]

It was not a matter of "ignorance," but of what they had experienced; as we see from Sir William Cecil's laconic notes on "Queen Marie's Reign."

But Queen Mary's Bishops when asked by her successor either to "subscribe" against their consciences or resign their livings, suggested *"rough and stout proceedings"*: such as to *"go to Paules Crosse and excommunicate the Q. and her hereticall Counselers"*; which counterstroke was "much urged" by Dr. White, Bishop of Winchester.[3] But the Archbishop of York, Dr. Heath, who had been

---

[1] Nothing offended Catholics more than for Protestants to honour as a martyr Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, who suffered in the flames the same day that Cardinal Pole said his first Mass in London. The Protestants for their part were subsequently to deny that Sir Thomas Percy, Earl of Northumberland, and other Catholics, executed for levying war against Queen Elizabeth in 1569, could deserve a martyr's crown. Historians on each side have continued the same exclusiveness. But as soldiers who fought each other in the field used to testify to the valour of their opposites, it should be possible for us now, in our "soft chairs at home," to see that each side felt acutely; and acted accordingly, for what each believed to be sufficient reason. That the popularity of Queen Elizabeth with the masses arose largely from revulsion of feeling after the Smithfield fires of Queen Mary, it is necessary for Catholic as well as Protestant readers to understand. When we come to know Queen Elizabeth in her old age, we will find her capable of ruthlessness to her own most devoted defenders; and so lacking in generosity that we may wonder at her belief in herself as being excessively clement. But her oft-expressed claim to have been "merciful" to her Catholic subjects related to the fact that even though the Pope in 1569-70 was to dispense her people from their allegiance, she executed Catholics as "traitors," at Tyburn, and not by fire at Smithfield.

Reading Feria's letters it would be inferred that nobody had ever been persecuted for religion except in England; but at the very same time, King Philips's sister was taking Don Carlos to see heretics burnt: *"Relacion del Auto, que se hiço en la Villa de Valladolid dia de la Sanctissima Trinidad a 21 dias del mes de Mayo deste año 1559."* (Maggs Bros. Cat: 495, pp. 585-586.)

[2] Ib: pp. 68-69.

[3] Vide Father R. Persons or Parsons in his story of *"Domesticall Difficulties"* (written in 1600-1601). C.R.S. *Miscell*· Vol. II. (1906), p. 59. Dr. Wm. Allen in his *"Sincere and Modest Defence of English Catholiques,"* 1584 (p. 53), also relates that "Many were of that mind that it should be good to use the censure of excommunication against her Highness and some of her leaders . . . . but the wiser of the Bishops or at least the mylder sort persuaded the contrarie." The C.R S. editor considers that as the contemporary Catholic accounts of the Westminster Conference (C.R.S. Vol. I. pp. 3-7) do not allude to this suggestion, it may have "come down from no other source than Cecil's official story," S.P.D.E. Vol. III. No. 53. But there seems no reason why Cecil's "official story" should be doubted, especially as both Allen and Parsons are so positive. Moreover see the Spanish Ambassador's letters.

Queen Mary's Lord Chancellor, saw neither wisdom nor decorum in any such procedure, and firmly dissuaded them.[1] As to the measure which, by a penstroke, deprived the Catholics of political power, the Spanish Ambassador had correctly divined Cecil's as the dominating influence.

The Catholics reproached Cecil that after conforming to the Church under Queen Mary he influenced Queen Elizabeth to break off relations with Rome. Born a Catholic, he had been Protestant under King Edward, then Catholic again, and now Protestant once more. But the "blind and stubborn prejudice against the ancient faith" ascribed to him by modern Catholic pens, and the "Puritanism" fathered on him by 19th and 20th century Protestants, are equally imaginary. Cherishing among favourite books "*De Nobilitate*" by the Catholic Bishop Osorio,—who afterwards denounced Queen Elizabeth on theological grounds,—he could at the same time take an interest in the "*Commonplaces*" of Peter Martyr (Vermigli) who had left England for fear of being burnt as a heretic by Queen Mary. Cecil's political ideas were evolved from a blend of history, observation, and experience; and a determination to promote what he conceived to be the main interests of England.

Accustomed though we are to the fever of party politics,—frequent change and confusion, and the sacrificing of solid future advantages to momentary exigencies,—we must mentally transport ourselves into an absolute Monarchy, made powerful through measures devised by one and the same brain during forty out of the forty-four years of Queen Elizabeth's rule. If the reader, thinking in phrases of to-day, infers that "Sir William Cecil was a dictator," the answer is that his system was not so much to assert himself as to draw out of every Councillor, Admiral, General, or other servant of the Crown, the services he considered each most competent to perform. His power was based upon a degree of insight into human nature which has rarely been equalled and never surpassed by any English Minister of State. But the fantastic 19th century theory that he was "the original of Shakespeare's Polonius" has shut out the actual man. His friends have been turned into foes or rivals; and the seamen and soldiers portrayed as disliking him, and he as grudging them their laurels and the costs of their exploits. His "stinginess to poets" has become a byword: though in real life he was a noted "well-willer" to "all Noble Arts," both martial and scholastic. When we have followed his labours to the end, his acumen, wit, and determination will have spoken for themselves. But the degree of his ability only became gradually apparent; and on the 25th June (1559) the

[1] Father Parsons (C.R.S. *Miscell*. II. p. 60) phrases it that Dr. Heath was "so faint in the Catholike part . . . . as albeit he lost his Archbishopricke, yet would he never yeald to any resolute action of the Catholiks against the Hereticks during his life." (As to the "sharpe bickerings" of the Bishops and their foes, see op. cit. p. 61).

According to Father Sanders, when the Spanish Ambassador visited the dispossessed Archbishop in prison, Heath said "*There is nothing to be done; but everything, whatever God may will, to be endured.*" In Introduction to C.R.S. *Miscell* Vol. I. 1905. p. xi, this is quoted, and it is mentioned that "a few months after his deprivation he was at one time left free, at another dragged back to prison": but there is nothing to remind the Catholic reader that, even so, his lot was milder than that of Archbishop Cranmer and Bishops Ridley and Latimer under Queen Mary.

Count of Feria, from Brussels, predicted the ruin of England under the new régime:

> "My only consolation is that I see the Queen and her Councillors will be turned out and treated as they deserve. . . As for us, the Devil himself may fly away with us if that is brought about."[1]
>
> "I believe that a more wretched life is before the Queen than she wots of. I am only sorry it is not we who are to give her the purge. But those scoundrels shall pay for it": (meaning the Privy Councillors and the Houses of Parliament).[2]

"I have lost all hope in the affairs of this woman," wrote Feria's successor to the King, 27 July, 1559:

> "*She is convinced of the soundness of her unstable power, and will only see her error when she is irretrievably lost.* . . If your Majesty were to give her life and all in it, as you once did before, she would never be more friendly . . . and she would if she had the power, sow heresy . . . in your Majesty's dominions to-day, and set them ablaze without compunction. Besides this, her language (learnt from Italian heretic friars who brought her up) is so shifty that it is the most difficult thing in the world to negotiate with her.[3]

To Feria, the Bishop also poured out his wrath: ". . . your Lordship will see what a pretty business it is to have to treat with this woman, who I think must have a hundred thousand devils in her body, notwithstanding that she is for ever telling me that she yearns to be a nun and to pass her time in a cell praying . . ."[4]

One may suspect Her Majesty of sarcasm, for a less cloistral nature it would be difficult to find.

At this juncture, one of Lord Robert Dudley's agents in the Netherlands had written to him "from Antwerp, the XV of July 1559":[5]

> "the great joys and triumph that was in hand . . . . in this Court is now much weakened by reason of these sorrowful news of the death of the French King: " (from a wound in a tournament), "which . . . the King of Spain doth take very heavily. . . . . I think his death hath much altered their designs[6] as well in this country as in France: the priests and other religious persons are very sorry for his death, ... they have lost one of their chief pillars. *To hear the discourses and reports of these men here which they make of our country, it would grieve any true Englishmen.*"[7]

Moreover, somebody in England is "very diligent in sending them encouragement"; and the Spaniards indulge in many "spiteful talks" against our nation. (This we can well believe, after seeing the letters of the Bishop of Aquila.)

However furious the Ambassador's expressions in private, the amenities usual

---

[1] Ib: p. 78 (B M. Add MS. 26056[a]). [2] 7 July, 1559. Ib: p. 82.

[3] Ib· p. 89. [4] 27 Dec, 1559. Ib· p. 119.

[5] Addressed "To the right honourable and my singular good Lorde the Lorde Robert Dudley, Mr of the horse to the quenes maiestie this to be delivered. London." Signed "Your honors most bounden George Gilpin." Unpublished Longleat Dudley MSS. Vol. I. f. 31.

[6] "dyssingnaes." [7] "trew englyssheman."

between Sovereigns went on undisturbed; and from Toledo on Christmas Eve the King of Spain thanked the Queen of England for her congratulations on his safe arrival. With expressions of friendship, he rebuked her for deferring her marriage. It would be better both for her and the Kingdom if she took a Consort, who could relieve her of labours fit only for men. If she looked favourably upon his cousin Charles, Archduke of Austria, this would be pleasing to himself and beneficial to England.[1]

On the 9th of December her Ambassador in Spain, Sir Thomas Chaloner, writing to Sir William Cecil how necessary it was for the Queen to marry and have children, hinted that Her Majesty should not be encouraged to show conspicuous favour to one of whom gossips already said too much; meaning presumably Lord Robert Dudley. The Archduke Charles, though not named, was evidently Chaloner's choice of the great and honourable "*affinity*" which should cool the intended projects of enemies: "*He is not a Philip, but better for us than a Philip.*" But the future being uncertain, England should arm without delay; fortify her frontiers; and repair the defences of the Isle of Wight, Portsmouth, and Dover Castle[2] (which was exactly what it had been decided to do).

On the 29th of December a warning was sent from one of Cecil's gentlemen, John Mydelton, who at Antwerp had met the late Spanish Ambassador:

> "... the Count has very great intelligence of the affairs of England. *They say here that they know the very secret bowels of England; of the removing of Captains from the Isle of Wight and Portsmouth, with the names of the new; that Portsmouth is nothing strong, and that a man may gallop his horse up the ditch. Of all the ports and haven*" the Spaniard "*knows better than I who am born there . . .*"[3]

The hostility of France to the Protestants increases, and King Philip has admonished the French King to chastise them heavily; "the which being done, he should neither want men nor money to withstand his enemies at all times." France is entirely under Spanish influence; and "*I fear,*" says Mydelton, "*we shall (soon) see Calais and Ardes in the custody of King Philip*"; and then what is to become of England?

The assumption that King Philip was the enemy was expressed only in private. Officially every show was made of confidence in his good will. This decorous affectation was to be kept up by Queen Elizabeth and her Ministers for twenty-six years. Even on occasions when—as in 1572, 1582, and 1583—she had English "voluntaries" fighting against him, she professed regard for her "good brother," while doing her utmost to frustrate his plans.

That the Scottish Presbyterians appealed for help against French troops invited

---

[1] Latin. 2 pp. Signed "Philippus." Countersigned by "G. Perezius" (Perez, the King's secretary). Calendared Hatfield MSS. Cal: I. 158. Haynes, *State Papers*, p. 215, in extenso.

[2] Cal: Hatfield MSS., Vol. I. p. 156; and Haynes, p. 212.

[3] To Sir W. Cecil. Cal: Hatfield MSS., Vol. I. pp. 155-160.

in by the "Popish" Queen-Regent, Marie of Guise, was as natural as that the English Queen at first hesitated to commit herself and her subjects to martial undertakings, when the Treasury was at a low ebb and the defence forces had been thinned by losses during the late wars. But Sir William Cecil, who in his youth had fought in the battle of Musselburgh, had seen what sufferings can be inflicted upon the invaded by the invaders. So he resolved to do his utmost to prevent any foreign army penetrating into England. To confront the kingdom's enemies upon some other Sovereign's ground was to be his policy from first to last.[1]

By the three most influential Privy Councillors, Cecil, Dudley, and Nicholas Bacon, Queen Elizabeth at the outset of her reign was advised to show herself a friend to friends, a foe to foes. The timid and vacillating habits ascribed to Cecil by 19th and 20th century writers have no foundation upon fact. He calculated that a show of boldness would be the likeliest way to terminate all controversies with France: and the mustering of troops for Scotland under the Duke of Norfolk and the veteran Lord Grey of Wilton, was meant to demonstrate that the recent loss of Calais by Queen Mary's forces had not quenched the English capacity for initiative.[2]

On learning that Queen Elizabeth's army had crossed the Border, the Spanish Ambassador "*required*" Her Majesty to call back her troops; or at least "abstain from force" for forty or fifty days until he could notify the circumstances to the King of Spain and learn in reply His Majesty's will and pleasure.[3] To which Cecil answered that as "the King Catholique" had approved of the Queen's preparations and precautions, she would gladly hear His Majesty's advice, and that of the Ambassador,—when they were better acquainted with all the "just and reasonable" causes for her actions.[4] These reasons were then recapitulated[5]:—Soon after peace had been declared with France the previous year, the French King and the Duke of Guise had supported the Scottish Queen's claim to the Crown of England, and they had encouraged her and her husband the Dauphin to use the Royal Arms of

---

[1] Though in 1547 Cecil had accompanied the forces in a civilian capacity, as a Judge in the Marshal's Court, he did more than advise the army on points of law; he went into the fighting line as a volunteer. At Hatfield are several Almanacs annotated by him. In one of these, in his hand (A.D. 1547) can be seen the words "*Gulielmus Cecilius militibat in bello Musselburg in Scotia*": which no casuistry can translate other than "William Cecil *fought in the war* at Musselburg in Scotland."

This was not known even to so careful a scholar as Captain Maurice Cockle, who in his "*Bibliography of English Military Books,*" etc., 1900, giving reproductions of plans from Patten's "*Expedicion into Scotläde*" from the 1st edition, London, 1548 (reprinted by Arber, 1880), did not realise that William Cecil, whom Patten thanks for lending him his own notes on the war, was the same man as Queen Elizabeth's Principal Secretary of State, and subsequently Lord High Treasurer of England.

[2] Observe the choice of leaders for Queen Elizabeth's first war: Grey, the defender of Guisnes, was well-known to the French; and the Duke of Norfolk, though personally inexperienced, inherited a name of great significance in Scotland.

The old Duke of Norfolk, who in his youth had contributed to the overthrow of James IV at Flodden, and at the age of over eighty marched against Sir Thomas Wyatt, had died soon after Wyatt's rising. He had been succeeded by his grandson Thomas, son of the poet Henry Howard Earl of Surrey, beheaded by Henry VIII. (See table "The Norfolk Dukedom," Vol. II, facing p. 150).

[3] Minute of Sir F. Knollys, endorsed by Cecil. Haynes' S.P. p. 280. [4] Ib: p. 281.

[5] Ib. p. 282. Now compressed from "A Brieff Information . . . of the Queen's Majesty's Proceedings from the Beginning."

England, flaunting those arms at tournaments and "triumphs" and all manner of "open shows": wherefore "Her Majesty then began to look more about her"; and her Ambassador complained to the Constable, the Duke of Montmorency. The Constable excused himself as not personally responsible, and undertook to speak to the Duke of Guise. At this juncture occurred the death of King Henry of France and the accession of the Dauphin. The Cardinal [of Lorraine] became the predominant influence: and the Queen of Scots in France continued to display the Arms of England. Also she had used "evil words" of Queen Elizabeth, denying her right and title. Then had ensued French *"preparations to the sea, rigging their ships, amassing on the coast great stores of victuals and a quantity of artillery; and the French King sent into Germany for mercenaries."* From June to September this went on; until, on hearing that French guns and victuals had been taken into Scotland, Queen Elizabeth and her Council apprehended that the French and Scots might join forces for a sudden invasion of England.

News came that the Marquis d'Elboeuf was ready to conduct "a great army into Scotland." Wherefore Her Majesty had thought fit to strengthen Berwick, and to augment her Navy in readiness to withstand any possible attempts against England.

In Cecil's hand was drafted a letter from the Queen to her cousin Norfolk admonishing him how great a danger it would be to England if the French were permitted to subdue Scotland,—whether by force or diplomacy. The Duke was bidden to be ready on England's behalf to use either or both means; and while insinuating to the Protestant "Lords of Scotland" that they ought to be able to defend themselves against Popish invasions, and that Her Majesty did not promise to maintain for an indefinite time "a continual army by sea" for their benefit, he nevertheless had her authority to aim at "the clear expulsion of the French, whereby our kingdom may be the more free" from menace of invasion.[1]

When the news reached Spain as to the English army entering Scotland, the policy at the Court was to take a soothing tone to the Ambassadors, Anthony Browne Viscount Montague and Sir Thomas Chamberlain. They wrote from Toledo to the Privy Council "we do gather of the Duke of Alva, the French King is already brought to good purpose" to cease using the English Royal Arms. Nevertheless as that King was borrowing ships from Spain and Portugal, it did not appear certain that he intended to refrain from the enterprise of Scotland. Moreover the French kept telling King Philip that all the troubles of Europe arose from "the Protestant religion,"—this being the argument they calculated most likely "to move him" to resentment against England.[2]

The previous day the Duke of Norfolk had written to the Queen from Berwick, "We now stand between War and Peace."[3] His difficulties were as to finance; and

[1] "From the Quenes Majesty to the Duke of Norfolk. Feb. 15, 1559" (60): Haynes' S.P. pp. 242-244.
[2] 10 April. Ib: pp. 285-286. [3] 9th April. Ib: p. 283.

Erratum: Vol. I, p. 166, note 1, line 4: For "*militibat*" read "*militabat.*"

it had been set about in Scotland that Queen Elizabeth could not afford to keep her Army long away from home, for " lack of money." Cecil saw the need promptly to strangle so detrimental a rumour; and the Privy Council wrote at once " to the Lord Gray," General of the Horse, bidding him from the Queen

> " demonstrate both to your Friends and to the Enemy " that the Queen's Majesty is determined " not to desist " either for expenditure in " money or men . . . . surely we mean to continue of that mind, both for the honour and surety of this Kingdom, without dread of the French or any partner they can get: And " we (the Council) " most heartily beseech you all for the Honour of your Country, and your own several credits and estimation, to employ yourselves to the best of your power: whereupon we trust to see some honourable good end."[1]

The Queen herself wrote to Grey, that she marvelled much how " any manner of Person of our Army " could permit the Scots to conceive any doubt as to her intentions. Neither for want of money, nor for any other reason, would she draw back:

> " We therefore require you, by all the best means you can, . . . to make a perfect and plain demonstration both to the Scots and Frenchmen that We will not leave our Covenants unperformed, but will prosecute the matter to the very end purposed."[2]

The draft for this letter is also in Cecil's hand; and it crossed news from the Duke of Norfolk as to the " stout and valiant " conduct of the English officers in the first " great skirmish."[3]

Lord John Grey wrote privately to " Cousen Cecill," relying on him to be firm with " Philippians " at the English Court that they should not be allowed to make obstacles, and that " Her Majesty will now go through with that [which] she hath begun."[4] As for King Philip's possible aid to the French, Grey considered Queen Elizabeth's Army ought to predominate in Scotland before the Spaniards had time to levy any more troops.[5] But the Duke of Norfolk wrote to Cecil that his forces were insufficient for the tasks assigned. He needed more money, (specially gold), also munition and powder; and urged to have the Army brought up to twenty thousand.[6]

On hearing that " our men had a repulse," the Queen did not throw any blame upon Norfolk: but wrote graciously,[7]

---

[1] *State Papers* (Haynes): p. 293 Draft by Cecil.

[2] 16 April, 1560. Ib: p. 29. [3] Ib: p. 294.

[4] Lord John (uncle of Jane, the Nine Days Queen,) was the only surviving brother of the beheaded Duke of Suffolk.

[5] About Leith, he added, " There is but three ways to the winning of a fort: famine, assault, and the mine. The first is long and tedious; the second is some loss of men; the last is easiest of all." If the Duke of Norfolk can get some of the guns landed from the fleet, and bring them up ostentatiously on wheels, the coal miners of Newcastle meanwhile could be at the work of undermining, which would be more effectual than a battery.

[6] Ib: p. 304. May 8, 1560. [7] Draft by Cecil. 11 May. Ib: p. 305.

" Right Trusty and wellbeloved Cousin. . . . . We be sorry to see that the success was no better: but considering . . . . that the enterprise must needs be achieved for the honour and surety of our realm and our selves, ... we would that ye should presently recomfort our Army in Scotland with assurance of a speedy reinforcement. . . . ."[1]

---

[1] Thomas Churchyard, who had been one of Lord Grey's Captains in Guisnes, went with him to Scotland, and subsequently wrote a rhymed chronicle, "*The Siege of Leeth, more aptlie called the Schole of Warre, (the Lord Gray of Wilton Generall thereof) in the second Yeare of the Raigne of our Soueraygne Lady Queene Elyzabeth Anno 1560*", first printed in 1565, in "*The Firste Part of Churchyardes Chippes . . . devised and published onely by Thomas Churchyard, gent.*" Reprinted 1575, 1578. Also in 1817, ed: Geo· Chalmers ("*The Siege of Leeth,*" pp. 88-115).

Churchyard describes from when the English troops marched out of Berwick:

> " First give me leave our souldiers to advance,
> That with their blud their countryes rest have bought,
> Next how they served against the flower of France,
> And last of all did bring their bragges to nought."

But the French did more than brag:—

> " The mounting lark no sooner in the skye
> Than we were forth: the Frenchmen were so brave,
> Ne night ne day they would not let us lye
> In rest, for still they did the skirmish crave."

He does justice to both sides; and the Catholic Queen Dowager (Mary of Guise) receives from this Protestant officer (alluding to her death, 10th June, 1560,) a tribute of admiration, as " a princess of high spirite, for *Fraunce* a perle," though an enemy to England.

Churchyard's verses may be lame, but his facts are in good order: not only as to the actual fighting, but relating to the diplomacy—" the grave and sober wayes, and stoutnes both "—of Queen Elizabeth's chief negotiator, who though he found the French " flint," endeavoured to make them like wax, and obtained a treaty, "*To our great fame, and honour of the Crowne.*" If any critic considers the war unprofitable because England gained no territory, Churchyard answers:

> " . . the French, that nestled near our cheek
> Ful many yeers, are now dispatcht away.
> By this small broil did cease a greater fray."

In the editions of 1575 and 1578, he added a note that " my Lord of Burleigh that now is " was the successful envoy; and to prevent posterity forgetting, he added a second note, "*Lord Burghley ended these broyles.*"

The interest of these events being even more political than martial, we omit further particulars of the campaign, and pass to the consequences. As the Duke of Norfolk kept an entry book into which all his letters were copied, and this came into Cecil's hands in 1572 and is now at Hatfield, and as the chief correspondence was published by Haynes in 1740, "*State Papers,*" etc. (1 Vol. folio), and there is much relevant matter in the P.R.O. Calendars of State Papers Domestic and Foreign, all the more infelicitous was the statement made in all good faith in 1905, by a distinguished and respected Professor, that Queen Elizabeth's policy for the first 30 years, 1558-88, was "*to refuse action, to disclaim responsibility, ... and to avoid open hostility.*" (Quoted, I. 1. 3. Note, p. 181).

PART I.

"The art and manner of Governing."

CHAPTER 1.

"THE GREATEST RARITY."

SECTION 3.

"To enjoy Peace more sweetly."

(Firm language and strong actions of Queen Elizabeth's Councillors. 1559-60).

". . . The continual maintenance of the English Navy, to be ever in readiness against all evil haps ; the strongest wall and defence that can be against the Enemies of this Island . . ."

Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal,
addressing Queen Elizabeth's first Parliament, January, 1558-9.
Journal of the House of Lords: *"Journals of all the Parliaments,"* &c. (1682), p. 13.

"For the safety of herself and her subjects, to enjoy Peace more sweetly," Queen Elizabeth on her accession, "began to establish a Magazine of all sorts of Instruments of War, and to that end employed great sums of money in Germany . . ."

"The True and Royall History of the famous Empress Elizabeth."
London, 1625; Book I. pp. 80-81.

"In a thousand ways they let us see that they neither love us nor fear us."

The Spanish Ambassador (Bishop de Quadra), to King Philip II,
from London, 1559 (ante).

". . . We . . . pray to Almighty God long to preserve you to the defence of your right by a just and fortunate war: or the recovery thereof by amicable treaty."

Sir William Cecil and the Dean of Canterbury (Nicolas Wotton) to Queen Elizabeth.
from Edinburgh, 19 June, 1560. Lodge's *"Illustrations,"* 2nd ed: 1838. Vol. I, p. 411.

UNPUBLISHED LIST OF ENGLISH CAVALRY IN THE SCOTTISH WAR:

Docketed by Sir William Cecil "The horsemen in Scotland."[1]

The fallacy that Queen Elizabeth had no army worth mentioning is the less accountable in that among the Cecil MSS and in the P.R.O. there is material enough to keep military historians busy for generations.

Henry VIII's Statute requiring landowners and others to breed Horses for Defence of the Realm, was in operation under Queen Elizabeth. But though contributions were obligatory, graduated according to rank and possessions, "voluntary increase" was undertaken by many patriotic noblemen and gentlemen.

In Cecil's list of Horse there is nothing to indicate if the 1,430 were "Voluntaries." The Cavalry under Lord Scrope and Sir Henry Percy were Light Horse, (780,) and the 650 under Lord Grey and Sir George Howard "Men-at-Arms" (Heavy Cavalry).

Though it is not necessary to enter into details of the war in Scotland, the point is that whereas present fashion eulogises Queen Elizabeth's "peaceful" methods, the realm was then kept in peace by the perpetual readiness of Englishmen to fight outside England.

"The Lighte horse"	
"My Lord scroope marshall	xxx horse
Sr Henry perse Generall of the Lighte horsemen	c horse
Henry Knevet	c horse
Mr Wolstrope	c horse
Mr Cunstabull	c horse
coningcelle	c horse
	c horse
The provise marshal	l horse
My Lorde Graye	c horse
The armed horse	
My Lorde Graye	l horse
Sr George Howard Generall	c horse
Mr Barnabie Lyueftenaunte	c horse
Mr Graye	cc horse
Mr Braye	c horse
Mr Gande	c horse

[1] Hatfield MS. 153-59. Calendared, Vol. I. p. 255, only as "1560. A 1 page list of English Cavalry in Scotland with names of Commanders." No names or numbers quoted.

Γυλιελμου Κικιλιου και τῶν φιλων

IACOBI CO-

MITIS PVRLILIA-
RVM, DE RE MILI-
TARI LIBRI II.
Iam recens editi.

Io. Sapidus.

Prima salus pax est, sed si manus ingruat hostis,
Vt sint pro rebus bella gerenda tuis.
Ex hoc disce libro patrandi munia Martis,
Arma, acies, pugnas, mœnia, castra, duces.
De quibus haud ulli melius scripsere priores.
Hoc dignum crebro quod relegatur opus.

Index omnium, in calce libri.

Argentorati, Anno M.D.XXVII.

Title-page of "Jacobi Comitis Pvrliliarvm, de Re Militari," 1527.

With Greek inscription in Cecil's hand: *"William Cecil and his friends' book."*

Now first reproduced from the original at Hatfield House

in possession of The Marquess of Salisbury, K.G.

One of many foreign publications with the autograph of W. Cecil, the complete list of which (under date of his death, 1598) *should terminate the 19th century delusion that he cared nothing for* "Arts or Arms." *He was particularly learned in the Laws and Ordinances of War, and the rules of Chivalry.*

SIR WILLIAM CECIL'S MILITARY MS BOOKS.

Extra to numerous printed works on the military arts, bearing Sir William Cecil's autograph, we find in the Muniment Room at Hatfield House various manuscript volumes which have hitherto escaped notice: for example (MS 339, 12) "A Discourse for the Trayning of Englishe Men in Warli(ke) Discipline," *addressed to the Queen, and signed at the end "Your graces humble and well wishing subject William Saul", presumably the same as the " William Sawle" in Cecil's list of* "The names of such as served at Newhaven. Anno 1563" (154 47.) (*In* 1561, 5*th March, there is a warrant (MS,* 152, 107) *allowing "one Saul, servant to Lord Rob*t *Dudley" the sum of "£200 for mules and asses which the Q. had appointed him to buy for her beyond the seas").*

A manuscript (339, 11), *beginning "Having of late taken a journey into the partes beyond the Sea," is docketed on the last page by Cecil* "A device of Tho Young for ye musters & warrs . . ." (*undated*) *But yet more interesting is* (152, 20) "Instruction des Principaulx pointes de l'art militaire tant par mer que par terre," *especially in relation to* "L'artillerye, poudres et boulletz, Ordonnance, faite et composé par l'excellent et noble Prince Monseigneur . . . le Duc Philippe de Cleves Seigneur de Ravestain et par luy presente et donne au Tres illustre tres hault et tres puissant Prince Charles cinquiesme de ce nom Empereur des Romains, Roy de Germanie et des Espaignes" &c.

When in subsequent political negotiations we find Cecil confronting King Philip's emissaries with precedents of Philip's father, let us not suppose that these were "looked up" for the occasion. Rather was his mind so steeped in history that emergencies seldom found him unprepared.

Hitherto unknown sketch of

SIR WILLIAM CECIL, WITH HIS SECOND WIFE, MILDRED,

daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke. Dated 1562.

From the original in possession of the Marquess of Salisbury, K.G.

This drawing made with a view to a design for a Cecil tomb, shows Queen Elizabeth's Principal Secretary in complete armour.

Though at his death in 1598 this sketch was not used, the recumbent figure in Garter robes on his tomb at Stamford also depicts him in full armour.

The annotations on the 1562 drawing appear to be in Cecil's hand; the names of his children who had died a daughter Frances or Francisca; a son William, born 23 October, 1559, who died as a baby; another William, born May 1561, who also died in his cradle.

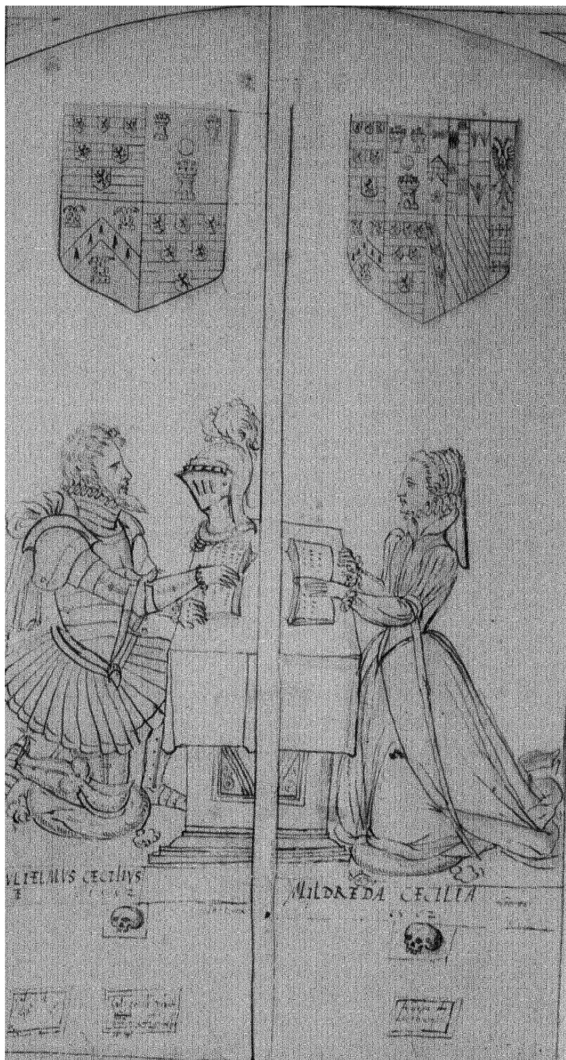
When a 3rd son was born to Mildred Lady Cecil, 1st June, 1563, the name of William was not repeated, but Robert chosen instead. He was in the next reign 1st Earl of Salisbury, and K G, and is ancestor of the present Marquess of Salisbury, K G. His name of Robert may have been after Lord Robert Dudley, who was the intimate friend, and not as nowadays imagined, the bitter enemy, of Secretary Cecil.

The two daughters who survived were Anne, born 5th December, 1556, who in 1571 married the Earl of Oxford, and died in June, 1588; and Elizabeth, born 1st July, 1564, married to the eldest son of Thomas, Lord Wentworth, and died before she was nineteen. (See her portrait by Lucas de Heere, Vol. IV, plate 20.)

Sir William Cecil's heir was his eldest son Thomas (by his first wife Mary Cheke); born 5th May, 1542; created, by James I, Earl of Exeter, ancestor of the Marquesses of Exeter.

Circa 1571, a different and less skilled hand added to this drawing two outer panels with kneeling figures, intended presumably for the eldest son Thomas and the eldest daughter Anne. But the faces are scarcely portraits; whereas the figures on the Cecil family tomb in Westminster Abbey, depicting three generations, appear to be likenesses (Particulars, 1588-1589).

Fortunately for posterity, Elizabethans of all ranks attached great importance to monumental effigies.



MILDREDA CECILIA

PART I.

"The art and manner of Governing."

CHAPTER 1.

"THE GREATEST RARITY."

SECTION 3.

"To enjoy Peace more sweetly."

(Firm language and strong actions of Queen Elizabeth's Councillors. 1559-60).

THE prompt sending of troops across the Border had produced the effects that Cecil hoped; but the Spanish Ambassador was not able to send King Philip as much information as he would have liked in relation to England's war against the French in Scotland.[1] As to the spirit of Queen Elizabeth and her subjects, Bishop de Quadra's testimony was unequivocal:

> "The Queen rides out every day into the country, on a Neapolitan courser or jennet, to exercise for this war; seated on one of the saddles they use here. *She makes a brave show and bears herself gallantly. In short the people here are full of warfare and armaments."*[2]

This was precisely what preserved the internal peace of England. And though we need not follow particulars of the operations in Scotland, the subsequent prestige enjoyed by Queen Elizabeth was largely due to the bold initiative of the opening years of her reign; under the guidance of Sir William Cecil, Lord Robert Dudley, and Sir Nicholas Bacon: not pulling against each other in rival "factions," but devoting their united strength to building up the power of the Crown and the reputation of England.

Whereas in the early 17th century we shall see England, after winning the war, lose the advantages of the peace across a table at Somerset House,—the emissaries of King Philip III then making terms almost as if Spain had been the conqueror,—Cecil in 1560 dared to act strongly while England still was weak. When he and the Dean of Canterbury, Nicholas Wotton, were sent north to negotiate with the French and the Scots, they did not allow the adversary to suspect how anxious they were for peace. Though the "torn and ragged state of England" had been

[1] Cal: S.P.S. p. 127 (7 Feb., 1559-60).
[2] 12 Feb. Ib.

The Queen was asked upon what degree of "recompense" were her Commissioners to insist? Did she wish her Army and Navy to withdraw? and how many men were to remain at Berwick? What was to happen to the prisoners? Should they be released on both sides (even if this offended their captors, who had hoped to obtain heavy ransoms)?

". . . . We beseech your Majesty to pardon this patched letter, made at several hours upon several moods of the French; and therefore the same hangs the worse together. And so we most humbly pray to Almighty God long to preserve you *to the defence of your right by a just and fortunate war: or the recovery thereof by amicable treaty and compact. . . .*

"Your Majesty's most humble subjects and obedient servants,

W. CECIL.
N. WOTTON."[1]

Being written at the time, the "patched letter" is far more graphic than any retrospective summary. The Queen in reply directed them that they should try to bring the French to undertake that the Arms of England, wherever "set up, graven or painted" as part of the French Royal Arms, would be taken down by proclamation, within six months. In case the French Commissioners might "obstinately stick" at promising, the matter could be referred to the "arbitrament of our good brother the King of Spain." But to repair the "wrong done to us by the using of our said Title and Arms, you may require, . . . as you have done, Calais and 500,000 crowns."

If the French Ambassador would not consent, the matter should be delayed till further negotiations, to be referred to the King of Spain.

If the English Army be withdrawn, certainly 2,000 of the "tallest and best appointed soldiers" should be chosen to remain in Berwick. And if the French soldiers are to evacuate Scotland, they can be allowed English transport, not only from Berwick but Newcastle or Hull, if they would pay the charges, "and that they come not above 40" at a time, "*and are unarmed, without weapons other than their swords and daggers.*"[2]

Not only would English ships undertake the transport, but "it may be ordered that two or three of our own ships do see the French soldiers wafted to the coasts of France," the English undertaking not to enter any French harbours. The prisoners on both sides should be released. Confident that her Commissioners would arrange all particulars "as shall best stand with our honour and the furtherance of our service" Her Majesty left something to their discretion.[3] Then

---

[1] Cecil Papers Lodge's "*Illustrations,*" ed: 1838, Vol. I. pp. 410-411. A "*just war*" was a favourite term which Cecil often used during forty years. Yet the author of "*The Great Lord Burghley*" in our day based his whole interpretation of those forty years of office upon some alleged axioms published in the 17th century, in which Cecil is made to say that there never was a just war! Later, it will be shown that these axioms are spurious, and can be contradicted out of Cecil's own MSS.

[2] Important to remember that the term "*unarmed*" in Elizabethan English was not identical with *disarmed*; a sword and dagger being part of everyday dress. In a State Trial of 1600-1 we will find the Attorney-General Coke accusing certain noblemen of going "armed" towards the Queen's Palace, when they only wore their usual swords and daggers; and on Coke persisting, the accused peer, a renowned General, answered "*You may be a good lawyer, Mr. Attorney; but you are no soldier.*"

[3] Cecil Papers. 1560. No. XII, Lodge, Vol. I. (1838). pp. 412-17; et seq. other letters, XIII. XIV.

through the Lords of the Council she sent further instructions; including a request that the French King should appoint a time within twelve or fourteen days when her Ambassador could "send some of his folks along the sea coast" to satisfy her that preparations for war were genuinely ceasing in France.[1]

Although the French postponed the restoration of Calais, and England in 1560 was not yet ready to undertake a war of aggression to regain it, the firmness of the Queen's Commissioners, and their reference to the Duke of Norfolk as readier to fight than to treat, shortened the hostilities, and enabled the Queen to disband the larger part of her Army while seeming to make a concession by so doing. Moreover even the offer of English Royal ships as escort for the transports in which the Frenchmen should go home, was a polite fashion of intimating the intention of England to control the Narrow Seas.[2]

Queen Elizabeth came to the throne when the realm was poverty-stricken, and when English credit all over the world had been lowered by Queen Mary's loss of Calais.

But Her Majesty's Ministers, from the day of her accession, took so masterful a tone towards other nations that England's weakness was concealed, and England's determination and high spirit were so signally conspicuous that all intending enemies and doubtful friends took warning.

Because it is now the fashion to apostrophise Queen Elizabeth for restraining the bellicose tempers of her subjects, and "keeping the peace" with foreign powers,—her series of wars abroad being either allowed to slide into oblivion, or dismissed as of scant account,—the main point is overlooked: namely that England was kept safe because the defence of the Realm was Sir William Cecil's primary and constant care.

In the *Annals* written by Camden during the next century, the prompt measures are credited to the Queen. Though "she found the Coffers empty" at her coming to the throne, she proceeded so "to strengthen herself" that she might provide *"for the safety of herself and her subjects,"* and *"enjoy Peace more sweetly."*

In 1561 she "began to establish a Magazine of all sorts of Instruments of War, and to that end employed great sums of money in Germany"; and commanded "many Cannons of Brasse and Iron to be cast." In "Cumberland, neere Keswicke by a special favour from God" a "rich Mine of pure and naturall Brasse which had been a long time neglected" was re-discovered. Moreover, she had gunpowder "made in her owne Kingdome, which none of her predecessors

---

[1] Ib: p. 420, and Haynes, *State Papers*, p. 304.

[2] The Calendar of State Papers Foreign for 1560-61, pp. i-lxx, and 1-632, was published in 1865, not well indexed but otherwise excellently edited by Joseph Stevenson, who pointed out the interest of the campaign in Scotland, and of MSS. showing "how an army in the field was supplied with stores and ammunition; and the numerous papers connected with the building of the fortifications round Berwick elucidate many particulars respecting the price of labour and the history of military engineering." (p. lxx). But our popular writers have ignored this.

had done." And the Queen (for which read the Queen's martial advisers) "prepared a Fleete the best furnished with all sorts of Instruments of Navigation and Warre that ever Great Brittaine saw.[1] She "caused a Fort to be built upon the Shore of Meadwaye near Upnore where the Ships should ride in shelter from the weather, and increased the wages of the Mariners and Souldiers insomuch that strangers named her Majestie **The Queen of the Sea, the North Star, the Restorer of the Navall Glory.**"

In 1561, under which date this paragraph is set, it would have been premature to salute Elizabeth Regina by any such title. The chief sea-powers of the world were the King of Spain, the King of Portugal, and the Sultan of Turkey. But, writing retrospectively in 1615, Camden set in the opening of the Queen's reign the maritime advantages gradually secured for her by a succession of services ranging from the early efforts of John Hawkins to the enterprises, now underrated, of the Earls of Essex and Cumberland.

Nevertheless, aided by "the richer sort also of those who dwelt neare the Sea," the mariners from the first were encouraged; and shipbuilding as a private undertaking soon became a conspicuous element in national life; there being considerable "emulation who could build the best Shippes of Warre; so as in a short time the Queenes Fleet, joyned with her Subjects, came to so great a number that she might put to Sea for a navall Warre twenty thousand Combattants. The Nobles and the people of all parts showed no lesse gladnesse and diligence" than the Crown, in strengthening the defence of the realm; so that "there were within the hands of the Nobles, Magazines and Storehouses well furnished with warlike Munitions: and from that time they began to muster and exercise Arms; and the Youth was fashioned for warres and men emboldened to fight."[2]

This was in response to an assertion overheard from *"one of the greatest peers of Spain"* in Queen Mary's day, *"that it should be an easy matter to conquer England."*[3]

Neither in war nor diplomacy was England to prove "easy" to deal with; and when in 1561 the Pope wished to influence Queen Elizabeth to be represented at the Council of Trent, she refused leave to the Nuncio (Martinengo) to set foot within her kingdom.[4] Not conciliation but defiance was the note she sounded: her open and proposed object being *the independence of England.*

---

[1] Written in 1615, 12 years after "Great Britain" had come into being by the union of the Crowns, 1603.

[2] "*Annales The True and Royall History of the famous Empresse Elizabeth. . . . London, 1625.*" (Book I. pp 80-81). Dedic: to King James I. Address "to the Courteous Reader," signed "Abraham Darcie."

[3] Wm. Harrison, in Holinshed's *Chronicle*. E.E. II. 3. 1, in extenso.

[4] Letter of the Privy Council, 5 May, 1561: to Sir N. Throckmorton, H.M.'s Ambassador to France. Signed by the Lord Keeper (Sir N. Bacon), Lord Treasurer (Marquess of Winchester), the Earls of Arundel, Bedford, Pembroke; Lord High Admiral (Lord Clinton), Lord Howard of Effingham; Sir Francis Knollys, Sir Ambrose Cave, Sir Wm. Cecil, Sir Wm. Petre, Sir John Mason, and Nicholas Wotton. Orig. in possession of Messrs. Maggs Bros. Cat: 586, item 528, p. 40.

"THE MEANING AND INTEREST OF ENGLISH HISTORY."

The actual policy of the Crown from 1558-9 to 1598 remained the same in essentials even when varying as to alliances. But this policy has been misconceived, owing to Elizabethan history being usually studied in fragments, instead of by co-ordination of all the chief documents illustrating the labours of the master mind which dominated that policy. Our 19th and 20th century critics (unconsciously) reversed the intentions, aims, and principles of the builders of Elizabethan England; and thus missed the moral of the ancestral labours of our race. To Vol. XII (1905) of MacLehose's edition of Hakluyt's "*Principal Navigations*," the late Professor Walter Raleigh contributed an eloquent essay on "*The English Voyages of the Sixteenth Century*" (pp. 1-119). It begins dramatically, and ends with a suitable apostrophe to England's sea power. But much of the intermediate commentary embodies remarkable misapprehensions:

> "For the first thirty years the reign of Elizabeth" was "a time singularly barren, in the English annals at least, of notable political events. *Events were what the Queen and her cautious Ministers most dreaded.* Their business was to hold on to the reins of power, *to retard natural developments, to refuse action, to disclaim responsibility, to chasten the impulses of fervent patriots, and to avoid the open hostility of rival powers. The Government sat still, and deprecated all vigorous intentions,* and waited."

No footnote references are given for these positive statements; but they read like a paraphrase of Creighton's "*Queen Elizabeth*," for which—manifestly—neither Parliamentary speeches, Acts of the Privy Council, Royal Proclamations, nor the correspondence of Foreign Ambassadors in England can have been studied.

> "The Queen's fixed policy," says Professor Raleigh, "her single resource for many long years, was to continue saying 'Peace, Peace . . .'"

On the contrary, to let it be understood that England was ready to resist invaders, was Cecil's policy from the first. The succession of wars leading up to the defeat of the Spanish Navy in 1588 will be our concern as we proceed; for the dealings of England would remain incomprehensible without them. As to the pseudo-Elizabeth:

> "Her subjects . . . . were free to serve the Crown . . . . but they must fight in the character of pirates. . . . . .
>
> "If they won, the Crown would gladly accept a share in the spoil. If they lost, they knew what doom to expect. It is surely a high tribute to Elizabeth, and to the trust and love she inspired in her subjects, that they accepted these conditions without a murmur."

It would indeed have been amazing had a Sovereign asked and had subjects accepted such conditions. Actually the series of Commissions from the Crown, and the secret official memoranda will call for our most careful scrutiny. Some of the most important Commissions will be first published in the present History.

> ". . . . They were content to let her work in her own way so that they might work in theirs. . . . . . ." says Professor Raleigh, of Queen Elizabeth's subjects: "*The meaning and interest of English history, therefore, during this long period of incubation*"—i.e., till the "great day" in 1588, namely, 30 out of the 44 years of her reign,—"*is to be found not in the doings of the Government, but in the unauthorised activities of the people.*"

But the "people" could not indulge in any unauthorised activities. No man could leave the country—or export a horse or a hawk,—without the Sovereign's license; nor print and

sell a street ballad without permission. It was an age when the authority of the Crown was supreme. Every subject, even the humblest, was expected to look to the Queen and her "most honourable Privie Counsayl" for guidance. But so little are the actual conditions remembered that the assertions now quoted seem not to have been questioned.

> "The political history of a country is commonly an affair of great dignity," continued Professor Raleigh; "it deals with the *legitimate acts of the rightful Government.* But the great deeds of Elizabeth's reign were most of them *unlawfully begotten. . . .*"

The conception, birth, and results of these "great deeds" we will approach in their sequence. Never has there been an era in England when the control of the Crown upon all ranks was exercised in more minute and searching fashion. But Professor Raleigh's Queen under a "*mask of indifference*" held "*sedulously aloof*" from governing her people:

> "The body politic was full of life, but the brain was careful not to know what the hands were doing. . . . The public acts of the regularly constituted Government were tame and few . . . ." The Queen "kept in with the police, and did not fall out with the thieves," (etcetera, in phrases revealing entire lack of comprehension of Absolute Monarchy). The danger of generalising without attention to dates is illustrated by the Professor's epigram, *"It was not what Burghley and Walsingham were writing but what Shakespeare and Jonson were saying, that makes the greatness of the reign."*

Shakespeare was not born until Queen Elizabeth had reigned two and a half years, during which time the course of her policy laid the foundations for the coming half-century; and Shakespeare's maiden effort "*Venus and Adonis*" was not printed until the Queen had been over thirty-four years on the throne. Moreover Ben Jonson was a boy of only eleven when Her Majesty expelled the Spanish Ambassador Mendoza in 1584. It was not till after King James of Scots wore the English Crown that Ben Jonson won his laurels. His observations on the characters and achievements both of his elders and contemporaries are of deep interest, and will be considered in the final volume. But he and Shakespeare did not create Elizabethan England. The edifice of the State, and the conditions of life of all classes, were determined by the older generation: without whose labours England—long before "the great day" (1588)—would have become, as Lord Paget exclaimed in 1559, another Piedmont: *namely a province of Spain.*[1]

[1] Though the King of Spain never accepted Queen Elizabeth's repeated invitations to come and visit her, the question as to what he would do next was not only occupying the minds of English statesmen but of all the other Powers of Europe. Queen Elizabeth's intentions are to be weighed accordingly. "From Antwerpe the xvi daie of December An° 1560," Sir Thomas Gresham (afterwards the founder of the Royal Exchange), sounded a warning note "To the Right Honourable and my very singular good Lorde the Lorde Robert Duddeley, Mr. of the Horses": — Although the rumoured death of the Emperor and the King of France should promote quietness, —the French King leaving no child, the French claim upon Scotland ceased,—*the news that the Spanish Inquisition had been set up in Louvain, and would be in force throughout all King Philip's dominions, is "nothing liked."* Gresham, however, hoped the need "to resist the Turk" would keep the Spanish King so occupied near home, that he would be the less vehement in the Netherlands. Also he had become jealous of "the great amity that is grown between the Pope and the Duke of Florence (ffloryns"); and dreaded lest the Duke "grow too great for him in Italy. "The first thousand Spanish soldiers that were shipped for Spain, be discharged again, and doth remain here in havens, . . . till further the King of Spaine's pleasure be known. . . ."

Unpublished Longleat Dudley MSS., Vol. I, ff. 175-176. Unless from 1558 to 1598 we read English history with perpetual consciousness of King Philip's dealings as affecting from afar the chief decisions made by Q. Elizabeth and her Council, we will fail to understand how the need for resistance to Spanish ambitions was a dominating factor in the development of English national vigilance and vigour.

" AMITIE " AND " HUMANITIE ":

English intercourse with " the Emperour of all Russia," 1561, and with the Shah of Persia, 1562 (and onwards).[1]

From " our famous city of London " on the 25th April, " in the yeare of the creation of the world 5523, and of our Lord God Jesus Christ, 1561, and our own reigne the third," Queen Elizabeth wrote to " the right excellent and right mightie Prince Lord John Basiliwich, Emperour of all Russia," reminding him of the " amitie beginning in the reign of King Edward VI; and afterwards, through the Emperor's " humanitie, fed and nourished, ... increased and augmented . . . . with all maner of tokens of your benevolence." She predicted that the friendship between the Crowns of Russia and England would last " *during many ages . . . . to the praise of God, to both our glories, and to the publike great commoditie of our Realmes, ... and certaine felicitie of all our subjects.*" Meanwhile, she requested that her " faithfull and beloved servant Anthonie Jenkinson the bringer of these our letters," should be protected; so that he, his servants, merchandises, baggage, horses and goods, might pass easily through Russia. Also that the Emperor would " *vouchsafe to commend him by your letters to others forren Princes, and especially to the great Sophy and Emperour of Persia, into whose Empire the same own servant purposeth . . . . to journey . . . . for foreign merchandises.*"[2]

Any enterprising English merchant could count on the personal interest of the Sovereign in his efforts; for commerce was not mere exchange and barter, nor only a grasping after riches. It was a recognised means to advance the honour as well as the prosperity of nations. When an English merchant went abroad he represented his country; and, unofficially but none the less truly, stood for the dignity of his Sovereign. Queen Elizabeth when asking the Tsar of Russia to aid Jenkinson's passage into Persia, wrote also " To the right mightie and right victorious Prince, the great Sophie, Emperour of the Persians, Medes, Parthians " (etc., etc., etc.) " and of all men and nations betweene the Caspian sea and the gulfe of Persia." Admonishing him that God ordains people " far set asunder " none the less to perform to each other in thought and act the " offices of humanitie," she requested for Anthony Jenkinson " together with his familiars, servants, carriages, merchandise and goods," ample passports and every courtesy; that he might " passe, repasse, and tarry so long as he shall please " in Persia.[3]

Though the Royal Letter gave Jenkinson the whole prestige of the venture, he was equipped actually by the London " Governours, Consuls, and Assistants of the Company of

---

[1] Professor (subsequently Sir) Walter Raleigh (p. 22, op. cit. ante), quoted with warm appreciation the saying of Robert Thorne, " There is no land unhabitable, nor sea innavigable." It is not that the Professor lacked appreciation of the Elizabethan navigators, explorers, and fighters, but that he misunderstood their relationship to the Crown and policy of England. And when (p. 23) he stated that " The only incidental gain of the North Eastern voyages was the establishment of trading relations with Russia," this hardly conveys how much more than mere material gain the Elizabethan Merchant Adventurers stood for. Although Hakluyt (in 1589) printed so many narratives as to Russia (and the Hakluyt Society's volume of " *Early Voyages and Travels to Russia and Persia,*" ed: E. Delmar Morgan and C. H. Coote, is easily accessable), the outer public still imperfectly realises how interesting was the pioneer intercourse of England with " Muscovia." The ensuing Notes (and those ante, Prologue xi, D. pp. 86-88), may serve as samples.

[2] " The Queenes Majesties Letter to the Emperour of Russia, requesting . . . . safe conduct for Mr. Anthony Jenkinson to passe thorow his kingdome of Russia, into Persia, to the great Sophie, 1561." MacLehose's Hakluyt, Vol. VIII, p. 1-5.

[3] 25 April, 1561. Ib: pp. 6-8.

Merchants trading into Russia"; whose "good ship called the Swallow" was fitted out with "wine, cloth of gold, scarlet," and plate, pearls, sapphires, and other jewels, suitable to present to the Emperor, and also to "sell for ready money" or exchange for silks and other goods. This Merchants Company stipulated that Jenkinson should only take with him men of reliable character. If any, "be he hired servant or apprentise," were to be guilty of "disobedience or disorder, and will not by gentle and faire means be reformed, we will that you send him backe to Mosco," and thence return him into England, "and let us have knowledge of his evill behaviour. . . ."

The dignified conduct of Jenkinson in Russia was not peculiar to himself, but typical of an age when our nation possessed no oversea territory, and could boast scant wealth, but had in all ranks a spirit which commanded respect wherever an Englishman set foot.

On arrival in Moscow (20th August, 1561,) Jenkinson was not able to obtain immediate audience of the Tsar. But on the 6th September he was invited to "a great feast" at the Court. He relates how "being willed by the Secretary first to come and to show him the Queens Majesties letters, *I refused so to doe, saying I would deliver the same into the Emperours own hands, and not otherwise."* The Secretary insisted that "unless he might first peruse" the Queen's letters, the Englishman should not "come into the Emperours presence." Jenkinson had not weathered the dangers of a voyage to Russia to be conquered by a disobliging official; and he utterly refused to allow the Secretary to open Queen Elizabeth's letter: "so that I was not at the feast," he adds laconically. Presumably the Secretary expected to be bribed with gifts of jewels and merchandise; but there is no hint that Jenkinson did any such thing. Rather he appealed to a "nobleman," and "caused a supplication to be made, and presented it to his Highness [the Emperor's] own hande," explaining that either Queen Elizabeth's subject must deliver his Sovereign's letter to the Emperor in person, or else leave the country. This firmness was rewarded. *"The same day I dined in his Grace's presence, with great entertainment,"* notes Jenkinson. Nevertheless, owing to "the frowardness of the secretary," an application for leave to go through Russia into Persia was not confirmed. But the attempt of the Secretary to act as the power behind the throne was once more frustrated by the resolute Englishman; who not only persevered—over that official's head—until he obtained the passports he required, but "dined againe in his Majesties presence; in company of an Ambassadour of Persia, ... and receiving a cup of drinke at his Majesties hands, I took my leave of his Highnesse: who did not onely give me letters, ... but committed matter of importance and charge unto me. . . ."[1]

On the 3rd August, 1562, Jenkinson arrived at "Derbent in the King of Hircans dominion . . . . an ancient towne having an olde castle therein . . . . first erected by King Alexander the great when he warred against the Persians and the Medians."

Thence, with forty-five camels to carry his goods, Jenkinson with his party rode to "Shamaky"; and had audience of the King, "who gently entertained me," in "a pavilion wrought with silke and golde, placed very pleasantly, upon a hill side. . . ." The Potentate, magnificently clad and covered with jewels, sat on cushions on a carpet "wrought with gold and silver." Realising that Jenkinson was not accustomed to sit thus with "legs a crosse, ... his highness caused a stoole to be brought in" that his guest might sit English fashion; and then conversed with him, "touching religion and the state of our countreys; and further questioned whether the Emperor of Almaine, the Emperour of Russia or the greate Turke were of most power." Jenkinson made an oration on the virtues of his own Queen, and her wishes for intercourse between England and Persia; so effectually that not only was he supplied with the requisite safe-conducts and escort, but taken out hawking "with many Gentlemen of the Court."

After numerous adventures in the "great and ample" Empire of Persia,—where he found

[1] "A compendious and briefe declaration," etc. Ib. p. 18. Exactly how Jenkinson overcame the secretary is not related in detail; but presumably by aid of the "nobleman" unnamed.

the natives "proude and of good courage," "martial, delighting in faire horses," and extremely argumentative about religion, "esteeming themselves to be the best of all nations,"—Jenkinson and his "company" returned to Moscow; where he saw the Emperor again, and obtained for England and his Queen *"a newe privilege more ample than the first."*

The baffled Secretary (whose main object seems to have been the obstruction of his Sovereign's intercourse with foreign nations,) was obliged to witness this and other favours to Jenkinson; who, if a weak man, would have been frustrated at the outset. Not by concessions or servility, but by firmness combined with courtesy, a "simple" merchant successfully negotiated with these Absolute Monarchs.

After more than three years' absence, the "Swallow" anchored in the Thames, on St. Michael and All Angels Eve, 1564. In writing for the Merchants Company an account of the proceedings, Jenkinson ended by comparing himself to a "couragious and valiant souldier" who has hazarded life and fortune to serve his Sovereign, and was asking no reward except that his service might be well accepted: to the glory of "the Queenes most excellent Majestie," "the honour and commoditie of this her highness Realme," and to the benefit of "posteritie for ever."[1]

---

[1] Ib. Vol. III, p. 38. And see facing p. 486, Jenkinson's map, as included by Ortelius, 1570, in *"Theatrum Orbis Terrarum"*. *"Rvssiae, Moscoviae et Tartariae Descriptio Auctore Antonio Jenkinsono Anglo edita Londini Anno 1562 & dedicata illustriss D. Henrico Sydneo Wallie presidi."* This is half map and half picture, with *"Ioannes Basilivs Magnvs, Imperator Russie, Dux Moscouvie,"* &c., depicted seated in the top right hand corner. Elsewhere camels, horse-bowmen, foot-soldiers, tents, &c., are shown. Jenkinson's next voyage to Moscovia was in 1566, consequent upon Queen Elizabeth's "Act for . . . Merchants Adventurers for the discovering of new trades," that same year (8th Eliz:). He made a further voyage in 1571-1572. See pp. 195-196:—"The names of such countries as I Anthony Jenkinson have travelled unto," since October, 1546: Flanders, Germany, Italy, France, Spain, Portugal, the Levant Seas, Rhodes, Malta, Sicily, Cyprus, &c.: "Grecia, Morea, Achaia, and where the olde citie of Corinth stood: . . . . Turkie, Syria, ... Damasco, ... Samaria, Galile, ... Palestine, ... Algiers, Cola, Bona, Tripolis. . . . ." Also "farre Northward," to Lapland "and other very strange places; and not only through all the ample dominions of the Emperour of Russia," but beyond the Caspian Sea "towards the Oriental India . . . . through divers deserts and wildernesses . . . . *not without great perils."* And now at last, in 1572, "being weary and growing old, I am content to take my rest in mine owne house, chiefly comforting my selfe in that my service hath been honourably accepted and rewarded by her Majestie and the rest by whom I have been imploied."

THE FOUNDER OF THE ROYAL EXCHANGE: SIR THOMAS GRESHAM.

In the record "of those that were advanced to the honourable Order of Knighthood in the godley quyet and fortunate reigne of Queene Elizabeth,"[1] the greater number had performed martial service. But even her Knights "made on the Carpet" had usually laboured for the State in some tangible fashion. Of civilian Knights, Thomas Gresham was one of the first, and most illustrious. Now remembered chiefly as the founder of the Royal Exchange, Gresham came of a knightly family. His seemingly trivial crest of "a grasshopper proper" was not selected by himself, but inherited.[2]

In 1547 Sir *John* Gresham figures on the list of "Knightes Banneretts and Bacheler Knightes made in the Campe" (in the Scottish war), "by the hands of the high and mighty Prynce Edward Duke of Somersett, Generall of all the Kinges Armyes by lande and sea," and Lord Protector of the Realm during the minority of the Monarch (Edward VI).[3] A Knight Bachelor could be created in peace; but a Knight Banneret only upon the field of battle; and not unless (in addition to his personal deeds of valour) he led troops armed and equipped at his own expense. That the most powerful financier of King Edward, and Queen Mary, and (in the early part of her reign) of Queen Elizabeth, was not merely mercantile in his interests, but was kinsman and friend of "martiallists," is not without significance.

Sir Thomas Gresham was trusted and respected by all ranks. His worn and anxious face in his portrait (in the National Portrait Gallery) is representative of his life. His responsibilities were a heavy burden; and he thought the Queen not as grateful to him as she should be. On the 3rd October, 1563, he protested, from Antwerp where he had gone on her business, that he must beg her to alter his instructions of 23rd August, by which she reduced his allowance of twenty shillings a day. He always received this in the time of King Edward and Queen Mary, who gave between them "three hundred pounds land a year" to him and his heirs for ever. But he had done for Queen Elizabeth far more than for them. Their sums amounted to £760,000; but hers to £830,000. This was the 24th journey he had taken over the seas for her since she came to the Crown; and now he was growing old and lame.[4] To Sir William Cecil he wrote reminding him of promises made by the Queen at Hatfield in Cecil's presence on the 20th November, 1558, just after her Accession.[5]

Gresham enumerated his services.—1st, at her coming to the throne, he took up in Antwerp £25,000 which "served the turn" for her Coronation; 2nd, he in sundry ways obtained money in exchange for cloth, to the profit of English industry and herself; 3rd, he had furnished Armour and Munitions for defence of the Realm; 4th, he has charged his credit by exchange for sums from £20,000 to £50,000 at different times in her interests; 5th, he took up in one day in London for her use, upon his own bills and credits, £25,000; 6th, whereas Henry VIII and Edward VI and Queen Mary paid 14 per cent., and also were willing to take jewels as part payment, since Queen Elizabeth came to the throne he had brought down her interest to 12 per cent., and not expected her to take jewels as pledges. And, 7th, he had lent his credit to her Ambassadors for large sums, and was unpaid by them as yet. In Antwerp the exchange for England had fallen; and Gresham implored Cecil to stand by him with the Queen.

Over and over again the private correspondence of Queen Elizabeth's best servants with each other indicates that she was difficult to please; and yet upon these men she was entirely dependent

---

[1] Cotton MS. Vide Metcalfe's *Book of Knights* (1885), p. 116.

[2] Its origin appears to be unknown. His hereditary arms were *Argent*, a chevron *Ermine*, between three mullets pierced *Sable*, Ib: And see p. 68, Sir Richard Gresham, knighted 1537.

[3] Metcalfe, p. 96.

[4] Gresham to the Queen. Cal. S.P. Foreign. Vol. VI. (1869). No: 1260. p. 537.

[5] Ib: No: 1263. p. 540.

for the steady maintenance of her power. Their devotion, hard work, foresight, and constancy will be best realised after we have contrasted her fortunes with those of Queen Mary of Scots. The gracious and generous Scottish Queen was repeatedly exploited and betrayed by those she trusted. The English Queen, on the contrary, was for over 40 years saved from the consequences of her own mistakes, and upheld in public by the Ministers who remonstrated with her in private. The tact, consistency, and infinite patience of those around Queen Elizabeth, and the shameless self-seeking and often sheer brutality of Scotsmen who harried the Queen of Scots, and then basely made her the scapegoat for their own misdeeds, would afford one of the most dramatic contrasts in "the Great Book of Humanitie" (as the Elizabethans termed the History of the World), if the dealings of the Ministers north and south of the Tweed were put side by side. Not the least of Queen Elizabeth's advantages was that although she came to the throne when the Treasury was at a low ebb, she had in Gresham a financier who was also a statesman and a patriot, a man of inviolable honour as well as lifelong industry and complex commercial experience.[1]

As this volume is passing through the press, an unpublished letter of the Earl of Leicester to Lord Burghley in 1574 (P R O. E. 404/120) serves to illustrate Gresham's position and the Queen's subsequent appreciation of his services:—

It is here added because the volume of "*Eliz. Eng:*" covering the year 1574 is already printed and bound.

"My very good Lord [spelling modernised].

It hath pleased the Queen's Majesty to lend to Sir Thomas Gresham, her agent, £5,000 for one year, and [she] hath signed her warrant for the same to your Lordship; and withal hath commanded me to signify unto you that although the said Sir Thomas hath offered unto her to pay interest for the loan thereof either 10 or 12 by the hundred, *Her Majesty will not in any wise take the said interest, nor any at all, but very graciously doth remember the many years' service which he hath done unto her, and the great sums which he hath been her agent for* And for other her especial favours towards him doth most willingly and freely let him have the said sum of £5,000 for a year, and that ye take his bond for the same. . . . And this being her Majesty's pleasure and commandment to signify to your Lordship, I will with my hearty commendations bid you farewell.

At the Court, 6 Dec: 1574.

Your Lordship's assured friend,

R. Leycester."

PART I.

"The art and manner of Governing."

CHAPTER 1.

"THE GREATEST RARITY."

SECTION 4.

"Lords of Truth."

(Castiglione's "Cortegiano" in English. 1561).

". . . the Life of a Prince not only ought to be good in itself, but to produce goodness in others."

Count Baldassare Castiglione: "*Il Cortegiano.*"

"Above all things, tell no untruth."

Sir Henry Sidney to his son Philip when aged 11½ and a scholar at Shrewsbury, 1566 (See p. 200.)

". . . princely minds . . . Lords of Truth, whereon all other good is builded."

"*The Countesse of Pembroke's Arcadia*" (circa 1580).

". . . What more difficult, more noble or more magnificent task has anyone ever undertaken than our author Castiglione, who has drawn for us the figure and model of a Courtier, . . . the beauty of Chivalry?"

Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford, Latin *Preface*
to Clerke's "*De Curiali sive Aulico*": Translation of Castiglione's "*Cortegiano.*"
London, 1571-2.

"There can be no punishment so severe and cruel as to be a sufficient Chastisement to those wicked Courtiers who use their gentil and agreeable Address, and other good qualities to a bad End; and by these means seek for the Favour of their Prince in order to corrupt and seduce him . . . for we may justly say such men as these infect with deadly Poyson not one Vessel which one Person alone drinks out of, but the publick Fountain which all have recourse to."

"*Il Cortegiano,*" Book iv. Translation by A. P. Castiglione: 1727. p. 356.

"Wisdom, Faith, and Prowess support Kingdoms."

Inscription on an iron buckler, lent to the Tudor Exhibition, 1890,
by The Lord Kenyon: Now in possession of Major Peel.

NOTE:

CASTIGLIONE'S "COURTIER" IN SPAIN.

Twenty-seven years before *"The Courtyer of Covnt Baldessar Castiglio"* was *"done into English by Thomas Hoby,"* in 1561, a Spanish translation, by Boscán, *"El Cortesano,"* had been published in Barcelona in 1534. Many other editions were issued between then and 1561; and many during the next thirteen years.

Barcelona (?),	1535	Toledo,	1559
Toledo,	1539	Amberes,	1561
Salamanca,	1540	Valladolid,	1569
,,	1542	Saragossa,	1573
Toledo,	1544	Amberes,	1573, 1574, &c., &c.
Amberes (Antwerp),	1544	Salamanca,	1581
(Salamanca ?),	1549	Amberes,	1588
Saragossa,	1553		

As all cultured Spaniards knew Italian, this translation was certainly for popular reading. That it was in circulation in Spain so much earlier than in England was presumably forgotten by Martin Hume when in 1901 in *"The Spanish People"* (pp. 305, 312, 402,) he stated that Spanish services to the world "in finally ousting the Crescent from Western Europe . . . . are *counterbalanced by the irreparable injury" done in the suppression of "literary activity and thirst for knowledge, nipped in the bud by the Inquisition."*

But this belief that Spain was "shut out from the light of the Renaissance," as alleged by Prescott, arises from the present divorce between History and Literature. A protest is made by Aubrey F. G. Bell in *"Notes on the Spanish Renaissance,"* in *"Revue Hispanique,"* Paris and N.Y. 1930 (*Imprimerie Sainte Catherine, Bruges, Belgique.* T. LXXX, pp. 319-639; Index pp. 640-650; Summary, pp. 651-2) Of the "marvellously voluminous" literary energy of 15th and 16th century Spaniards, Mr Bell gives many examples; and deplores that our 19th and 20th century English historians, *"instead of acknowledging ignorance"* and consulting Spanish Bibliographies, have taken refuge behind "a few phrases," and still cling to their "unbending theory of an obscurantist Spain."

(It was long after Philip II died that the Inquisitors prohibited the reprinting of *"El Cortesano."*)

Although it was not until the first year of Philip III's reign (1599) that Father Siguenza, in his dedication to the King of his *"Historia de la Orden de San Jeronimo,"* claimed that though written in Castilian it could be read *"wherever the sun shines,"* a Spanish Grammar had been published at Louvain in 1555.

Spanish books were in demand all over Europe; and "Spanish learning" was almost as renowned as "Spanish discipline." Yet our *"Cambridge Modern History,"* Vol. I, *"The Renaissance,"* described Spain as "definitely ranged on the side of those forces which were reacting against the liberal studies of the Renaissance": Spain's answer to which might well be a list of the most influential 15th and 16th century Spanish thinkers and writers, physicians, botanists, architects, mystics and mathematicians; cartographers, and poets; with a description of the activities of King Philip II as patron of all the arts, and creator of that "epic in stone" the Escorial Palace and Monastery.

In our own day, the last gift of King Alfonso XIII to his people, the vast new University City outside Madrid, was intended to make Spain once more a centre for combined arts and sciences; to attract students both from the Old world and the New, that the glories of the past might be carried far into the future.

HIERONYMI
OSORII LVSITANI
DE NOBILITATE
CIVILI LIBRI II.
EIVSDEM DE NOBILITATE
CHRISTIANA LIBRI III.

Ad Ludouicum Principem Clariß. Emanuelis Lusitaniæ Regis F.

FLORENTIAE MDLII.

Apud Laurentium Torrentinum.
Cum Priuilegio.

Gulielmus Cecilius 1555.

Title-page of Sir William Cecil's copy of Osorio's " De Nobilitate ": with his autograph: now first reproduced from the original at Hatfield House in possession of The Marquess of Salisbury, K.G.

For the reasons why this work of the Portuguese Bishop is of special interest, see Note overleaf, *Machiavelli, Osorio, and Castiglione.*

For title-page of first edition, printed at Lisbon ("Olyssipone apvd Ludovicum Rodericum Typographicum, 1542"), *see Vol. II, p.* 134, of "Livros Antigos Portuguezes (1489-1600) Da Bibliotheca de Sua Majestade Fidelissima Descriptos por S.M. El-Rei D. Manuel em tres volumes. Impresso na Imprensa da Universidade de Cambridge e publicado por Maggs Bros. Londres. 1931." *With English translation,* "Early Portuguese Books."

MACHIAVELLI, OSORIO, AND CASTIGLIONE.

In "The Cambridge History of English Literature" *it is remarked that though Machiavelli's* "Art of Warre" *was translated by Peter Whithorne in* 1580, *and his* "Florentine Historie" *by Thomas Bedingfield in* 1598, *no translation of* "The Prince" *was published till* 1640, "and thus we are confronted by a literary puzzle."

The "puzzle" disappears when we pass from literature to life. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth the press was controlled by the Crown; and only such translations from foreign languages were permitted as were of educational value for the "common sorte." Cultivated persons could read such works in the original.

Machiavelli's "Art of Warre" *was licensed to be Englished for the same reason as many translations of Spanish martial works; namely for study by soldiers. It was not chance but design that* "Il Principe" *was not allowed to appear in English: for it embodied theories different from those taught in England.*

In the oldest MS. list of books at Hatfield House, (Muniment Room, Catalogue D 3, *apparently of the* 17*th century), after many pages of Latin there is a short memo of* 18 "Libri volgare Italiano." *They include* "Discorsi di machiavello in 8°." *and* "Historia de machiavelli Con il principe," *but also a work the antithesis to Machiavelli. namely,* "Cortegiano volgare 16 2 of them," *meaning presumably Castiglione's* Courtier, 16*mo, two copies, in Italian, as distinguished from the Latin version of* 1571.

To-day when Elizabethan politics are seen through a 20*th century haze, it is customary to allege that no book had a profounder influence upon the policy of Tudor England than Machiavelli's* "Principe." *Forgetting the popularity of its opposite, Castiglione's* "Cortegiano," *Englished by Thomas Hoby in* 1561, *the fashion is to assert that* "The Prince" *was the text-book of all our courtiers, especially Sir William Cecil (Lord Burghley); and that Lord Robert Dudley (Earl of Leicester) also "obediently followed its precepts."*

An anonymous libel, "La Vie Abominable," *printed in Paris,* 1585, *heaping Leicester with abuse, denounced him on the title-page as "Machiavelliste" (Facsimile given under date). But our now-current writers who assume from this that "Dudley" was "obedient" to the precepts of the Florentine lawyer, are unaware that William Blandie chose Leicester to whom to dedicate a translation of Osorio's answer to Machiavelli, commending Leicester as patron of justice and defender of "truth and honestie," of the sort whose "excellent nature and noble mind" this Portuguese Bishop "seemeth to describe" in* "The Five Bookes of the Famous, learned, and eloquent man Hieronimus Osorius . . . of Ciuill and Christian Nobilitie," 1576. *(Title-page, II.* 4. 2).

Osorio had protested that whereas Machiavelli not only scoffed at Christian Chivalry as a form of weakness, and lauded pagan valour as superior, but also endeavoured to separate his Prince's private and public morals, a Prince on the contrary should be a perfect example to his subjects: his word inviolable, his character heroic, his actions religious. "For the love of Christ," said Osorio, greater proofs of courage and endurance have been shown than in the pre-Christian ages Machiavelli preferred.

As to Sir William Cecil, among the many Italian works autographed by him across a period of half a century, (rearranged in 1930-1932 *by The Rev W Stanhope-Lovell, Librarian at Hatfield House), there is no Machiavelli's* Principe. *But in a special binding, and with* "Guglielmus Cecilius, 1555 "*on the title-page, is the early edition (Florence,* 1552), *of Bishop Osorio's* "De Nobilitate," *written expressly to expose and condemn certain political doctrines of the Florentine whom Cecil is now imagined to have accepted as his oracle*

COUNT BALDASSARE CASTIGLIONE:

From the original by Raphael, now in the Louvre.

(Photograph: Alinari).

On 20th October, 1506, Count Baldassare Castiglione landed at Dover, to act as proxy for his Prince, the Duke of Urbino, upon whom King Henry VII had conferred the Order of the Garter.

Ashmole's *"Institution and Laws of the Order of the Garter,"* 1692, App· p. 440; and Anstis, *"Register of the Order of the Garter,"* 1724, Vol. I, p 257.

Castiglione arrived in London on the 1st November, bringing presents to King Henry VII from the Duke of Urbino, horses and falcons, and a picture of St George as a Knight of the Garter, specially painted by Raphael (which remained at Windsor Castle until the Cromwellian usurpation, when it was confiscated and sold. In 1917 it was in the Hermitage Palace, St. Petersburg. Its present fate is unknown).

On the 7th November, 1506, the Earl of Surrey, Treasurer of England, and Earl of Shrewsbury, Steward, were authorised by the King to instal Castiglione as K G., "for the said Duke" of Urbino. His installation took place next day at Windsor; and he was afterwards entertained in London by all the Knights of the Garter in turn.

At Greenwich Palace he was presented to Henry Prince of Wales (afterwards Henry VIII).

Leaving England soon after Christmas, with presents of horses and dogs, and the S S. collar, he reached Milan early in February.

It was not until more than half a century later, 1561, that his *Cortegiano* was translated into English, not that it was not appreciated earlier, but that persons of culture could then read it in the original Italian.

In his biography by Julia Cartwright (Mrs. Ady), *"Baldassare Castiglione The Perfect Courtier His Life and Letters, 1478-1529,"* 2 vols., London, 1908, see Vol I, Bibliography; and Vol. II, Genealogical Table of the House of Castiglione from the early eleventh century to 1780, also Vol. II, pp 448-451, "A Note on the Portraits of Castiglione," in which occurs a correction of the statement in the Louvre Catalogue (1903) that Raphael's portrait of Castiglione, painted circa 1515, was bought by King Charles I in 1629, and sold by Cromwell in 1649 to Van Asselin of Amsterdam. Mrs. Ady shows it was in Van Asselin's possession during King Charles's lifetime; and was purchased in 1639 by Don Alfonso de Lopez, who subsequently "fell into disgrace at Court." The picture was next bought by Cardinal Mazarin; and subsequently by Louis XIV. Engraved in the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries, it is one of the best examples of Raphael's skill, (p. 449)·

> "The noble brow and broad forehead, the fine eyes, with their clear intense blue and vivid brightness, give the impression of intellectual power and refinement, tinged with a shade of habitual melancholy. All the spiritual charm and distinction of Castiglione's nature, all the truth and loyalty of his character, are reflected in this incomparable work, which is a living example of the ideal gentleman and perfect courtier, ... by a painter whose unerring hand and eye, and intimate knowledge of the sitter, fitted him above all others for the task. . . . ."

PART I.

"The art and manner of Governing."

CHAPTER I.

"THE GREATEST RARITY."

SECTION 4.

"Lords of Truth."

(Castiglione's "Cortegiano" in English. 1561).

THOUGH it is now customary to imagine a "literary mystery" behind the fact that Machiavelli's *"Principe"* was not published in English during Queen Elizabeth's lifetime, there need not be any such perplexity. As all translations were then licensed, sometimes by the Queen herself, sometimes by the Privy Council, those who were building up the prestige of the Monarchy had no wish to circulate a work in which the moral dignity of the Prince was lowered by ignoble theories purporting to ensure his political supremacy. The Florentine lawyer's code was not calculated to edify; but Count Baldassare Castiglione on the contrary had maintained that *"the life of a Prince not only ought to be good itself but to produce goodness in others."*

It was Leonardo da Vinci who set down as an axiom that "good literature proceeds from men of natural probity"; and as, to him, character and motive were even more important than art, he gave "greater praise to a man of probity unskilled in letters than to one skilled in letters but devoid of probity."[1] Whereas it now requires courage for a writer to end his story with a palpable moral, to Elizabethans the moral was the point. Literature was no frail exotic, but a vigorous incentive to action; most admired when most "heroicall." That our *"Cambridge Modern History"* sums up the Italian Renaissance as the era when talent abounded but "character" was rare,—meaning by "character" good character,—is surprising; for Virtues and Vices then stood out with marked distinctness. And even men who were themselves the reverse of exemplary, often preserved at least a theoretical respect for exalted conduct in others. If Castiglione's standard of excellence had

[1] *"Thoughts of Leonardo da Vinci As Recorded in his 'Note Books.'"* Trans. and ed: Edward McCurdy. London, 1907. p. 9.

not been pleasing to many, it would have excited antagonism. But not only was his "*Cortegiano*" appreciated among his own patrician circle; it soon became one of the most warmly admired books in Christendom. The first English translation, that of Thomas Hoby,—described by the "stationer" as "Very necessary and profitable for yonge Gentilmen and Gentilwomen abiding in Court, Palaice, or Place,"—was printed in the third year of Queen Elizabeth's reign.[1]

Italian being a language with which all courtiers were supposed to be acquainted, the translation, despite its sub-title offering it to persons "in Court," was produced for popular reading. No work from a foreign pen exercised a wider influence; or did more to make Nobility loved and respected. Count Baldassare Castiglione's Courtier was a model of devoted loyalty, courage, and generosity; endowed with many graces, intellectual and artistic. That Castiglione had been both warrior and Ambassador, that he was as faithful a husband as devoted a subject, as constant a friend, as generous a patron of arts and letters as his own "*Cortegiano,*" gave his book the charm of perfect sincerity; so his ideas are more than theoretical when he treats of "*that virtue . . . of highest value and yet the greatest rarity: namely the art and manner of governing and ruling well.*"[2] There are three different methods:

> "One is a Monarchy; the other is *the Government of the Good,* whom the Ancients called Optimates (*and this is Aristocracy*); the third is when the Power is in the People, as it is in a Republick. The Corruptions and Faults these Governments are liable to, when defaced and unhinged, are the following:
>
> The first is perverted when a Monarchy becomes a Tyranny; the second when the Government of the Good is changed into the Power of a few who are not good; the third when the management of the Republick is seized on by the Rabble . . . ."[3]

Of these three systems, the best is Monarchy, because "more according to Nature: and, if it is lawful to compare small things with infinite, it is more like the Government of God, who, being one and alone, governs the Universe . . . . ."

Moreover there are many persons unable to govern their own lives, much less govern a country; persons "who exercise themselves in nothing but what pertains to the use of the Body; and these differ as much from the truly virtuous as the Soul from the Body; they have just a sufficient share of Reason to inform them that they are rational Creatures; but they cannot be said either to possess or enjoy it. . . . *it is better for them and more useful to obey than to command.*"

---

[1] "*The Covrtyer of Covnt Baldessar Castilio diuided into foure bookes. Very necessary and profitable for yonge gentilmen and gentilwomen abiding in Court, Palaice, or Place, done into Englyshe by Thomas Hoby Imprinted at London by wyllyam Seres at the signe of the Hedgehogge, 1561*" (B.M. 1030. c 13: the copy belonging in Queen Elizabeth's day to John, Lord Lumley.)

[2] Quotations infra are not from Hoby, but from the clearer version: "*Il Cortegiano, or The Courtier Written by Conte Baldassar Castiglione and A fresh Version of the same into English. . .*" Published for subscribers. London. 1727 Italian and English in parallel columns; Translation and Introduction by A. P. Castiglione. [3] pp. 380-381.

As to the qualities needed for a strong yet "mild, princely and politick Government," "*Il Cortegiano*" speaks with no uncertain voice:

"Whereas you have said that it is much more easy for the Mind of one than of many to be corrupted, I assert that on the other side it is a much easier matter to find one endowed with goodness and knowledge than many. And we ought to set a value upon a King thus good and wise, who is of a noble Race, and inclined to Virtue (as it were) by his own natural Instinct, by the glorious Memory of his ancestors, and by a good Education. And tho' he is not of a species more than human," yet if his Courtiers are "good and prudent," the Prince may be "most just, chaste, temperate, courageous and wise; full of Liberality, Magnificence, Religion and Clemency: in short he will be most glorious, and most dear both to Men and God, by whose Grace he will arrive to such heroick Virtue" as will make him transcend mortal limitations. "For God delights in and is the protector of Princes; but not of those who are unwilling to imitate Him."

To those for whom Kingship is a vocation and a sacrament, God imparts "Virtue, Equity, Justice, and Goodness . . . . ."

"The People therefore are committed by God to the guardianship of Princes; who ought for that Reason to be diligent in the care of them," and to "make their Happiness the chief object."[1]

"Moreover the Life of a Prince not only ought to be good in itself, but to produce goodness in others . . . . . For the Life of the Prince is the Law and Instructor of the People . . . . For it is not fit that the ignorant should instruct, nor the ungovernable govern; nor for him who is on the ground himself to lift up others."

When we find Philip Sidney making one of his heroes in *Arcadia* adjure another, "*Whether your time call you to live or die, do both like a Prince,*" or when he calls the sword "*the Prince of weapons,*" we shall imperfectly understand what he means unless we keep in mind Castiglione's definition of what Princes should be. This influenced our ancestors the more, because they well knew Castiglione to be no dreamer, but one of the most experienced and accomplished of men.

Knowledge of good and evil, observation of the contrasts between iniquitous tyranny and benevolent autocracy, the arts of government and the science of practical existence, were essential parts of Castiglione's mental equipment. Literary grace appears conspicuously in his personal letters, his Latin epitaph on his early-dying and much-loved wife, and his masterpiece "*Il Cortegiano.*" But however excellent his work as art, its main value is its presentation of actual types; also its exemplification of an ability to keep the moral flag flying, in an era when extremes of shameless evil in high places outnumbered the "equitable and gracious" sort of regality which Castiglione deliberately set himself to encourage (a type found in the justly-praised Duke and Duchess of Urbino whom he served).

Some acquaintance with the "*Cortegiano*" is a necessity for all who wish to comprehend the English Renaissance; in which Castiglione's book, like his own "good Prince," was not only good in itself but produced "goodness in others."

[1] pp. 378-384.

One of Castiglione's friends evolved a plan for a state "formed of the three good Governments; Monarchy, Aristocracy and Democracy"; in which the Prince would select from those of the highest rank the "most noble and wise" "to consult with on all occasions"; giving them leave to offer their opinions, on the understanding that he wished in everything *"to know the truth, and detect Falsehood."*

From the people he would also choose the best qualified to impart to the Council of the Nobility *"such information as might conduce to the benefit of the community as a whole;* and, the Prince being at the helm," he would be united with the Nobles and Commons, and to each would be allotted duties according to position and qualifications.

In selecting magistrates, the Prince should choose men for their high personal character; so that their prudence may not degenerate into "craft," but shine out as true judicial wisdom; for *"when this Goodness is wanting, all the Art and Subtilty the Lawyer uses ends in nothing but Ruin and Destruction of the Laws of Justice."*[1]

We shall meet in Elizabethan England lawyers whose prudence deteriorated into "craft"; for the subordination of the law to the Sovereign's "will and pleasure" reached under the Tudors a condition which is seldom now clearly pictured. We have so long been accustomed to regard law and justice as synonymous,—our Judges as beyond bribery and above servility,—that when we read of Sir John Perrott, or Robert Earl of Essex, being *"tried and found guilty,"* we assume the circumstances of a modern trial, in which even the vilest murderer is treated with decency. But in Tudor England no man accused of High Treason was allowed any counsel for the defence. From the innocent young Earl of Warwick, beheaded by Henry VII for having a more regal pedigree than his own, down to the veteran Sir Walter Raleigh beheaded by King James the First to please the Conde de Gondomar, the cases of men "found guilty" on what we would now call insufficient grounds for a death sentence, will be of tragic interest. The power acquired by the Tudors was enormous; and power, as Castiglione insisted, is a touchstone of character:

> "For as vessels so long as they are empty, though they be cracked cannot easily be discovered to be unsound, but if they are filled soon show on which side the Fault lies, so corrupt and depraved minds seldom manifest their Defects till they are filled with Authority";

whereon they "deliver themselves" over to their arrogance, insolence, and "all the tyrannical habits within them"; and *"depress the good and wise and exalt the bad."* Nor do they wish friendship and understanding to prevail among others, but prefer to "cherish Spies, Informers, and Murderers. Hence how many lamentable losses, . . . and often cruel executions."[2]

---

[1] 394-395. [2] p. 885.

Castiglione had come to England in Henry VII's day, to be installed a Knight of the Garter as proxy for his Prince, the Duke of Urbino; bringing with him, as a present from the Duke, Raphael's St. George, depicted with the insignia of the Order. It is by reading what Castiglione says of "Prince Henry" afterwards Henry VIII, that we shall best understand how our English "Sardanapalus," who at the end of his life

"scarce the name of manhood did retain;
Drenchèd in sloth,"

—a hideous mass of degeneracy, almost insane in his hatred against those who kept their dignity and vigour,—had been in youth so promising as to deceive even Castiglione; a fastidious judge of mankind, and never a flatterer. "Deceive" is scarcely the right word; for in boyhood Prince Henry believed himself a mirror of chivalry. It was only after he attained unlimited power, and then not all at once, that a legion of devils possessed him. In youth he seemed to the Ambassador from Urbino "as if Nature were willing to show her Force and Power in that Prince, by uniting in him alone so many excellencies as would be sufficient Ornaments were they divided among a thousand."[1]

We usually picture Henry VIII obese and crafty-eyed as in his best known portrait by Holbein; but a medal dated 1513 shows him then to have been handsome and alert, one who might have had before him even such an honourable future as Castiglione believed.[2] When we recall that Castiglione was everything that the Henry of later days was not,—pure-minded, truthful, scrupulously faithful to his word, reverential to women, compassionate, consistent, and loving-hearted,—Castiglione's few but superlative words bring home with peculiar insistence from what heights Queen Elizabeth's father fell, that from such an appearance of "vertue" he was changed at last into one of "these intolerable Monsters," these "cruel and impious tyrants," whom the Courtier of Castiglione characterises as the enemies of mankind.

There would be the less to deplore in the deterioration of Henry VIII, if it had not been a case of sinking to a lower standard after making semblance of embodying the higher.

As in a recent work purporting to explain the wars of Religion and the world-politics of the 16th century, it was sweepingly asserted that no Royal Personage then told the truth, and that scruples of any sort were out of fashion in that "magnificently feminine" age,[3] let us remember that although we will need to

[1] " . . . collocando in un corpo solo tante excellentia quante bastariano per adornane infiniti." pp. 403-404.

[2] Medal engraved (with reverse, a crowned portcullis, inscribed *secvritas altera*) in *"Sylloge Nvmismatvm Elegantiorum Quae Diuersi Impp: Reges, Principes, Comites. . . . . Iohannis Iacobi Lvckii . . . . 1620."* The writer refers to King Henry and to his ally the Emperor Maximilian as "magnanimi principes duo." See *"Nummus triumphalis Henrici VIII Anglorum Regis, cusus occupato Morino et Tornaco: Anno Christi 1513."*

[3] Cit. V. 1.

examine many a tortuous political transaction, the theoretical standard of honour was still based on the ancient chivalrous virtues: loyalty, valour and truth: and a Prince, in spite of Machiavelli, was expected both to behave like a gentleman and to distinguish between his loyal supporters and such persons as pursued him for their own ends. Emphatically Castiglione denounces men who, to gain royal favour, propose to the rulers things which though "agreeable" are "in themselves wicked and dishonourable." A Prince's greatest misfortune is if his friends become his flatterers, and if "to make use" of him to their own advantage, they "pave their

> way by Lies: which raise in the mind of the Prince not only an ignorance of those things which belong not to him, but of those that do. And this of all others may be termed the most enormous Cheat . . . ."[1]

"Base methods" are ruinous to the real dignity of any Prince who succumbs to the influence of "mean and despicable" Courtiers. The good courtier is one who so earns the "Esteem and Affection of the Prince he serves, that he may at

> all Times use Freedom of speech to him, *and inform him of the true state of every thing, . . . and that without fear or danger of displeasing.* And when he sees that his Prince's disposition prompts him to act beneath his character, he should have the courage to oppose him: and in a courteous manner so to prevail on him, by the favour he hath obtained by his own good Qualities, as to divert him from all ill designs . . . . ."

If the Courtier is an embodiment of that "goodness" upon which all graces and accomplishments should be founded, he will be able to "give his Prince an insight

> how great Honour and Advantage will accrue both to himself and his Subjects from Justice, Liberality, Magnanimity, Affability and other Virtues which are expedient for a good Prince."[2]

Castiglione strikes this note again and again: "to direct and persuade his Prince to Good and dissuade him from Evil, is the true fruit of the Art of a Courtier."[3]

Care must be taken lest this Prince be deceived by "Flatterers, malicious Railers, and Liars": for it is essential that he should "*understand good and ill, and love the one and hate the other.*" The root of all evil is "*lying: a crime deservedly hateful to God and Man,*" destructive above all to Princes, whose most vital need is to be surrounded by "*such as shall tell them the truth and mind them of what is good.*" Their enemies do not wish to give them any such assistance; but prefer for them to flounder in error.

Not only to Princes and courtiers was such a standard held up; but children were expected to be reasonable creatures. They were then treated not as playthings, or pet animals, but as potential men:

> ". . . For almost before they could speak, excellent devices were used to

[1] Op. cit. p. 361.

[2] pp. 359-360.

[3] "*Il vero frutto dello Cortegiano*" (p. 360).

make their sports profitable: images of battles and fortifications being then delivered to their memory; *stories of worthy Princes, both to move them to do nobly, and teach them how to do nobly:* The beauty of virtue still being set before their eyes and taught them with far more diligent care than grammatical rules: Their bodies exercised in all abilities both of doing and suffering; and their minds acquainted by degree with dangers. *And, in sum, all bent to the making up of princely minds: no servile fear used towards them, nor any other violent restraint, but still as to Princes; so that a habit of commanding was naturalised in them, and therefore the further from tyranny,—Nature having done well for them in nothing more than this, that it made them lords of Truth, whereon all other good is builded."*

Though this last, which is not from Castiglione's "*Courtier*" but from Philip Sidney's "*Arcadia,*" was not written until about 1580,—and in 1561 when Hoby's translation of Castiglione first appeared, young Philip was not turned eight,—the moral resemblance is manifest. The letter of Sir Henry Sidney to Philip at school at Shrewsbury in 1566 (first printed by Roger Ascham), is typical of that age of strenuous manliness:

"I have received two letters from you, one written in Latin, the other in French: which I take in good part, and will you to exercise that practise of learning often, for that will stand you in most stead in that profession of life you are born to live in.

"And since this is my first letter that ever I did write to you, I will not that it be all empty of some advices which my natural care of you provoketh me to wish you to follow . . .

"Let your first action be the lifting up of your mind to Almighty God by hearty prayer; and feelingly digest the words you speak in prayer, with continual meditation and thinking of Him to whom you pray, and of the matter for which you pray . . . "

It seems as if Philip was delicate, for his father bids him apply himself in study only during "such hours as your discreet master doth assign . . . . the time, I know, he will so limit as shall be both sufficient for your learning and safe for your health."

Mere pedantic application Sir Henry condemns; for the aim of learning should be a right judgment:

"Mark the sense and the matter that you read, as well as the words: so shall you both enrich your tongue with words and your wit with matter, and judgment will grow as years grow in you.

"Be humble and obedient to your master; for unless you frame yourself to obey others, yea and feel in yourself what obedience is, you shall never be able to teach others how to obey you.

"Be courteous of gesture and affable to all men, with diversity of reverence according to the dignity of the person. There is nothing that winneth so much with so little cost.

"Use moderate diet, so as after your meat you may find your wit fresher and not duller, and your body more lively and not more heavy. Seldom drink wine; and yet sometimes do, lest being enforced to drink upon the sudden you should find yourself inflamed.

"Use exercise of body, but such as is without peril of your joints or bones . . . "

Though children of rank were prepared almost from their cradles for the public services then expected from aristocracy—portraits of Elizabethan children while still "long-coated" (under four years old) show the boys with tiny wooden swords

by their sides, symbol of responsibilities to come,—Sir Henry Sidney's teaching was neither gloomy nor austere.[1] Far from endeavouring to depress Philip, his father bids him be " merry," provided his mirth is " ever void of scurrility." He must not give vent to " biting words ":

"for *a wound given by a word is oftentimes harder to be cured than that which is given with the sword.*

"Be you rather a hearer and bearer away of other men's talk than a beginner or procurer of speech: *otherwise you shall be counted to delight to hear yourself speak.* If you hear a wise sentence or an apt phrase, commit it to your memory, with respect to the circumstance when you shall speak it.

"Let never oath be heard to come out of your mouth, nor word of ribaldry; detest it in others, so shall custom make to yourself a law against it in yourself.

"Be modest in each assembly, and rather be rebuked of light fellows for maidenlike shamefastness than of your sad friends for pert boldness.

"*Think upon every word that you will speak before you utter it . . . Above all things tell no untruth; no not in trifles . . . let it not satisfy you that for a time the hearers take it for a truth; for, after, it will be known as it is, to your shame, for there cannot be a greater reproach to a gentleman than to be accounted a liar.*

"Study and endeavour yourself to be virtuously occupied. So shall you make such a habit of well doing in you, that you shall not know how to do evil though you would."

He then points out that "only by virtuous life and good action" can Philip be worthy of his mother's "illustrious family"; "otherwise through vice and sloth you shall be counted *labes generis, —one of the greatest curses than can happen to man.*

"Well, my little Philip, this is enough for me; and too much, I fear for you . . .

Your loving father, so long as you live in the fear of God,

H. SYDNEY."[2]

Lady Mary added a postscript bidding her " little Philip " " have always before the eyes of your mind those excellent Counsels of my Lord your dear father " and persevere in " well-doing."

Philip Sidney in early childhood being meditative, and inclined to be sad, was the natural result of his mother's sorrows. That he was more sensitive than his later-born brothers only seems "unnatural " if we forget how recently his mother had lost on the scaffold her father, her brother, and young sister-in-law; and that her eldest brother, also condemned by Queen Mary to execution, died at

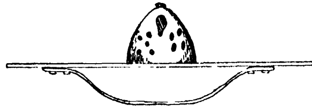
[1] In "*Sir Philip Sidney's Astrophel and Stella . . . . . edited by Alfred Pollard, London. . . . . MDCCCLXXXIII,*" p. vii, the editor refers to Sidney's "gravity" as "typical in so many ways of the earlier and yet unnarrowed spirit of Puritanism." This classing of earnestness as "Puritan" is a deep-rooted modern delusion; the cure for which would be to read "Martin Marprelate's" productions, and struggle to discover in them one iota of resemblance to Sidney, whose "gravity" was of the school of Count Castiglione, La Noue, and other great warrior statesmen. The "Puritans" were mostly jealous of the graces, and distrustful of the arts. No person of Sidney's world was "puritan," though often now erroneously so called. As Sidney was one of the most fervent supporters of the union of Church and State, it is an absolute reversal of the foundations of his policy to suppose that he had any affinity with the sect which wished to undermine the power and discipline of the Church of England. Moreover the word "Puritan" was a nickname invented by the Jesuit Father Sandys; and not at first used by the dissenters themselves.

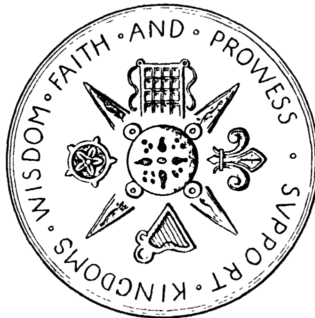
[2] Collin's *Letters and Memorials,* 1748. p. 7.

Penshurst, immediately after his unexpected release from the Tower, only a few weeks before Philip's christening.

Between Philip Sidney and his mother there remained to the last a constant sympathy and affection. That he early showed " grace and reverence," and an animated earnestness: " his very play tending to enrich his mind," was said of him by his most devoted " companion and friend."[1]

As Philip was to become the acknowledged incarnation of the blend of " learning and chivalry " conspicuous in Castiglione, those who now make Castiglione's *" Courtier "* their companion will have no difficulty in understanding Sidney. *" Il Cortegiano "* was then the accepted model for every English nobleman at the Court. And although many fell short of the desired standard, the far-reaching inspiration of Castiglione's principles and ideas, both personal and political, should be always remembered: as preceding and in many instances outlasting the teaching of Machiavelli, whose intellect and influence it pleases our present age to over-estimate.





[1] Fulke Greville, *" Life of the Renowned Sir Philip Sidney."* Ch: 1.

APPENDIX A.

"FOR ANY THAT DELIGHTETH IN A HORSE:"

Blundevill's "Arte of Ryding": circa 1560.

As the story of our English Cavalry in Queen Elizabeth's day has never yet been told, but the services of the Horsemen will figure in the present work, we should notice how early in the reign "*A newe booke contaming the arte of ryding and breaking great Horses . . . . very necessary for all Gentlemen, Souldiers, Serving men, and for any that delighteth in a horse,*" was dedicated "To the right honourable . . . the L. Roberte Dudley, Knight of the honourable order of the garter and master of the Queenes highnes horse, and one of her Maijesties most honourable privy counsayl," by Thomas Blundevill.[1]

> "It is now (my singular good Lorde) almoste two years sithence I determined to myself to have translated into our vulgare tounge the foure bokes of Gryson, intreatinge in the Italian tunge of the arte of ryding and breaking great horses,[2] and to have geve(n) the same unto your L. as Mr. Secretarye Cycell can well testifie. Who I thank him of hys goodnes vouchsafed to peruse my first draught, and misliked not the same."[3]

But having translated two books of Grisone, Blundevill concluded that this Italian was "a farre better doer than a writer," and apt to "*use more wordes than nede.*" So he endeavoured to bring the good matter "into a better forme and order . . . . thereby to make it the playner and also the briefer. In which . . . I trust, if Gryson himself were living, I should not offend him. . . . ."

How far Blundevill had succeeded, he referred "to your L(ordship's) judgment, who hath no small skil" not only in Italian and English but in horsemanship "as a chief master as well by knowledge as also by office. And thereby most mete to be bothe judge and patrone of this booke . . ."

If Lord Robert Dudley would receive it "with a willing hand," his countenance should encourage "the esquires and ryders of the stable in breaking the Queenes Ma(jesty's) horses sometimes to follow thinstructions therein." This would be the more useful because "partly for lacke of arte and partely for lacke of exercise Chivalry is sore decayed" (meaning by "Chivalry" good horsemanship).

Lord Robert, Master of the Horse, was gracious; so the success of the work was assured. Within

---

[1] B.M. 56. a. 22. No author's name or title page, and no date. In B.M. copy "By Gryson" is added in an old hand. There is another edition of 1597, "newlie corrected" (B.M. C. 31. d. 7.)

The translator also put into English Plutarch's "*Three Morall Treatises, no lesse pleasant than necessarie for all men to reade, Whereof the first is called The Learned Prince; The Second, The Fruites of Foes, The Third, The Port of Rest. Set forth by Tho. Blundeville Gentleman.*"

Licensed 7 June, 1561. 8vo. W. Seres.

Another edition, Henry Denham, 1580. (C.U.L. Bb. 12. 48.) H. R. Palmer's "*List of English Editions and Translations of the Greek and Latin Classics printed before 1641.*" London. Bibliog: Soc: (1911). p. 88.

[2] Federico Grisone: "*Gli ordini di Cavalcare et modi di conoscere le Nature de Cavalli Di Emendare I Lor Vitii & d'Ammaestrargli per l'Uso della Guerra.*" First ed: Naples 1550. Other editions 1551, 1553, 1556, 1557, 1558, 1582, 1590. This English rendering was earlier than the Spanish, German, and French. (Spanish translation 1568; German 1570, 1573; French 1579. Vide Cockle's *Bibliog*: (Foreign) 1900. No. 707. p. 182.)

[3] In later editions this is altered to "my L. Burghleigh highe Treasurer of England" (to which office he was appointed in 1572; having been raised to the peerage in 1571.)

a few years it reappeared in an enlarged form; and was again twice reprinted during Queen Elizabeth's reign.[1]

". . . there be as many kinds of Horses as there be divers countries and nations." The horses Blundevill describes are "The Turkie, the Barbarian, the Sardinian, the Neapolitain, and Jennet of Spaine and Hungarie, the High Almaine, and Friezeland Horse, the Flanders Horse, and the Irish Hobbie."[2]

Dedicating the larger work in 1565 to the same patron,—his "singular good Lord the Lord Robert Dudley, Earle of Leicester, Baron of Denbigh, Knight of the Honourable order of the Garter, Master of the Queenes Maiesties horses, and one of her Highness priue councell,"—Blundevill says how "encouraged he has been to find his labours well received by the most part of the Gentlemen of this Realme."[3]

In a separate epistle to Leicester, introducing *"The Order of Dieting of Horses"* in the same volume, Blundevill fears the ignorant will accuse him of

> "having given too curious a shape unto so gross a matter, using therein too much Philosophy for plaine men's understanding." But Lord Leicester, *"who delighteth in all good learning and vertuous exercises,"* and also the other "learned gentlemen," and "such Keepers and Ferrers as are of capacitie to receive reason," will "rest satisfied." Blundevill does not address himself "to *the ignorant sort, which have neither letters, judgment, nor good understanding"* His main object is "to interest the Gentleman, so as he may be able to judge both of the Keeper and the Ferrer."

He added some precepts of "your Honors most excellent Rider, called maister Claudio Corte: not only touching that office, but also touching divers other offices, . . ." supplying points lacking in "Greson his Booke."

> "And truely, your Honour deserveth no little praise for procuring so singular a man into this realme: for besides his perfection in Riding, he is so well learned, wise, courteous, and modest withall, as his acquaintance, companie, and friendshippe ought to be right deare vnto al ciuill Gentlemen, and specially to those that delight in Horsma(n)ship."[4]

Blundevill had found his own work so difficult, having to "deale with a great number of Authors,"—and also having to adapt to English uses his experiences of "trauayling in forraine countries,"—that he would have been utterly discouraged and would have abandoned his task, had it not been for Lord Leicester: *" by whom I was so much hearted, as I could not chuse but take the same in hand. . . ."*

> *"And therefore if any man receiveth any commoditie thereby . . . . he shall have most cause to be thankfull to your Honor for the same.* And I believe your thankes and praise should be so much the more if, it would please your Honour to bee a meane that the Queenes Highnesse may

[1] *"The fower chiefest Offices belonging to Horsemanshippe· That is to say, The Office of the Breeder, and of the Rider, of the Keeper, and of the Ferrer . . . Which books are not only collected out of a number of aucthors, but also orderly disposed and applied to the use of this our Country. By T. Blundevill."* London 1565, 1566. B.M. 43.d.28.
Another edition, 1570? (1040. c.27).
" " 1580 (G. 2332).
" " 1609. "By Master Blundeuill of Newton Flotman in Norffolke." (43.d.26.)

[2] Op: cit: p. 2. verso.

[3] In the same volume, *"The Order of Curing Horses diseases"* etc. is dedicated "To the Gentlemen of England: . . . being a poore Gentleman my selfe I think my selfe bound to gratifie all honest Gentlemen, and to serve my contrey by all such meanes as I possibly can, without looking for any thankes. . . ."

[4] Claudio Corte was author of *"Il Cavallerizzo . . . . nel qual si tratta della natura de' Caualli, delle Razze, del modo di gouernarli . . . Et de tutto quello, che a' Caualli, & a buon Cauallerizzo s'appartiene . . . "* Venice 1572 and 1573.

not only cause such statutes as we made in her noble Father and deare Brother's time, . . . touching the breeding of Horses upon Comons to be put in executio(n): but also that al such parks within this realm, as be in her highnesse handes and meet for that purpose, might not wholly be employed in the keeping of Deere . . . . but partly *to the necessary breeding of Horses for service, whereof this Realme of all others at this instant hath greatest need. The lacke of which, if any invasion should chance . . . would quickly appeare . . . to the great peril and danger of this her highnes Realme. And her Majestie giving this good example, I doubt not but that the most part of Noble men and Gentlemen of this Realme, having Parkes . . . would follow the same."*

Blundevill had rebuked his countrymen as "of late daies" more given to "private ease" than to "public commoditie." But he insisted that if Musters of Horses for service were taken throughout the Realm four times a year, and held all on the same day "for the avoiding of false Musters," England in a short time would cease to be inferior in Cavalry to the foreign Powers. And he predicted it would soon appear that the English "not only have plentie of good horses, but also that *the Gentlemen of this Realme would so farre passe the Frenchmen and al other Nations in this exercise, as they now excell us. Whereby this Realme should bee of such force as our enemies would alwayes be afraid to atte(m)pt any enterprise against us.* Wherefore methinks your Honor cannot deserve more prayse, or better gratifie all true English hearts, than by seeking to bring to passe so needful a thing. . . . . . ."[1]

This advice was taken. And the fine quality of our English Cavalry from 1585 up to the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign,—thanks primarily to Lord Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, and after him to his stepson Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex,—became a subject for frequent remark both by our friends and foes,—though it has fallen into complete oblivion in Modern History.

[1] Sigs. A.3 and A.4.

APPENDIX B.

"TOO BIG FOR WEAK FOLKS, AND TOO DEEP FOR SIMPLE":

The relations between Queen Elizabeth and the Queen of Scots. 1561-62.

In 1561—the year Castiglione's "*Cortegiano*" was translated for the unlearned,—the Courts of England, France, Spain, and the Holy Roman Empire, the Electoral Princes, and the King of Denmark, were wondering who would be the second husband of the widowed Queen of France. For the young King Francis, her playmate from the age of four, she had shown tender affection; and even prior to their marriage it had been noticed by the Venetian Ambassador that the spritely and accomplished Queen of Scots exercised an influence both protective and inspiring upon the delicate and backward Dauphin François. His last action as King Francis II, in the winter of 1560, before he took to his bed never to rise again, had been the "touching" of hundreds of poor people for the "King's evil": "*I touch; God heals*" was the formula.

Whether the "*triste et doux chant*" ascribed to Queen Mary, in lament for him, was from her own pen, as seems most likely, or was composed for her by some "unknown author," as a later hypothesis assumes, it breathes of "*perte incomparable*" and "*dure destinée*" in words manifestly sincere:—[1]

"Que en mon doux printemps,
En fleur de ma jeunesse,
Toutes les peines sens,
D'une extrême tristesse,
Et en rien n'ay plaisir
Qu'en regret et desir.

. . . . .

Si au quelque séjour,
Soit en Bois ou en Prée,
Soit pour l'aube du jour,
Ou soit pour la vesprée,
Sans cesse mon coeur sent
Le regret d'un absent.
Amour vraye . . . .
Pour la separation
N'aura diminution"

The sorrow of Queen Mary on leaving France, where she had known great personal happiness, for Scotland, which her predecessors had found most difficult to govern, is easily understood when we recall the misfortunes of her ancestors:—Robert III dying of horror when his firstborn son, David Duke of Rothesay, had been starved to death by the Duke of Albany; James I, after long captivity in England, ruling well and wisely, but falling victim to midnight assassination by one of the rebels he had conquered and disdained; James II, eagerly encouraging the practice of artillery, killed by the bursting of a cannon in peace time; James III, defeated by the traitor Lords, and slain in cold blood after the battle of Sauchieburn; James IV, brave and talented, married to the elder sister of Henry VIII, but vanquished by Henry's General the Earl of Surrey (Duke of Norfolk), and perishing with the flower of the Scots nobility on the stricken field of Flodden; and James V, defeated by the English at Solway Moss, dying broken-hearted in Falkland Palace a few days after the birth of his daughter Mary.

---

[1] In extenso, eleven verses, Brantôme's "*Vie de Dames Illustres,*" Leyden, 1665; and Jebb's "*De Vita et Rebus Gestis Mariae Scotorum Reginae,*" London, 1725, and in "*Queen Mary's Book,*" Stewart-Mackenzie Arbuthnot, 1907, App. IV; and pp. 85-88, English translation, Agnes Strickland's rendering.

His bitter disappointment that the child was not a son gave rise to the prediction that as the Kingdom had "come with a lass" (Marjory, daughter of Robert the Bruce,) so it would "go with a lass." But there was a much older prophecy that Scotland would *"rule all England to the sea."* How far Queen Mary was influenced by either or both predictions is matter for conjecture; but it was less what she did herself than what was done by her illegitimate brother, James, which was to bring about her worst misfortunes. With the hereditary charm of his father, and the craft and persistence of his mother, "the Lord James" (Stuart) was so plausible that even Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, one of the most astute of diplomatists when dealing with Frenchmen, was as wax in the hands of the subtle Scot.[1] After relating a conversation with the Grand Admiral (Coligny), Throckmorton tells Queen Elizabeth how *"the Lord James being the same day arrived in Paris, ... came to my lodging secretly, ... and declared unto me at good length all that passed between the Queen, his sister and him."* Asserting that the Queen of Scots was not disposed to ratify the Treaty of Edinburgh, and would defer her answer until she could influence the Three Estates in Scotland, he intimated that the delay was a prelude to open hostility. That his sister was displeased by the existing "kindness" betwixt England and Scotland, and misliked all such Scotsmen as were well affected to Queen Elizabeth,—and that her intention was to dissolve the league between the realms,—were his startling statements. He added that his sister was as "careless" of French friendship as of English good-will, her object being to get the Estates of Scotland to consent to her marriage with a foreign Prince.

It seems not to have occurred to Throckmorton that even if any of this had been true, it was most indecorous of the Scottish Queen's illegitimate brother prematurely to confide his Sovereign's intentions to the Ambassador of a rival power. Relating the matter to Queen Elizabeth, Throckmorton's comment is, *"I do well perceive the Lord James to be a very honourable, sincere and godly gentleman, and very well affected to your Majesty."*

Throckmorton admonished the Queen that though she had peace with all the world, a war might be provoked through the ambitions of the Queen of Scotland, of whose hollow affection she should beware. He urged her to expend £20,000 yearly on pensions to Scottish noblemen; with especial regard to *"the Lord James, whose credit, love and honesty is comparable in my judgment to any man of that realm."*[2]

In this one meeting, Lord James had sown seeds of lifelong distrust against his sister; but when he departed via Dieppe for Rye, Throckmorton advised that he should be welcomed at Westminster for his *"sincere and upright," "frank and liberal"* dealing![3]

Few more treacherous and cold-blooded mortals have ever exploited and betrayed a Sovereign. Being far too clever to try and bribe Throckmorton by personal offers, he had worked on that Ambassador's devotion to Queen Elizabeth, as the potential head of a Protestant World-State to be built by means of suitable alliances, to the confounding of the King of Spain and the Pope.[4] *"Her Majesty and you of her Council cannot bestow too much favour and benefits, in my simple opinion, upon the Lord James,"* he wrote to Cecil: saying that though the French unaided would not be able to injure England, Queen Elizabeth ought to make and keep the strongest party in Scotland. The King of Spain is "too great"; and

[1] How largely Queen Mary's misfortunes were made for her by others, we will see more clearly from letters written at the time than from any retrospective analysis. Students are apt to think the Calendars of State Papers Domestic, and State Papers Scotland sufficient to elucidate the situation; but State Papers *Foreign* are essential. The ensuing correspondence is in the Cal: S.P. Foreign, for 1561-1562, 689, pp. and xiii. Ed: Stevenson.

[2] Paris, 29 April, 1561. Orig: 17 pp. Cal: pp. 82-88.

[3] To the Queen. Ib: p. 89. 155, 30th April.

[4] Lord James is not likely to have forgotten that Throckmorton had been one of Sir Thomas Wyatt's sympathisers in the attempt to avert the Spanish marriage in 1554.

should have some of the feathers plucked "from his broad wings." Spain, Austria, and the Queen of Scots are condemned together as antagonistic to England.[1]

It was this same day, 1st of May, 1561, that the Privy Council, "all and every, without any manner of contradiction or doubt," agreed that the Papal Nuncio Martinengo should not come into Queen Elizabeth's dominions.[2] He should be told as to the Council of Trent that if it were a Council of Christian Princes not subject to any one Potentate, the Queen would willingly be represented. But if it be called by the Pope's authority, her Majesty could not concur.[3]

On Ascension Day, 15th of May, the young King of France, Charles IX, was crowned at Rheims; and on 11th June the Protestants petitioned for leave to build churches; and also besought him to free those who were in prison, as they would promise not to allow sedition in their assemblies; and the rumours accusing them of refusal to pay taxes were "false and slanderous."[4]

On the 23rd of June, in Paris, Throckmorton had a long audience of the Queen of Scots, who told him she intended to embark at Calais, the French King lending her certain galleys and ships; and that she looked to her "good sister" to do her all favours suitable to the occasion. It was her intention (she said) to *dismiss the French from Scotland;* and her sister would have no cause for dissatisfaction. Manifestly she had no suspicion of what Lord James had been inventing as to her plans. But Throckmorton's mind had been so poisoned that he did not believe her reassurances. Protesting against her not ratifying the Treaty, he demurred to the need of consulting the Estates, as the Treaty had been made in the first place with their approval.

She replied it had the consent "of some; not of all"; but that on her return she meant to placate the objectors and promote good unity.

The question of religion was then discussed:—

"Well," said she, "I would be plain with you. . . . The religion I profess I take to be most acceptable to God. . . . *Constancy doth become all folks well, but none better than Princes and such as have rule over realms. . . . .*

"I have been brought up in this religion. . . . I am young and not greatly learned; yet I have heard the matter disputed, ... and I found therein no reason to change my opinion."[5]

Deeming this a sufficient explanation she sent her Ambassador to Queen Elizabeth for a passport for herself and her train, in case through tempest or sickness she might wish to land in England.[6]

Meanwhile on Wednesday, 4th of June, in the afternoon, the steeple of St. Paul's was struck by lightning, "and burnt down . . . so terribly that within the space of four hours the same steeple with the roofs of the church (so much as was timber, or otherwise combustible) were consumed: which was a lamentable sight . . . to the beholders. . . ."[7] Catholics took

---

[1] 1 May. Ib. 159. pp. 92-93. Ib. pp. 93-95. Also to the Council, p. 97.

[2] Cal. S.P.F. Nos. 162, 163, 164. Reasons given, with possible answers; and replies to those answers.

[3] Continental rendering of her intentions, No. 246, p. 140. Ibid: p. 93 and p. 99, letter to Spanish Ambassador.

[4] Ibid: No. 237, p. 137. [5] Ib: No. 265, p. 152.

[6] Ib: No. 265, p. 155; and Instructions to D'Oysel from the Queen of Scots, No. 298, p. 173.

[7] Stow's Chronicle, p. 646. And see "*The burnynge of Paules church in London in the Yeare of oure Lord 1561, and the iiii day of June by lyghtnynge, at three of the clocke, at after noone, which continued terrible and helplesse unto nyght.*" (Colophon). "*Imprynted at London by Wyllam Seres dwellinge at the West end of Paules, at the sygne of the Hedge-hogge. The tenth of March, Anno 1563" (4).* 8vo, B.L. Messrs. Maggs Bros. Cat. 503, Part I. "*English Literature and Printing from the 15th to the 18th century,*" 1928. Item 1260. p. 447.

it as a judgment upon Queen Elizabeth for her heresy; while Protestants thought it a sign of Heaven's favour that only a portion of the Cathedral was injured.

Lord James Stuart's visit to the Court passed off successfully for himself; and by the time Queen Mary's envoy, D'Oysel, arrived in London, the Queen of England had made up her mind that until the late Treaty was ratified she would give no passport. But if the Scottish Queen would send the ratification under her own hand and seal, Queen Elizabeth said she would be happy to welcome her in England, and make an end of all their controversies.[1]

That same day Throckmorton was sending word from Paris that the Queen of Scots intended soon to embark from Calais, accompanied to Scotland by the Duke of Longueville and Monsieur D'Anville; "her uncles the Duke D'Aumale, the Grand Prior, and the Marquis D'Elboeuf"; four galleys, and twelve ships, French and Scottish.[2]

As yet he was unaware that the safe conduct had been refused; or rather made conditional upon immediate ratification of the Treaty,—as Queen Elizabeth informed the King of France.[3] Cecil wrote privately explaining this to Throckmorton; and emphasised that if the Scottish Queen would surrender her present claim to the throne of England, she could be *accepted as the next heir, failing direct heirs to Queen Elizabeth.* "God send our Mistress a husband, and . . . . a son that we may hope our posterity shall have a masculine successor." But the situation was "*too big for weak folks, and too deep for simple.*"[4]

On the 20th, at St. Germains', Throckmorton sought audience of the Queen of Scots; and found her acutely distressed by Queen Elizabeth's refusal. Throckmorton, she said, had often spoken of the need for amity between the two realms. Why had his Sovereign so unkindly changed her mind? As for the assumption of the English Royal Arms by Francis II when Dauphin and King, that act was not of *her* devising. She never meant harm to the Queen of England, nor ever did her any wrong, even in speech; so she wished to learn in what she had offended? Throckmorton answered that he had no authority to speak except to solicit the ratification of the Treaty. A few days later the Queen Mother protested to him that the Queen of Scots was in the right to await the advice of her own subjects. If her French uncles had counselled her, and she had acted without Scottish consent, her native subjects might justly feel affronted.[5]

Nevertheless, when Throckmorton called upon the Queen of Scots he opened the conversation with remonstrances. But she thought it was she who should expostulate; and *her words, recorded at the time, have a prophetic ring, which if invented retrospectively in a stage-play would be acclaimed as supremely dramatic.* She said that if her preparations had not been so far advanced, she might have "stayed" her voyage; but that now, come what might, she would adventure it. She told Throckmorton she hoped the wind would be so favourable that she need not come upon the coast of England; for if she did, the Queen his mistress would have her in her hands "to do her will of her." And if she was so hardhearted as to desire her end, she might then make sacrifice of her! "*Peradventure that casualty might be the better for me than to live. In this matter, quoth she, God's will be done.*"[6]

Throckmorton answered that if she would do as Queen Elizabeth asked, she would gain better amity in England than in any other country. Queen Mary retorted that *if Ministers did not do harm between them,* she and Queen Elizabeth might yet agree more fully than some would wish them to do.[7]

Throckmorton then wrote to Cecil that he marvelled why Queen Elizabeth refused the passport. He thought she had wished the Queen of Scots to go home; and he believed "the Lord James" had worked to persuade her to return.[8]

---

[1] The Queen to Throckmorton, drafted by Cecil, 13 July, 1562. 4 pp. abstract, Cal: p. 177
[2] To the Queen. Ib· No. 304. p. 179. [3] Ib: Calendar, No. 311, p. 183.
[4] 14 July, 1562, *State Papers,* ed: Lord Hardwick. Vol. I, 172.
[5] 26 July. Ib· No. 336, pp. 198-203. [6] Ib: p. 203. [7] Ib:
[8] Ib: p. 205, and see p. 207. M. de Chantonnay to the King of Spain.

Having sown the seeds of a mutual distrust which was to grow to monstrous proportions, and culminate in one of the darkest tragedies of the age, Lord James wrote soothingly to Queen Elizabeth of his urgent desire for good will between his sister and herself, apostrophising them as "tender cousins," both Queens in the flower of their youth, resembling each other in the most excellent qualities which God had lavished upon them. As their sex forbade them to lead armies in war, their glory should be in promotion of peace and love.[1] Affecting to wish that Queen Mary had never been persuaded to claim any "title to England," he exclaimed that unless this "root" could be removed it would "ever breed unkindness"; because the Queen of England could not yield; and on the other hand the Queen of Scots, being so near a relation, cannot but think it hard that she should be "made a stranger." ". . . . your Majesty will pardon me," but Queen Mary is surely *"next in lawful descent of the right line of King Henry VII."*

Lord James sent Cecil a copy of this letter, and repeated that unless there could be "good intelligence" between the two Queens, the amity of Scotland and England would not be of long continuance.[2]

In secret he had prevented any such thing, while gaining an annuity for his supposed efforts to overcome antagonism.

Throckmorton took his words as brotherly anxiety on the one hand and unfeigned friendship for England on the other.

On the 14th of August a servant of our Ambassador watched the Queen of Scots "haling out of the haven" of Calais, "about noon, with two galleys and two great ships,"[3] and on the 19th Cecil sent Throckmorton the news that Queen Mary had arrived at Leith, and that Queen Elizabeth's ships *"that were upon the seas to cleanse them from pirates, saw her and saluted her galleys, stayed her ships, examined them in search for pirates, and dismissed them gently."*[4]

The story that when the Queen of Scots was on her way to Scotland, the Queen of England sent out ships with the intention to intercept and capture her, appears first to have been set about by the Spanish Ambassador: who at the same time alleged Queen Elizabeth to have been married to Lord Robert Dudley before two or three witnesses.[5]

Certainly some of Queen Elizabeth's vessels were sent to the Narrow Seas at the time of Queen Mary's voyage; but the Queen of Scots was escorted by French Royal ships; so had Queen Elizabeth intended her capture she would have sent to sea a large squadron, not merely a few patrols. She herself wrote to Queen Mary,

> "Whereas it seemeth that report hath been made that we sent our Admiral to the seas with our Navy to impeach your passage, both your servants well understand how false that is: knowing for a truth that we have not any more than two or three small barks upon the seas to apprehend certain pirates: being thereto intreated, ... by the earnest complaint of the Spanish Ambassador," who objected to Scotsmen "haunting our seas as pirates, under pretence of letters of marque: of which matter we earnestly require you at your coming into your realms to have some good consideration."[6]

On the 25th of August, Queen Elizabeth informed her Ambassador in Scotland, Thomas

---

[1] Edinb: 6 Aug: 1561. Orig: Cal: S.P.F. Vol. 5. (384). p. 237. [2] No. 385; Ib: p. 238.

[3] Throckmorton to Q. Eliz: 4 pp. Paris, 19 Aug: 1562. Ib: p. 263.

[4] 28 Aug: 1562. Lord Hardwick's *State Papers*. Vol. I, p. 176.

[5] See State Papers Foreign, 1562, "Articles against the Bishop of Acquila" (the Ambassador). Latin. 3 pp. Epitome in English, Cal: S.P.F. Vol. 5, (1867), p. 68. Article No. 5. Editor's note that this and articles 1 and 2 are omitted from Froude's History, Vol. I, p. 402, where he quotes the "Articles alleged against the Spanish Ambassador." See also Cal: p. 83, Cecil to Chaloner.

[6] From "Henyngham," 16 Aug: 3 Eliz. Copy Cal: 404, p. 251; and No. 405, holog: draft by Cal: Calendar version final parag: as supra, but "you" is likely to have been "yr maty" in the actual letter.

Randolph, that she had given the French Ambassador passports for the Scottish Queen's uncles to return to France through England, if such was their pleasure.[1] The younger brethren of the House of Guise accepted the olive branch; and their all-potent eldest brother went out of his way to show favour to Queen Elizabeth's Ambassador in Paris. Throckmorton describes to the Queen how a "gentleman of quality" brought him an invitation to the Hôtel de Guise: and how he was ushered into a room where the Duke was attended by his brothers and other great personages. In their presence Guise embraced the English Ambassador, and declared himself much bounden to the Queen of England for the "good intelligence" betwixt her and the Queen of Scots; and for the honour shown to his brothers when they passed through England.

The Duke next took Throckmorton into his bedroom for a private talk, and professed readiness to do the Queen of England every service. He had heard from his niece the Queen of Scots of her wish to see Queen Elizabeth. But the Scottish Council had written to the Cardinal of Lorraine their reasons against such a meeting: namely, the old enmity between England and Scotland; the "uncompounded" differences of opinion betwixt the two Sovereigns; the possible perils to the Crown of Scotland if the Queen were absent; the heavy expense of the journey; the unsuitability of a Queen of Scots appearing to come as a petitioner to England; and finally the probable jealousy of the King of France. Guise said he personally did not apprehend any such dangers; and was willing a meeting should take place in England, provided it were near the frontier. After his niece had been suitably welcomed, time enough to "lead her farther into the country."

He had heard from her that the Earl of Pembroke, Lord Robert Dudley, and Sir William Cecil hoped to augment the liking between her and Queen Elizabeth; and he said a league between England and Scotland need not imply dissolution of the older league betwixt Scotland and France.

Next bringing up the subject of his own *"doings at Vassy"* (his slaying of Huguenots, presently to be described),[2] he protested then that if his "leisure" would allow, he could justify himself. But at this moment "a gentleman entered," and informed him that the Cardinal of Bourbon and the Council desired his immediate presence at their consultation: whereon the Duke said to Throckmorton that he would discuss the religious question some other time, and "took him forth": his brothers the Duc d'Aumale, the Grand Prior, and the Marquis d'Elboeuf "together and severally" renewing their expressions of regard for Queen Elizabeth.[3]

Whether the brethren meant any of this may be more than doubted. But the point is that far from making the English refusal of a passport to their niece a cause for open quarrel, they diplomatically ignored the implied hostility and took their stand upon the courtesies offered to themselves.

Even so, Queen Elizabeth's attitude was not one of excessive conciliation. When the Grand Prior soon afterwards sent her a ring,[4] her acknowledgment, drafted by Cecil, was that she would gladly show favour, where it was "well bestowed" and also "thankfully acknowledged"; but that *"in contrary wise We can use contrariety."*[5] And within a short while we shall see her soldiers holding three of King Charles's towns against His Majesty's own forces, all in the name of piety and peace, and for what appeared to the English Privy Council good and sufficient reasons.

---

[1] 2 pp. draft, corrected by Cecil, Cal: 453, p. 277. [2] I. 1. 5. pp. 215-216.

[3] Throckmorton to the Queen. Paris. 31 March, 1562. Cal. S.P.F. Vol. V. (No. 967), pp. 571-573; and Ib. No. 968, Throckmorton to Cecil, as to Guise terming himself Cecil's friend.

[4] Ib: 1034. 20 April. p. 616. [5] Ib: (19 April?), No. 1033.

One of the principal Elizabethan printers, John Day, 1562.

Now first reproduced from woodcut above the colophon of the undernoted work, this appears to be the only authentic portrait of a sixteenth century English printer; and it seems to have hitherto escaped notice.

It is to be found in "Most learned and fruitfull Commentaries of D. Peter Martir Virmilius Florentine, Professor of Diuinitie in the Schole of Tigure, upon the Epistle of S. Paul to the Romanes: wherein are diligently and most profitably intreated all such matters and chief commonplaces of religion touched in the same epistle.

"With a table of all the commonplaces and expositions upon diuers places of the scriptures, and also an Index to finde all the principall matters conteyned in the same. Lately translated out of Latine into English by H. B.

Imprinted at London by Iohn Daye. Cum Gratia et Privilegio Regiae Maiestatis per decennium. These books are to be solde at the shop under the gate."

Colophon: "Imprinted at London by Iohn Daye dwelling over Aldersgate beneath S. Martins. Anno Domini 1568. the 31 day of August. Cum gratia et Priuilegio Regiae Maiestatis per Decennium:"

(*B.M.* 350. *c* 9). *A folio, with decorated title-page, with Royal Arms above. Below is Day's punning device* "Arise for it is Day:"

The British Museum Catalogue does not identify H. B. the translator· neither under "Bible," "Vermigli," or "B". But the present writer conjectures H. B. may have been the same who Englished one of Luther's works, "A Commentarie vpon the Fiftene Psalmes, called Psalmi Graduum, that is Psalms of Degrees, translated out of Latine into Englishe, by Henry Bvll." *Thomas Vautrollier. London,* 1577. *4to. B.L.*

In 1562 the spirited behaviour of the Queen's Councillors continued to annoy the Spanish Ambassador, Bishop de Quadra:

"The Portuguese Ambassador in France has come here to try and reform the patent given by this Queen last year for the navigation of Ethiopia," wrote the Bishop to King Philip from London: "He presented his written petition with sound and good arguments, but they have answered him as usual, and even worse. . . . I have helped him all I can; but *nothing will bring these people to their senses . . . . they claim to have a right to go to all lands or provinces belonging to friendly States, without any exception;* and those who forbid them so to do will be excluded" from England.[1] On the same day, the Spanish Ambassador reported to the Duke of Alba:

"I am greatly troubled about a disaster that has happened in my house . . . . a servant of mine has been bribed by the Queen's ministers and has divulged a host of things. . . . . I am trying to get her to expel this bad man from the country, as she ought to do in fulfilment of the treaties, but she will not hear of it. . . . . . I beg your Excellency not to abandon me in this business. . . ."[2]

King Philip wrote to the Ambassador, "although we are displeased with what your servant has done, we clearly see it was no fault of yours. . . . I entirely approve of all the answers you gave about it." Explaining that neither Cardinal de Granvelle nor the Duchess of Parma could find any clause in the treaties from which the giving up by England of this servant could be insisted upon, the King adds that the English Ambassador is so little familiar with the treaties that if the demand is boldly enough made he may infer it could be enforced.

The Duke of Alba handled the case so skilfully that the Ambassador, Sir Thomas Chaloner, created "no difficulty at all. . . . He has written to the Queen about it very warmly, and you must make the best use of this that you can. . . . ."[3]

But though fortunate in diplomatic matters, Spain was most unlucky that year by sea, as Chaloner from Madrid on the 23rd of October, notified to Queen Elizabeth. Against the Moorish pirates who raided Andalusia and attacked Gibraltar, causing losses estimated at over 200,000 ducats, King Philip had sent 32 galleys under Don Juan de Mendoza. But the fleet was delayed at Sardinia, and did not arrive until the enemy had disappeared. Money and supplies were taken on board at Malaga, the orders being to cross with the first fair wind to Oran, returning for the winter to Cartagena. But a storm arose which overwhelmed some of the ships and forced others back on to the rocky shores near La Torre de Velez Malaga; 25 galleys were totally wrecked; 3 were so injured as to be useless for future service. Only 4 escaped. Some 80,000 ducats were lost with the stores. The number of all ranks perishing in the galleys was estimated at 10,000: including the Commander, Don Juan de Mendoza, with Don Francisco de Mendoza, son of the Marqués of that name. Chaloner reported Oran in danger of being lost; Naples and Sicily destitute of galleys and of soldiers; and the coast of Spain lacking sufficient protection. Only 20 galleys remained to King Philip; and a new fleet in place of that which had been ruined could not be quickly built, "for want of slaves, expert mariners and Captains." The King had better have forfeited two million in gold, said Chaloner, than have lost such skilled men. And he had previously suffered other losses at Tripoli and Sicily; also the previous year "a great galley" had perished, and since then two galleons by fire; and 23 more ships had been burnt at Seville. Extra to the disaster in the haven of La Herradura, 12 ships had been wrecked in Cadiz Harbour during the same tempest.[4]

But King Philip was not the man to sit passive under disasters. The new Fleets he built, and the good use he made of them were destined to be seen at the relief of Malta in 1565, and the battle of Lepanto in 1571.

[1] 6th June, 1562. B.M. MS Add: 26,056a. Cal: S.P.S. I. p. 240.
[2] Cal: S.P.S. Vol. I. No. 168. p. 244. See also pp. 247-249, "Minute of the Conversation between the Ambassador and the Lord Chamberlain and Dr. Wotton, respecting the charges made against the Ambassador." [3] Orders to Spanish Ambassador. Cal: S.P.S. No. 179. p. 179.
[4] Orig: 3¼ pp. Hatfield MS. Cal: I. p. 270.

PART I.

"The art and manner of Governing."

CHAPTER 1.

"THE GREATEST RARITY."

SECTION 5.

"Registered in the Book of Fame."

(The defence of Havre de Grace under Ambrose, Earl of Warwick, 1562-1563).

" . . . the valiant English souldiers shewed well the woonted valure of their woorthie ancestors, . . . Captain Horsele . . . winning to himselfe such commendation as the same will not be forgotten whilst anie shall remaine alive that beheld his manfull dealings : being such . . . as deserve to be registered in the Book of Fame, and to continue with posteritie for ever."

Raphael Holinshed, (on the events of May 1563): *Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland,* 1586-7. Ed: 1808, Vol. IV. p. 221.

" The Englishmen verilie in this service showed that they were nothing degenerat from the ancient race of their noble progenitors . . . the worthie Earl of Warwick . . . by his owne example incouraged others . . ."

The same, pp. 217 and 221.

" I perceive by all men's reports that my Lord Lieutenant [General the Earl of Warwick] very nobly and like a gentleman behaved himself ; as well in the defence of the town as in the composition ; and great praise given to his soldiers for the great courage they have showed in the Queen's service there " (at Havre).

The Lord High Admiral of England (Edward Fiennes, Lord Clinton)
from Portsmouth, 2nd August, 1563. (*States Papers,* Haynes, 1740, p. 403).

" Souvenez vous, Seigneurs, que vous estes enfans
De ces pères jadis aux guerres triomphans ;
Imiter voz ayeuz."

Ronsard, *" Remonstrance av pevple de France,"* 1563.

UNPUBLISHED LIST OF OFFICERS IN THE HAVRE EXPEDITION. 1563.[1]

Those now italicised are underlined, presumably by Sir William Cecil.

The list is by no means complete. Numerous papers in the P.R.O. deal with this campaign; including even the names of the medical men sent with the expedition.

"Therle of Warwick
Sr hugh pawlett
Sr Tho finche
Sr Morice denys
Edward Randolph
Cuthbert Vaughan[2]
Willm Bromefeld
John fissher
Willm Robinson
Thoms Leighton[3]
hunfrey Gilbert
ffrance Somerst
Oliver Mañers
Wm pelham[4]
hugh yert
John Zowche
Raph Moreton
John Morice
Edward Turner
Edward Ormesby
Richard windebank
henry Barton
John Cookeson
Thomas keymis
ffrancis Blunt
James Parkinson
John Ward
Wm Sawle[5]
John Walgrave
Edward horsey[6]
Wilfred Antwisell
John Apleyard
Thoms Wood
Willm Reede[7]
—— Brickwell

—— Cornwall
Nichas Tremayn
Andrew Tremain
—— Carew
Rich Saunders
—— drurye
fferdinando Lyygins
Arthur higham
—— highfold
phillip Strelley
Edward dryver
Edward dudley
John Chute
Erasmus finche
—— Roberte
—— *Moore*

men yt served on the seas
Henry Strangnish
—— *malyn*[8]
Botolph mongey
—— marichurch
Tho Jones
—— Burgh

lieutenants of bands
Jhō horyssey
Howg Jones
Chrles layghton
Wm Careii."

---

[1] Hatfield MS. 154. 47. "*The names of such as served at Newhaven Aº 1563*" Calendared Vol. I. p. 287, No. 950, only as "1563 Names of men serving at Newhaven. 1 p." and no names quoted.
[2] Who had been condemned to death under Queen Mary for rebelling with Wyatt; but was pardoned.
[3] Afterwards Sir Thomas, and Governor of Guernsey.
[4] Afterwards Sir William Pelham, and exceedingly distinguished.
[5] Author of "*A Discourse for the Trayning of Englishe Men in War(like) Discipline,*" dedicated to the Queen; preserved in the Muniment Room at Hatfield House (Uncalendared MS. 339. 12.)
[6] Subsequently Sir Edward Horsey.
[7] Afterwards renowned as Sir William Read.
[8] Query, possibly William Malym, afterwards a protégé of Lord Burghley and of the Earl of Leicester.

LORD AMBROSE DUDLEY, EARL OF WARWICK, K.G.

Now first published from the original in possession of The Duke of Bedford, K.G., at Woburn Abbey.

Born about 1528,—fourth son of Sir John Dudley, Viscount L'Isle, Earl of Warwick, Lord High Admiral of England, and Duke of Northumberland from 1551,—Lord Ambrose Dudley served under his father in quelling the Norfolk rebellion, and was knighted on 17th November, 1549.

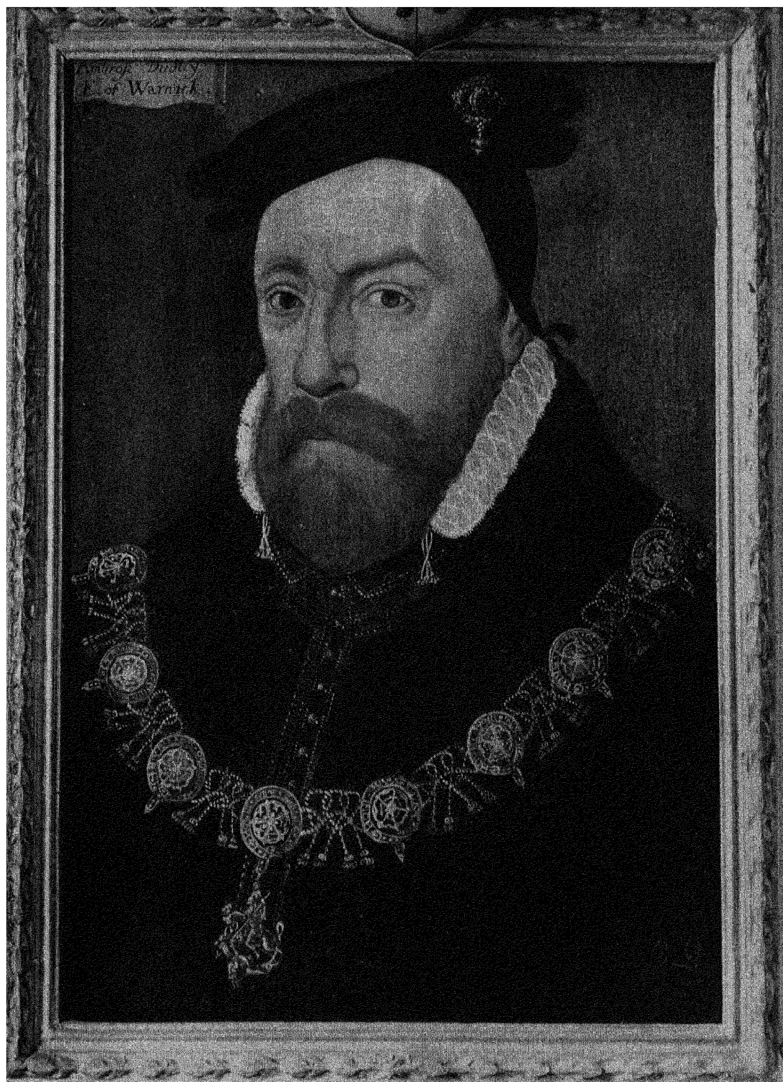
Condemned to death under Queen Mary (13th November, 1553), Lord Ambrose remained prisoner in the Tower, expecting execution, until the 18th of October, 1554, when, by King Philip's intercession, the four Dudley brothers were released The eldest, John, Earl of Warwick, in a dying condition, survived only a few days; but Ambrose, Henry, and Robert served with distinction in the St. Quentin campaign of 1557, in which Henry was killed. In recognition of these services, the Dudley attainder of 1553 was reversed, 7th of March, 1557-8. But it was not until Queen Elizabeth's reign that the Warwick Earldom of the Nevilles and Dudleys was revived for Lord Ambrose according to "the place and precedence of his ancestors," and with special remainder to his brother Lord Robert, in default of heirs direct: 26th December, 1561

In 1560 Lord Ambrose had been appointed Master-General of the Ordnance and in 1562 Lieut.-General of the troops sent to France to defend Havre de Grace, called by the English "Newhaven." In the Inventory of pictures belonging to John Lord Lumley, 1590, is one "Of Ambrose Earle of Warwicke generall at Newhaven" (*"The Records of the Lumleys of Lumley Castle,"* by Edith Milner, 1904, p 330). That collection of portraits was scattered in the late 18th and early 19th centuries.

Lord Warwick's first wife Anne, heiress of William Whorwood (Attorney General to Henry VIII) died in 1552 His second wife Elizabeth, Baroness Tailboys, died while he was defending Havre. (Cobham to Challoner, 14 May, 1563 Cal S.P F. V (1869), p. 332. Her death is wrongly given in G E.C.'s *Complete Peerage,* 1st ed: as "about 1560.") His next marriage was on 11th November, 1565, at Westminster, to Lady Anne Russell, eldest daughter of Francis, 2nd Earl of Bedford

When he died childless in 1589-90 (his brother and heir having predeceased him in 1588), his personal possessions were dispersed

His portrait, being in the collection of his third wife's collateral descendant, the Duke of Bedford, should dispel a recent notion that the picture of his sister-in-law's father, Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk, in the National Portrait Gallery (and at Hatfield House), represents Ambrose, Earl of Warwick. The two men were remarkably unlike, as to features, colouring, and expression. The only thing in common in their portraits is that both wear the collar and George of the Garter.


of Warwick

ROUGH SKETCH OF THE SIEGE OF ROUEN: 1562.

Now first published from the original in the Record Office.

Apparently the drawing mentioned by Sir Thomas Smith in letter to the Ambassador Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, 17th October, 1562.

Possibly by John Portarini: some of the names being in Italian. Docketed by Sir William Cecil.

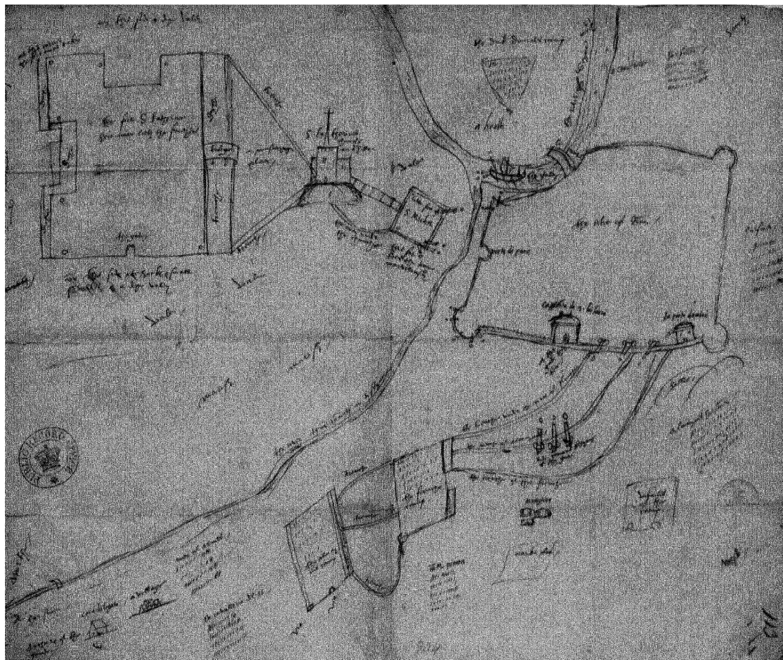
Position of the besiegers, their batteries and trenches. Notice especially the Duke of Aumale's camp, with "a heath" in front, and "the river of Seine," and town of "Caudebeck" to his right. The "Suisses," and the "Almaynes," also indicated in English.

The first memoranda of Cecil in connection with Rouen (Cal. State Papers Foreign, Vol. V (1867), pp. 141-142) enumerate (in July, 1562) 22 points, item 1. of which is to borrow in London £20,000 for martial purposes Item 20 is to deliver at Newhaven (Havre-de-Grace) 30,000 crowns to be used by "the Prince" (of Condé) "upon the defence of Rouen and Dieppe and the rest of Normandy."

Newhaven, if held by the English, is to be re-delivered to France only upon *the restitution of Calais to England,* and the repayment of 140,000 crowns. Cecil proposed (Item 22) *"to send a power of men into Normandy, whereof 3,000 to serve at Rouen,"* &c.. for the peace talk of the Queen Mother of France with the Prince of Condé had been interpreted by our Ambassador, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, as merely intended to deprive Condé of the advantages he might have gained by continuous fighting (Ib p. 153). The "hard conditions" offered for peace were such as he could not have accepted: for example, that he himself, and all the house of Chastillon (Coligny), should be banished till the young King came of age. While the parley was going on, the Duke of Aumale with his forces approached Rouen on the 29th of June, and planted his battery before St Catherine's Hill.

Rouen had only a small garrison (4,000), but they were determined to defend the town.

On 17th July, Coligny's brother François, Sieur d'Andelot (who in 1558 had helped to beat the English out of Calais,) now wrote to Queen Elizabeth from Strasburg (Ib. p. 165) protesting that as the Duke of Guise had brought many Germans and Swiss into France, and intended to overthrow the "Gospel" not only in France but everywhere, it was necessary to warn the German Protestant Princes. On the 27th July, from Paris, Throckmorton admonished Queen Elizabeth to act resolutely and promptly if she did not wish Guise to "give commands here and elsewhere" at his pleasure Her Majesty was deliberately deaf, as she afterwards wrote to Guise's niece, Mary Queen of Scots, she stopped her ears "as Ulysses" had done against the sirens. But the simile was not appropriate and the delay was detrimental to Queen Elizabeth's interests The reproaches of the Vidame de Chartres as to English procrastination were deserved, –though not by Cecil, who advocated prompt action.



UNPUBLISHED MS. MAP OF NORMANDY AND PICARDY, 1562,

Drawn to show the area over which English troops might be required to operate.

A soldier's map, marking only the places of military importance, of which Rouen ("Roan") was the chief.

Although in 1867 Joseph Stevenson, in the *Calendar of State Papers Foreign,* Vol. V, p. 366, gave memoranda as to the series of sketches drawn for this campaign, and mentioned that they were annotated by Principal Secretary Sir William Cecil, the 19th and 20th century notion of Cecil as an advocate of peace at any price discouraged our military historians from examining his maps: whether in the Record Office or at Hatfield.

Those in the Record Office bearing on the French campaign of 1562-63 are as undernoted: small capitals indicating items now selected for reproduction.

NORMANDY AND PICARDY: East and West from the mouth of the Seine to Amiens, and from Alençon to Beaumont and Clermont; and North and South from Crotoy to St. Germains. (No. 838).

Normandy (839). Rough sketch, to show Dieppe, Havre, Rouen, and places on the coast and on the Seine. Names in Italian; so probably drawn by John Portarini, who was employed to aid Sir Richard Lee in reporting on the position, fortifications, advantages, and disadvantages of "Newhaven" (Havre de Grace). Portarini's 10 page Report (Cal: S.P Foreign, Vol. V, No: 1156) remains unpublished.

The Seine (840). Showing which towns on both banks were held by the rival forces. Annotated by Sir W Cecil.

Plan of Fort St Catherine outside Rouen showing nature of the surrounding ground, and position of the enemy's batteries. (841).

PLAN OF THE SIEGE OF ROUEN (Ante, Plate 46.)

PLAN OF HAVRE (Plate 49), now for the first time compared with "*The Plat of Newhaven,*" found at Hatfield by the present writer in 1927, and here reproduced (Plate 48.)

Queen Elizabeth wrote to the Earl of Warwick of her confident hope that the gallant defence of Havre "against the whole power of France" would restore England's "ancient fame" lost by the fall of Calais (in Queen Mary's day). (Cal S.P. Foreign, VI, No: 844, p. 386.)

Cap de Caux
le Crotoy
S. Valery
Abbeville
Le havre de Grace
Fescamp
Dieppe
S. Sauveur
Harfleur
CAUX
PICARDIE
Tanques
Honfleur
Caudebec
Amiens
Aumalle
S. Barbe
La Bouille
S. Pierre
Crevecoeur
ROAN
Gournay
Beauvais
Seez
Lisieux
Andely
Gisors
Alençon
Laigle
Evreux
Pontoise
Beaumont
Poissy
S. Germain
LE PERCHE
FRANCE

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE

HITHERTO UNKNOWN FRENCH MS PLAN OF " LE HAVRE."

Unfinished. Endorsed on the back " The plat of Newhaven," the usual Elizabethan name for Havre de Grace.

Water colour. 15 x 22 inches. Signed W.T. From the unique original in possession of The Marquess of Salisbury, K.G., at Hatfield House.

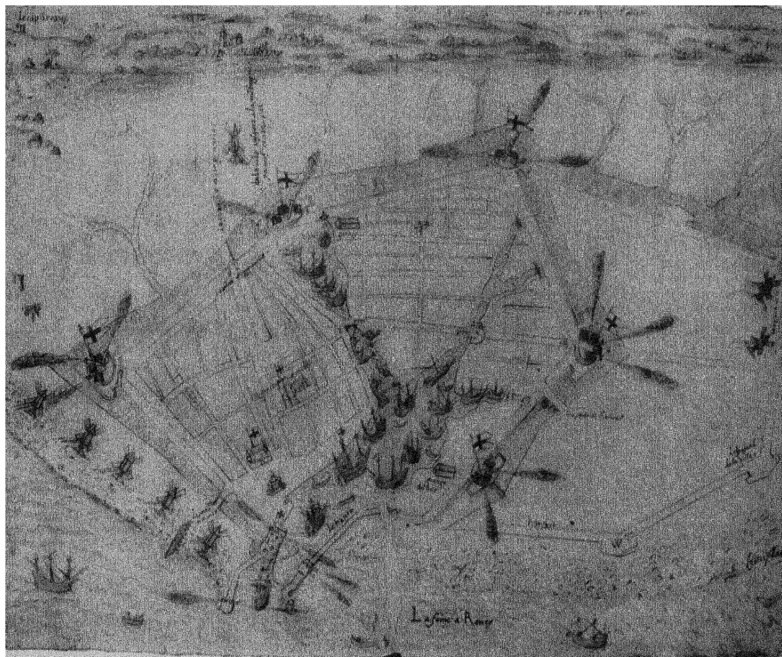
Presumably sent to Sir William Cecil from Havre by Queen Elizabeth's Captain-General, Lord Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick.

Undated; but obviously made in 1562; when Havre was first held for the Huguenots by Lord Warwick with *"six à sept mille hommes choisis sur toute l'Angleterre"* Observe the St. George's Cross on all the flags.

In October, 1562, Secretary Cecil drafted the Queen's command to Sir Richard Lee and Sir Adrian Poynings to confer and report on the fortifications of "Newhaven" (Cal: S.P. Foreign V, p. 323).

On 26th December Sir Hugh Paulet wrote to Lord Robert Dudley and Sir William Cecil of the troubles likely to arise from the large circuit of the town and the weakness of its walls. (Ib. p. 596). The fortifications were lower than the houses; and from the hill encompassing the greater part of the town an enemy would be able to see everything inside the walls. Either to build high ramparts to defend the town from the hill, or else to possess and fortify the hill, would be necessary. The east side of the town had only earthworks. The other sides were better protected by water, and by the marshes But without new fortifications "Newhaven" could scarcely hold out two days if attacked (Ib. p. 354).

Though there were persons who argued it might escape being besieged, any such assumption was almost suicidal; and the building of adequate ramparts and forts was an immediate necessity.



PART I.

"The art and manner of Governing."

CHAPTER I.

"THE GREATEST RARITY."

SECTION 5.

"Registered in the Book of Fame."

(The defence of Havre de Grace under Ambrose, Earl of Warwick, 1562-1563).

"WOE *to the land whose King is a child!"* This ancient saying had been exemplified anew in the miseries of France, after Francis II (husband of the Queen of Scots) died suddenly in December 1560, and was succeeded by his brother Charles, aged ten.

If after the drastic peace terms imposed upon Henry II by King Philip, in 1559, any Frenchman had thought that the misfortunes of France would draw the rival factions together for the common good, such hopes were illusory. In vain the Catholic Chancellor, Michael de l'Hôpital, spoke up for the Huguenots at a meeting of the States General at Orleans on the 15th of December, 1560.[1]

> "We ought by all means to try to bring back those that are in error; but not be like any who seeing a man or overloaded beast of burden fall into the ditch, instead of lifting it out, give it a kick. . . . . *Let us lay aside those inventions of the Devil, the watchwords of party faction, ... the names Lutheran, Huguenot, Papist, and let us keep the name of Christian."*

This was precisely the name that neither side was disposed to allow to the other. The leader of the Catholics was the Duke of Guise, who had persuaded King Henry II to break the Peace of Vaucelles. Not having kept solemn promises even to fellow Catholics, Guise was still less disposed to be bound by concessions which the boy King had granted to the Huguenots. So on Sunday morning the 1st of March, when the Huguenots at Vassy, to the number of about 1,200, were assembled for prayers in a large barn which served them for a church, they were surprised and attacked by Guise's soldiers; firing first from outside; and then pressing in, and with shouts of *"Kill! Kill!"* slaying indiscriminately men, women, and children.

The Duchess of Guise was distressed for the women; and Guise's brother Louis

[1] 15th December, 1560. Bersier's *"Coligny, the Earlier Life,"* &c., (Trs. Holmwood, 1884), p. 222.

protested to him that there was "no harm" in these people reading the Bible in French instead of in Latin. But far from Guise feeling remorse after the massacre, he turned the blame upon the local Judge for having permitted the assembly. On the Judge answering that such gatherings were authorized by the King's Edict, Guise laid his hand on his sword and retorted, "This will soon cut the tight knot of that Edict." "Now," adds the Catholic historian who tells the anecdote, "as these words which he spoke in the heat of passion did not escape those present, they caused many to believe that the Duke of Guise was the author of the wars that followed."[1] And both his contemporaries and posterity have held him much more responsible than the King for the ensuing troubles. As rendered by Agrippa d'Aubigné (the most vigorous soldier-historian on the Huguenot side),

> "hitherto the reformed had been put to death after some form of trial, however iniquitous and cruel. . . ." But when "the representative of law, ... casting off the venerable mask of justice, let neighbour slay neighbour to the sound of trumpets and drums, who could forbid the unhappy people . . . . to catch from an unrighteous fury the contagion of a righteous anger?"[2]

What made the tragedy at Vassy the more significant was that whereas Guise was apt to regard himself as greater than the King, the Huguenots took as their watchword "*Christ et Capet,*" to express their loyalty to the ruling dynasty.[3] And although in the early stages the Huguenot movement had attracted people of little worldly consequence, it took a different aspect after certain powerful noblemen went over to what would otherwise have remained a losing cause. For example, the Grand Admiral's elder brother, Odet de Chastillon, had been given a Cardinal's hat at the age of sixteen (7th November 1533), and at eighteen appointed to the Bishopric of Beauvais, one of the wealthiest Sees in France. Nothing had then appeared less likely than that he would break away from the Church in which he had won such early and conspicuous advancement. But he became more and more unhappy over the sufferings of the Huguenots; and it was chiefly by his means that the Cardinal of Lorraine had been frustrated in an attempt to get Pope Paul IV to insist upon the Inquisition being introduced into France.[4] At Easter 1561, in consequence of what had happened at Vassy, the Cardinal de Chastillon renounced his Bishopric; and from being one of the richest men in France, was reduced to poverty by his own renunciation. His brothers had already set him the example of joining the Huguenots; pleading with the King to continue accepting their active services, but permit them to make their "peace with Heaven" according to their own consciences.[5]

---

[1] "*The History of the Civil Wars of France, by H(enrico) C(aterino) Davila. Translated,*" &c. (by Sir Chas. Cottrell). 1st ed: 1647-8; 2nd ed: 1678. Book III, under date 1562.

[2] "*Hist· Univers.*" Vol. II, p. 628.

[3] "*La Vraie et entire Histoire des Troubles.*" 1578. p. 180.

[4] In 1557. Bersier, pp. 138-140.

[5] In Cal. S.P. Foreign, Eliz. Vol. 6. 1562, ed: Stevenson, 1869, (697 pp.), the editor in relation to the wars of religion refers to Coligny as leader of the "*revolutionary* party," and to the other side as "*Royalists.*" But Coligny was as "Royalist" as his opposites; or more "Royalist"; for he had *served* the Crown devotedly, where many of the others were fighting to *dominate* the Crown.

The situation in France was being watched carefully on England's behalf by Councillors at home and Ambassadors abroad. On May Day 1562, Sir Thomas Chaloner from Madrid wrote to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton in Paris that King Philip and his Council were devising "how the Guisans may be aided," and that there were "mutterings" that the King might meet the Queen-Mother of France on the frontier for a private conference. Wherefore Chaloner thought the Huguenot Prince de Condé and "his complices," should procure "if they can, either the Swisses or the Princes of Germany to assist them."[1] On the 14th of June, from Paris, Throckmorton replied to Chaloner:

> "The Queen Mother, and the King of Navarre, hath had some conference with the Prince of Condé, ... between Orleans and Estampes, with equal numbers of the Guard, ... one hundred Horsemen apiece. This colloquy was in a field and on horseback for fear of ambushments and treason. . . ." But "the matter is broken off, uncompounded"; and small hope remains *"of any composition but such as the sword shall force."*[2]

According to Queen Elizabeth's Privy Council, the French King "was neither able to defend the liberty of his people nor the authority of his laws, nor to deal uprightly with other Princes and Potentates." Grave dangers therefore might ensue if Guise's army captured *"such tôwns and havens as lay against the sea coasts of her Majesty's Realm"*: whence *"to the great annoyance of her and her loving subjects"* they might try to invade England.

In July she sent Sir Henry Sidney to request her "well-beloved brother" Charles IX to bring Guise and Condé to some reasonable accommodation. But, as Holinshed expresses it, while Sidney was labouring for "the commoditie and quietness" of France, "an open injury" was offered to England. Many merchants, "as well of London as of Excester, and other of the west ports," had been trading in the ports and havens of Brittany. Just as they were ready to sail for home, "they were suddenly arrested,"

> *"their goods seized upon, and they themselves cast in prison; and some that in revenge of such offered injury attempted to make resistance, were cruelly slain, their ships conveyed away, their goods confiscated,* without other pretence but only that it was said to them that they were Huguenots. . . . Moreover, when complaint of such injuries was made unto the lawful magistrates there, they found no redress at all. For what might the poor merchants profit by their plaints when the packets of the Ambassador's letters, directed to her Majesty, were taken from the bearer. . . . .? "[3]

Any affront offered abroad to an English subject was then taken as an offence against the Sovereign, and rebuked accordingly. On the 30th of July the Lord High Admiral (Clinton) was ordered to prepare four of the Queen's ships "and one bark"

---

[1] *State Papers*, Haynes (1740). p. 383.

[2] Orig: Hatfield MS. Haynes, op. cit., p. 387. Throckmorton adds, "I pray you, good my Lord Ambassador, send me two paire of parfumed gloves, parfumed with Orange flowers and Jacemin, th'one for my wife's hand, the other for myn owne. . . ." The date at which perfumed gloves first became fashionable at Queen Elizabeth's Court is often disputed. This, 14th June, 1562, is the earliest reference the present writer has noticed.

[3] Spelling modernised from Holinshed, *"Chronicles . . . . continued to the year 1586,"* p. 1195. (B.M. 2072. g.). See also S.P.D. Eliz: XXIV. 16. and 16[1], complaint of Exeter merchants, 19 Aug: 1562.

for the prosecution of certain pirates, and to watch the coasts of France "where we perceive great numbers of Men of War are assembled." This minute is in the hand of Sir William Cecil; as also the instructions that the ships must convey towards Normandy "*five or six hundred good soldiers,*" with "*powder, armour, weapons etc. to serve for the keeping of any place* . . . ." No warlike demonstrations were yet authorised; and unless necessity arose there was not to be any landing of soldiers; but "In the mean season" "five or six thousand men" were to be held in readiness; and their number raised to ten thousand.[1]

On the 4th August, the royal instructions, also in Cecil's hand, to Sir William Woodhouse, "Vice Admiral of the Queen's Navy sent to the Narrow Seas," explain further that as the French troops may have "*no good meaning towards our Realm,*" and in a short time might attempt a landing, Her Majesty's "pleasure is, that you shall make your course towards . . . . the coast of Normandy." Pirates are to be apprehended; but not the vessels of Dieppe, or of Newhaven (Havre de Grace). Intelligence should be obtained "how the matters proceed there, ... what parts hold with the Prince [of Conde] and what not," but no outward act of war was to be performed, nor any person be allowed to know whether Her Majesty's Navy had a commission to aid the one side or the other.[2]

Three days later, Cecil's Memoranda "*at Windsor, contra Gallos, 7 August*" gave an outline of the procedure of England: First to expostulate with the Ambassador of France as to the treatment accorded to the Queen's Ambassador; and to send to the French King a firm demand for his release. At the same time to put warships to sea to "offend France" by interfering with the "Newland[3] fishing." These ships were to be given liberty also to impede the herring fisheries. Cecil proposed "*To prohibit all buying of any wines of the growth of France;* and for the prize wines, the Queen's Majesty to have and buy them, . . . and *to pay duty for them*" (to set an example to her subjects). A duty also was to be put upon Rhenish wine, and England was "to prohibit the carrying of Newcastle coals to the French; and to appoint a certain number of ships to keep the passage between the Thames mouth and Flanders; to consider how the Fleet that shall keep the Narrow Seas may be maintained; . . . . to look well to Berwick and to appoint forthwith a Captain there, and a Marshal."[4]

As this has been in print since 1740, there is scant excuse for the 19th and 20th century delusion that Sir William Cecil disliked men of action, and was never ready for war. Before launching diplomatic remonstrances he always took care to have ships and soldiers in readiness to support the argument. And when, despite Sir Henry Sidney's mission, no sufficient apology was forthcoming from the King of France,—and the Huguenots continued imploring England's aid,—shortly before

[1] Holog: Hatfield MS. Haynes, p. 394. [2] Ib. p. 395.
[3] Newfoundland fisheries.
[4] Orig: Hatfield MS. Haynes, *State Papers*, p. 404.

Michaelmas, 1562, the transport began of English troops to Havre de Grace, then the strongest seaport in Normandy.[1]

For Captain-General, the Queen's choice fell upon one whose previous experience in the French war of 1557 endeared him to soldiers: the Master General of her Ordnance, Lord Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick. On the 17th of October he weighed anchor at Portsmouth; and all that day and the following night was at sea, expecting to reach his destination early on the 18th. But, when his ship, the "New Bark," was within twenty miles of Newhaven, a sudden change of wind turned him "clean contrary to his course," and drove him back to the Downs; where, arriving at midnight he had to wait until the next morning before he could land near Deal, and come on to Dover. Four days he was storm-bound. Then he set sail once more; but still "finding the wind nothing prosperous, ... after he had lain all that night and day following tossing and tumbling on the seas he was "constrained to come back"; and arrived in the haven of Dover about ten on Saturday night. At three in the afternoon of the following Tuesday he weighed his anchor again; and on Thursday morning landed at Havre "where he was most joyfully received with a great peal of artillery." On Saturday the 31st of October, his Çommission from Queen Elizabeth was proclaimed to the garrison and town in Latin, English, and French, by Bluemantle Pursuivant at Arms; after which Warwick and his officers went to Church, and were sworn in to their respective offices.

Almost at once began "skirmishes"; Warwick "riding all about the hills" to "view the country."[2] His men, happy and hopeful, were delighted when a "bark of Newhaven belonging to Francis Clearke" brought into the harbour four Breton ships laden with two hundred tons of Gascon wines," which had been intended for the enemy, but now "taken as a good prize, ... stood the English and others of that town in good stead."[3]

But soon after our garrison was established,—and before there had been time to replenish the weak fortifications,—word was sent to England that Rouen would most likely be besieged by the Queen Mother's forces; and if Rouen fell, Cecil would need to double the garrisons in Dieppe and Newhaven, and yet more vigilantly "keep the seas." In any case he should send pioneers and engineers to Newhaven as soon as possible.[4]

The young King of France apprehended that Queen Elizabeth might wish to aid Rouen; so he wrote to her that by the treaty of Cateau Cambrésis neither the

[1] On the 11th September, Humphrey Gilbert and his 100 Devon men began to draw war-time pay; as also Sir John Fisher, "Gentleman Porter of Newhaven," and Cuthbert Vaughan, "Comptroller of Newhaven." "*Newhaven*" in Elizabethan English does not mean the place now associated with that name, but denotes Havre de Grace. See both names, "*Le havre de grace*" and "*Newhavē*" on the English sketch map of Normandy and Picardy, ante I. 1. 5 (b).

[2] See Map of Normandy, ante.

[3] 4th Novr. Holinshed's *Chronicles*, ed: 1808. Vol. IV. p. 206. (Query, for "tons" read "casks"?) François le Clercq was a Frenchman. Many references in Cal. S.P.F. Vols. 5 and 6.

[4] Cal: S.P.F. 5. No. 735. p. 335.

Sovereign of England nor of France could assist the rebellious subjects of the other. He had been informed that the Vidame de Chartres and various Frenchmen (named) were in England; and he wished them delivered up to his Ambassador.[1] The answer we shall soon learn. Meanwhile the French Ambassador apologised to Cecil for wrongs done to English merchants in France; but protested against Queen Elizabeth's dealings in Normandy.[2] His reproaches had no effect; and the following day more English troops embarked from Portsmouth and Rye.[3]

On landing they learnt that Rouen was already besieged by the Duc d'Aumale; and that the King and the Queen Mother were there in camp. The English Captains hoped such a "jewel" as Rouen would not be permitted to be lost for lack of adequate help from Queen Elizabeth. A letter to Cecil from the Vidame de Chartres expressed much grief that the Queen had not sent speedy reinforcements to Rouen[4]; and Henry Killigrew urged that she was bound "in honour" to champion the Huguenots, and that "a penny" spent then would save much later.[5] Next day, 4th October,[6] news was sent to England that the Duke of Guise, with his brother the Duke of Aumale, and the Constable of France were besieging Rouen. St. Catherine's Hill was quickly gained by them, "by treason of one of the Captains."[7] Immediately after the hill was taken by assault (5th of October), the garrison of the fort, 160 persons, were put to the sword.[8] It was from this Fort St. Catherine outside Rouen that the Queen Mother dated a sarcastic letter to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, refusing his application for a passport; and adding that certain of his nation who had entered France without passports (she meant the garrison at Havre), ought to depart at once and without leave-taking.[9]

In the north of Spain, rumour fancied the Duke of Norfolk to have embarked for France with Lord Grey (of Wilton) and 10,000 men.[10] But it was not 10,000 but only about 600 Englishmen (four Ensigns) who contrived to get into the town.

As the Duke of Guise whom they were sent to fight against, was the uncle of the Queen of Scots, Queen Elizabeth wrote to Queen Mary that when asked to aid the French she had at first kept her ears stopped "like Ulysses"; but that although she was at peace with France, her Council deemed her aloofness "improvident"; and in the French King's own best interests she had therefore despatched some of her people, in the hope thereby to hasten the end of the strife and "tragedies."[11]

Two days later,[12] Sir Thomas Smith from Paris sent to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton in Orleans the bad news that of six small English ships with soldiers for the relief of Rouen, one had struck on the sands at Caudebec, and had been captured by "Danville," who had slain 200 men, imprisoned 80, sent 11 to the Court (outside Rouen), where they were hanged by order of the Constable (Montmorency). Mentioning the 600 English who had succeeded in getting into

---

[1] Ib: p 340. [2] 2nd Oct: 1562. Ib: 752.
[3] List in Cecil's hand. Ib: No. 755.
[4] Oct: 3rd. Ib: No. 764. [5] Ib: 765. [6] Ib: 774. [7] Ib: 783. [8] 8ct. Oct: Ib: 804. [9] Ib: 794.
[10] Ib: No. 807. Spanish forces were sent to France, (No. 837). [11] Oct: 15th. [12] No. 870.

Rouen, Smith forwarded a draft of the siege[1] (presumably the sketch now first reproduced). He reports the King of Navarre severely wounded both by pike and arquebus, and the Duke of Guise " bruised with stones and wood thrown upon him " and obliged to go to bed.[2] The Duke was destined to recover; but the King of Navarre, alternately reported " like to die," and then expected to rally, suffered terribly from the surgeons, and succumbed in the end to their mishandling.[3] His son, who succeeded at the age of nine to his titles and honours, was that Henry of Navarre afterwards so intimately connected with English political affairs.[4])

As the defence of Rouen was exceedingly valiant and vigorous, King Charles offered favourable terms of capitulation: such as liberty of conscience, and pardon for past offences.[5] But the Huguenots, remembering the massacre at Vassy in defiance of the King's Edict of Protection, doubted his power to ensure their safety; and so after several days of parley, the fighting began anew. Sir Nicholas Throckmorton then sent word to England that he feared the garrison could not hold out much longer, as the river between Havre and Rouen was so guarded by the enemy that no reinforcements could get in unless they could march there by land. And though it might be that the Prince of Condé, with D'Andelot (François de Coligny) would yet be able to relieve them, meanwhile the Duke of Guise and the Duke of Aumale were renewing the assault, and the small garrison was increasingly worn down.

---

[1] Ib: No. 842. [2] Ib: No. 872.

[3] Antoine de Bourbon, 2nd Duc de Vendôme, was King of Navarre in right of his marriage with Jeanne d'Albret, the heiress of that kingdom. (The earliest poem by Ronsard had been *" Epithalame d'Antoine de Bovrbon et Ianne de Navarre Par Pierre de Ronsart Vandomois. A Paris De L'imprimerie de Vascosan, Rue sainct Iaques MDXLIX."*) Antoine was seventh in descent from Robert Comte de Clermont, fifth son of St. Louis (Louis IX). Clermont, who married Beatrice the Bourbon heiress, had taken her surname but kept the Royal Arms of France. The county of Vendôme came to Jean de Bourbon in 1364 by marriage with Katherine, sister and heiress of the last Count; and the Countship was made into a Dukedom by Francis I. Charles de Bourbon, 1st Duke of Vendôme, had 7 children, of whom Anthony King of Navarre was the eldest surviving son; Louis the 3rd was the Prince of Condé; and Jean (the 6th) had been killed at St. Quentin. The 1st Bourbon King of Navarre was of much less resolute character than his wife Queen Jeanne. Her mother Marguerite de Valois was sister to Francis I of France. Queen Jeanne's grandfather Jean d'Albret had become King of Navarre in right of his wife Katherine de Foix, sister of the famous Gaston Phoebus. Half of Navarre, however, had been conquered from King Jean by Ferdinand King of Aragon: so the Bourbon kingdom of Navarre consisted only of the mountains on the frontiers of France, and the Countships of Béarn, Albret, Foix, Armagnac, Bigorre, etc.

The end of King Anthony of Navarre was in the next generation rendered with cold brevity thus: ". . . . the King of Navarre, first Prince of the Blood, was declared Lieutenant General of the Realm. . . . But he enjoyed not long this new Dignity; for the troubles daily continuing by reason of the Surprizes which the new Reformers made of the best Cities in the kingdom, after having retaken Bourges from them, he came to besiege Rouen; where visiting one day the trenches, . . . he received a musket shot in his left shoulder, of which he in a few days died at Andely on the Seine." He is described as having " mortally hated " the Huguenots, " though his brother the Prince of Condé was the principal Chief of their party." *" The History of Henry IV surnamed The Great, King of France and Navarre. . . . By the Bishop of Rodez . . . . made English by J. D. London. . . . 1663."* p. 19.

[4] Much is forthcoming in relation to the English troops which under King Henry's command were to besiege Rouen after he succeeded to the Crown of France, when he was shut out from that city by his Catholic subjects. The rough sketch of Rouen now reproduced, and the sketch map of Normandy, will be followed by English, French, and German maps, plans, and pictures, under 1591.

[5] S.P.F. No. 883.

To this letter Throckmorton added a postscript, that on the 26th of October, Rouen had been taken by assault; and that the captured English soldiers were being treated with much cruelty.[1]

The gallant conduct of the small English force was a cause for pride to their brethren in Newhaven; and on the 28th, Vaughan wrote to Cecil of how vigorously "Mr Leighton" and his men had beaten back the enemy just before the final assault. He related also how the Count of Montgomery had arrived at Havre from Rouen, with much baggage, but without his family ("A man of that courage to steal away, leaving his wife and children behind him!")[2]

On the 30th of October, Lord Warwick from Havre announced to the Privy Council that on Monday last, about three in the afternoon, Rouen had been captured by the Duke of Guise, after eight assaults;[3] the town being bravely defended until the bulwarks were blown up, after which resistance was useless. Captain Leighton and his band had fought to the last; and when all hope of victory was at an end, Leighton was seen, crossing the bridge, bearing in his own hand the ensign of his Company. Montgomery could not tell whether Leighton was alive or dead; but he reiterated that the Duke of Guise had treated the English with great severity. As to the French garrison, the "Almain" mercenaries slew many of the women and children; but the Constable (Duke of Montmorency) had enquired for the Count of Montgomery's wife and had protected her.[4]

On the 3rd of November Sir Thomas Smith asked for audience of the young King of France and the Queen Mother at the monastery at Rouen; and in the presence of the Dukes of Orleans, Montmorency, and Estampes, he smoothly expressed Queen Elizabeth's love for peace. The Queen Mother pertinently retorted by asking Smith why had his Sovereign favoured the French rebels? Smith answered that she had only done this after moderate means were laid aside, when certain French Noblemen had leagued themselves to wipe out all members of the religion Her Majesty of England practised and was pledged to defend.

As Smith complained of cruelty to the "reformed," the Queen Mother asked ought not the King to compel obedience? Smith replied that his Sovereign believed in the French King's clemency, but not in that of some of the Lords. He saluted the young King Charles; and exchanged good wishes with him; and then gave the Queen's "commendations" to the great noblemen present, each in turn. In his pungent report of all this, he adds that at compliments he is "the veriest calf." But this need not be taken literally; for his diplomatic acumen, his polite audacity, and his general suitability to the position of Ambassador Extraordinary are many times demonstrated. One of his most entertaining letters describes his meeting with the Cardinal of Ferarra, to whom the next day (4th November) in "gentle words" he conveyed that he had no authority to treat with any representative of the Pope. None the less affable for not being overmuch courted, the Cardinal professed affection for Queen Elizabeth; though admitting himself perplexed as to why she

[1] No. 932. [2] No. 920. [3] Ib: 939. [4] Ib: 969.

believed herself justified in sending forces into another Monarch's kingdom and holding French towns. Smith replied that as long as it was not the King but the Duke of Guise who managed the affairs of France, a neighbour so addicted to "fire and sword" promised scant security for England. The Cardinal suggested that security could be best attained by Queen Elizabeth withdrawing her soldiers. Smith did not agree; but they "discoursed together," affably, of the Pope, the General Councils, and the antiquity of the Catholic Church; the Cardinal remarking he had always heard of Smith as learned, and now perceived his learning. Smith (who owned a fine library) replied that although chiefly addicted to hunting and hawking, he "now and then" read a book of philosophy, and always liked to comprehend matters of religion. Alluding to the massacre at Vassy, he suggested it would be a noble act of the Cardinal to intercede with the French Queen for the oppressed. The Cardinal replied that though it was "against his profession" to agree to anything contrary to the Church of Rome, he desired to see peace established before he returned to Italy. Smith declared his own vocation was also that of a peace-maker. The Cardinal praised the valour of the leaders on both sides; but implied that as the Duke of Guise was the winner, England would be wise to come to terms in that quarter. But on the 10th of November Queen Elizabeth wrote the French King a letter, polished by Cecil, not apologising for the actions of her soldiers, nor surrendering the refugees, but saying that when His Majesty became able to direct his own affairs, such of his subjects as had taken refuge in England, would be pleased to demonstrate their loyalty to him.[1] On the same day Smith wrote from Rouen that eighty of the English soldiers had been sent to the galleys (he afterwards reported ninety), and that if he himself had not ransomed some of the others they would have had their throats cut. A letter from the Privy Council[2] directed Smith to remind the French King that it was the French themselves who had broken the treaties with England, in the time of the late Kings, Henry and Francis; and to add that Her Majesty was not satisfied with the French conduct towards herself from then onwards; and was especially displeased with the present conditions in France.[3]

Actually the fall of Rouen exposed the English in Havre to greatly enhanced danger; but to all suggestions that they should evacuate the town, Queen Elizabeth's representatives gave firmly negative answers. A glance at the map will, however, suffice to show that Lord Warwick's task was one to tax to the utmost the courage and abilities of the English garrison: and doubly so, in that he could not entirely rely upon the townspeople.

On the 11th November, Warwick, through Bluemantle, issued orders for "reforming of certain grievances" of the French inhabitants; also for attendance at church; and avoidance of unlawful games. He imposed drastic penalties for blasphemy, immorality, and breaches of discipline.[4] His firmness was rewarded;

---

[1] No: 102. [2] 10th Nov: No: 1033.
[3] But see Prologue, xii-xiii; Queen Mary had broken England's treaty. [4] Holinshed, IV, p. 20.

and "the lionlike courage" of our men during the ensuing months,—"*choosing rather to die in battle, . . . in an honest cause, than in their sick beds,*"—is described by Holinshed from "certain notes of some who had taken part in these services."[1]

The garrison continued to be kept well in hand by the General. He put an end to quarrelling by executing a soldier who had insulted and injured another; and his regulations as to courteous treatment of the townsfolk by his own men were combined with rules to ensure suitable conduct from the French towards the English.[2]

At first there was no lack of provisions; for eighteen more prize ships were captured by Francis Clarke at intervals during a few weeks, and by "just valuation" computed as worth £50,000,[3] an enormous sum, even for those days of individual enterprise. But despite this favourable beginning, further happenings were soon to make the position of the English more difficult and perilous than Queen Elizabeth had anticipated. Her hopes had been that her ally the Prince of Condé would defeat the "faction" of the Duke of Guise her enemy. The opposite was to take place. Early in December (1562) Condé "finding that he was losing time about Paris,"—for he could not capture the City,—decided to possess himself of Honfleur, and to winter there. The Duke of Guise heard of this, and on the 13th set out on the march, meaning to overtake Condé before he passed the river between Chartres and Dreux. But he found the Prince had crossed that way twenty-four hours before him. Guise halted only till midnight. Before daybreak he had got his Army over the river. Condé had no notion that the enemy was so near; not even when the armies were within three miles of each other.

The Duke marched swiftly towards the Huguenots, and opened hostilities by discharging 32 pieces of Artillery three times into Condé's camp. Condé then divided "six Cornets of Ruyters" (i.e. 1,800 German mercenaries) into "two parts," and combined with them "a good band of Frenchmen, to set upon the Spaniards, Swiss, and the French" under Montmorency. Condé's men charged successfully,

---

[1] Ib. He expressed his hope that "those that thereafter shall write the historie of this time more at large" would profit by the particulars. If he has omitted anything of import, it is not "for lacke of good will," for he would like "to advance every man's worthie doings according to his merits." His narrative (Vol. IV. ed. 1808, pp. 206-224) is most feelingly written. Stow, *Annales*, ed: 1615, follows Holinshed, as if drawing upon the same sources of information. There is now a wealth of detail available in Cal. S.P. Foreign, for 1562 and 1563, but it has been neglected, though printed over half a century ago. The ensuing description is compressed from materials which are so abundant that the difficulty has been how to do justice to them in a limited space.

[2] While Warwick not only was governing Havre, but sending aid to Dieppe, news reached him that the former defender of Guisnes, "that honourable Baron and right famous Captain" William Lord Grey of Wilton, Governor of Berwick (erroneously stated by the Spaniards to be taking troops to France), "had ended his life at home," 14 Dec., 1562; not at Wilton (which he had been obliged to sell to pay his ransom in the last war), but at Cheshunt in Herts, the home of Henry Denny, who had married his only daughter. He was succeeded as 14th Lord by his son Arthur; and left a widow, Lady Mary, daughter of Charles Somerset, 1st Earl of Worcester by his 2nd wife Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas, Lord De La Warr. G.E.C.'s *Complete Peerage* (1892), Vol. IV, p. 113.

[3] Holinshed, p. 21.

and captured the Constable. But though Condé's Cavalry were superior, Guise not only was the abler General but was provided with three, or, some reported, four times as much Artillery:[1]

Prince de Condé			*Duc de Guise*		
Horse	7000	15,000	Horse	4000	16,000
Foot	8000		Foot	12000	
Ordnance	8		Great Ordnance	32[2]	

The English Ambassador had been sent to negotiate with Condé, but was interrupted by this fight. Though his sympathies were with the Huguenots, his sense of justice compelled him to give the palm for discipline to the foe; for whereas the first advantage was to Condé, and the Lord High Constable was taken away "with speed" as a prisoner to Orleans, the enemy vanguard, led by Guise, stood firm; and Guise's Artillery was so skilfully directed that the Prince de Condé's Cavalry were soon overthrown and Condé himself captured.[3] As to the Foot on both sides, those with the Duke, especially the Swiss, "did their devoir,"—wrote Throckmorton to Queen Elizabeth; but those of Condé, both French and "Almains" behaved ill. Such as Condé led in person were yet worse. And his Artillery consisted only of "four field pieces, two cannon, and a culverin," which were "badly conducted," and "never shot a shot." When the Duc d'Aumale was "overthrown and in danger of being taken" by Condé's men, he was rescued by his brother Guise; who "*behaved himself like a great and valiant Captain; for the victory is to be ascribed to him only* . . . he remained lord of the field; he won four pieces of Artillery"; his army captured the standards of the Prince's Foot.

Condé's "Almain footmen," who had had no "stomach" for the fight, "were defeated in running away. The Duke of Guise took to mercy 2000 of them, whereof he has sent into Almain 1,500, . . . with white rods in their hands," having exacted from them an oath nevermore to bear arms against him or his King. The other 500, who were better armed, Guise was keeping; most likely (our Ambassador thought) for service against the English forces in Normandy.

On seeing the Prince of Condé captured, Throckmorton had retired, with three servants and the Prince's "preacher," to Nogent-le-Roy, where the Duchess of Bouillon admitted him to the Castle, treated him "very well," and gave him dinner. He was there five days "under guard" and on Christmas Eve was sent to the victor's Camp.

The Duke of Guise (who had beaten the English out of Calais in 1557-8) asked the Ambassador to dine; and questioned him as to the recent battle. Throckmorton

---

[1] Cal. S.P.F. Eliz. 6. pp. 14-16. Abstract of a 4 pp. report, endorsed by Cecil.

[2] But Throckmorton says Condé had 7 guns and Guise 22. Cal: No. 12. p. 6. As Throckmorton was in Condé's camp, his word is of value.

[3] Not for the first or last time, the French King's forces won partly by the aid of Spanish troops. See narrative from letter by Captain Juan de Ayala to Pedro de Ayala, 4 Janry., 1562-3; copy, endorsed by Chaloner "To Mr. Secretary. Spa(i)n." 3 pp. Cal: S.P.F. 6. p. 17.

replied that as he was there only at the beginning he had the less to say. The Duke spent an hour " discoursing." Then, condoling with Throckmorton on having lost his baggage, he called up a distinguished Captain to escort him to the Castle of Mesières, and invited him to dinner again for the morrow. Accordingly on Christmas Day, Throckmorton arrived at the Camp about ten o'clock. The Duke was absent in Dreux at High Mass; but at noon he returned. Telling Throckmorton that he " marvelled " at Queen Elizabeth's aid to the Huguenots, he added that as Throckmorton himself was the Ambassador who had advised her, he was *"suspected of being a great author of all these troubles."* Therefore as he had got the French *into* their predicament, he should help them *out*. The Duke wished to know the Queen's present intentions. Throckmorton's power of repartee was such that even when arraigned for High Treason in Queen Mary's day he had defended himself successfully. He was not embarrassed now: but replied blandly that he could not explain Her Majesty's intentions because he did not himself understand them; as the difficulties made by the French in granting him a passport were such that he could neither communicate satisfactorily with his Sovereign nor she with him. When last he heard from her, she desired that France should be " in repose "; and to this end she was more ready to help than some of the French King's own Councillors. But as he, Throckmorton, was charged by the Duke as the " author " of the French troubles, might he not quote what was said in England; and had he leave to be frank? The Duke (not without irony) replied that this would give them all great pleasure. Throckmorton made the most of the opportunity. As it was Guise who by the massacre at Vassy had broken the promise of King Charles to the Huguenots, a timid diplomatist would have avoided so embarrassing a subject. But he " touched upon " the " Edict of January,"—and how it " was infringed "; and asked " who first took up arms?" Guise himself! whereon the Prince of Condé had been obliged to retaliate. There were " long disputes." Some of Throckmorton's statements the Duke denied; some he interpreted " otherwise "; and once or twice he was " somewhat offended." Finally he asked what had all this to do with the Queen of England? Throckmorton retorted that it concerned her quite as much as it concerned " the King of Spain or the Bishop of Rome." The Duke objected to the comparison; for King Philip and the Pope had helped France to chastise the rebels, whereas Queen Elizabeth " comforted " and assisted them. Throckmorton answered that Her Majesty did not regard them as rebels, but as " good subjects "; whereon the Duke asked again what measures did she advise in order that France might be " at rest "?

Throckmorton remarked that some of the miseries were domestical, so could only be cured by the French themselves; but others were " public " affecting foreign Princes: and " in pleasing one, you displease the other." His own Sovereign was concerned mainly for the faithful observance of treaties. As to Newhaven (Havre) and Tancarville, the inhabitants themselves had asked her to " take them into her protection." If the French restored to her England's territories of Calais and environs, Her Majesty would gladly give them back *their* towns.

Guise answered that the period specified before Calais was due by treaty to be restored to Her Majesty was not yet expired. Throckmorton retorted that possibly the Queen would keep Newhaven as a pledge until then. The Duke stated that Newhaven would cost her more than it was worth; to which Throckmorton answered that Calais yielded the French as little profit as Newhaven was yielding to England, but that the holding of Newhaven by the English would be more "annoyance" to France than the possession of Calais by France was to England.

As manifestly nothing was to be gained by such arguments, the Duke ended the conversation; and said he would repeat Throckmorton's words to the Queen Mother. After being taken to St. Denis, via St Germains, Throckmorton on the 13th of January from Chartres managed to get a four page letter, partly in cipher, through to Queen Elizabeth: beseeching her not to be deceived by talk of peace, as the Duke of Guise did not mean to allow peace till all the Protestants in France were extirpated! It would not be to the Queen's interest to permit Dieppe to be captured, or for her soldiers in Newhaven to be idle.[1]

How Warwick might be faring, Throckmorton could not learn; but his own peroration was characteristically spirited. After admitting that the rumours he hears are contradictory,—some saying the captured Prince of Condé stands up "stoutly" to the Queen Mother, and others that Condé is ready to "relent" and come to terms, —Throckmorton warned Queen Elizabeth that even *if the French were to make peace among themselves it did not follow that they would make peace with her. As it was her aid to "rebels, as they term them" which embarrasses them, the best thing she can do is to continue it!* If she hoped to get Calais back on favourable terms, it would not be by concessions but by strong action that she would prevail. The Admiral (Coligny) promises not to come to any agreement inconsistent with God's service and Her Majesty's satisfaction. He has over 5,000 Horse and 2,000 Foot. The Duke of Guise has only 3,000 Horse; but 16,000 Foot. The Admiral is besieging Blois: with how much success Throckmorton could not tell; but the Duke was marching to succour the place; so Her Majesty's best course would be further to encourage the Admiral and Andelot and La Rochefoucauld, and assure them of her aid to release the Prince of Condé from prison, and so to advance "Heaven's cause."[2]

The Ambassador's advice was taken; and Cecil drafted a Royal letter to Coligny that if he could procure such a peace as would accord with God's glory and his own safety, the Queen would be content; provided her own demands were satisfied. She would help him towards the payment of his army, and even if the treaty now in hand at Chartres should so fall out that Coligny's adversaries would not agree to his conditions, she not only would make speedy payment to him of all the money

[1] Ib. 83. (Forbes ii. 275)., p. 39-40. King Charles was greatly delighted with Guise's victory at Dreux, and notified his pleasure by creating 33 "gentlemen of the Guise's faction knights of the Order" (of the St. Esprit?). Cal. S.P.F. 6. No 79. 12 Jan., 1562-3, dated by Cecil. No. 80. (Ib 83. p. 40.) 2nd list of these knights with notes on their families and localities; 4 pp. These "*faction*" knights were good warriors.

[2] Cal: No. 12. pp. 6-11.

she had promised to the Prince of Condé, but during the Prince's captivity she would grant to the Admiral such further aid, by money or men, or both, as she considered reasonable.[1]

On the same date the Comte de Montgomery in Dieppe sent Warwick news of lack of men and artillery.[2] But the enemy in the person of the Rhinegrave wrote to Warwick professing desire to please, and vaunting his courtesies to the English prisoners.[3] This politeness was more artful than chivalrous, as we will subsequently see.

The Prince of Condé meanwhile was brought into Paris strongly guarded. His journey had been performed on horseback; but he was taken through the town in a coach, by torchlight; the torches being so carried that nobody could see him. He was then escorted to Chartres to the Abbey of St. Pierre, "where there are bars of iron to the windows." As for negotiations with the Queen Mother, no man knew what she intended, for she dealt with men "as it were in a mask."[4]

On the 30th, from Madrid, Sir Thomas Chaloner warned Queen Elizabeth that Spain had no intention of allowing peace; and that King Philip had despatched the Duke of Alba's son, the Grand Prior of the Order of St. John, to the French Court to dissuade the King and the Queen Mother from placating the Huguenots; and also to take charge of the Spaniards serving in France.[5]

Meanwhile on the very day that Montgomery in Dieppe was imploring Warwick for immediate aid, Warwick was appealing to the Privy Council collectively and to Cecil personally.[6] Though sending money and men to Montgomery, he could ill afford either. Four days later he was protesting to Cecil that though the Queen seemed offended with him for capturing Tancarville and "putting her people in danger at Honfleur," he had acted on the advice of men of more experience than his own, and had put nobody into greater danger than he put himself. As for losses, the enemy had ten men killed for every one of the English.[7] Concerning expenses, he was sorry that they were above what had been computed. If he could hold Newhaven with 500 men he would; but the engineers considered it impossible with less than 6,000.[8] There had been a rumour of a French intention to surprise Jersey or Guernsey; so Her Majesty should order the Governors there to be prepared; and as French ships were being armed on the coast of Brittany, her merchants should be doubly careful.[9]

The Princess of Condé (Léonore de Roye) wrote to Queen Elizabeth that

---

[1] Cal. S P F. Vol. 6. p. 52. No. 115. Portions underlined to be expressed in cipher.
[2] No. 118. p. 53. [3] Ib: 119. p. 54.
[4] Sir T. Smith to Queen Elizabeth. Ib: 146. Elsewhere Smith described the Queen Mother as swimming "between two waters," and as loved neither by the Protestants nor the Papists. Cal. S.P.F. 6. No. 781. p. 362.
[5] Ib. No. 190. p. 86. [6] Ib. p. 13. [7] Ib. No. 53. p. 29.
[8] Newhaven, 7 Jan: 1562(3). 7 pp. Ib: No. 52. p. 29; summary ⅓ p
[9] From Chartres, 13 Jan: Cal. 6: No. 83. p. 40.

though her husband's body was in prison his heart was free and undismayed.[1] Meanwhile the Rhinegrave was endeavouring to win Havre by treachery. He hoped to make the French soldiers betray the English garrison. His method was to dress up a soldier to look like a peasant with a basket of capers. But the vigilant sentries examined the basket and searched the man. Finding many "blank quires of paper with no writing upon them," they took the papers to the Earl of Warwick, who held them to the fire. The secret writing then became visible: certain French Captains, who had promised obedience, were to murder Warwick; get the keys; and let the Rhinegrave into the town. Instead of which they were taken and put to speedy execution.[2]

Not long after the English General thus escaped assassination, England's old enemy the Duke of Guise, so often victor in the field, was stricken by a murderer. Sir Thomas Smith wrote to tell the Queen how, on the 18th February, Guise had been wounded. Though the injury was not fatal, there was some suspicion that the bullet was poisoned;[3] but the Duke himself valiantly sent word to his brothers in Paris that it was "nothing";[4] and the chirurgeons undertook to cure him.[5] On the 24th February (Ash Wednesday) he died.

> "The Papists have lost their greatest stay and comfort," wrote Smith to the Queen: "many noblemen and gentlemen followed the Camp and that faction rather for love of him than for other cause. He was *the best General in France, some will say in all Christendom. for he had all the properties which are to be wished in a General· a ready wit, a body to endure pain, great courage, experience to conduct any army, courtesy in entertaining men, eloquence to utter his mind, and liberal in money and honour.*
>
> He was so loved amongst the noblemen and soldiers of France that now he is gone many will leave the Camp; they begin to drop away already. . . ."[6]

Smith thought there was more hope of France coming to "unity and accord" now that Guise was dead. Some people were exclaiming, "Now we trust we shall have peace."[7]

The assassin, captured and taken to Paris, boasted that "if it were to be done again he would do it . . ." He said he was one of forty paid by the Grand Admiral (Coligny) and encouraged by Theodore Beza: "They tell these unlikely tales and spread these rumours" to bring hatred upon the Admiral.[8] Actually the Admiral first heard the news on the 28th at Caen, in a letter from his brother Andelot.[9] Soon afterwards the murderer confessed he did the deed solely on his own initiative, "partly from displeasure to the Duke and partly to deliver his country." "After he fired the shot he fled ten leagues; . . . and seeing no man following him," not knowing whether his purpose had succeeded or not, he came back, to within four

---

[1] 14 Jan. Orleans. 14 Jan., 1562(3). Forbes, ii. 285. Cal: p. 42. For the fortunes of the Prince see "*Histoire des Princes de Condé, pendant le XVI et le XVII Siècle,*" by H.R.H. The Duke of Aumale, Paris (Calman Levy), 7 vols.

[2] 16 Jan: London. End: by Chaloner, "Receaved . . . . 8th March, 1562" (3). Cal: Vol. 6. p. 48.

[3] 20th Feb., 1562-3. Ib: No. 332. p. 148.

[4] p. 157. [5] p. 163. [6] Ib.

[7] Ib. "Occurrences in France." p. 162. [8] p. 163.

[9] Coligny to Q. Eliz: Ib. p. 169.

leagues of the Camp, meaning to try again if he had failed. He was then captured "in a poor man's house." The wound was not mortal; and the Duke might have recovered if the chirurgeons had not "cut him so much and evilly tended him."[1]

On learning that the Duke's mother (Antoinette de Bourbon) and his widow (Anne d'Este) could not believe the crime the act of an isolated fanatic,[2] but insisted it must be a Huguenot conspiracy, Admiral Coligny stated that if he could have killed the Duke by fair means in the war he would have done so: as there was never a greater enemy to any man than Guise to him.[3] Moreover Guise had come to besiege Orleans, and had vaunted that he would not pardon "any creature" if he captured the town: so he was the man above all others whom the Admiral would have liked to "*meet with, at the last battle; and if he could have planted a cannon against him to slay him he would have done it*"; and would have omitted none of the ways the laws of arms allowed to rid France of such an enemy of some of "the King's good subjects."[4] But before "God and the angels" Coligny protested against the charge of having countenanced assassination; and added that if any persons doubted his word they should come and speak with him, and he would answer.[5] These two famous warriors had in their youth been intimates. The antagonism between them was more than political; it had all the bitterness of a broken friendship. Guise's son and successor, Henry of Lorraine, was to carry on the hatred as if it had been entailed with the Dukedom; and nine years later he was to be avenged upon Coligny for a deed in which Coligny had no part. But to return to the events of 1562-3, as seen from the English-commanded town of Havre de Grace. On Monday the 8th of February "a great peal of ordnance" had been fired at six in the evening. It was to welcome Coligny. The last time he and the English had met was fighting at St. Quentin in 1557. And now on the 14th of February his son-in-law Téligny, with Monsieur de Rohan and others, arrived at Havre to solicit aid for the siege of Caen. For four days Warwick entertained them with "great cheer"; and the very day they departed, there arrived at Havre, in the Queen's ship "*Aid,*" our Ambassador Sir Nicholas Throckmorton.

Warwick sent Coligny all the artillery he could spare: seven cannons, two demi-culverins, and one minion; and the following morning, 26th February, Throckmorton and Monsieur de Briquemault, with 1,000 French soldiers and as many English, embarked for Caen. Coligny already occupied the town; and (according to Holinshed) it was the bringing up of the English guns which caused

---

[1] From St. Andrews the English Ambassador, Randolph wrote to Cecil of "great sorrow" at the Scottish Court. "The Queen is marvellously sad"—for the loss of her uncle,—"and her ladies shed tears like showers of rain; and others for company though their hearts be never a whit heavy." 18 March, 1562-3. Ib. p. 211.

[2] Ib. p. 217. "*Supplication of the House of Guise.*"

[3] Smith sent home (No. 476) "*The Further Answer of the Admiral of France,*" reply to the first depositions of the murderer, John Poltrot, alias De Merry, pp. 217-220.

[4] No. 478. "*A more Ample Declaration of the Admiral,*" pp. 220-222. Poltrot, hoping to escape the death to which he was condemned, had tried to throw all blame on the Admiral.

[5] No. 476. Copy, 6 pp.

the Marquis d'Elboeuf to yield the Castle, on the 2nd of March. On Wednesday the 3rd, Bayeux also surrendered to the Admiral; and then Falaise, and St. Lo.

In England the progress of the war was held to be so satisfactory, and Warwick's services so valuable, that on St. George's Day (23 April) he was elected Knight of the Garter; and on the 1st of May, the Garter King-of-Arms arrived with the insignia; which were not then put on merely for ceremonial functions. The chosen Knight wore the "George" always, "*as the symbol of the Most Illustrious Order, never to be forgotten or laid aside, that thereby thou mayst be admonished to be courageous; and having undertaken a just War, . . . thou mayest stand firm, valiantly fight, . . . and successfully conquer.*"

When the George was put round his neck, the Knight was adjured to imitate that "Blessed Martyr and Soldier of Christ," and serve nobly whether in victorious or adverse encounters. Invested with the surcoat and mantle, he pledged himself in "*the just and necessary defence of them that be oppressed and needy,*" and so to do his duty that by heroical actions on earth he might "obtain eternal and triumphant felicity" in Heaven.[1]

On the 30th of April, Warwick, wrote to the Privy Council that the French intended to set siege to "Newhaven"; and that he had no money to pay his soldiers, and only a month's victuals. The enemy's chief hope of success would be if the town were reduced by famine. But he considered that the French, in coming to besiege it, might be brought to more distress than the garrison, *if the Queen would put forth "such a power upon the sea" as to prevent relief reaching the enemy.*[2] She must send reinforcements quickly; as the total number of the English force was only 5,540.[3]

On the 14th May, 1563, Henry (afterwards Sir Henry) Cobham wrote to Sir Thomas Chaloner that "Portinary" had gone over about the fortifications of "Newhaven," and that the Queen's Navy is keeping the seas, so that England can victual the town, or land more troops at her pleasure.[4] And on the 18th of May, Lord Warwick informed the Privy Council of the arrival of "Mr. Portinary," under

[1] In his portrait (first reproduced ante) Ld. Warwick is wearing a handsome broad gold collar of the Garter with his George. The everyday wear was a small pendant of St. George slaying the dragon, suspended from a narrow chain or a sky-blue ribbon (not the deeper "Garter blue" of to-day).

For the *Admonitions* to the Knights quoted ante and supra, see "*The Statutes of the Most Noble Order of the Garter. London. Printed in the year MDCCCXL*" (Admonitions at the end). In the John Rylands Library (Spencer, No. 22763) is a MS. vellum, XVI century, of "*The Statutis or ordinances of the most noble order of Saynt George named the Gartyr. Reformed, explayned, declared, and renewed. . . .*" etc., etc, formerly in the collection of the Earl Spencer at Althorpe. For the variations instituted by the different Sovereigns see "*The Statutes,*" etc., 1840.

[2] Cal. S.P.F. No. 676. p. 308.

[3] Musters taken 29 and 30 April, A D. 1563: Sick "recoverable," 196; absent returnable, 70; 32 officers; Forces, 4,151 Foot; 194 Horse, 662 labourers, 210 under Master of Ordnance; 161 in the Galley. The Lord Lieut. (General's) own retinue 162. Ib: No. 680. p. 309.

[4] Cal. S.P. Foreign, Eliz: Vol. 6. No. 743. p. 337.

whose direction the fortifying of a piece of the old town was going forward according to the plan sent to their Lordships."[1]

Portinari had some difficulties with the men, because of his imperfect English. But as to actual fighting, such was the excellent discipline that even when the town was attacked by surprise at 3 a.m. on the 22nd of May, our forces showed "the wonted Valour of their worthy ancestors, giving such a hardy onset upon their adversaries" that better manliness had not been seen in any encounter than in "those martial Captains" . . .[2]

On the 26th, when some 3,000 French enemy Horse and Foot "came down towards the windmills near to the bulwark called Saint Addresses," the English Horse and Foot encountered them in "a right hot skirmish," the enemy losing 200 killed and 100 wounded; but only a "a dozen or thirteen" of ours being slain.

> ". . . the Englishmen like hardy and worthy soldiers won and kept the field, so as the Frenchmen in the end were driven to retire"; when, extra to other casualties, they had "above fifty of their horses killed and hurt. In this skirmish . . ," says Holinshed: "Captain Horseie[3] showed worthy proof of his most valiant courage, winning to himself such commendation as the same will not be forgotten whilst any shall remain alive that beheld his manful dealings: being such . . . . as deserve to be registered in the Book of Fame and to continue unto posterity for ever."[4]

Lord Warwick wrote to Cecil praising his men: who fight "like Hectors," labour like slaves, are fed worse than peasants, and are "poorer than beggars." They have only fish, (no butter or cheese) two or three days a week, and for the rest a pittance of salt beef or bacon. Many times when short of meat they also lack bread and drink. Now they are reduced to fish two days a week, and butter and cheese one day; although most of them labour all day, and are still "in their harness all night."[5]

On the 5th of June at 7 at night, ensued a yet more formidable attack, some 6,000 of the foe being "employed in this skirmish which was maintained right fiercely for the space of two hours, with very sharp and cruel fight: in the end the enemies were forced to give place, with the loss of five hundred of their men, Almains, Frenchmen, Gascoignes, and Spaniards. *The Englishmen in this service showed that they were nothing degenerate from the ancient race of their noble progenitors* . . . .[6]

---

[1] (Not the sketch now first reproduced, which is the later "Plat of Newhaven, by Sir T. Smith." 15th July (No. 1009)). It was expected the work would be perfected in fourteen days, though there were in Havre only 600 pioneers fit for spade and basket. (Cal: S.P.F. Vol. 6. No. 754. p. 347). This fortification was to cost £2,000, and 2,000 pioneers were wanted (Ib. No. 762). Cecil's "*Remembrance for wants at Newhaven*" 18 May, 1563.

[2] Holinshed, ed. 1808. Vol. IV. p. 216.

[3] Afterwards Sir Edward Horsey. [4] Holinshed, 1586. Vol. III. pt. 2. p. 1201.

[5] Cal. S P F. pp. 370-371. No. 806. Blank May. Endorsed 27th May.

[6] Ib: p. 1202, and Stow, *Annales*, ed: 1615, p. 653. Among the Captains wounded was Humphrey Gilbert, destined to an exceedingly active career during the many years ensuing between Queen Elizabeth's first French war and his own expedition to Newfoundland, 1583. See Chronology, E.E., II. 6. 3. App: Vol. IV.

More than ten standards were captured; the presence of Warwick being potent to "encourage his worthy soldiers"; and he took care that they were not left "unprovided of anything that was needful." So says Holinshed; but Warwick himself kept imploring the Queen to send him more men and means. An enemy historian, writing in 1578, of events he could well remember, treats the "*garnison de six à sept mille hommes choisis sur toute l'Angleterre*" with marked respect; and is far more reproachful against "*la Royne d'Angleterre*" for helping French rebels than he would have been had her aid been insignificant. Emphasis is laid by him upon the "*deux mille pieces d'artillerie*" of hers in Havre, "*avec un nombre de poudres et de balles*"; and upon the serious trouble she was so "ungrateful" as to cause the King of France by holding one of his chief seaports for Rouen and Paris.[1]

During June a succession of reinforcements arrived, and on the 2nd and 3rd of July there landed 900 men from Norfolk and Suffolk in "yellow and blue cloaks verie well appointed."[2] On the 3rd July at 10 p.m. the French "gave a great alarum to the town"; but 500 of ours immediately issued forth, "and beat the Frenchmen back and kept them waking all night."[3]

Throughout the winter and early spring, all had gone well for the English; but "at the beginning of the summer" a deadly pestilence broke out, our troops catching it from the French. Many an officer who had weathered triumphantly every other sort of danger, succumbed swiftly to the plague. But despite daily diminishing numbers, our troops held out so gallantly through June into July that the Constable de Montmorency thought it necessary to bring up eight more cannon to batter the Castle and bulwark. When these were planted, the garrison was summoned to surrender.

Warwick answered that he held Newhaven for his Sovereign Lady, and would not yield it without her orders.

---

[1] "*L'Histoire et Chroniqve de Normandie. Reueue et augmentée outre les precedentes impressions· Finissant au Roy tres Chrestien Henry Troisieme de ce nom, Roy de France, et de Pologne à present regnant. . . . A Roven. . . MDLXXVIII. Avec privilege. . . .*" (no page numbers. Dates in margin). The "six or seven thousand men" were reinforced. There is in S.P.D.E. for 1563, Vol. IX, No. 10,

"Estimate of Charges for the conduct of 3,800 soldiers, and 1,400 pioneers, sent out of 28 towns and counties named, to Portsmouth, Rye, and Harwich for Newhaven. Total £1,015 10s. and their coats at 4/- each, £760. With notes by Sir W. Cecil. 1¾ pp."

Cal: S.P.D.E. Add: 1547-1567 (1870), p. 539. Conjecturally dated by the editor "July"; but it would include the bands sent over in June.

[2] Holinshed, IV, p. 218: "having to their capteines Ferdinando Lyggins, Philip Sturleie, Iohn Highfield and Edward Driver." (See Sir W. Cecil's list, p. 214, ante.)

[3] The only officer fatally wounded in this sally was "Capteine Sanders," "shot in the leg, whereof shortlie after he died." (Ib.) He had been under 3 weeks at the front, having landed on 15th June, with Wm. Saul, each with 100 men. Richard Saunders, described in Heralds' Visit: Northants, 1617 (MS. cviii Queen's Col: Oxon) as "*Capitaneus et occisus apud Newhaven,*" was youngest son of Thomas Saunders of Sibertoft, and brother of Laurence Saunders, burnt at Coventry in Queen Mary's day, for heresy, as also of Sir Edward Saunders, knighted by Philip of Spain when King of England, (27th January, 1554-5), Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench, 1557, to January, 1558-9, and Chief Baron of the Exchequer from Jan: 1558-9 to 1576. Vide "*Saunders, Hatton and Lumley,*" by L. G. H. Horton-Smith, "*The Law Journal,*" 21 and 28 March, 1931.

Montmorency began a fresh bombardment; and after three days, six more heavy guns were brought up; and another four, on a raised platform. On Sunday evening the 25th of July, Monsieur d'Estrées, Master General of Artillery, superintended a yet fiercer battery; Montmorency himself remaining "in the trenches," exposed to the utmost danger, as was then expected of the General in command.

While the English gunners essayed with their cannons and culverins to make the enemy in his turn "taste bitter fruit," the French had recourse to a further device: namely so to drain the marshes—"drawing the water down to the sea,"—that they established "firm ground" where it had not been previously possible for any troops to pass.

Warwick might have beaten them back, had not the garrison been thinned by the pestilence; which having "entered the town about the beginning of the summer" had stricken many of his best officers to death. Even some who were recovering were so "weak that they were not able to help themselves, nor to do any service at all." And of the garrison "there died so many daily through the vehemency of the infection" that the streets were full of "corpses, not able to be removed or buried."[1] The French were said to have "used enchantments" to effect this.[2]

Added to sickness was increased scarcity of food, verging upon famine; and the enemy had cut off all the fresh water. Meanwhile a continual battery from cannon, which had been brought within twenty-six paces of the town, made two enormous breaches in the walls; through which the foe was expected to pour in at any moment.

"All these dangers and miseries notwithstanding," Warwick "with his Captains and soldiers in courageous order stood at those several breaches, . . . nothing afraid of death nor bloody wounds," always preferring the service of the Sovereign before his own safety. Desperate as the predicament was, he "by his own example encouraged others to cast away all dread . . . ."

Seeing Queen Elizabeth's General ready to withstand even this last assault, Montmorency sounded a trumpet, and offered Warwick a parley.

Then, having received on the 26th instructions to come to terms, Lord Warwick on the 28th of July consented to a truce. It was twice broken by the "unruly insolency of certain harquebussiers." And though by the "good diligence" of the Captains these men were ultimately "quieted," Warwick, unarmed and

> "standing at a breach in his doublet and hose in sight of his enemies, was by a lewd soldier of the French (contrary to the law of arms) shot through the thigh with a harquebus."[3]

This wound, unskilfully treated, was to entail upon him frequent suffering, across a period of twenty-six years. But at the time he made light of it, being resolute

---

[1] Holinshed, op. cit. The Unpublished Accounts, A.O. 1/1069/283, show Thomas Atwell and George Revell Keepers and Overseers of the sick men at Havre, with 4 servants, 2 tipstaves, one clerk, and 26 "labourers" attending on the sick. [2] S.P. Foreign. Col. 5. No. 1156. p. 507.

[3] Holinshed, op. cit. p. 222.

to show himself "a right hardy and valiant Captain." "Both prudent and politic" in the hour of defeat, he demanded that he and his troops should go out "with all armour, munition, ships, goods, bag and baggage" belonging to Queen Elizabeth or any of her subjects. It was agreed that all property of the King of France was to be respected; and Warwick in person was to deliver into the hands of Montmorency the great tower of the Haven: and by eight the next morning he was to have withdrawn all his soldiers from the principal fort.

Six days were allotted for the complete evacuation of the town. All prisoners on both sides were to be released without ransom. English ships for transport were to be permitted "safely and freely" to pass in and out of the Haven. Four hostages were given: Oliver Manners, brother of the Earl of Rutland: Captain Pelham: Captain Horsey, and Captain Leighton.[1] Warwick stipulated that in the event of contrary winds, or foul weather, he should be granted a reasonable extension of time before departure.[2]

That although almost starving, and with a force so reduced by sickness, and himself severely wounded, "Milor VVaruick," as the French called him, was able to secure these terms from such renowned fighters as Montmorency, Bourdillon, and Brissac, speaks volumes for his ability. The scornful fashion in which it is now usual to treat his services is the less excusable in that the enemy then and thereafter testified to his merits, and amongst our own people he kept to the end of his life the regard of all honourable men.

The troops were thankful to get away from the "unwholesome and most unsavoury air" of Havre. But when our forces marched out, some of the sick, being unable to walk, were left behind. Then Edward Randall, late "High Marshall of the Town," arranged for them to be carried aboard; setting the first example himself, although still weak from the pestilence.[3]

On the 2nd of August, from Portsmouth, the High Admiral, Lord Clinton, was able to report to the Queen and Council that the seas had been kept clear of enemies, and that sufficient vessels to transport Her Majesty's soldiers had safely reached Havre; and the greater number of "men and other things" had been punctually shipped. In "Newhaven Road" he had heard of the parley between Warwick and the foe, without the exact terms being known:

"But I perceive by all men's reports, as well English as other, that my Lord

---

[1] Afterwards Sir William Pelham, Sir Edward Horsey, and Sir Thomas Leighton.

[2] Holinshed, "The Articles of Agreement," etc., op. cit. p. 222.

[3] Holinshed, op. cit. Randall only lived another three years. As Lieutenant of the Ordnance and Colonel of 1,000 Foot, he was sent to Ulster. He fortified himself near Lough Foyle; and died fighting against Shane O'Neil, 12th November, 1566; his "bold and hardie" demeanour being held to ensure his "perpetual fame." Holinshed, IV. p. 231.

Among officers who died from pestilence in Havre the chief were Cuthbert Vaughan, Comptroller of the Town; Francis Somerset, cousin of the Earl of Worcester; Darcy, brother to the peer of that name; John Zouch, brother of Lord Zouch, William Saul (whose unpublished MS. book on the Arts of War, ante I. 1. 3, is among the papers of Sir William Cecil); and many others due "to be remembered and placed in rank with such worthy men as in their country's cause have lost their lives, and are therefore by writers registered to live by fame for ever." Holinshed, p. 223.

Lieutenant [General] very nobly and like a gentleman behaved himself; as well in the defence of the town, as in the composition: and great praise given to his soldiers for the great courage they have showed in the Queen's service there."[1]

From Portsmouth the Queen's cousin and Vice Chamberlain, Sir Francis Knollys, wrote to her,

> "According to your Majesty's commandment, ... I shall forthwith signify unto my Lord of Warwick, ... and also unto the Captains of Newhaven, how gratefully your Majesty doth accept of their valiant and faithful service; . . . . *and I shall from the highest to the lowest set forth your Highness' hearty and abundant thanks,* according to their degrees and your Majesty's pleasure. . . .
>
> I shall signify unto my Lord of Warwick your Highness' pleasure for his repair unto the Court as soon as his health will suffer him. . . . . ."[2]

Though the forces were promised the respect of posterity "for ever," the holding of Havre by Queen Elizabeth's troops for the Huguenots against the army of Charles IX is now commonly dismissed in a sentence, as a futile squandering of life and money. But even though it ended in disappointment, it was so creditable to the "valiancy" of all concerned, that our nation at the time was more disposed to admire the manly qualities displayed than to mistake defeat for disgrace.

Whereas in 1557-8 the fall of Calais after a few days resistance had evoked burning indignation at home,—when the loss was due to insufficient preparation, and the defence had lasted only a few days,—the resolute holding of "Newhaven," against a great army without and increasing sickness and privation within, not only won honour for "our manie valiaunt Captaynes and Souldiors," but helped to prepare them for their subsequent exploits.

Nevertheless it was a sad home-coming; for despite Warwick's pride in his men, not all his care prevented a further calamity. The returning troops brought into England the horrible pestilence which had so tormented them in Havre, and it spread so rapidly that in London alone there perished of it in the city 17,404 persons, and in the suburbs 2,732. Of the total of 23,660 deaths by illness during the ensuing year, 20,136 were from this plague.[3] Moreover, because of the infection, the Council of King Philip at Brussels refused to allow any English ships with cloth to come into Antwerp and other of his ports; and this was a heavy blow to all such "citizens of London" whose fortunes were in the cloth trade. So severe was the pestilence that the Queen cancelled the Lord's Mayor feast at the Guildhall on the anniversary of her accession, November the 17th.

During September there had been earthquakes in Lincoln and Northamptonshire; and in December there were such storms of thunder and lightning "that the like had not been seen nor heard by any man then living."[3] Thus ended the unfortunate year 1563.

We will now turn back to what had been happening at home, while the honour of England had been defended abroad, both by the Queen's forces, on sea and land, and by her Ambassadors at the Courts of France and Spain.

[1] Orig: Hatfield MS. *State Papers,* Haynes, p. 403. [2] Ib.
[3] Holinshed. IV. p. 224.

FRENCH SKETCH OF HAVRE DE GRACE (NEWHAVEN)

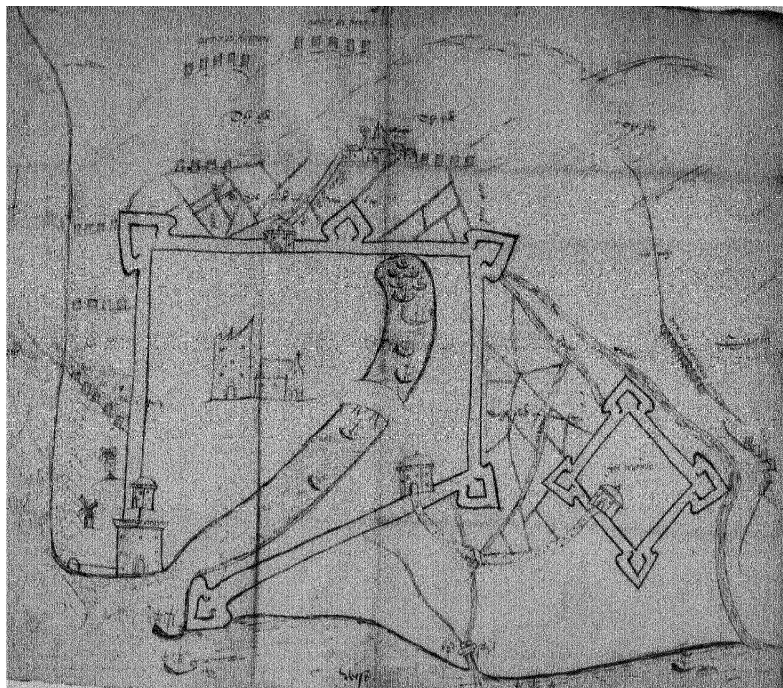
after the Earl of Warwick had amplified the fortifications.

Calendared 1867, S.P. Foreign, Vol. V. Now first reproduced from original in the P.R.O.

Note that an English hand has added "North," "South," and "West"; and observe *"fort warwic"* to the South-West. Notice that "the hill" to the East is not fortified by the English as had been suggested; but is occupied by the enemy. See *"quartier des Allemans,"* and *"quartier des françoys"*, and on the South side *"trenche quartier des suisses,"*—the siege being on the East and North sides, and by land. Up to the last Queen Elizabeth's forces *"kept the seas"*: a factor in the satisfactory terms ultimately granted by the victorious French to *"milor Warwic."*

Observe that the drawing is not made North and South in modern style, but East and West. See from the East Gate *"the way or Cawsey"*; and to the North, *"fosse faictes par les Anglois 15me July"*

This was almost the last achievement of our engineers. For the manner in which, by a combination of semi-starvation, sickness, and heavy artillery, the defenders were reduced, see Cal S P. Foreign, 1563, Vol. VI (1869). On the 13th June (p. 401) Sir Francis Knollys had been sent to report on the state of the defences, especially Fort Warwick. That Lord Warwick did not contemplate surrender is clear from Sir H. Paulet's letter on his behalf to Cecil (19th June, Ib· p. 423) asking for 9,000 more men, furnished to serve till Michaelmas, at a cost of £24,000. 12 8. Meanwhile the plague was increasing, and the Queen's physician Dr. Julio, whom she had lent to aid the sufferers, was himself sick and begged leave to depart (pp. 430, 438). On the 15th July (the date on the sketch) news came that 20,000 enemy troops were approaching (pp 452-454); and the following day the Queen wrote authorising Warwick to come to "good accord" with the foe. On 20th July she despatched definite orders for surrender (pp. 463-465) These he did not receive till the 26th On the 24th he wrote to his brother Lord Robert Dudley that at least he hoped to die fighting, and not of the plague (p 473). On the 29th he informed the Queen of the terms he had made with the enemy: less good than he hoped, but better than he expected (pp. 482-483) By the 2nd August the victors had compiled their own account of the events. *"Discours au vray de la reduction du Havre de Grace en l'obeissance du Roy. Auquel sont contenues les articles accordez entre le dit Seigneur et les Anglois A Paris Par Robert Estienne, Imprimeur du Roy. MD LXIII. Avec privilege de la Cour"* 32 pp. (Priv· dated 23 Aug at St Germains. Cal: S P F. No. 1100. p. 487). This was not seen by the English Ambassador Throckmorton until 19th September (p. 530). But on 12th August, when the news of the capitulation reached Spain, Sir Thomas Chaloner at once wrote to the Duke of Alba (p. 494) that he was convinced the surrender was entirely due to the plague, there having been 2,400 deaths from sickness. Previously in conversation with Alba (pp. 496-498), anticipating the fall of Havre, Chaloner had assured him it would not be from any lack of valour in the defenders, but from the deadly nature of the plague. This plague was so devastating that rumour ascribed it to "enchantments" (p. 507, Cecil to Chaloner). But despite the English defeat, the bravery of the troops had done much to restore the honour lost in 1558 by the fall of Calais; and the Duke of Alba gave Chaloner *"good words,"*—even while throwing no light on King Philip's intentions towards England.



APPENDIX.

"MOST NEEDFUL FOR US BOTH":

Amity of Mary Queen of Scots with Queen Elizabeth, 1563.

After the conqueror of Calais and victor of Dreux, Francis Duke of Guise, had fallen by the hand of a fanatical assassin, the Queen of Scots strove to alleviate her grief for her uncle by hunting and hawking daily "from place to place." The English Ambassador, Thomas Randolph, accompanied her to the Palace of Falkland (19 March, 1562-3). But finding himself "evil at ease there" he asked if he might return to St. Andrews. Before he departed, the Queen recapitulated to him all her misfortunes since the death of King Francis II. To her lament that she was destitute of friends, Randolph replied that Christ was the friend in whom she should trust; and added that she need not be downcast while she had a good friend in the Queen of England.

On the 18th of April, 1563, when Randolph received from Queen Elizabeth a letter to give to the Scottish Queen, he again met her "upon the fields hunting." Though he protested he would not interrupt her pastime with matters of State, she took the letter, and fervently praised her "dear sister, so tender a cousin and friend. . . . *And for my part I will show myself as loving and kind unto my sister, your Mistress, as if God had given us both one father and mother It is most needful for us both, and I perceive it to be God's will. . . .*" She put the letter "into her bosom"; and bade Randolph "to dinner" with her. At dinner she soon drew the letter forth from its place of honour; and after reading it aloud to her ladies and others, she exclaimed, "God will not leave me destitute: I have received the best letter from the Queen my good sister of England that ever I had; . . . . it comforteth me much."[1]

On the 23rd of September, Articles of Accord were concluded between her and Queen Elizabeth in the persons of their respective Lords Warden of the Borders; providing for redress of grievances on both sides, and for the continuance of "ancient customs; and authorising each Warden to pursue across the frontiers any rebel against his own Sovereign.[2]

Personal harmony between the Queens was what Lord James Stuart, Earl of Murray, had set himself to prevent;[3] and though we do not know if he was aware of the astrological prediction uttered in 1562 that the rival Sovereigns would never meet face to face,[4] he had a large and sinister share in procuring its fulfilment. It will be superfluous to repeat in detail either his tortuous intrigues or the miserable story of Queen Mary's matrimonial disasters. But it is worth notice that in 1563, while she was still a widow, the English Ambassador alluded to the Earl of Bothwell in terms of disgust, without any foreboding that this discredited personage would make himself third husband of the Queen of Scotland: *"a blasphemous and unreverend speaker both of his own Sovereign and of the Queen my mistress,"* is Randolph's description.[5] *"I know him as mortal an enemy to our whole nation as any man alive, despiteful out of measure, false and untrue as a devil"* Had Bothwell's power in Scotland been equal to his will, the amity between England and Scotland would have been less than was the case; but Randolph had never surrendered to Bothwell's threatenings.[6]

In November, 1563, Cecil instructed Randolph to say that Queen Elizabeth desired the Queen of Scots to choose a husband who would continue the concord between the two realms. If the marriage were "conformable" to Her Majesty's wishes, she intended then to accept Queen Mary publicly as her heir [presumptive].[7] It was urgent that the Scottish Queen should not marry any Prince "opposed to the amity of us and our two peoples." Queen Elizabeth entirely disapproved of the efforts of the

[1] Cal: S.P. Foreign, VI. No. 558. pp. 260-261; and Cal: S.P., Scot. II (1900). pp. 2-3.

[2] Copy, dated by Cecil, 16 pp. Short epitome in Cal: S.P.F. No. 1238. p. 532; and see Cal: S.P. Scot. II, No. 31. p. 23.

[3] I. 1. 4. App. B. pp. 205-210. [4] I. 3. 1.

[5] 22 January, 1562(3). Holog. 8 pp. Cal. S.P. Foreign. No. 131; pp. 58-61.

[6] Ibid. See No. 224, pp. 94-95, Sir Thomas Dacre and Valentine Browne to the Privy Council, 3 Feb., 1562-3, reporting a conversation with Bothwell, who expressed hopes of Queen Mary's favour, and boasted of aid to come to him from the Duke of Guise. See further, No. 839, p. 383, Randolph, 3rd June, 1563, to Cecil, warning him to be careful what English ladies were allowed to meet Bothwell, whose morals and habits he described as of the grossest and most unscrupulous.

[7] Ib. 16 Mo: No. 1402. p. 593 (Keith II. 213.)

Cardinal of Lorraine to find his niece a husband "in the Emperor's family": *"not that we think she meaneth anything against us,"* but her French kinsfolk do. Randolph was bidden to say, as if upon his own initiative,

> "that none could better content us than if some person of noble birth within our realm, having also qualities mete for the same, *yea perchnce such as she would hardly think we could agree unto, might be found out to content her,* and therewith be also agreeable to us, and to both our nations, and therewith further her interests . . . that she should be our next heir."[1]

The following year these persuasions were renewed in more explicit terms; the Earl of Bedford and Thomas Randolph being ordered to say to Queen Mary that Lord Robert Dudley, "lately advanced to be Earl of Leicester," combined the qualifications of noble parentage, good qualities and personal conditions which made him fit for the companionship of Kings and Princes. Had he not been her Majesty's own subject, but as nobly born under another Prince, she would have shown her regard for him in deeds, as now she does in words. Felicity of the first degree would have been achieved if of the two Queens one had been a King, and could have married the other. Felicity of the second degree would be attained if the Queen of Scots married the man whom her sister of England loved "as a brother." There was in England no person so fitting, *"as well for the nobility of his house, and conjunctions in blood with the greatest part of our nobility, as well as for the good favour he hath by his own merits gotten of a great multitude."*

Bedford and Randolph are to assure Queen Mary that "we esteem the amity of no Prince like to hers," and "we prefer him to be partaker of all her fortunes, *whom if it might lie in our power we would make owner or heir of our own Kingdoms"*[2]

Subsequently when Queen Mary chose for herself her young cousin Henry Stuart Lord Darnley, she was to fare infinitely worse than if she had accepted Leicester. In all Leicester's private correspondence there never appears one coarse or ill-bred word in regard to women, and although he was in the end to become an unwavering enemy of the Queen of Scots, his reasons were political not personal.

In 1564 it still appeared as if a secure alliance might be knit and maintained between Mary and Elizabeth The Pope had not yet launched his anathema against "Elizabeth the pretended Queen," nor prohibited Catholic Sovereigns from friendship with heretical England. And although John Knox had thundered against "Papists," and had grieved the Queen by "troubling" a priest who said Mass at Holyrood, when she was absent in Argyll, Knox had not yet proceeded to such intolerable extremities as goaded her to despair.[3] But even in 1563 she wearily remarked to Randolph that those who were out of the world were more to be envied than those who remained in it. And in December he related to Cecil how during the last two months she had been "divers times in great melancholies," over some "marvellous secret grief" which made her weep when there was "little appearance of occasion."[4]

There was soon to be more than enough occasion; and her gloom during that winter seems to have arisen from a premonition that heavy as her sorrow had been for the loss of her French husband, there were yet more bitter calamities to come. Her "diversity of afflictions" arose in circumstances so extraordinary that though Bassentyne the astrologer solemnly predicted the impending wreck of her fortunes, he was rebuked by Sir Robert Melville for "devilish devices," and was not believed by any partisan of Queen Mary until long after the events.

---

[1] Memo for "Thomas Randolph esquire our servant," sent by us to "our good deare sister," the Q. of Scots, to be by him declared to her. Corrected draft by Cecil with the Queen's additions. 9 pp. 20 Aug. 1563. Cal: S.P. Scotland, Vol. II, No. 23. p. 19. Also No: 24.

[2] 7 pp docketed "7 Octob, 1564. Instruc. for the Er. of Bedf. & Tho. Randolph." (Cal: S.P. Scot. II (104), pp. 80-82.) These are drafted in Cecil's hand, and have been in print since 1900. Yet our historians go on repeating that Cecil supplied material for libels against Leicester to the effect that he was treacherous, base, vile, ignoble, and in short a "monster." These libels will be analysed in Book II, *"Elizabethan England."*

[3] For Knox's letters to Cecil and Dudley, both 6th Oct., 1563, (Holog), see Cal. S.P.F., Nos. 1270 and 1271, pp. 544-546. For the other reference, Ib: Copy by Randolph, "Mr. Knox to the Brethren," etc., No. 1279, p. 548; and 21st Dec., No: 1523. p. 636.

[4] Cal: S.P.F. VI. No: 1471. p. 617; and Cal: S.P. Scot. II. p. 29.

PART I.

"The art and manner of Governing."

CHAPTER 1.

"THE GREATEST RARITY."

SECTION 6.

"Bashfulness . . . appropriate to my sex."

(Queen Elizabeth's hesitation to marry. 1562—64).

". . . your said subjects see nothing in this whole estate of so great importance to your Majesty and the realm . . . as the sure continuance of the governance and Imperial Crown thereof in your Majesty's most Royal Person . . .

" Whosoever he be that your Majesty shall choose (for husband) we . . . promise with all humility and reverence to honour, love, and serve."

Petition of the Commons to the Queen in her Second Parliament, 1562-3. Spelling modernised from Longleat Dudley MSS. Vol. III. ff. 33-36.

"The weight and greatness of this matter might cause in me being a woman . . . some fear to speak; and being bashful besides, a thing appropriate to my sex, . . . I mean upon further advice further to answer. And so I assure you all that though after my death you may have many stepmothers, yet shall you never have any more natural mother than I mean to be to you all."

" A Speech of Q. Elizabeth to ye Parliament." Unpublished Longleat Dudley MSS. Vol. III. ff. 37-38.

"He is a noble gentleman of birth, yea noble also in all qualities requisite; . . . . in goodness of nature, and riches of good gifts, comparable to any Prince born, ... much better than a great sort now living. . . . . He is also dearly and singularly esteemed of the Queen's Majesty."

Sir William Cecil to the Earl of Murray (and to Maitland of Lethington) 16th December, 1564; recommending the Earl of Leicester as worthy to marry the Queen of Scots. (Cal: S. P. Scotland, Vol. II, pp. 102—105).

PARLIAMENTARY JOURNALS.

Where not otherwise specified, the Parliamentary speeches in "Elizabethan England" *are derived from* "The Journals of all the Parliaments During the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, both of the House of Lords and House of Commons. Collected by Sir Simonds D'Ewes of Stow-Hall in the County of Suffolk, Knight and Baronet. Revised and Published by Paul Bowes, of the Middle-Temple, London, Esq.; London, Printed for John Starkey at the Mitre in Fleet-street near Temple-Bar. 1682." *(Folio, 689 pp. and prelims and Index.) With frontispiece engraving of Queen Elizabeth enthroned in the House of Lords, holding the orb and sceptre; the Lord Chancellor standing on her right with the Great Seal; the Secretary of State on her left; the mace bearer, sword bearer and Garter King-at-Arms by the steps of the throne; the judges on each side of " the Chancellor's seat," the Masters of Chancery and the clerks below it; the Marquesses, Earls and Bishops near the throne but separated from the judges. The Barons grouped below the Masters of Chancery. The Speaker of the House of Commons stands (between Black Rod and Sergeant-at-Arms) at the bar, with the Commons behind him.*

This picture purports to depict the period when Walsingham was Secretary of State (when there was no English Duke). But being drawn in the reign of Charles II, the Commons look more Carolean than Elizabethan. Not being contemporary, the print is not here reproduced.

As to materials, D'Ewes states he drew them from the Original MS. Journals of the Upper House, "absolute and undeniable records": *bundles of original Acts and petitions; MS Abridgment of all these Journals, by the Clerk to the House of Lords; Journals of the House of Commons; Sir Robert Cotton's MSS, where some of the speeches are more fully reported: Also* "a Manuscript Diary . . . by the Lord Burghley . . . which . . . did serve very well to the clearing of some things needful," *etc., etc.*

D'Ewes finished his task in 1631-2 " chiefly for my own private use and my Posterities," and that " God may be glorified, the truth divine or humane vindicated, and the publick benefited." His nephew Paul Bowes, who edited this tremendous work after the Restoration of Charles II, dedicated it to D'Ewes' son and successor, Sir Willoughby D'Ewes.

Though vitally necessary to any systematic study of Elizabethan politics and legislation, it has never been reprinted. Current ideas of Elizabethan Parliaments are too often derived from obiter dicta *of 19th and 20th century writers, who appear not to have realised the supreme power of the Crown.*

TABLE SHOWING DATE AND DURATION OF PARLIAMENTS HELD DURING THE FIRST 24 YEARS OF QUEEN ELIZABETH'S REIGN:

Though New Year's Day festivities were held at the Court on 1st January, the official year began on 25th March, hence the double dates in the table, the first Parliament beginning in 1558 by Elizabethan reckoning but in 1559 by ours.

In the Table what appear like 7 Parliaments are counted as 4; because the Queen herself so reckoned them.

Other Tables will ensue in later volumes.

A total of 10 Parliaments in a reign of 44½ years,—some sitting only a few weeks, and the longest less than six months,—will bring home to us that it is futile to try to adapt Elizabethan history to a "constitutional" thesis. The power was vested in the Crown.

Daily business of State was done through the Privy Council. Parliament was summoned only when required, and did not sit a day longer than "Her Majesty's Will and Pleasure" would allow.

REGNAL YEAR	PARLIAMENT CALLED	PARLIAMENT PROROGUED	PARLIAMENT DISSOLVED
1st Eliz.	(1) 25th January 1558-9	. . . .	8th May 1559
5th Eliz.	(2) 12th January 1562-3	10th April 1563	
8th & 9th Eliz.	13th September 1566	. . . . .	2nd January 1566-7
13th Eliz	(3) 2nd April 1571	. . . . .	29th May 1571
14th Eliz.	(4) 8th May 1572	Adjourned 30th June 1572	
18th Eliz.	8th February 1575-6	15th March 1575-6	
23rd Eliz.	16th January 1580-1	18th March 1580-1 (& 19 further prorogations*)	19th April 1583

* D'Ewes "*The Journals of all the Parliaments . of Queen Elizabeth,*" &c. (1682). p. 310.

NOTE A.

"MISFORTUNE AND NOTHING ELSE".

The Death of Lady "Amye Duddley" 1560.

In 1859 a member of the British Archaeological Association examined the circumstances of the death of Amy, née Robsart, wife of Lord Robert Dudley; and exonerated Dudley in a publication dedicated to the Earl of Carnarvon, President, and to the "officers, Council and members" of the Association of which he was Vice-President and Treasurer.[1] But the outer world seldom studies the publications of learned societies; so the time-worn notion of Robert Earl of Leicester as an elegant Bluebeard, ruthless to a plurality of wives, is not yet dead.[2]

Though few would confess to taking their history from a novel, Sir Walter Scott in "*Kenilworth*" gave prolonged currency to falsehoods he did not detect as such. The airs and graces of his Earl of Leicester, the struggle between Leicester's worldly ambition and secret affection for the woman he had clandestinely wedded,—the resourcefulness and aplomb of Raleigh (who in real life had not become a courtier at the period Scott supposed), the blunt frankness of Thomas, Earl of Sussex, the masterful magnetism of the Queen, the bitter malignity of "Richard Varney," the innocent spriteliness of Amy "Countess of Leicester" and her longing to be openly acknowledged, were most graphically painted.

But in real life the wedding was a Court festivity, attended by the boy King Edward VI, who, on the 4th of June, 1550, recorded in his diary that "*S Robert dudelcy thu d sonne to th' erle of warwic, maried S Jon Robsartes daughter.*"[3] There is no hint of an unsuitable or irregular match, for it was neither the one nor the other. The Marquess of Bath now possesses the original deed of settlement between John Dudley Earl of Warwick and Sir John Robsart, Knight, dated the 24th of May, 4th Edward VI; signed and sealed by the bridegroom's father, who settles upon his son Robert and his future daughter-in-law "Amye", and their heirs, "Cokkesford Priory" Co. Norfolk; and also an annuity of £50; while Sir John Robsart gives his daughter £20 a year and various lands.[4] These sums of money were of six to eight times higher value than now.

The bride came of an honourable family, renowned in the wars of King Edward III and Henry V. Two Robsarts were Knights of the Garter in Henry V's reign; and one, the King's Standard Bearer, made a brilliant alliance with the daughter and heiress of Sir Bartholomew Bourchier.

When Lord Robert Dudley had been a prisoner in the Tower in Queen Mary's day, he was allowed visits from his wife;[5] and there is no reason to assume the match unhappy, though it was childless.

The only two letters from "Amye Duddley" now known to exist are one at Longleat to her tailor,[6] and one to her "very friend" Mr. Flowerdew; which last, dated only "this vii of

---

[1] "*An Inquiry into the Particulars connected with the Death of Amy Robsart (Lady Dudley) at Cumnor Place, Berks, Sept: 8, 1560. Being a refutation of the calumnies charged against Sir Robert Dudley, K.G., Anthony Forster and others . . . By Thomas Joseph Pettigrew,* F.R.S., F.S.A. . . . London, MDXXXLIX." (Should be *Lord* Robert in 1560).

[2] Despite the publication of a further enquiry "*Amye Robsart and the Earl of Leycester . . . By George Adlard,*" 1870.

[3] B.M. MS. Nero. C.X. f.22. verso. "Sir Robert" not Lord Robert, as his father was not Duke of Northumberland till 1551.

[4] Calendered: Hist. MSS. Comm: 3rd Rep: App: (1872) p. 201.

[5] Acts of the Privy Council. 5 Septr. 1553. [6] Wm. Edney. Calendared, Hist. MSS. 3rd R. p. 200.

August", refers to her Lord's sudden departing, "sore troubled with weighty affairs", "earnestly" requiring her to see in his absence that certain "poor men" be satisfied in regard to a matter of business in connection with the sale of wool.[1]

The supposed murder of this lady was derived by Sir Walter Scott from "*The History and Antiquities of Berkshire*", by Elias Ashmole, the noted collector and antiquarian, writing more than a century later than the events:

> "Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, a very goodly personage and singularly well featured, being a great favourite to Queen Elizabeth, it was thought and commonly reported that had he been a bachelor or a widower the Queen would have made him her husband. To this end, to free himself of obstacles, he commands, or perhaps with fair flattering entreaties desires, his wife to repose herself here at his servant Anthony Forster's house: . . . and also proscribed to Sir Richard Varney (a prompter to this design), at his coming thither, that he should first attempt to poison her, and, if that did not take effect, by some other way whatsoever to despatch her."

Poisoning having failed, Sir Richard Varney "*by the Earl's order,* remained that day of her death alone with her, with one man only and Forster who had that day forcibly sent away all her servants from her to Abingdon market . . . They, I say (whether first stifling her or else strangling her,) afterwards flung her down a pair of stairs and broke her neck, using much violence upon her . . . She was conveyed from her usual chamber where she lay, to another where the bed's head of the chamber stood close to a privy postern door, where they in the night came and stifled her in bed, bruised her head very much, broke her neck and at length flung her downstairs."

"*By the Earl's order*" is an anachronism, for Dudley was not then an Earl, nor yet in expectation of so becoming.

The libeller is too elaborate in his allegations. It would have sufficed to strangle the victim. That they afterwards "broke her neck" was surely superfluous.

The criminals are represented as all turning penitent and confessing their villainies; Sir Richard Varney especially

> "said to a person of note, who hath related the same to others since"—*no names given of these persons,*—"that all the devils in hell did tear him in pieces. Forster likewise, . . . with much melancholy and pensiveness (some say with madness) pined and drooped away . . .
>
> "As soon as ever she was murdered, they made great haste to bury her, before the coroner had given his inquest . . . her father or Sir John Robsart (as I suppose) . . . came with all speed hither, caused her corpse to be taken up, the coroner to sit upon her, and further enquiry to be made . . . but it was generally thought the Earl stopped his mouth."

"Her father *or* Sir John Robsart" shows the writer's ignorance; her father and Sir John Robsart were the same person.

As to her funeral in Oxford, it is classed as an endeavour to deceive the world with a false show of love:

> "It is remarkable when Dr. Babington the Earl's chaplain did preach the funeral sermon, he tript once or twice in his speech. by recommending to their memories that virtuous lady so pitifully murdered . . ."[2]

It would indeed have been "remarkable" if the chaplain had said any such thing.

To the circumstantial but fanciful narrative, which Ashmole quarried from a foreign-printed

---

[1] B.M. Le Neve's MSS. Harl: MS. 4712. f. 275. Addressed "To my veary frynd Mr. Flowerdwe the ellder, geive this." (Flowerdew of Hethersett was Steward to the Duke of Norfolk; his son was subsequently, 1584, a Baron of the Exchequer). Letter printed in "*An Inquiry*" etc. p. 15. Facsimile of signature in "*Retrospective Review,*" N.S. II. p. 134; and "*Royal and Noble Autographs,*" 1829.

[2] Ashmole, Op. cit. Vol. I. p. 149.

libel of 1584, the answers are: first, that the ill-fated Amy was never Countess of Leicester. She died on September the 8th, 1560. Lord Robert did not become Lord of the Castle and Manor of Kenilworth until 1563, nor Earl of Leicester till September 1564. Secondly, no reason appears for supposing "Richard Varney," who was Richard Verney of Compton Verney, to have been other than admirable[1] Thirdly, Anthony Forster, his alleged brutal and churlish accomplice, was a country gentleman described in his own day as "the generous offspring of a generous race", "in person fair and of the brightest sense,"[2] the respectable father of a large family. Far from lapsing into madness from remorse, and quickly pining away, Forster survived Dudley's wife a dozen years; and was M.P. for Abingdon in 1570.

She moreover, was not buried in haste to avoid examination into the circumstances of her death. Though "*the greatness and the suddenness of the misfortune*" of her death almost "benumbed" her husband, he sent for her brother Arthur Robsart, and others of her kin, to be present at an inquest to try and discover whether the tragedy was "*by evil chance or by villainy*"[3]

He dreaded "malicious talk" of the world;[4] and nine days after the event there was such "dangerous suspicion and muttering" that Principal Secretary Sir William Cecil, also Sir Francis Knollys the Queen's cousin, were urged to invoke Her Majesty's influence that "if any be found guilty" it may be openly made known.[5]

Dudley's kinsman Thomas Blount, who made searching investigations, was convinced that the disaster was not foul play, but "*only misfortune and nothing else*". From Windsor, where, as Master of the Horse, Dudley was detained in attendance on the Queen, he wrote to Blount that the "*enquiry and examination*" must be "*pressed to the uttermost*" by "*substantiall honest men*" for "*the more knowledge of truth*". "God's will be done; and I wish He had made me the poorest that creepeth on the ground, so this mischance had not happened . . . "[6]

Again "from Kew this 27th of September" Dudley commanded that the jury "according to their duties, earnestly, carefully and truly deal in this matter," for if it should prove foul play, he will insist upon "*the just punishment of the act*," no matter whom such punishment may overtake.

The enquiry was prolonged, and the burial "in our Lady Churche of Oxford" did not take place till the 22nd September. The funeral was conducted with the dignity customary for personages of rank: "a great banner of arms", six smaller banners, eight dozen pennons, eight dozen scutcheons, four "great scutcheons of arms"; three heralds, "Master Garter", "Clarenceux" and "Rouge Crosse"; and other ceremonial indications of woe; including "many mourners in black"; and in the usual openhanded patrician way, "great doles of money" to the poor.[7]

Of contemporary stories, that of the Spanish Ambassador, the Bishop of Quadra, as written to the Duchess of Parma, is often uncritically echoed. He alleges that five days before the tragedy

---

[1] The author of "*An Inquiry*" &c. p. 18, is mistaken in saying there was no such person as Richard Varney or Verney associated with Lord Leicester. The Marquess of Bath's MSS (6. Drawer 9) includes a letter from Richard Verney to the Earl of Leicester (April, 1560) excusing himself for non-attendance because of ill-health. Calendared but not printed in *Hist: MSS. Com: Cat: 3rd Rep: Appendix, p. 200.* (1872).

[2] Contemp: Latin verses; trans: "*An Inquiry*," &c. (1859) pp. 19-24.

[3] Lord Robert Dudley's correspondence on the subject, printed (in the original spelling) in "*An Inquiry*" etc. 1857, pp. 28-32.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Letter from the Master of Sherborne Hospital. *State Papers,* ed: Murdin: vol. I. p. 362 (and see p. 122).

[6] "*An Inquiry*," p. 31.

[7] Machin's *Diary.* (1550-1563) p. 243. More details in *Dugdale MS.* T.2.f.77, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. The funeral certificate, B.M. Harl: MSS. 897, f.80 b. calls her "Lady Amie Robsart, late wyff to the right noble the Lord Robert Dudley, Knight and Companion of the most noble order of the garter and master of the horsse to the Queenes most excellent majestie."

Queen Elizabeth told him "she had made up her mind to marry, and that the Archduke [Charles] was to be the man." But shortly after the death of Dudley's wife, Her Majesty "drily" said she had changed her mind and rejected all matrimonial schemes whatsoever.

The Ambassador, according to his own account, sought Sir William Cecil

"whom I knew to be in disgrace: With little difficulty I led him to the subject, and after many protestations and entreaties that *I would keep the secret he was about to tell me*," (and the Bishop promptly repeated it,) "he said that the Queen was going on so strangely that *he was about to withdraw from her service*. It was a bad sailor, he said, who did not make for port when he saw a storm coming."

Sir William Cecil's authentic sayings do not resemble those ascribed to him by the Spanish Ambassador, who had the audacity to inform the Duchess of Parma that Cecil predicted the "manifest ruin" of Queen Elizabeth because of her partiality for Lord Robert Dudley.

The extreme impropriety of one of Her Majesty's Ministers making any such assertion to the Ambassador of a foreign power is equalled only by the improbability that so astute a statesman and courtier uttered any such allegation. But the Bishop's narrative is sensational in the extreme. Cecil, he declares, disowned responsibility for the Queen's vagaries, and declared he was "determined to retire into the country".

"He implored me for the love of God to remonstrate with the Queen, to persuade her not utterly to throw herself away as she was doing, and to remember what she owed to herself and to her subjects. *Of Lord Robert he twice said he would be better in Paradise than here*".

The Bishop represents himself as having replied he was "most deeply grieved" to hear of such scandals; and that he laboured ever for the Queen's "well doing". Cecil retorted—or rather the Bishop says he retorted—that Her Majesty "*cared nothing for foreign Princes*", and also that she had "*ruined her credit in the City*"!

(If such damaging matter was so easily to be obtained against the Queen from the Minister she regarded as most devoted to her interests, the King of Spain hardly would have required his expensive spy system.)

"Last of all," writes De Quadra, Cecil said "*they were thinking of destroying Lord Robert's wife. They had even given out that she was ill; but she was not ill at all, she was very well, and was taking care not to be poisoned. God, he trusted, would never permit such a crime to be accomplished, or allow so wicked a conspiracy to prosper.*" ("They" being the Queen and Dudley).

"The day after this conversation," continues Quadra, "the Queen on her return from hunting, told me that Lord Robert's wife was *dead, or nearly so, and begged me to say nothing about it*". (But we know it was never Queen Elizabeth's way to "beg", but peremptorily to order.)

"Assuredly it is a matter of shame and infamy; *but for all this I do not feel sure that she will immediately marry him, or indeed that she will marry him at all.*"

Possibly "*The Queen may be sent to the Tower, and they may make a King of Lord Huntingdon who is a great heretic, calling in a party in France to help them . . . It is quite certain that the heretics wish to have Huntingdon made King. Cecil himself told me he was the true heir to the crown,—Henry VII having usurped it from the House of York* . . . It may be that I am over suspicious, but with such people it is always prudent to believe the worst. *Certain it is they say openly they will not have a woman over them any more:* and this one is likely to go to sleep in the palace and wake with her lover in the Tower. The French, too, are not asleep. Even Cecil says *Non dormit Judas.*"[1]

To which of various Judases Cecil was supposed to be alluding is not explained; but as Henry VIII had

---

[1] B.M. MS. Add: 26,056 a, "*Transcripts of State Papers and Correspondence relating to English History in the Archives of Simancas 1559-1589, by James Anthony Froude* . . . " See also *Cal: S.P. Spanish* (*Simancas*), 1558-1567, No. 1119.

made it High Treason to refer to his dynasty as usurpers, and as there was no plot to make Huntingdon King, let us ascertain Cecil's actual feelings. In a private letter to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton (hitherto overlooked), he relates pungently how the Spanish Ambassador uses every possible device to discredit him with the Queen, especially whenever he is absent[1] On his return to the Court he would "sound" her heart to find how far she had been influenced. He tells Throckmorton he had always advised her to have amity with King Philip so cautiously that she would easily bear the lack of his love! As to the "evil thoughts" against Cecil with which the Ambassador laboured to infect Lord Robert Dudley, Cecil felt sure no such malice would succeed, as Lord Robert was well aware he could rely on Cecil's good wishes.

Far from Cecil meditating "withdrawing" from the Queen's service, he was the chief architect for the building up of her power; and after we have studied his 40 years of office we will be better able to estimate how different were his sentiments from those put in his mouth by Quadra. Apart from the outrageous treachery of the Principal Secretary of State making such speeches against his Sovereign's honour, it would have been most dangerous for Cecil to have said any such words. Had he so spoken, the Ambassador need only have informed the Queen; and Cecil would have been in the Tower as a traitor to Crown and Country.

Sovereigns did not then sit silent under calumny; so to have indulged in slanderous fabrications about Her Majesty, to the representative of her Royal brother-in-law, would have recoiled swiftly upon the slanderer.

Actually it was Cecil upon whom Dudley in 1560 most relied to defend him; and Cecil also who subsequently testified to Dudley's *"virtues and his excellent and heroical gifts of mind and body,"* as making him worthy to be the husband of Queen Elizabeth, *if it had been fitting—which he thought it was not—for Her Majesty to wed a subject*[2]

[1] Holog: 15 July, 1561. Cal: S.P. Foreign (1866), Vol: IV. No. 320. p. 189.

[2] Always overlooked, though printed in 1740 in *State Papers*, ed: Haynes, p. 420. *"A Collection of State Papers. Relating to Affairs in the Reigns of King Henry VIII, King Edward VI, Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth. From the year 1542 to 1570. Transcribed from Original Letters and other Authentick Memorials, Never before Published. Left by William Cecill Lord Burghley, and Now remaining at Hatfield House in the Library of the Right Honourable the present Earl of Salisbury. By Samuel Haynes, A.M., Rector of Hatfield in Hertfordshire. London . . . . MDCCXL."* Dedic: to James Earl of Salisbury. Folio, 624 pp.; also Prelims and Index. Quoted infra as *State Papers, Haynes:* as distinguished from *State Papers*, edited in 1759 by Murdin, who carried on the work of Haynes at Hatfield, and whose folio volume chiefly covers the later period of Queen Elizabeth's reign. *State Papers* issued by Lord Hardwick, and the Calendars of State Papers Domestic, Foreign, Scotland, Ireland; and the Hatfield MSS. Calendars (Hist: MSS. Comm:) contain such a wealth of matter that the student's difficulty arises from excess rather than default of material.

NOTE B.

THE ALLEGED PLOT TO DETHRONE QUEEN ELIZABETH IN FAVOUR OF THE EARL OF HUNTINGDON.

As to the assertion by the Spanish Ambassador to the Duchess of Parma in 1560 that the English nobility were weary of the Queen's infatuation for Lord Robert Dudley, and that they meant to dethrone her and make a King of the Earl of Huntingdon, "a great heretic",—Henry Hastings Earl of Huntingdon was nearest male by descent from George Duke of Clarence. This fact was brought up against him again and again by foes at the Court. But the first occasion on which Huntingdon himself heard of such suspicions was in 1563 (not 1560); and it was his brother-in-law Lord Robert Dudley whom he made "*a partner of my griefs*", telling him how the Queen with "some jealous conceit" had rebuked his wife for his alleged ambitions.[1]

"How far I have always been from conceiving any greatness is best known to your Lordship, and the rest of my nearest friends; if not, mine own conscience shall best clear me from any such folly. Alas, what could I hope to effect, . . . Will a whole commonwealth deprive themselves of so many blessings presently enjoyed, for a future hope uncertain, in favour of one inferior to many others, both in degree, and any princely quality?

"Will they forsake a Prince, both for excellent qualities, and rare Virtues of nature, and of great hopes of an inestimable blessing by her princely issue, in reason of her youth, for a poor subject in years, and without any great hope of issue? *No, no, I cannot be persuaded they would, if I should be so foolishly wicked to desire it, or that my mind were so ambitiously inclined.*

"*I hope her Majesty will be persuaded of better things in me, and cast this conceit behind her And, that a foolish book, foolishly written, shall not be able to possess her princely inclination, with so bad a conceit of her faithful servant, who desires not to live but to see her happy* What grief it hath congealed within my poor heart, (but ever true) let your Lordship judge, whose Prince's favour was always more dear unto me than all other worldy felicities whatsoever. This I am bold to make known to your Lordship, humbly desiring the same, when you see your opportunity, *to frame a new heart in her Majesty's breast, whose power I know is not little in effecting of far greater matters than this, for never shall there be a truer heart in any subject, than I will carry to her Majesty, as long as I breathe.*

And so I rest

Your poor Servant and Brother

H. HUNTINGDON."

April 1563.

His promise of devotion was well kept; up to his death at the end of 1595. And as in 1588, when the Spanish Armada loomed on the horizon, Huntingdon was trusted with one of the most important administrative tasks, (and we shall see his unpublished letters under date in that connection), the story as to the English Nobility intending to make him a King can be relegated to the same realms of fancy as the alleged poisonings, and other murders, by his yet more distinguished brother-in-law.[2]

---

[1] *Miscell· State Papers*, London 1778. Vol. I. pp. 187-8. (B.M. No. 2080.c.)

[2] The clumsy libels treating of the Queen's alleged crazy subjection to Leicester, his bigamies, his "treasons" and other capital crimes, and his and his brother-in-law Huntingdon's "plots" for subversion of the State and death of the Queen, will be analysed under 1584 and 1585. Presented to the public anew as "History" in 1904, the libels colour many estimates purporting to embody "research" as to Elizabethan Court life.

LORD ROBERT DUDLEY, EARL OF LEICESTER.

From a picture in the National Portrait Gallery,

purchased at Christie's in 1887,

from the collection of Robert Vernon (died 1849).

History and date unknown; but, the arms with Earl's coronet being contemporary, a likely date is shortly after September 1564 when Lord Robert was created Earl of Leicester and Baron of Denbigh.

The eyes are light grey; complexion fair; beard brown, and hair a darker brown. Garments claret coloured.

(See Vol. III, pl. 3, for a portrait circa 1574-78, ascribed to Zucchero, formerly in the collection of the late Earl of Effingham).

The painting in the N.P G. represents Leicester at a time when his name was being bandied about as a possible King Consort. One Italian sympathiser wished the Pope to offer Leicester the Crown, and make his brother a Cardinal!

In 1561, 4th April, from Frankfort, Queen Elizabeth's envoy, Christopher Mundt, warned Sir William Cecil that "horrid lies" about the Queen and her Master of the Horse had reached the German Princes from important but impudent persons at the French Court, and from Brussels and Lorraine; also that "most scandalous letters" had been sent to the Elector Palatine through Lower Germany. (Latin holog: orig: 4 pp. Epitomised in Cal: S.P.F. IV (1866), No· 88, p 50)

In Von Klarwill's "*Queen Elizabeth and some Foreigners,*" translated by Professor Nash, London, 1928, it is editorially stated (p. 55) that Dudley "always hoped to win Elizabeth's hand, and frustrated all the Queen's marriage plans." No authority is given for this assertion· which is in contrast to the letter of Dr. Christopher Mundt to the Duke of Wurttemberg, from Strasburg, 14 Oct., 1563: (pp. 173-157):—

> "The Queen's liking for Lord Robert Dudley" is "an affection that is certainly nothing more than what a Sovereign Lady, would she not be ungrateful, might and must show to a loyal and noble subject. Never has the Queen's mind conceived the thought, nor has she ever thrown out any hint that could justify him in entertaining the slightest hopes that she would marry him."

(Von. Klarwill, p. 12, states that while the Dynasty of Hapsburg ruled "it was not easy to make use of their secret family archives,"—meaning the State Papers, —". . . now times have changed . . for the first time since they were written may profane eyes peer into these most secret of secret documents." But it was not necessary to drive the Emperor and Empress into exile before students could read the correspondence of Queen Elizabeth and her champions with the Germanic Princes. In the Public Record Office in London the drafts for these communications could have been inspected—with the replies received;—and, more than half a century ago, Joseph Stevenson translated and edited for the *Calendars of State Papers Foreign,* the documents bearing upon the suggested Austrian marriage of Elizabeth Regina. That this proposed match is only briefly alluded to in "*Elizabethan England*" is because it does not appear to have been seriously intended by the Queen, who was aware of King Philip's hidden hostility, and did not take literally his expressed wish for her union with his cousin.)

PART I.

"The art and manner of Governing."

CHAPTER 1.

"THE GREATEST RARITY."

SECTION 6.

"Bashfulness . . . appropriate to my sex."

(Queen Elizabeth's hesitation to marry. 1562—64).

THAT Queen Elizabeth after an attack of smallpox in 1562 not only made a good recovery, but that the disease left no disfiguring marks was cause of much rejoicing at the Court.[1] Her illness had evoked acute anxiety as to who should be her successor. Petitions for her speedy marriage were one of the principal features of Parliament, which,—having been dissolved on the 8th May, 1559,—was summoned for the 11th January, 1562-3, after an interval of nearly four years.[2]

When the day for the opening came, the Queen was not well; so Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, read aloud her writ proroguing Parliament until the morrow.

On the 12th, the Peers temporal and spiritual, the trumpeters and Heralds, came in procession to Westminster. "Then the Queen's Majesty on horseback," clad in a velvet mantle and hood, furred with ermine, a kirtle of crimson velvet and many gorgeous jewels. The Earl Marshal of England, Thomas Duke of Norfolk, carried the sword of State; and the Sovereign was attended also by Lord Robert Dudley, Master of the Horse; the Lord Chamberlain and Vice Chamberlain; the Gentlemen Pensioners, her ladies, and her Captain of the Guard.

First she went to Church and heard a sermon from the Dean of St Pauls; and then entered the House of Lords. As many of the House of Commons as could "conveniently be let in" were invited by the Lords to come and hear the opening speech of the Lord Keeper.[3] His main points were "God's honour and glory"; England's policy for the Commonwealth at home; and to provide against enemies abroad. And "as the head is, even so is the foot," wherefore Her Majesty required good Ministers, and for her laws to be well executed.

---

[1] Lady Mary Sidney, who nursed her, caught the infection, and paid for her devoted service by the loss of her beauty. A picture of her at Penshurst Place, painted prior to the calamity, shows her standing with her archlute. It is reproduced as frontispiece to Francis W. Galpin's "*Old English Instruments of Music. . . .*" London, 1910.

[2] For this 2nd Parliament the matter is compressed from the Longleat Dudley MSS, and from the printed "*Journals of All the Parliaments . . . . of Queen Elizabeth.*" D'Ewes, ed: Bowes, 1682. House of Lords, pp. 57-77; House of Commons, pp. 78-92. [3] pp. 59-61.

At her coming to the throne, she had "found this realm in war with foreign Powers"; and for lack of sufficient treasure and artillery she had agreed to a peace. Nevertheless the French had striven to subjugate Scotland, and had meant "to have troubled us not only at Berwick but at the Walls of York," had not the Queen's forces frustrated them. Such service had been expensive; but the Queen had met the cost: *"a penny, well spent, afterwards saveth a pound."*

This was to prepare both Houses to vote a subsidy. But first ensued the order to the House of Commons to choose "a discreet, wise and learned man to be your Speaker." Thomas Williams, Fellow of the Inner Temple, was unanimously elected. Invited into the House of Lords, his oration to the Queen abounded in precedents from classical and English history. Finally, asking pardon for his "uplandish and rude speech," he prayed God to incline her to marriage, that she and her children might long reign over England. She had her answer ready in writing. The Lord Keeper read it aloud:—namely that she was young enough for there to be no need of haste, and that she would pray to "linger in this vale of misery" until all her work for her subjects' safety and comfort had been well accomplished.[1]

Among Bills introduced in the House of Lords during this brief session, was one for "restitution in blood" of the children of Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury,—who had lost all their rights and property when he was burnt at the stake by Queen Mary. Also a *"Bill for the punishment of Vagabonds calling themselves Egyptians"*; and for the naturalisation *"of certain children from beyond the seas"*; a Bill against *"Inchantments, Sorceries and Witchcrafts"*; a Bill for the Maintenance of the Navy; for translating the Bible into Welsh; and for Relief of the Poor; also numerous bills for regulation of industries and improving the game laws. But as the Queen's main object in calling Parliament was to obtain money, "an excellent declaration" was made (20th January) by Sir William Cecil, Principal Secretary. He told the Commons "of the great charges defrayed by the Queen's Majesty, and of the causes of the wars in France; . . . . the charges at Berwick and Newhaven,[2] for provision of armour, and for the Navy"; and deplored the "cavillation of the French" who would not yet restore Calais.[3]

The Commons were willing to do their share in paying for such fighting in France and Scotland as had kept the soil of England inviolate. But perturbed by the Queen's lack of reassurance as to her marriage, twenty-four of them were appointed by the rest to draft a further humble petition.[4] Referring to "our great

---

[1] Journals, etc., p. 76. [2] Havre. [3] *Journals* p. 79.

[4] Longleat Dudley MSS. Vol. III. ff. 33-36. The student should be warned to beware of trust in endorsements, and to examine all MSS independently of how they may be docketed. The above is endorsed in a later hand *"An addresse from ye House of Lords to Queen Elizabeth"*. and in pencil "28 Jan: 1562-3." Somebody finding it among Leicester's papers, and knowing that the Upper House in 1563 urged the Queen to marry, has assumed it to be the petition of the Lords because preserved among the papers of a peer. But Lord Robert Dudley in 1562-3 had only his courtesy title as a Duke's son, and was not then in the House of Lords. His Earldom dates from 1564. The MS is the Address of the Commons, practically identical with the version printed in 1682, *"Journal of all the Parliaments . . of Queen Elizabeth,"* pp. 81-83 The difference is that the Dudley MS has with it the Queen's answer.

terror" during the "danger of your most noble Person by sickness," they besought Her Majesty to reflect how necessary it was to consider the succession to *"the Imperiall Crowne."* Thanking her for her "gracious and motherly care," they adjured her to save them from the "unspeakable miseries of civil warres," and "perilous intermeddlings of foreign Princes, with seditious, ambitious and factious subjects at home"; to which they would be exposed "if Your Majesty should be taken from us without a known heir, which God forbid . . . ." A woeful picture was drawn of the plight of those who have no Sovereign to protect them:

> "the waste of noble houses, the slaughter of people, subversion of towns and intermission of all things pertaining to the maintenance of the realm; unsurety of all men's possessions, lives, and estates": all which horrors "and infinite others" had fallen upon England "when the title of the Crown was brought in question between the Royal Houses of Lancaster and York: till your most noble progenitors King Henry VII and the Lady Elizabeth his wife restored it to settled unity, and left the Crown in certain course of a succession."[1]

They reminded her of "the great malice of your foreign enemies which even in your lifetime have sought to transfer the dignity and right of the crown to a stranger,"—meaning the Queen of Scots.

> "We have noted their daily most dangerous practices against your life. . . . We have heard of some subjects of this land most unnaturally confederated with your enemies, to attempt the destruction of Your Majesty and all that live by you."

As some of the "Papists" were hoping for her death in order to re-establish "their late unspeakable cruelties" (the Smithfield fires), it was to be feared lest the realm be left open to rival competitors. Therefore *"may it please your most excellent Majesty for our sakes, . . . to take to yourself some honourable husband. . . . Whosoever he be that your Majesty shall choose, we protest and promise with all humility and reverence to honour, love and serve."*

She was asked to "have confidence in all your faithful subjects continually watching and warding for your preservation, which God long continue, that you may see your children's children, to His honour and our comfort. . ."

The Queen's long and affable reply was reassuring in general terms but evasive as to particulars.[2] Commending "My Commons" for their zeal, she declared herself afflicted by "bashfulness" when asked to talk about marriage; and she cited the precedent of a philosopher "who always when he was required to give answer in any hard question" would "rehearse over his alphabet before he would proceed"; thus giving himself time to think! If on a mere "school point" a wise man was so cautious, need they be surprised if in a vital matter her answer was deferred? Acknowledging their sympathy in her illness, she said her purpose would always be to carry "that great burden that God hath laid upon me: for of them to whom much is committed much is required." If the Realm were endangered through her actions or omissions, her subjects would lose their bodies; but she would "hazard to lose both body and soul."

---

[1] The Catholics said the Tudors were "a dynasty of usurpers." But the House of Commons naturally did not remind Queen Elizabeth that the Crown her grandfather left "in certain course" to his posterity he had himself gained by conquest.

[2] *"A Speech of Q. Elizabeth to ye Parliamt."* Longleat Dudley MSS. Vol. III. ff. 37-38.

She hoped her people did " not forget that by me you were delivered while you were yet hanging on the bough ready to fall into the mud." Admonishing them on their " duties and due obedience " she assured them that " though after my death you may have many stepmothers, yet shall you never have a more natural mother than I mean to be unto you all."

Sir Thomas Smith wrote from Paris to Sir William Cecil that the Cardinal of Ferrara had asked him as to the Succession, and what was being concluded in Parliament; and whether a match between Her Majesty and *" le Grand Esquire "* (Master of the Horse) would soon take place; also whether he would be made a Duke or an Earl? Smith answered he had not heard anything to that effect; but that if the Queen wished either to make Lord Robert Dudley a Duke or to marry him, she needed no Parliament for either, as the peerage would be her own gift, and her marriage would depend on her personal choice.[1]

The Prince de Condé also approached Smith with the question whether the Lords and Commons had not besought the Queen to marry Lord Robert? Smith answered that they petitioned her to marry, but had not named any particular person. The Prince asked had she not privately promised her hand to Lord Robert? Smith replied he knew of no such vow; but that if she had made it there was nothing to hinder the fulfilment.

Condé remarked that it was not unknown that she regarded Lord Robert with affection; but perhaps she thought it would abase her to marry one of her own subjects? If she was not too " far gone " in affection for Lord Robert, she might have one of the greatest Princes in Europe—meaning himself—and thus govern France and England, and expel the " Papists." Smith replied bluntly that the English nation did not like " strangers "; and that it would be more reasonable for a Frenchman first to offer the Queen what was her own (Calais), and afterwards enter into talk of " amity, love, and alliance."[2]

Having obtained the subsidy, and not wishing for further questions as to her marriage, the Queen prorogued Parliament on the 10th of April, after it had sat for three months. It was ordered to reassemble on the 2nd of October. But by October, London was so infected with the plague, brought by the troops from Havre, that Parliament was prorogued for a year by Royal Letters Patent. On the 5th of

[1] *Cal S P Foreign,* 1563. Vol. 6 (1869), p. 104. Smith adds that extra to " the natural curiosity of all Italians," the Cardinal was especially inquisitive about the Queen marrying Lord Robert, because " if he durst " he would suggest the Queen marrying the Duke of Ferrara, his nephew.

[2] This was repeated by Smith in a letter to the Queen. From Blois, 1st April, 1563. Cal. S.P.F. Vol. 6. p. 263.

On 1st January 1562(3) John Fitzherbert wrote to tell Lady Cobham that *" detestable and abominable slanders "* were spread on the Continent against Queen Elizabeth, *" blazing abroad that she has had two children."* (*Cal: S.P. For:* 1563 No: 4, pp. 1-2).

This is the story periodically revived in the 19th and 20th centuries, as a " discovery " from " contemporary evidence " and from " State Papers ": a modern transatlantic fancy being that the two children were Francis Bacon and Robert Earl of Essex! Actually Essex was not born until three and a half years later; but the imaginative volume in which this theory is embodied rarely deals in anything so concrete as dates.

October, 1564, it was further prorogued till 30th April 1565; and on that date until 4th October; whereon it was once more prorogued to the 7th February. Her Majesty then prorogued it till 30th September, 1566: when it counted as the same Parliament as that of 1563, having never been dissolved.[1]

If we suppose that no country can be well governed without frequent Parliaments, Queen Elizabeth's long reign will modify that assumption; for the daily business of state was excellently discharged by the Privy Council; which sat once a week for certain, and every day or twice a day when required; assembling wherever the Sovereign might be at the moment,—its decisions having no validity without Her Majesty's approval (as she was careful to inform the French Ambassador in 1591).

The usual purpose of calling Parliament was to define the needs of the Realm. Taxation was mild; and even for Defence, though certain measures were exacted under the Statutes of Henry VIII, Queen Elizabeth instead of making heavier annual demands preferred to suggest a "*voluntary increase.*" With a proud and patriotic nation, this method was exceedingly successful. The number and quality of the troops presented by "Noblemen and Gentlemen" in the subsequent great crisis will be a revelation to Englishmen of to-day.[2] That it is more profitable to stimulate the devotion of subjects in emergencies than to bleed them white all the year round, and that to identify their pride with their affection, and their interests at home with their readiness to withstand aggression from abroad, were in Elizabethan England elementary principles of "the art and manner of governing."

The business of the Crown and the Privy Council was to ascertain how best to conserve the kingdom; and then communicate the particulars to responsible persons.

In all debates, the Members of the House of Commons had theoretical liberty of speech; but the Queen on a notable occasion explained to them that this permission was not to be interpreted as a license to utter any fancy that might "come into their heads." They were to speak reasonably and in measure, remembering their duty to herself and to the nation.

If, as sometimes happened, the House of Commons was considered to have performed its task imperfectly, it received admonition through the House of Lords. Bills were considered primarily by the Lords, and then by the Commons; but if the ideas of either Houses did not please Her Majesty, she could not be compelled to assent.

That the Sovereign was responsible only to God, and could be petitioned but not coerced by man, was the accepted conviction. The disadvantages of absolutism we will study towards the end of the reign, when they bore so heavily upon one of the Queen's most fervent champions as to spur him into actions which cost him

---

[1] D'Ewes, "*Journals of all the Parliaments,*" *etc.*, pp. 91-92.

[2] Lists first published under date, 1588.

his head. But during the forty years when Sir William Cecil's hand was on the helm, the Ship of State was steered with a degree of skill best to be appreciated when we see the changes during the quarter century following his death. Not by timid temporisings and evasive shifts was he to remain in office from 1558 till 1598. He had one consistent policy from first to last; and though the means varied, the aim was immutable: the building up of a strong nation; in which all ranks should do their respective parts, and, according to their capacities, be encouraged to work, live, and when necessary die, for England.

The Crown was the symbol of safety; and the Monarchy was not then hedged about with obstacles between the Sovereign and the subject. Any "poore scollar," if some nobleman would vouch for him, could publicly dedicate his labours to Her Majesty. Any man or woman of the people could present bouquets of flowers to her as she rode through the city of London.

"Dear Lady Elysabeth, which art our right and vertuous Quene, . . .
For whome we all are bound to praye, Lady, Lady,
Long life to raigne both night and day; moste dere Ladye."[1]

In 1564, on the 13th of April, when Queen Elizabeth was in her 31st year, peace was concluded with France, but without the restitution of Calais. It was proclaimed at Windsor Castle with sound of trumpets; and the Queen's cousin, Henry Cary, Lord Hunsdon, with the Earl of Derby's eldest son Lord Strange, and others of note, were sent to France to announce to the young King Charles IX how he was to be honoured with the Order of the Garter.

By Eastertide, the plague, which the previous year had spread into the provinces, had abated its violence.[2] There being now no further fear of infection, the Queen made a triumphal progress to Cambridge. Staying at King's College, she was entertained with "scholastical exercises of philosophy, physick and divinity" by day, and by night with "comedies and tragedies set forth partly by the whole University, and partly by the students of the King's College, to recreate and delight her Majesty, who both heard them attentively and beheld them cheerfully."

On the 9th of August she rode through the town to see all the Colleges,—"those goodly and ancient monuments of Kings of England her noble predecessors,"—and in St. Mary's Church she made an oration in Latin, to the admiration and "comfort" of all who heard her.[3]

Her next "progress" was to Hinchinbrook; and thence back to London, to

[1] "Finis. quod. R.M." *"A Newe Ballade."* Undated. *"A collection of . . . Black Letter Ballads . . . . between the years 1559 and 1597."* London, 1867. pp. 30-32. As certain modern purveyors of scandal consider they have "positive evidence" of Queen Elizabeth going astray with a nobleman whom they find beginning a letter to her *"Most dear Ladie,"* we must note that the terms of endearment they think so "compromising" were used without offence in popular ballads, *licensed by the Crown.*

[2] This year, on St. George's Day, April 23rd, 1564, there was born at Stratford-on-Avon William, son of John Shakespeare. [3] In extenso, Holinshed. IV, pp. 225-6.

St. James's Palace. There, on St. Michael and All Angels Day, 29th September 1564, she created her Master of the Horse, Lord Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester; having the previous year conferred on him the Castle and Manor of Kenilworth in Warwickshire, erstwhile in possession of his father, John Duke of Northumberland. When he donned the robes of an Earl, and received his Patent from the hand of the Queen, she herself girded him with his sword. The Heralds then proclaimed him, as *" très noble et puissant seigneur, Robert Conte de Leicestre, Baron de Denbigh, chevalier du très noble Ordre de La Jarretierre, et Grand Esquier de la Royne nostre Souvereigne."*[1] But if we imagine him as the " Queen's accepted lover " on the strength of Her Majesty giving him the sword he consecrated to her service, the answer is that the ceremonial forms for creation of an Earl would have been exactly the same had the Sovereign been a King and not a Queen. Sir William Cecil, that same month, had stated, by the Queen's orders, that Leicester's " virtues " and *" his excellent and heroical gifts of mind and body "* so commended him to Her Majesty that had he been her brother she could not regard him with greater affection. But that this was no cause for assumption either that she meant to take him as a spouse; or that she looked upon him in any fashion inconsistent with her royal dignity and his position as her subject.[2]

The next public event was the memorial service in St. Paul's for the Emperor Ferdinand, who during a long illness had predicted he would not die till St. James's day. The Protestant Holinshed records the fulfilment of the prophecy; and commends the Holy Roman Emperor's " gentlenesse, uprightnesse, discreetnesse, and peaceablenesse."

On the 21st of December a hard frost set in. The Thames was frozen over; and the ice from London Bridge to Westminster was so thick that on New Year's Day " some played at the football as boldlie there as if it had been on the drie land." More Londoners thronged upon the frozen river than in any street; and the Court then being at Westminster, many noblemen came and joined the sport, shooting at targets set up on the ice; until on the 3rd of January a thaw suddenly caused the surging up of " high waters that bare down bridges and houses "; and citizens who had escaped the plague were drowned in the floods.[3]

On the 6th January, 1564-5, Leicester wrote (in Latin) to thank the University of Oxford for electing him Chancellor.[4] In that capacity he was to be a generous patron of letters for the next three-and-twenty years.

---

[1] Full details, Ib. 227.

[2] Docketed *" 8 Sept. 1564. Copy of the letter written to M. Mundt by the Queen's command."* Hatfield Cal: I. (1883), p. 202-3. In extenso *State Papers*, Haynes (1740), p. 420. Later Notes in Cecil's hand as to the Queen's marriage, reasons for the Archduke Charles and against the Earl of L(eicester), April 1566, were printed in 1740 by Haynes; and table of points to be considered, with the relative qualifications of the two suitors was quoted by Froude, Vol. VII, p. 283, ed: 1863. On these two MS has been built the supposition that Cecil detested Leicester. A conviction that the Sovereign would gain more by marriage with a foreign Imperial Prince than with one of her own noblemen has been unwarrantably mistaken for personal jealousy and dislike.

[3] Holinshed, IV. 228.

[4] Elected 30 Dec: *" Reg: of the Univ: of Oxford."* Vol. II. Oxford Hist: S.: Vol. X. p. 240.

The discussion as to who should be husband of the Queen of Scots continued; and Queen Elizabeth instructed her Ambassador Thomas Randolph again to urge the suitability of Lord Leicester. Sir William Cecil also wrote direct to James Earl of Murray, who still posed as deeply devoted both to England and to Queen Mary his sister.

As Cecil's description of Leicester has been in print since 1900, all the more peculiar is the persistence of the fallacy that Cecil's hatred of Leicester is the keynote to the political situation for thirty years from 1558 to 1588.[1]

> "*He is a noble gentleman of birth,*" declared Cecil, "*yea, noble also in all qualities requisite*"; free from the "evil conditions" sometimes inherited by Princes: "*in goodness of nature, and riches of gifts, comparable to any Prince born, . . . much better than a great sort now living.* He is also an Englishman, and so a mete man to carry with him the concent of this nation to accord with yours.[2] . . . *He is also dearly and singularly esteemed of the Queen's Majesty,*" (Cecil at first wrote "*beloved,*" but modified this to "*esteemed*"); "and for his degree at this time he is already worthily an Earl of this realm. . . .

"I dare affirm . . . her Majesty will give him the highest degree" that "any noblemen may receive of her hand as her subject" (presumably a Dukedom; a superlative honour when there remained only one English Duke, the Queen's near relation, Thomas, 4th Duke of Norfolk).

If the Queen of Scots would marry Leicester, his title should be declared in Parliament; and the matter of succession established. Cecil admonished Murray and Lethington not to allow negotiations of "friendship and affection" to sink to mere bargain or purchase.[3]

This letter reached Scotland on Christmas Eve; and the recipients hastened to reply that their hesitation to advise their Sovereign to consider the English marriage was not caused by "misliking" of Leicester, whom they knew to be in no way inferior to any man in England, and in some respects to "overpass them all." But they thought Cecil was pressing the match less out of regard for Queen Mary than to make an Englishman King of Scotland! Nevertheless if Cecil himself would come to discuss the circumstances "*no man will be better welcome, nor yet better trusted.*"[4]

Cecil could not leave England; and to Randolph fell the task of trying to persuade the Scots Queen to take this English husband. The argument was continued into 1565; Mary expressing her wish to please her "systar" of England; and on

[1] As alleged in 1927 by Dr. C. Read in his "*Mr Secretary Walsingham and the Policy of Queen Elizabeth,*" and accepted by all reviewers as "substantially correct." Read was misled by Froude; but the views of Cecil can never safely be taken except from Cecil's own words.

[2] "concent," i.e., "harmony."

[3] "From Westm. xvj Decemb. 1564." 12½ pp. in Cecil's hand. Draft. Cal. S.P. Scot. II., No. 26, pp 102-105.

[4] "Edinburgh the Chrismis evin 1564," signed James Stewart, W. Maitland. Cal: S.P. Scot, II, pp. 105-109.

one occasion varying this by saying she would endeavour to regard Queen Elizabeth as a *daughter* might. That Leicester must be "a very noble man," she conceded; adding, *"such a one as the Queen your Mistress doth so well like to be her husband if he were not a subject, ought not to mislike me for mine."*[1]

In boldly repeating this to his Sovereign, Randolph may have suspected that Queen Elizabeth had counted from the first on a refusal. Exactly to measure her feelings and emotions was (and is) beyond the power of mortal man; but Randolph wrote privately to Leicester, half in congratulation and half condolence, as to his being "tossed to and fro" between "these two Queens."[2] Cecil was duly warned that the regal pride of Mary—a Queen from her cradle,—was never likely to *"imbase itself so low"* as to wed *"in place inferior to herself."*[3] (This, however, was exactly what she was yet to do; though not with any Englishman, and not to the consolidation of her throne).

To Randolph she had pleaded that remembrance of her late husband King Francis was still so fresh that she could not easily reconcile herself to the thought of any other; and that she was young enough to wait.[4] All the more startled was Randolph when her young cousin Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, came, saw, and fascinated; and this just after Cecil had begun to hope that she might be won to like Lord Leicester.[5]

The lamentations of Randolph are far removed from the cynicism sometimes now ascribed to him. And Sir Nicholas Throckmorton also deplored the "unadvisedness and rashness" of the Scottish Queen's choice, and saw only misfortune ahead of her,—*"so captivated either by love or cunning (or rather to say truly by boasting or folie) that she is not able to keep promise with herself. . . ."*[6]

Randolph wrote to Leicester that it was pitiful to see the state of mind of this *"poor Queen, whom ever before I esteemed so worthy, so wise, so honourable in all doings,"* now "so altered" through her "affection towards the Lord Dar(n)lye that

> she hath brought her honour in question, her estate in hazard, her country to be torn in pieces. . . .
>
> "To whom this may chiefly be imputed, what crafty subtlety or devilish device hath brought this to pass, I know not, but woe worth the time (and so shall both England and Scotland say) that ever the Lord Dar[n]lye did set foot in this country."[7]

---

[1] Randolph to Queen Elizabeth. 5 Feb, 1563-4. 10 pp. Holog: Cal: S.P. Scot. II, pp. 120-123.

[2] 7 Nov: 1564. Ib: p. 93. [3] 21 Feb: Ib. p. 43. [4] 8 March. Cal: S.P. Scot pp. 49-50.

[5] Cecil's Memoranda, Feb.-March, 1564-5. *State Papers*, ed: Murdin, p. 758. And *"Primo Maij anno 7 Eliz. Regine,"* the Privy Council "with one assent" agreed it would be unmeet, unprofitable, and perilous to the amity between the two Queens if the Queen of Scots marry Lord Darnley; and they requested Queen Elizabeth not to accord thereto, but to offer her sister "any other of the nobility either in this whole realme or isle, or in any other place" suitable to her estate and agreeable to both realms. Signed by the Lord Treasurer (Marquess of Winchester), by the Earl Marshal (Duke of Norfolk), and the Earls of Pembroke and Derby, by the Lord High Admiral (Clinton), Lord Howard of Effingham, and others, including "W. Cecill," who has added "Nota. This is the copy of the paper delyvered to Sir N. Throkmorton." Cal. S.P. Scot. II, (171), p. 150.

[6] Throckmorton to Q. Elizabeth, 21 May, 1565. Cal: S.P. Scot. II, (183), p. 162.

[7] 21st May, 1565. Ib. (186), p. 166.

Were this a Shakespeare play instead of an actual letter of an Ambassador it would be regarded as peculiarly dramatic. Were it retrospectively written it would be less remarkable; but it was on the 21st of May, 1565, that Randolph had his premonition of the troubles ahead, not only the dissolving of "amity" between the two Queens, but the fast ensuing disillusion and heartbreak of Queen Mary. Already Darnley had grown so arrogant as to be intolerable to honest men, and so selfish as to forget his duty to the Queen who was challenging so much criticism for his sake: *"What shall become of her, or what life with him shall she lead, that already taketh so much upon him as to control and command her . . . ? These things, my Lord, do move me much to lament her case; this is it that may move any man to pity that ever saw her, that ever loved her."* Most of all, Randolph regretted the good opportunity lost for uniting England and Scotland. He hoped his own Queen would not throw the blame on him for failing in negotiations:

"Princes most commonly weigh men's service by the event. I confess it hath not succeeded" (but by no fault of his):

". . . it can never be either to the honour of God, weal of both realms and my Sovereign's surety that the Lord Darnley should be approved husband to the Queen of Scotland": who is *"blinded, transported, carried I know not whither or which way, to her own confusion, and destruction of her country, for the love of him that ever I judged the most unworthy to be matched unto such a one as I have known her and seen her to be."*[1]

Imagining the Earl of Murray "true, faithful, honourable, earnest and stout both for defence of God's glory and safety of his Sovereign's honour" and fearful Queen Mary's doings would alienate Queen Elizabeth.[2] Randolph little dreamt that Murray from the beginning had determined upon his sister's subservience to himself, and had resolved that she should make no marriage which would give her any added personal power. But so skilfully did he play his part that even the astute Randolph imagined in him the grief he was incapable of feeling.[3]

Randolph could not reconcile himself to the "strange effect" of Darnley upon Queen Mary, whom he had hoped would marry Leicester, "where I am assured your life had been happy, and should have found wherewith to have contented you, if it had been taken in time," as he wrote to Lord Leicester. Since Queen Mary fell under the influence of the arrogant and heartless Darnley, she is so changed that her majesty, her wits, and even her beauty are clouded, "her cheer and countenance changed. . . . ."

"A woman more to be pitied than any that ever I saw. . . How loth I am thus to write or what grief I have thus to think, your Lordship may well conceive: of whom so many times and oft my chief delight hath been always to set forth her worthy praise, equall to any that ever I saw,—she only excepted to whom I am most bound in dutye to honour and serve. . ."[3]

[1] Holog: 4 pp. Addressed to Leicester, and endorsed partly by Cecil. Ib: (186), pp. 167-168.
[2] Ib: No. 187. Randolph to Cecil.
[3] Ib: pp. 171-172.

The common saying is that the Queen must be bewitched: that the rings and bracelets given to her by Lord Darnley contain "*mysteries*" of sinister enchantment! Never before had Randolph witnessed such a downfall of dignity, and failure of judgment; and whatsoever be the cause of these "imperfections" hitherto unsuspected, and now bursting out "to so great a grief of many men's hearts," he could see nothing ahead for the Queen of Scots but misery and mortification. Her misplaced passion would be distressing to contemplate even in a woman "mean" and obscure enough to hurt only herself. But in a Queen, such abdication of majesty, such delegation of power into hands unfit to hold it, was, as predicted by Randolph, the prelude to disintegration of a Kingdom.[1]

[1] The progress of English dismay as to the hope of Queen Mary's marriage with Leicester can be seen in Sir Wm. Cecil's Collection of Chronological Notes (*State Papers*, Murdin, pp. 756-760): and the baffled efforts to prevent the Darnley match: April 24 "Instructions for Sir Nicholas Throgmorton . . . (1) to procure a Dissolution or Stay of the Mariadge with the L. Darley: (2) to procure that the Queen of Scotts wold marry with the Erle of Lecester or some other;" but "if he fynd it so farre passed as it cannott be revoked," then he should not "use any other Speeche but to declare how much it shall miscontent hir Majesty."

July 29, "Lord Darley marryed to the Scotts Queen, he being made D. of Albany Earl of Ross in May. 30 (July) Lord Darnley proclaimed King."

Queen Elizabeth imprisoned Darnley's mother, the Countess of Lennox, in the Tower, whence Lady Lennox appealed to Cecil and to the Lord Chamberlain to take pity on her misfortunes, and to convince the Queen that she did not deserve this punishment. (Orig: holog: 1 p. Signed Margaret Lennox and Angus. Cal. S.P. Scot. II, p. 183).

On the 12th August (1565) Queen Mary protested on behalf of her mother-in-law, and "maist earnestlie" requested her release (Ib. p. 192) and at the same time expressed resentment at what she considered unduly "disdaynfull" criticisms against her marriage. Randolph's and Throckmorton's comments are not so much disdainful as distressed; and compassionate for the Scottish Queen. Both were heavy hearted as to the ill results, which they foresaw but were powerless to avert.

¶ Thabridgment of the Histories of TROGVS Pompeius, Collected and wrytten in the Laten tonge, by the famous Historiographer Iustine, and translated into Englishe by Arthur Goldyng: a worke conteynyng brieflie great plentie of moste delectable Hystories, and notable examples, worthie not onelie to be read, but also to be embraced and followed of all menne.

Anno Domini. M. D. LXIIII. Mense Maii

¶ Imprinted at London in Fletestrete, nere vnto Sainct Dunstons churche, by Thomas Marshe.

Title-page, now first reproduced, of Golding's "Trogus Pompeius," 1564. (B.M. 302. g. 22).

Dedicated to Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford; then aged 13.

Another edition, "Newlie conferred with the Latin copye and corrected by the Translator. Anno Domini 1570." *London, Thomas Marshe. 4to B.L. (B M. 586. c. 24). And a third in 1578. (Bodleian. 4to F. 19. Jur) Palmer's List of* English Editions and Translations of Greek and Latin Classics printed before 1641. *(London. Bibliog Soc 1911. p. 108).*

The Latin original of Iustini Ex Trogi Pompeij Historia, Libri xLiiij, *seems not to have been printed in England till* 1572 *(B M. 1306. a. 7). Another edition* 1593 *(B.M. 9040. aaa. 4).*

In the Dedicatory Epistle to the boy Earl of Oxford, Golding describes the uses of history: his moral being the same as on his title-page, viz., that "notable examples" are "worthie not onelie to be read, but also to be embraced and followed of all menne." *Elizabethan literature was not an exotic, but an essential part of a vigorous national life. Hence the vitality even of the minor writings, helping to prepare the way for the apotheosis of English poetic and practical genius, a generation later, in Shakespearian drama.*

GRAND MASTER VILLIERS DE L'ISLE ADAM

receiving the keys of Notabile, the capital of Malta, 1530: from a painting in the Governor's Palace at Valetta.

In 1522, after a long and heroic defence, Villiers de L'Isle Adam, Grand Master of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem at Rhodes, had been obliged to surrender that island, partly because the Turks had so corrupted and terrorised the civilian inhabitants that they wearied of the contest. Failing to foresee the slavery into which they would be forced as soon as the protecting Knights of St. John had been expelled, the natives of Rhodes preferred to surrender their liberty rather than fight for safety and freedom, as their ancestors had fought when in 1453, under Grand Master Peter d'Aubusson, Rhodes had repelled a formidable and long sustained attack by the Sultan Mahomed II, who had captured Constantinople.

Though Villiers de L'Isle Adam was compelled to surrender Rhodes on the last day of 1522, the Sultan Solyman, who received his submission in person, was so impressed with his valour as to offer him a high command in the Turkish Army if he would forsake the Cross.

L'Isle Adam replied, "After a life spent, not ingloriously, in combating for my faith, if I could abandon that faith for worldly gain and glory, the Sultan himself would have a right to withdraw the esteem he has been pleased to express. . . ." (Major-General Porter, "*History of the Knights of Malta,*" 2nd ed: p. 398).

After 212 years at Rhodes the White Cross Knights went forth homeless on New Year's Day, 1523; and no sooner had they gone, than, in defiance of the terms of capitulation, the conquerors began assaults upon Christian women and children.

On March the 24th, 1530, the Emperor Charles V conferred upon the Order of St. John the perpetual sovereignty of Malta, Gozo, and Tripoli, with all castles and fortresses thereto belonging. The Imperial gift was less magnificent than it sounds. Malta in 1530 was a barren rock; its fortifications a few feeble ramparts and shallow ditches: its castle of St. Angelo contained only three pieces of artillery, and those obsolete.

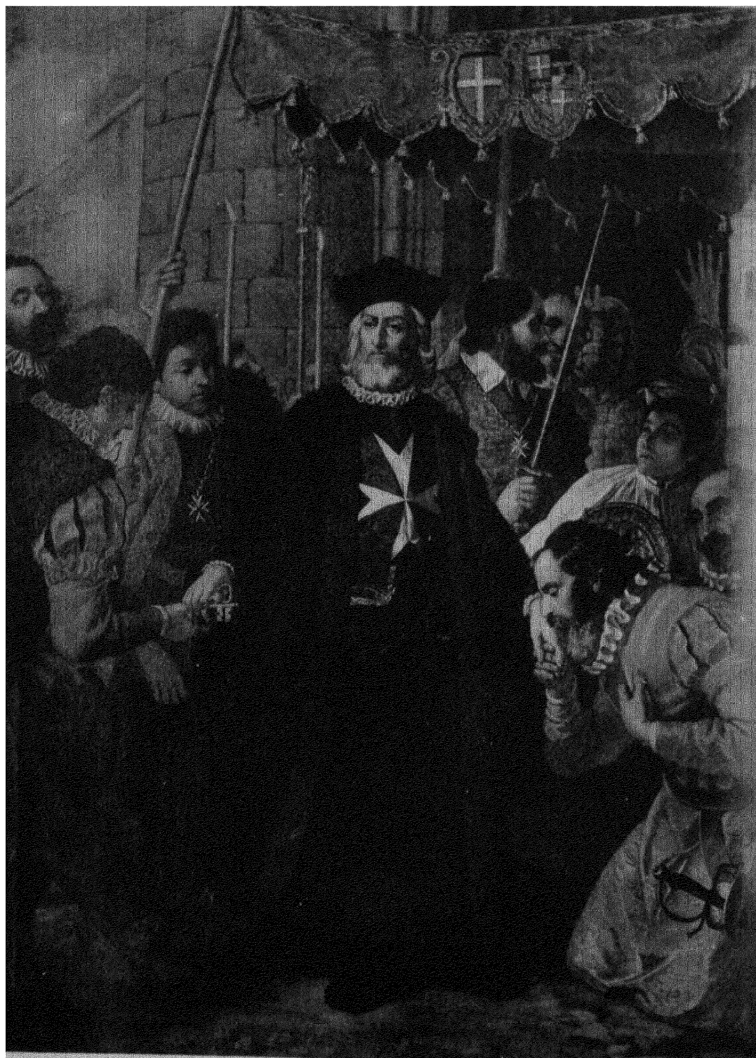
Phoenicians, Greeks, Romans, Vandals, Goths, Sicilians, had in turn been masters of the island; the populace (more Arabic than European) numbered only about 17,000. What Villiers de L'Isle Adam, starting anew in old age, after bitter and undeserved defeat at Rhodes, evolved from this unpromising material, is one of the marvels of history.

Early printed works relating to the Order of St. John in Rhodes and Malta are

1526: "*La conquista y cruenta batalla de Rodas, sacada de la lengua latina en Castellano.*" Folio. (Seville). By Cristobal de Arcos.

1539: "*Primera y segunda parte de las de Malta y toma de Rodas.*" (Madrid). By Diego de Santisteban y Osorio.

See Bibliography, "*Grandes Maestres de la Orden de Malta*" *&c., in* "*Discurso leido ante la Academia de la Historia en la recepción pública de D. Alfonso Pardo Manuel de Villena, Marqués de Rafal el dia de 5 de junio de 1932. . . . Madrid 1932*" pp. 105-110.



(a) *SOLYMAN THE MAGNIFICENT*

Contemporary wax medallion, attributed to an Italian artist unnamed: at Welbeck Abbey, in possession of The Duke of Portland, K.G.

Presumably taken from life, it differs considerably from "*Solymanus Magnificus Turcorum Imperator Quartus. Floruit Anno 1520,*" conventional engraving in Knolles's *Generall Historie of the Turkes.* 1603. p. 566. (B.M. 9135. h.1.).

"*SOLYMAN the fourth and most magnificent Emperor of the Turkes*":

Table from Knolles's *General Historie of the Turkes,* 1603, p. 825:
Showing Popes and Monarchs whom this Sultan outlived, and how long each of them reigned.
(That Spain is not included is astonishing).

Christian princes of the same time with Solyman.		Emperors of Germanie	Charles the fift	1519.	39
			Ferdinand	1558.	7
			Maximilian the second	1565.	12
	Kings	of England	Henrie the eight	1509.	38
			Edward the sixt	1546.	6
			Queene Marie	1553.	6
			Queene Elizabeth	1558.	45
		of France	Francis the first	1514.	32
			Henry the second	1547.	12
			Francis the second	1559	1
			Charles the ninth	1560.	14
		of Scotland	James the fifth	1514.	29
			Queene Mary	1543.	
		Bishops of Rome	Leo the X	1513.	8
			Hadrian the VI	1522.	1
			Clement the VII	1523.	10
			Paulus the III	1534.	15
			Julius the III	1550.	5
			Marcellus the II	1555	22 daies
			Paulus the IIII	1555.	4
			Pius the IIII	1560.	5
			Pius the V	1566.	6

(b) *BRONZE MEDAL OF SIR RICHARD SHELLEY,*

last Grand Prior of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in England inscribed "Ricardus Scelleus Prior Angliae, Ano LXIIII."

From the original, formerly in possession of the late Richard W. Goulding, F.S A., Librarian to The Duke of Portland, K.G.

Henry VIII in 1540, when suppressing the Monastic Orders, did not even spare the military Knights of St. John. Mostly "gentlemen and soldiers of ancient families," as Fuller related, they were not "puling" and meek; but stood up firmly to King Henry Four were executed (one of whom, Sir Adrian Fortescue, was of the same family as the late historian of the British Army, The Hon. Sir John Fortescue).

After the suppression, the military members of the Order escorted their lay and clerical brethren to Malta.

In 1548, the Church of St. John at Clerkenwell was blown up with gunpowder, and some of its materials used for building Somerset House. Only the crypt and chancel survived.

Queen Mary on her accession restored the ancient privileges of the Knights and brethren, with Sir Richard Shelley as "Turcopolier." He was subsequently Grand Prior; but, owing to re-suppression of the Order, he spent the last part of his life abroad.

Queen Elizabeth conferred the Priory upon her Master of the Revels; who did not even appreciate the gift, but lamented that the actors found their clothes grow "musty, motheaten and rotten" by reason of "the dankness of the house and want of convenient presses and other places requisite." But although the Order was abolished in England, the gallant defence of Malta by the Knights evoked a special "Fourme" of prayer on their behalf, of which see title-page now first reproduced, p 261

(52) E. M. Tenison's "Elizabethan England," I, 2, 1 (b).

SOLIMAN · CAESAR · IM · TVRCORVM

PART I.

"The art and manner of Governing."

CHAPTER 2.

"AS IF IT SHOULD NEVER HAVE END."

SECTION 1.

"Solyman the most magnificent Emperor."

(The Terror of Christendom, 1554-1566.)

" I have admonished and adjured Christians to shake off that drowsie fit under which they lie . . . The danger is as great as ever it was ; let us then bestir ourselves . . . to repel force with force . . . To our Arms, to our Arms, with valor and courage, our only hope under God, . . .(to) prevent our impending ruin."

The Sieur Augier Ghislain de Busbecq, (Ambassador of the Emperor Ferdinand), 1562.
" *Busbecquius his Advice About the Method how to manage War against the Turks.*"

" . . . this Othouman monarchy . . . in short time so prospered as that the power and glory thereof obscured not their former kingdomes only . . . but even the greatest monarchies of the world ; over a great part of which it now so proudly triumpheth, as if it should never have end : at the beauty whereof the world wondereth, and at the power thereof quaketh : within the greatnesse whereof are contained no small portions of Asia, Europe, and Africke, but even the most famous and fruitfull kingdomes thereof : no part of the world untouched but America onely ; not more fortunate with her rich mines than in that she is so farre from so great and dangerous an enemy."

Knolles, " *Generall Historie of the Turkes,*" 1603.
5th ed : 1638. p. 132.

" Forasmuch as the Isle of Malta . . . is presently invaded with a great Armye and navy of Turkes, . . . it is our partes . . . to assyst them . . . wyth earnest, hearty and fervent prayer to almightie God for them . . ."

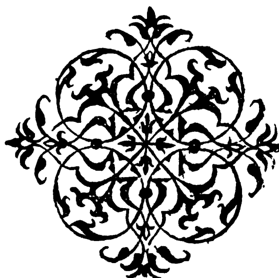
" *A Forme to be used . . . to pray . . . for the delivery of those Christians, that are now invaded by the Turks.*" London (1565). Title page reproduced, p. 261.

" All the noble exploytes that ever were or are to be done . . . shall continually be kept in fresh remembrance."

Sir Humphrey Gilbert, " Queene Elizabeth's Academy." Lansdowne MS. 98 (E. E. II, 2, 1).

ERTAYN AND
tru goodnues, frõ the syege
of the Isle Malta, wyth the goodly vyctorie, wyche the Christenmen, by the fauour of God, have ther latlye obtayned, agaynst the Turks, before the forteres of saint Elmo.

Translat owt of Frenche yn to Englysh.



And nuli prented yn Gaunt, the 27. of August.

M. CCCCC. LXV.

Title-page, now first reproduced, of hitherto overlooked contemporary description of the defence of St. Elmo by the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, 1565.
From the only known copy; that in the Episcopal Library at Lambeth Palace:
By permission of the late Archbishop of Canterbury.
(By the time the "(C)ertayn & tru good nues" of the gallant resistance reached England, St. Elmo had fallen; the Turkish artillery having mined the rock on which the fortress was built).

MALTA

The earliest English sketch map: Illustrating La Valette's Defence (1565):

especially showing how Dragut planted his heavy artillery for the battering of St. Elmo on three sides, i.e., across both harbours, and also inland.

Likewise showing the arrangement of the guns for the siege of the citadel of St. Angelo.

Now first published from the original Water colour, size 12 x 18 inches.

Found among the MSS. of Sir William Cecil (subsequently Lord Burghley, K.G.)

Now in possession of The Marquess of Salisbury, K.G., at Hatfield House.

There is also a *Plan for fortifications,* inscribed "Goletta the old towne." It is on the same sheet of paper with the sketch of the island, endorsed on the back *"The Towne of Malta"* and *"Malta"*, with figures appearing like 159 (no fourth figure). The annotations on the front are worded in the present tense. *"the fort whi(ch) the Turks and the mores dothe inhabit"* (not "did" inhabit), in a different hand from that on the back.

To the reader's right (sideways) the lettering is

"the mere form
all the black worke is thold worke
and the redde is ye newe worke."

Goletta had been captured by the Emperor Charles in 1535; but was recaptured by the Turks in 1574.

Four years prior to the siege of Malta, the Grand Master, La Valette, tried to enter into diplomatic relations with Queen Elizabeth. The four-line epitome of his letter to her, as noted in Calender of State Papers Foreign, Eliz: (Vol. V, No. 528), seems to have escaped notice. In a secretarial hand, but signed by the Grand Master, the writing is so faded as to be difficult to read; and the bearer, an English Knight of the Order, is not named. This letter, now first published, is of interest chiefly for the sake of it's writer, who in 1565 was to earn world-wide renown in "war against our universal enemy the Turk":—

"Madame,

Sachiez que ce gentilhomme pns [presentis] porteur, qui est des vos subiets, m'a fait grand instance et prière pour avoir son congé pour s'aller ung peu [à] la patrie ce que je lui ai accordé de faire pour estre fort raisonnable, aiant esgard a la longueur du temps qu'il a demeuré en ceste paouvre Isle *faisant la guerre ordinaire au Turc notre universel ennemi* ou il a toujours fait d'homme de bien et vrai gentilhomme. Je n'au voulu permettre qu'il partist pour sans estre accompagñé de ceste-cy lettre p. temoigner, Madame, aiant sceu de lui le vouloir il a de se prosterner à vos pieds en signe de sa due obéissance, qu'il est personnaige digne des faveurs et accueil que Votre Maiesté est acoutumé de faire a ses vassaulx, bons subiets, et d'autan qu'il m'a promis bons discours des affaires de notre estats, et en quoy nous avons a emploier notre temps en ces guerres de ces contrees, sur quoy me reposans s'il plaist Votre Maiesté lui faire cest honneur. . . . . Je fais ceste . . . . plus longues briefves. En suppliant le createur qu'il vous donne Madame en parfaicte santé longue et tres heureuse vie.

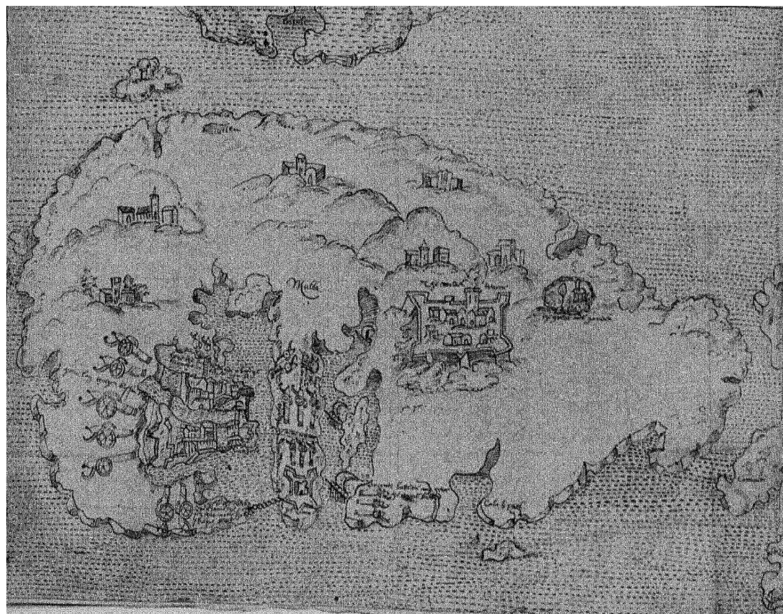
A Malte ce 21 jour de septembre 1561,

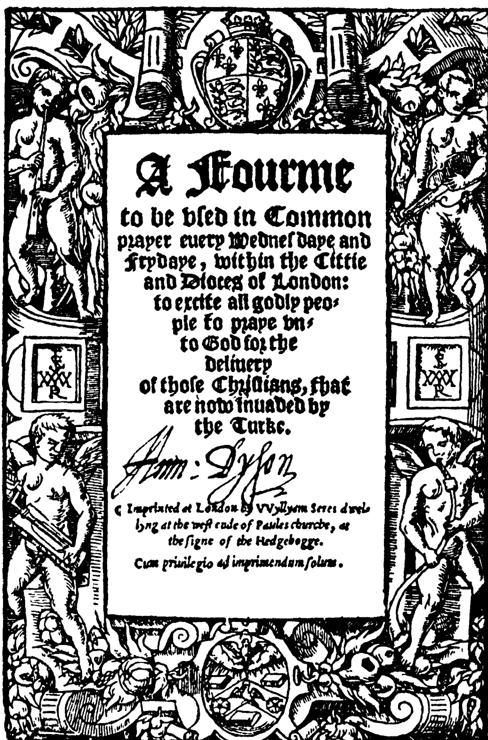
Votre tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur,

Le M^re^ de l'hopital de J. Gerusalem,

Jehan de La Valette."

Queen Elizabeth's reply, through Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, was that she did not wish "M. Frappier de la Fontaine" to visit England; and as to extending her favour to her subjects in Malta, they had not yet recognised her as their Sovereign. Nevertheless she valued the Order as the rampart of Christendom against the Turk. (Copy, French, 3 pp. endorsed "20 Oct., 1561." Cal. S.P. Foreign. Vol IV. No: 625. pp. 373-374; and the Queen to Throckmorton, No: 568. p. 344).


Malta



A Fourme
to be vsed in Common
prayer euery Wednesdaye and
Frydaye, within the Cittie
and Dioces of London:
to excite all godly peo-
ple to praye vn-
to God for the
deliuery
of those Christians, that
are now inuaded by
the Turke.

Imprinted at London by VVyllyam Seres dwel-
lyng at the west ende of Paules churche, at
the signe of the Hedgehogge.

Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum.

Title-page of hitherto overlooked "*Fourme*" of Prayer ordered by Queen Elizabeth for the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem defending Malta against the fleet and army of Sultan Solyman the Magnificent (under Ali Pasha and Mustapha Pasha). 1565.

Not included in the "occasional prayers" reprinted in Canon Benham's "Prayer Book of Queen Elizabeth," 1911, *this* "Fourme" *has escaped the notice even of historians of the Order of St John of Jerusalem. Found at Hatfield House by the present writer, in a bound volume of* English Tracts (*No.* 7827 *v.y*), *it now appears that there is also a copy in the British Museum, No. C.* 25, *e.* 13 (2). *No other copies can at present be traced.*

with his experiences and impressions of Sultan Solyman the Magnificent. (This used to be as familiar in Latin, as it is now neglected in English).[1]

Before entering into details of his efforts to conduct diplomatic negotiations with Solyman, the Ambassador describes how on his first arrival he had been favourably impressed by the Turks. The Cavalry especially was "a very pleasant spectacle": their "bucklers and spears were curiously painted":

> "their sword handles bedecked with jewels, their plumes of feathers party-coloured, and the coverings of their heads were twisted with round windings as white as snow; their apparel was purple-coloured or at least a dark blue; they rode upon stately prancers adorned with most beautiful trappings. Their Commanders came up to me, and after friendly salutation they bid me welcome . . ." As for the twelve thousand Janissaries, the "Praetorian Foot" of the Turkish Empire, "unless I had been told before that they were Janissaries, I should have thought them to have been a kind of Turkish monks:" "their habit is a long garment down to their ankles; upon their heads they wear the sleeve of a coat, . . . their head is put into part of it, and part hangs down behind flapping upon their shoulders"; and in front is a silver-gilt cone, shining with jewels. These Janissaries came in couples into his room, "bowed down their heads and made obeisance . . . touched either my garment or my hand as if they would have kissed it." After presenting bunches of hyacinths and narcissi they backed to the door, and there "stood with a great deal of modesty" in silence, their hands upon their breasts, and fixed their eyes upon the ground." On receiving "some cash, which was the only thing they aimed at, they bowed their heads again, and giving me thanks with a loud voice, they wished me all happiness and departed."

(The Turk changes little; he knew as well then as he does to-day when to strike, and when to be "modest.")

Without following Busbecq through the intricacies of his first embassy to the Sultan, we must notice that his emotions on departure were very different from his feelings on arrival. When the hour came to "go forth" from Constantinople, scarcely had he passed the gates than he was confronted by "a very sad spectacle": "whole waggon loads" of European boys and young girls, destined to a fate the thought of which brought tears to his eyes.

> ". . . As when we leave Antwerp we meet with all sorts of merchantable commodities importing into the town, so here, ever and anon there passed by us *abundance of poor miserable Christian slaves, which were going to be sold in markets to a perpetual bondage. There was no distinction of age: old and young were driven in herds . . . or else were tied in a long chain as we use to tail horses when we carry them to fairs.*"[2]

Powerless to lift a finger on behalf of the victims, Busbecq's sorrow for "poor Christendom" was the more acute as he reflected that such outrages were made

[1] "*The Four Epistles of A. G Busebequius, Concerning his Embassy into Turkey. Being remarks upon the Religion, Customs, Riches, Strength and Government of that People. As also a Description of their Chief Cities, and Places of Trade and Commerce. To which is added His Advice how to manage War against the Turks. Done into English. London, Printed for J. Taylor at the Ship and J. Wyat at the Rose in St. Paul's Church-yard. 1694*" pp. 10, 14-15. The Cambridge Modern History turns the writer's name into "Busbek."

[2] Op. cit. pp. 103-104.

possible largely by the jealousies of the European Sovereigns, who distrusted each other too acutely to combine to terminate such hideous conditions.

". . . All Greece too, . . . heretofore the most flourishing country in the world, is now wofully enslaved by Barbarians. Heretofore it was the mother and nurse of all good arts and sciences," and its culture "delivered down to us." Out of gratitude, surely it would be right to free it from the savage conquerors "under which it groans." But they will groan long; "for, with grief may we speak it, Christian Princes nowadays are otherwise employed"; and the Turks do not more thoroughly domineer over the Greeks than "avarice, hatred, envy" reign over Christians, clogging and enervating their minds, to prevent them accomplishing "anything that is truly great and excellent."

After witnessing on his travels in the Turkish Empire a welter of cruelty and corruption, Busbecq protests: *"Methinks Duty and Piety should have been sufficient motives to us to help our afflicted brethren."* But even if humanity and courage had not inspired the Christian races to recover some of the "commodious countries" overrun by the "infidels," surely hope of "profit and advantage" might have acted as spurs to a concerted diplomatic and military enterprise?

"But on the contrary! for forsooth we plow the Ocean, even as far as the Indes, and the very Antipodes, because there we get rich prey and spoil at a cheap rate," without the trouble of fighting, "merely by imposing on the simple and uncrafty Indians. 'Tis true, we pretend the conversion of the Heathens; but if we go to the root of the matter (to our shame be it spoken) 'tis their gold and not their godliness . . . we seek for."

Far otherwise "our ancestors" shouldered responsibilities: they did not, "like huckstering merchants, seek after those places where there was most wealth, *but where there was greatest opportunity for noble and vertuous achievements. So that it was not profit but honour which put them upon hazardous and remote expeditions:* and when they came home they were more laden with glory than plunder."

Though some of his contemporaries, says Busbecq, "may think it a peculiar thing in me to detract from the manners of the present age," nevertheless everything he had seen had convinced him of the Turks' intention "to destroy us." Those Christians who would not fight as a matter of obligation to the afflicted, will yet "be forced to do it" to save their own lives.[1]

If it is asked by any reader "What is this to do with Elizabethan England?" the answer is that so lengthy was Sultan Solyman's reign, so continuous his wars of aggression, and, although England was not at war with Turkey, so many Englishmen were inside his prisons, that not to be acquainted by repute with the terrible Sultan is to proclaim ourselves strangers to the world-conditions. Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Queen Mary had been Solyman's contemporaries. And when Elizabeth came to the throne he was potent as ever. In France, King Francis I, Henry II, Francis II, came and went, and Charles IX was crowned and anointed; but still the Sultan Solyman tortured many a Christian in his galleys

[1] Op. cit. pp. 65-66.

and dungeons. The Emperor Charles V, weary of the burden of sovereignty, retired to the cloister; Ferdinand and Maximilian in turn wore the imperial Crown; Philip II ruled the Spanish Empire with remarkable firmness; and no less than nine Popes issued their decrees from the Vatican. But still Solyman "King of Kings, Lord of Lords" was able to disdain them all.

The story of the Turks, lamented an Elizabethan "fellowe of Lincolne," is "nothing else but the true Record of the wofull ruines of the greatest part of the Christian Commonweale"; for not content with holding the East in his grip the Sultan

> "hath all the sea coast, from the confines of Epidaurus (the uttermost bound of his Empire in Europe Westward) into the mouth of the river Tanais, now called Don; with whatsoever lieth between Buda in Hungary and the Imperial City of Constantinople: in which space is comprehended the better part of all Hungary, all Bosnia, Servia, Bulgaria; with a great part of Dalmatia, Epirus, Macedonia, Greece, Peloponesus, Thracia, the Archipelago, with the rich Islands contained therein."

In Africa the Sultan controlled "Algiers, Tunis, and Ægypt."

> "In Asia all is his from the limits of the Hellespontus Westward, unto the great city of Tauris Eastwarde, and from Derbent near unto the Caspian Sea Northward, unto Adana upon the Gulfe of Arabia Southward . . . He hath also in the Sea the most noble Islands of Cyprus, Euboeae, Rhodus, Samos, Chios, Lesbos, and others of the Archipelago."
>
> His government was "that of the Master over his slave," so absolute that "neither is any man in the Empire so great . . . as he can assure himself of his life, much lesse of his present fortune or state, longer than it pleaseth the Sultan."[1]

That the prolonged disunion between Christian potentates had been the opportunity of the Moslems was remarked to the Turks themselves by the French Ambassador, De La Vigne:

> "What! do you think, says he, that you have got Buda, Gran, Alba Regalis and other Hungarian towns from the Christians by force? No, I deny it utterly. 'Tis our dissentions that gave you the opportunity to take them. If there had not been continual Wars between the Kings of France and Spain, you would have been so far from possessing those towns that Charles V could hardly have suffered you to live quiet at Constantinople . . ."

The Turkish Pasha retorted: "If all the Christian Princes join in arms together against my master he will conquer them all." But no Turk believed any such unity would ever even be possible among European Sovereigns.[2]

Sent back to Constantinople to negotiate a peace, Busbecq was in nothing more remarkable than in his blend of stately equanimity towards Turkish officials with pungent rebukes to his own countrymen. He pointed out that the "infidels" had been able to build up a vast Empire, not because of their being arrogant, cruel, and treacherous; but because of the solid virtues they intermingled with those vices:

---

[1] Knolles' "*Generall Historie of the Turkes,*" 1603. (Supplement: "A briefe Discourse of the greatnesse of the Turkish Empire".)

[2] Buscbequius. "*Epistles*" ed: 1697. p. 299. La Vigne, while advocating concord between Christians, worked underhand against Busbecq (p. 298) and tried in every conceivable way to injure him diplomatically. "This he did before the Peace was made between Spain and France; but when those two Princes were agreed, on the first opportunity he did retract what he had spoken."

"... the Turks surmount huge difficulties in War with a great deal of patience. .. But Christian soldiers carry it otherwise."

On the Turkish side was "a mighty, strong, and wealthy Empire, great Armies, experience in War, a veteran Soldiery, a long series of victories, Patience in Toil, Concord, Order, Discipline, Frugality, and Vigilance. On our side there is publick Want, private Luxury, Strength weakened, Minds discouraged, an unaccustomedness to labour or Arms, Soldiers refractory, Commanders covetous, a contempt of Discipline ..."[1]

Thus, in private, wrote Busbecq from Constantinople, on June the 1st, 1560. But when one of the Turkish Generals, "*a very thunder-bolt of War,*" remarked that the Christians should "*study Peace*" and "accept of those conditions which the Grand Seignior had offered," the Ambassador answered that he desired nothing more than Peace; provided it might be had upon "Honourable Conditions"; but those which they offered were "against the Honour and Dignity of his Master."[2]

In the history of diplomacy there are few nobler examples of a nature so inherently dignified, loyal, and resolute as that of Busbecq. No matter what scorn Solyman the Magnificent might feel for Christian potentates in general, it was impossible to despise this Imperial Ambassador, or to succeed in humiliating him.

While he was still in Constantinople, refusing to accept a peace which spelt dishonour, the Sultan's star rose yet higher in the ascendant. For the Spaniards the Turks had a respect the more to be noticed in contrast with their contempt for other Christians: "They had heard of the Emperor Charles and of his son Philip *the heir of his valour as well as his kingdoms.*" Their recognition of Philip II as a formidable foe caused them again to smite promptly. "Their Fleet sailed with a prosperous gale, and came upon the Christians unawares; which struck such a terror into them" that the Turks were victors. Moreover (as we learn from other sources) the weather was against the "Duke of Medina" and his ships. The Duke and the Vice Admiral and "some nimble vessels" escaped to Sicily; but the Turkish Admiral returned to Constantinople trailing a banner of Christ on the Cross from the poop of the galley he sent to announce his triumph. Busbecq was asked if he had any brothers or friends in the Spanish Navy; as, if so, he would soon see them as captives.[3]

Fully to value the subsequent exploits of La Valette and the Knights of St. John at Malta in 1565, and the genius and generalship of Don John of Austria at Lepanto in 1571,—and to realise the growing dread the Turks inspired all over Europe,—we must enter into Busbecq's feelings when his prolonged attempts at Peace negotiations on behalf of the Emperor Ferdinand were interrupted by the arrival at Constantinople of captured Spanish galleys and their Commanders and crews: "a joyful spectacle to the Turks but a sad one for the Christians that lived amongst them."

[1] Op. cit. pp. 170-171. [2] Op. cit. p. 189.
[3] See op. cit. pp. 265-270 for details as to the Spanish Fleet and Army, and gallantry of Don John of Castile.

The Turkish Fleet and its captives lay at anchor overnight, that they might enter the port next day in all the "greater Pomp and Splendour." The Sultan Solyman came to his gardens near the sea that he might observe the demeanour of the Spanish Dons, with the Sicilian and Neapolitan nobles, whose ships, despoiled of their pennons, were towed in by barques "that they might appear base and contemptible." But though most of the conquerors were indulging in overbearing and underbred exultation, Busbecq records that no "insolent mirth" appeared in the face of the Sultan.

> "The Prisoners were afterwards brought to the Seraglio, but so miserably hunger-starved before that some could not stand on their legs; others fell down in a swoon for feebleness"; some died on landing; *"the Turks insulting over them on every hand, and promising to themselves the Empire of the World; for who now shall be able to stand before us,* (said they), *seeing we have overcome the Spaniards."*

The Christian Ambassador was acquainted with one of the Turkish Naval Commanders. On hearing that this officer was about to offer to Solyman the "great banner" of the Neapolitan galleys, "I thought good to prevent him, and, by sending him two silver tasters, I obtained the Banner, so that the Ensign of Charles the Fifth might not remain in the hands of the Infidels. . ."

Busbecq was the good angel of the captives.

> "I thought it my duty to do my best to relieve them, . . . I did them all the kindness I could. For you must know that the Turks think their prisoners well enough provided for if they allow them bread and water. They have no regard to any man's age or condition, or the time of the year: whether they be sick or well, healthy or crazy, old or young, 'tis all one to them." Hence the need to "provide several sorts of reliefs, different diseases requiring different cures."

Clothing, blankets, food, and all necessaries, the Ambassador gave out of his private resources; and as "money was the only remedy" he also sent the prisoners the wherewithal to bribe their gaolers into civility.

His sympathy exposed him to continuous pleadings; "greater sums were desired of me," and many prayed him to be their security for their ransoms. When prisoners said to him "Unless I can lay down two hundred guilders for my redemption I am undone for ever; I shall be sent into Asia to be made a galley-slave, to tug at the oar without any hope to see my own country again," this was "very grievous" to him, for he knew it was true: "which could not but affect me." And he saved many a Spaniard from chains and slavery: "None better could do it; nor could any more justly expect it from any man but myself." He thus plunged so deep into debt that he felt as if in freeing the prisoners he had enchained himself. But he hoped those he saved would ultimately repay him; as they had given their word so to do. Regarding his own promises as sacred, he believed that no man would be "so prodigiously ungrateful" as not to repay what was lent him to save him from torture and death. And even supposing "that one or two may not have ability to reimburse me, what's that to the purpose? 'Tis not lost that which is laid out to relieve the oppressed."

"I heard it said that some whom I had released had laughed at my craziness in believing what they say to be true; so that my case is but bad if I should judge of the rest of them. *But be as it will, I thank my God that I have been able to do many good offices to many distressed persons. I do not repent it* . . . my utmost ambition is that they should be so grateful as to pay me what I laid out of purse . . . which I despair not from so cordial a nation as the Spaniards."[1]

Renewed triumph did not cause Sultan Solyman to sink into lazy self-indulgence. Rather he went to the opposite extreme: and he at whose frown multitudes trembled, was himself disturbed by the prophecy of "an old Sybil noted for sanctity," who assured him he was laying up torments in the next world by his excessive "delight" in music and in "the chanting of young singers." He was "so much moved" by her warnings "that he cast all his musical instruments, though richly studded with gold and jewels, into the fire. . . And whereas he formerly eat his meat out of silver dishes, now he was persuaded to use none but earthern platters."

None of this affected the Imperial Ambassador. But when the "old Sybil" denounced wine as sternly as music, and for the good of Sultan Solyman's soul an edict was passed "that for the future no wine should be imported into Constantinople" even for Christians and Jews, Busbecq lost patience, and protested that such enforced abstemiousness would be most detrimental to his health and that of his household. He then received permission to "get what wine he could," if it were brought to him by night and "*with as little observation as may be.*"

Living critics who find Elizabethan references to Paynims "artificial" and "fantastic,"—a "conventional" derivation from "cumbrous" romances of the Middle Ages,—cannot have read Busbecq. From English travellers returning from the East, or merchants who traded with Turkey, stories of the magnificent Solyman were numerous. But as such anecdotes often were but hearsay, it will be better to continue taking the word of Busbecq. When he first went to Constantinople in 1554 the Grand Turk was "sixty years of age." Though "an ancient man" his face and figure were "very majestic"; and unlike many of his predecessors, "he was frugal and temperate even from his youth." But this mighty potentate, unconquered by Kings and Popes, was vulnerable in one respect. There is at Hampton Court Palace a painting inscribed "*La Belle Esclavonne; Rossa, Femme de Soliman, Empereur des Turcs.*" This was the woman who prevailed upon the omnipotent Sultan to marry her;[2] and there arose a belief,

[1] Op. cit. pp. 275-276.

[2] Op. cit. pp. 100-101 and pp. 44-56. "Roxalana whom he doated on so much that he made her his wife . . . contrary to the custom of former Emperors, none of which had ever married a Wife since the days of Bajazet the Elder. The reason was because the said Bajazet, being overthrown by Tamerlan, was with his Wife taken prisoner by him, where he suffered many Indignities, but none affected him more than the Uncivilities and Reproaches which he saw offered to his Sultaness before his Face. The memory of which affronts made such a deep impression on all those that succeeded Bajazet in the Empire, that to this very day none of them will marry a Wife, that so whatever chance befal they might never fall into the like Indignity." The mothers of the Sultan's children thenceforth were "women of a servile condition in whose misfortunes they may be less concerned." (This Bajazet and "Tamerlan" were to be put on the stage by Christopher Marlowe.)

accepted by Busbecq as "certain," that from the moment Solyman made her his wife he renounced all other women. His subjects thought "Inchantments and Amorous Potions" were the only possible explanation.

The slave raised to the position of Queen exercised an evil influence. The darkest stain upon the Sultan's reputation was his cold-blooded murder of his elder son Mustapha, to clear the way to the succession for Roxalana's son Selim. It was this Selim whose fleet was destined to encounter the Allied Christian Navies in 1571 under Don John of Austria. But in 1554 Don John was a child; and Solyman the Magnificent was using language suited only to a World-Conquerer:

> "I, *the Lord of Lords, ruler of the East and West, who am of power to do and not to do whatsoever pleaseth me· Lord of all Grecia, Persia and Arabia, Commander of all things which can be subject to King and commands; the great Worthy of these times and strong Champion of the most wide World,* Lord of all the white and black sea, and of the holy City of Mecca, . . . and the the City of Medina, and of the holy and chaste City of Jerusalem; of the most noble Kingdome of Ægypt; Lord of Ionia, and of the City of Athens, . . . Lord of the Island of Algiers, Prince of the Kingdomes of Tartary, Mesopotamia, Media; of the Georgians; Morea, Anatolia, Asia, Armenia, Valachia, Moldavia, and of all Hungary, and of many other kingdomes and territories whereof I am Emperour: *the most mighty monarch Sultan Solyman, . . . who hath power from God to rule all people with a bridle: . . .*"

This was not a declaration of war, but part of an epistle to the Emperor Ferdinand on the beauties of "Peace and Concord."[1]

After years of negotiation, Busbecq in 1562 had brought the Sultan to terms upon which it was possible for the Emperor to accept a truce of eight years. But the tone of the preamble above quoted was hardly such as to inspire confidence. Turkish treaties were doubtful securities; and in spite of orations on the delights of peace, Moslem warriors were wont to "vex" the poor Christian peasants "with continual inroads, robbing them of their goods," and carrying off their wives and children as slaves, regardless of any such restraint as a written document.

Busbecq's description of how nations deteriorate and how safety may be attained is of universal application.

> "Every thing is established and preserved by that which raised it at first. As Kingdoms and Empires have been obtained by Military Valour and well-appointed Armies, by the same way they must be preserved. Take away Arms, *remove Soldiers, neglect Discipline, and a Kingdom will either fall of itself, or be a prey to the Conqueror. The Diadem and Sceptre doth not preserve the Majesty of a Kingdom, as the Sword: in vain you wear the one upon your head or carry the other in your hand, unless your sword be girt by your side.*
>
> "*That Empire is but weak and maimed that is not supported by Arms.* When I speak of Arms, I mean not shadowy glittering ones, but true solid and viceless ones . . . Zenophon says very excellently *That those who are ready with Arms in their hands have many Friends and no Enemies, for all will fly to their aid in doubtful times, as to a Castle of Refuge; and none will oppose him when he knows he has power to hurt his Enemy when he pleases.* Hence it comes to pass that whilst we loiter, and slacken in endeavours, as despairing of our

[1] "Dated in our Imperial Palace, and Throne of our powerful City Constantinople, in the year of our Great and Venerable Prophet, 969, September 1." (1562 A.D.) Knolles' "*Generall Historie of the Turkes,*" 5th ed· 1638, pp. 789-791; and, with a few verbal variations, appended to ". . . *Busebequius . . . Embassy into Turkey . . . London, 1694,*" (pp. 414-420).

safety, and depend only upon our Hope and Aid from others, even our very friends and relations . . . will rather join with the bold daring Enemy though of another Religion: so great is the force of expeditious Arms.

"In the name therefore of God Almighty, let us buckle on the Helmet, and with Arms in our hand oppose so great an enemy . . . But as our present case stands, we are tossed with every wind: if our garrisons be in danger, and some sudden assault requires speedy aid, we have no Force at all, either to help our Own or to stop the current of an Enemy's successes . . .

"*I have admonished and adjured Christians to shake off that drowsie fit under which they lie . . . The danger is as great as ever it was; let us then bestir ourselves . . . to repel force with force, to run to our Arms; not fortuitous, tumultuous, and foreign ones, but our own country ones . . . Cheerfully buckle to those ways to our defence which God has mercifully supplied us with.*

"*To our Arms, to our Arms, with valor and courage, our only hope under God.* This becomes the Christian name, and the greatness of the danger we are in; and this may prevent our impending ruin."[1]

Emphatically Busbecq rebukes the common folly of underrating the enemy. It is crazy of objectors to "deny that the Turks are good soldiers. Perhaps out of obstinacy they will not grant them to be such. I will therefore answer . . . that he who hath struck such a Terror into the whole World, and laid all waste before him upon the account of his Victories, may well be called a good soldier."[2]

---

[1] pp. 406-408. "*Busebeckeus his Advice About the Method how to manage War against the Turks.*" No date. op. cit. pp. 360-411.

[2] Op. cit. p. 399. The English people were well instructed in the dangers to Christendom Be the foreign heroes Catholic or of the Greek Church, the Church of England honoured them for their exploits against the Turks. In "The *New Calender,*" 1561, among the very few anniversaries commemorated outside of Scripture, is January 17: "The good Prince Scanderbeg king of Epyrus, a scourge to the Turke, as vpon this day died. 1466." And translations licensed included,

1562. "*Two very notable Commentaries The One of the Originall of the TVRCKS and Empire of the house of Ottomanns, written by Andrewe Cambine, and th'other of the warres of the Turcke against George Scanderbeg, prince of Epiro, and of the great victories obteyned by the sayd George, as well against the Emperour of Turkie, as other princes, and of his other rare force and vertues, worthye of memorye, translated oute of Italian into English by John Shute.*

"*Printed at London by Rouland Hall for Humfrey Toye dwelling in paules Churche yearde at the signe of the Helmette 1562*"

Dedicated "To the right honorable and his singvler good Lord and Master syr Edwarde Fynes Lord Clynton and Say, Knight of the order and highe Admirall of England and Ireland . . . " (B.M. 1053. h. 5).

(The Italian version had been issued in 1539: "*Commentario de le cose de' Tvrchi e del S. Georgio Scanderbeg, Principe di Epyro. Con la sua vita, e le vittorie per lui fatte con l'aiuto de l'altissimo Dio, le inestimabili forze, e virtu di quello degne de memoria.*")

1596. "*The Historie of George Castriot, surnamed SCANDERBERG, King of Albaunie. Containing his famous actes, his noble deedes of Armes, and memorable victories against the Turkes, for the Faith of Christ. Comprised in twelve books. by Jaques de Lavardin Lord of Plessis Bourrot.*

"*Newly translated out of French into English by Z. I. Gentleman.*

"*London, Imprinted for William Ponsonby. 1596.*"

Dedicated to Sir George Carey. (2nd Lord Hunsdon).

With prefatory verses by Edmund Spenser.

1601. "*The History of George Scanderbarge*" is entered in the Stationer's Register, 3rd July 1601, as having been acted by the Earl of Oxford's players. Nothing of this drama has survived except its name in the Register. It would presumably have been founded upon the work translated in 1596.

In the early summer of 1565, a thrill of horror ran through Europe when the news came that the fleet and armies of the Sultan had captured Tripoli; and were besieging Malta, that stronghold in the "Middle Seas" of which the Emperor Charles V in 1530 had conferred upon the Knights of St. John, with Tripoli and Gozo, the "perpetual Sovereignty," eight years after they had lost Rhodes to the same Sultan.

That Solyman's strength was in no way impaired by age was a fact of common knowledge. But from one of the same Knights of St. John whom he had expelled from Rhodes forty-two years before, was soon to come the first check to his hitherto unbroken victories. Of an old and noble French family, Grand Master Jean Parisot de La Valette was as iron tried and tempered in the fire. He had survived the hardships of a Turkish dungeon; and fused all his mental and moral faculties into a determination so to prepare himself and the Knights and Serving Brethren that when the challenge should come from the Conqueror of Rhodes, they would be ready to make unwavering resistance.

As within memory of the prospective combatants all the chief battles against the Turks had resulted in defeat of the Christians, the prospect of meeting the vast forces of Solyman was enough to have daunted the bravest. But looking back to "ages bypast" there were inspiring examples. Even as in the eighth century Duke Charles Martel had saved the Western world from falling beneath Moslem sovereignty,—when at Tours the Caliph Abdurahman the "Invincible" came up against the Austrasian-Franks,—so now in the summer of 1565, the fleet and soldiers of Solyman, likewise termed "Invincible," were to learn what it was to encounter an adversary who dare hold out to the end against seemingly overwhelming odds.

With less than 9000 men, inclusive of Maltese peasants and townsfolk, Grand Master Parisot de La Valette defended the island, week after week, month after month,—against a Turkish fleet and army of 30,000 experienced mariners and soldiers, augmented by degrees to 50,000.[1]

Although Queen Elizabeth in restoring the Church of Edward VI, and refusing recognition of the Pope's authority, had also abolished the Order of St. John in England, her subjects were admonished to sympathise with the gallant defenders of Malta. There was published *"A Fourme to be used in Common prayer every Wednesdaye and Frydaye, within the Cittie and Dioces of London: to exite all godly people to pray unto God for the deliuery of those Christians, that are now inuaded by the Turke."*

---

[1] The figures of the garrison as given by Knolles, *"Generall Historie of the Turkes"* (5th ed: p. 797) are

1,300 Mercenaries, Spanish, French and Neapolitain.
1,000 "Seamen of the Knights" (i.e. of the Fleet of the Order of St. John).
500 Knights of the Order.
500 Garrison in St. Angelo and the town.
5,000 of the Maltese country people who flocked as "voluntaries" to defend the island.
Total, 8,300

Though the printer gives no date, the time of issue can be settled from the Preface "Forasmuch as the Isle of Malta . . . *is presently invaded with a great Armye and Navy of Turkes. . .*"

The only known copies of this "*Fourme*" seem to be one at Hatfield House and that in the B.M.[1] Both have escaped notice hitherto; the "*Fourme*" not being mentioned in any of the histories of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, nor reprinted in Canon Benham's addenda to "*The Prayer Book of Queen Elizabeth.*"[2]

Queen Elizabeth's persecution of English Catholics is now the theme for many rebukes; but *it has entirely passed out of memory that the Church of England, after the Order of St. John had been suppressed in this country, nevertheless bade the entire nation pray for the victory of the Catholic defenders of Malta.*

The Preface explained the circumstances:

"Forasmuch as the Isle of Malta (in old tyme called Melite, where S. Paule arrived when he was sent to Roome) lying nere onto Sicilie and Italy, and being as it were *the keye of that parte of Chrystendome,* is presently *invaded with a great Armye and Navy of Turkes, Infidels, and sworne enemies of Christian religion, not only to thextreme daunger and peryll of those Chrystians that are besiged, and daylye assaulted in the holdes and fortes of the sayd Iland: but also of all the rest of the countreys of Chrystendome adioyning, it is our partes which for dystance of place cannot succor them with temporall relief. to assyst them with spiritual ayde: that is to say, wyth earnest, hearty, and fervent prayer to almightie God for them,* desyring him . . . in hys great mercy to defend and deliver christians, professing his holy name, and in his justyce *to repress the rage and violence of Infydels, who by all tiranny and cruelty labour utterly to rote out not only true religion· but also the very name and memory of Chryst* our onelye sauiour, and al christianity, *and if they should preuaile against the Ile of Malta, it is oncertain what furder peryll might folow to the rest of Christendome.*

"And although it is every christian mans duty, of his own deuocion to pray at al tymes, yet for that the corrupt nature of man is so slowthful and negligent, . . . he hath nede by often and sundry meanes to be styrred up, and put in remembrance of his duty," all pastors and curates are bidden to exhort their parishioners to come to Church "wyth as many of theyr family as may be spared from their necessary busynesse": not only upon "Sundaies and holy dais" but also on every Wednesday and Friday "during this daungerous and perilous time . . . and . . . knelinge on theyr knees to lifte up theyr heartes, and praye to the mercifull god to turne from us, and from all Christendome, those plagues and punishments: which we and they through oure onthankfulness and sinfull lives have deserved."[3]

It was then customary to teach the people a reasonable comprehension of foreign affairs; and to this end there was also issued in 1565 a translation entitled,

"*Certayn and tru good nues, fro the syege of the Isle Malta, wyth the goodly vyctorie, wyche the Christenmen, by the favour of God, have ther latlye obtayned,*

[1] B.M. C. 25. c. 13 (2); and Hatfield House, English Tracts 7827. xv. See facsimile ante. p. 261.

[2] "*The Prayer-Book of Queen Elizabeth 1559 To which are appended some occasional forms of prayer issued in her reign . . . Edinburgh. John Grant, 1911.*" The only prayers for success against Moslem foes reprinted by Canon Benham are those of 1566 "*for the preseruation of those Christians . . . inuaded by the Turke in Hungary or elsewhere.*" pp. 217-224.

[3] Then follow instructions for the order of the service. (A ii verso.)

agaynst the Turks, before the forteres of saint Elmo. Translat owt of Frenche ynto Englysh. And nuli prented yn Gaunt, the 27. of August. M.CCCCC.LXV."[1]

Describing the early stages of the siege, and the arrival of Dragut the famous gunner from Algeria, the writer (seemingly one of the St. Elmo garrison) relates how the defenders met assault after assault:

> "the Turks were forced to retire back against their will, with great loss of their men. In this assault died of ours about 200, and 150 hurt and wounded; and of the Turks were slain about 2000, and 2000 hurt, of which the most part were left within the trenches and ditches of St. Elno.
>
> ". . . Dragut, upon Sunday the xvij day of the month set fire in the bulwark or bastion which they had made, in the market place of 'Marzo Muscheto' where they had iiij great pieces of artillery. . . .
>
> ". . . certain Christians taken by the Turks, and escaped again, affirm that they said in the Turks' army that Don Garcia had a hundred and fifty ships and galleys together to rencounter with them, and that the Turks had great fear. . . . ."[2]

But the Spanish Admiral, Don Garcia Alvarez de Toledo, Viceroy of Sicily, was delayed; and when the English received this description of Turkish losses, and were rejoicing over the successful defence of St. Elmo, the Turkish engineers and gunners had already battered that fort to ruins by means of the strongest artillery in the world. The Knights had held out to the last; those who were too severely wounded to stand upright caused themselves to be tied to chairs and carried to the broken ramparts. There they sat through their last night of life, St. John's Eve, awaiting the dawn. Then Mustapha attacked again, and the Knights were slain, every one. The conqueror crucified their dead bodies, gashed the sign of the Cross on their breasts, and sent their corpses to the Grand Master.

Such a calamity would have reduced a weak Commander to submission. Upon La Valette it had the opposite effect. The siege had begun in May; but in August Malta was still holding out; for St. Elmo, though it had commanded the entrance to the harbour of Marsa Muscetto, did not, when captured, give the Sultan's forces possession of the Island. The garrison of St. Elmo had not died in vain. In the opening phase of the contest (May 18th—June 23rd) they had slain 8000 out of 30,000 of their foes; including Dragut; and had given to the Turkish Admiral and General a practical illustration of Christian efficiency and valour. "*Allah! Allah!*" Mustapha Pasha exclaimed when he stood on the broken bastions of St. Elmo and looked across the Grand Harbour to the citadel of St. Angelo, "*What will the parent cost us when the child has been bought at such a price?*" And though Mustapha conducted a series of assaults upon the citadel of St. Angelo, La Valette met and beat back the foe, and hoped each day for the arrival of the Spanish fleet from Sicily.

Even when the Turks became masters of the Grand Harbour, and still King Philip's great ships were nowhere in sight, La Valette, though severely wounded,

---

[1] Ante · from the only known copy. Episcopal Library of Lambeth Palace.

[2] Spelling modernised from p. 7 op. cit.

refused all overtures to surrender. The Turk then succeeded in mining the solid rock under the citadel of St. Angelo. Night after night he renewed his attacks; but did not receive from La Valette any offer of capitulation. The wounded Grand Master had taken up his quarters by the most exposed bastion, to hearten the defenders.

We might think it impossible for the Knights, worn down with wounds, sleeplessness, and anxiety, to continue beating back an enormous army, the technical skill of which was equal to its strength in munitions and guns. But "God greatly loveth a valiant spirit"; and La Valette's almost superhuman faith and resolution gave fresh hope to every man under his command.

The Spanish reinforcements, which had sailed from Syracuse, were expected to reach Malta on or before the 31st of August. But the fleet, scattered by storms, had been driven back into port to refit.

By the 6th of September it became evident that Mustapha was making preparations for a general assault, which, humanly speaking, must succeed. It seemed as if in twenty-four hours the island would be in the hands of the Turks. And then every Christian Church, every Christian woman, would be desecrated; and to the men would be allotted slavery in the galleys, or death under torture.

How bitter a reward for valour and virtue!

To capitulate would have been to save their lives; and the Knights could have marched out with the honours of war, as their predecessors had done from Rhodes when Solyman the Magnificent in person had prevailed in 1522.

But Grand Master Parisot de La Valette refused to surrender. He declared it might yet please God to send them aid at the twelfth hour.

After a long hot night, day dawned upon the sparkling waters. A gentle breeze rose and fluttered innumerable pennons. Another Turkish flotilla? No! Don Garcia Alvarez de Toledo and the Spanish fleet. Malta was saved; and with Malta, the power of Christendom in the Mediterranean.[1]

Had La Valette's faith been one degree less resolute, or his commanding genius less compelling, had Don Garcia arrived one day later, had Malta fallen to

---

[1] Don Garcia Alvarez de Toledo y Osorio, General of the Galleys of Sicily, Viceroy and Captain-General of the Principality of Catalonia, Viceroy and Captain General of the Kingdom of Sicily and "*General del Mar*" (General of the Sea) was one of the most eminent of a great race. He was 2nd son of Don Pedro Alvarez de Toledo, who was 2nd son of the 2nd Duke of Alba. Don Pedro, born in 1484, married Doña Maria Osorio y Pimental, Marchioness of Villafranca, and became in her right 2nd Marqués. He was Viceroy and Captain General of Naples for 21 years. He died in 1552 or 1553; and was succeeded by his eldest son, who died childless. The second son, Don Garcia, then succeeded as 4th Marqués. Don Garcia for his many services was created Duke of Fernandina and Prince of Montalvan in the Kingdom of Naples.

Vide "*Noticias de la Gran Casa de los Marqueses de Villafranca y su parentesco con las Mayores de Europa. En el Arbol Genealogico de la Ascendencia en ocho grados por ambas lineas del Excelentisimo Señor Don Fadrique de Toledo Osorio Septimo Marqués de esta Casa. Dedicada al mesmo Principe por Fray Geronimo de Lasa De la orden de San Francisco, Lector jubilado de Theologia en el Real Convento de Sta Maria la Nova de Napoles. En Napoles por Novelo de Bonis impressor Arzobispal. 1676. Con licencia de los superiores.*"

the victorious arms of the hitherto all-conquering Sultan, no human intelligence can put limits to the domination which might have been attained by the Turks. Solyman was more absolute than any ruler of Spain, France, Portugal, England, or no matter what Christian country. His financial resources were enormous; and the discipline of his warriors in battle was as exemplary as their cruelty to prisoners and vanquished races was atrocious. Hence the universal rejoicing when at last in his old age the hitherto unconquered Grand Turk experienced, though not in his own person, a reverse which resounded through the world. But the end was not yet. Sultan Solyman even in his old age was not the man to sit passive under such a blow. So, execrating his Admiral and General, he declared that next time he himself would command,—and wipe out the stubborn Christians.

When news of his intentions reached Malta, some of the Knights were for evacuating the island. But La Valette heaped scorn upon them. Had they triumphed only to surrender? For himself he would rather be buried among the ruins than survive the abandonment of the stronghold which had been so marvellously saved. But although thus rebuking faint-heartedness, the Grand Master knew that if the Sultan carried out his plans there would be no time to rebuild the battered fortifications, and that Malta was in no case to resist another siege. So he determined to strike the Grand Turk before the Moslem fleet and armies could sail. By means of spies skilfully disguised as Turks, he contrived to blow up all the arsenals at Constantinople.

The Sultan then, as La Valette anticipated, postponed the intended attack on Malta, and reverted to the invasion of Hungary. Again in England another "*Forme to be used in Common Prayer . . . throughout the whole Realme,*" was composed:[1] admonishing the people that "whereas the Turks the last yere most

> fiercely assayling the Isle of Malta, with a great armie and navye, . . . were from thence repelled and dryven, with their great losse, shame and confusion, they, being inflamed with malice and desyre of vengaunce, do now by land invade the kingdome of Hungary (whiche hath of long tyme ben as a moste stronge wall and defence to all Christendome), farre more terribly and dreadfully and with greater force and violence than they did eyther last yere or at any tyme within the remembraunce of man, *it is our partes, which for distaunce of place cannot succour them, to assist them at the least with spirituall ayde. . .*"

But the aid was not exclusively spiritual; for Queen Elizabeth gave permission to certain of her subjects to go as "voluntary Gentlemen" and offer their swords to the Catholic Sovereign, against the common enemies of Christendom.

---

[1] "*A Fourme to be used in common prayer, every Sunday, Wednesday, and Fryday, through the whole Realme To excite and stirre all godly people to pray vnto God for the preservation of those Christians and their Countreys, that are nowe invaded by the Turke in Hungary, or elsewhere. Set forth by the most Reverende father in God, Mathewe, Archbishop of Canterbury, by the authoritie of the Queenes Maiestie. 1566*" "*Imprinted at London in Powles Churchyarde by Richarde Iugge and Iohn Cawood, Printers to the Queenes Maiestie . . .*" Reprinted by Benham. App: to "*The Prayer Book of Queen Elizabeth, 1559.*" Edinburgh, 1911; pp. 217-224.

CHURCH OF ST. JOHN, MALTA,

Erected after the siege, in the new town of Valetta.

named in honour of the victorious Grand Master Jean Parisot de La Valette.

(Photograph: R. Ellis, Valetta).

It was in this Church that La Valette's sword and dagger (presented to him by Philip II, after the victory of 1565,) used to be preserved. But in 1798, when the 69th and last Grand Master (Von Hompesch), deaf to all warnings, was surprised by Napoleon Bonaparte, and tamely surrendered Malta, the Spanish sword was carried away; also the dagger. Both are now in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. The sword-hilt is of gold, covered with translucent enamels, set with jewels.

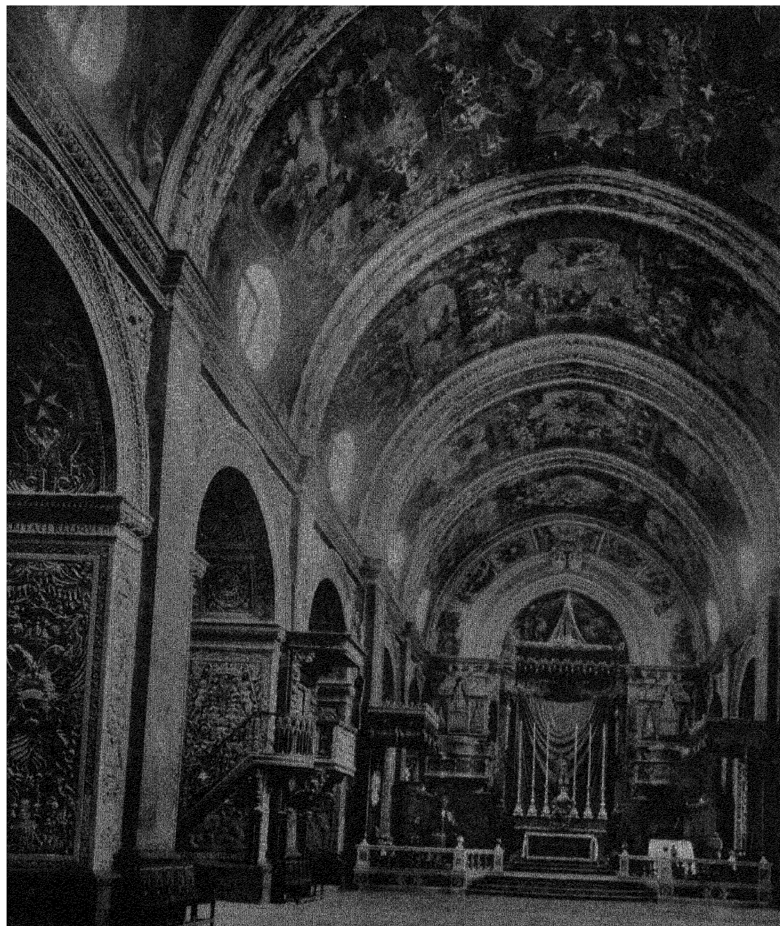
See Plate III, of *"A Catalogue of the Armour and Arms in the Armoury of the Knights of St John of Jerusalem, now in the Palace, Valetta, Malta By Guy Francis Laking,* ***M.V.O., F.S.A., Keeper of the King's Armoury, Published under the Authority of His Excellency the Right Hon. Lord Grenfell, Governor of Malta."*** London. Undated. (Lord Grenfell, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., and subsequently Field Marshal, 1908, was Governor of Malta from 1898 to 1903; and the Armoury was re-arranged under his superintendence.)

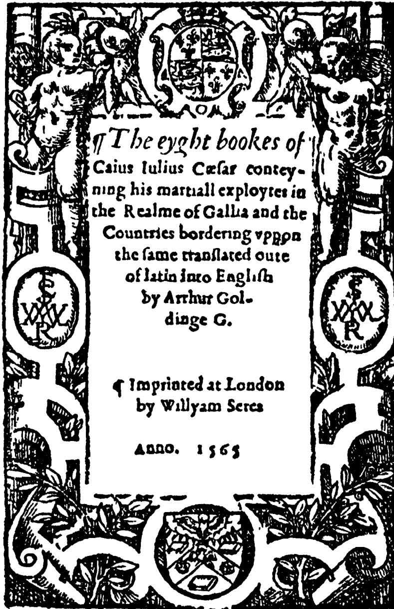
The defence in 1565 remains still the most illustrious event in the history of Malta. As expressed in *"The Generall Historie of Spaine,"* 1612, p. 1118, "God fortified the Great Master, his knights and souldiers, and all the people of the Iland, . . . with patience, courage, and constancie, ... from the middest of May to the middest of September . . . . three hundred and thirteene knights lost their lives honourably, 3,600 souldiers; and about six thousand of the people, men, women, and children. The Turkes spent aboue fourscore thousand Cannon shot, and lost at the least thirtie thousand men."

The Pope, the King of Spain, and the Duke of Florence, and other Princes in Italy, encouraged the building of the new city; King Philip lending 3,000 Pioneers (levied in Sicily and Naples) to help to repair the ruined forts of the old town.

(p. 1119) "The new towne was called Valette, to bear memorie to posteritie for ever of the vertue and valour of the great knight Iohn de la Valette. . . ."

The sword believed to have been used by La Valetta during the siege is still shown in the Church of Saint Lorenzo, just behind Fort Saint Angelo.




¶ The eyght bookes of
Caius Iulius Cæsar conteyning his martiall exploytes in
the Realme of Gallia and the
Countries bordering vppon
the same translated oute
of latin into English
by Arthur Gol-
dinge G.

¶ Imprinted at London
by Wyllyam Seres

Anno. 1565

Title-page of the earliest complete English translation of "The Eyght Bookes of Caius Iulius Cæsar. . . ." 1565 (B.M. 9039. a. 19).

By Arthur Golding: Dedicated to Sir William Cecil, 1565: *the year that Malta was defended against the Turks.*

Reprinted by Thomas Este, 1578, and 1590.

It is erroneously supposed that Cæsar was not popular in England until after North translated Plutarch's Lives in 1579.

In Cockle's Bibliography of English Military Books (1900), *p* 58, *the first English translation given of Cæsar's* Commentaries *is that of Clement Edmonds, Recorder of London, in* 1600. *But* 70 *years previously, during Henry VIII's reign, a black letter folio had been issued, of* "Iulius Cesars commentaryes. Newly translated owte of laten in to englyshe as much as cōcerneth thys realm of England sumtyme callyd Brytayne· which is the eldest hystoryer of all other that can be found that ever wrote of thys realme of England. 1530."

English and Latin in parallel columns (B M. C. 32. *m.* 6).

John Brende (translator of Quintus Curtius) began a fresh translation, but died before he could finish it. It was handed over to Arthur Golding to complete, but he preferred to begin anew and make an independent translation, as he explains to Cecil in his dedicatory letter.

NOTABLE ITALIAN TRANSLATIONS OF CÆSAR.

In 1554, the year Queen Mary married Philip of Spain, Italy set the example of translating Cæsar into the vulgar tongue:

"*I Commentari di C. Givlio Cesare Da M. Francesco Baldelli nvovamente di lingva Latina tradotti in Thoscana. Con figure, e tavole delle matiere e de inomi delle cita, ch'in questi Commentari si leggono antichi e moderni, per adietro non piu stampata. Con privilegio. In Venegia appresso Gabriel Giolito de Ferrari e fratelli. MDLIIII.*" B.M. 293. d. 21. (size 6⅛ by 5¾). Dedicated to the Cardinal di Ferrara. With two maps, "*La Francia*" and "*Hispagna*"; and five plates illustrating fortifications, bridges, etc.; also a general table of Ancient and Modern Place names mentioned in the text.

A much more beautifully produced version appeared in 1575: "*I Commentari di C. Gvlio Cesare Con le figure in rame de gli alloggiamenti, de fatte d'arme circonuallitione della citta, and di molto altrœ cose notabili descritta in esse. Fatte de Andrea Palladio per facilitare achi legge, la cognition dell' historie. Con Privilegi. In venetia. Appresso Pietro de Franceschi MDLXXV.*"

With valuable introductory matter, tables, two maps, and some forty engraved plates drawn by Palladio. This translation was unknown to Cockle when he compiled the foreign addenda to his military *Bibliography* (1900).

As every cultured Elizabethan was expected to read Latin and Italian as easily as English, Arthur Golding's translation (1565) *was undertaken for the express purpose of enabling the unlearned to enjoy the same masterpieces which were in the hands of courtiers and scholars. As he wrote to Sir William Cecil in his dedication,*

"Albeit (right honourable) that the difficulties of this present work, considering mine own want of experience not only in matters of war but also in divers other things whereof this history entreateth, did dissuade and in manner discourage me from enterprising the translation thereof: yet . . forasmuch as I prescribed it to be a work for the pleasure and profitableness thereof much desired of many, . . . emboldened by your favourable encouragement, as also remembering that earnest endeavour overcometh all things, I went in hand therewith."

GERMANICARVM RERVM

QVATVOR

CELEBRIORES VETVSTIORESQVE CHRONOGRAPHI, EARVM DESCRIPTIONEM AB ORBE CONDITO VSQVE AD TEMPORA Henrici IIII. Imperatoris patriæ imperijq; vindicis & Propugnatoris acerrimi, singulari fide & diligentia, quasi continua successione deducentes, ad publicam historiæ Studiosorum vtilitatem in lucem reuocati, & longè emendatius quàm antea impressi, cum nouo Indice.

QVORVM NOMINA SVNT

IOHANNES TVRPINVS DE VITA CAROLI MAGNI ET ROLANDI

RHEGINO ABBAS PRVMIENSIS DIOCESIS TREVIREN.

SIGEBERTVS GEMBLACENSIS EIVSQVE CONTINVATOR ROBERTVS DE MONTE

LAMBERTVS SCHAFFNABVRGENSIS, ALIAS HIRSFELDENSIS DICTVS.

CVM CAESAREAE MAIESTATIS GRATIA ET PRIVILEGIO ad decennium.

IMPRESSVM FRANCOFORTI AD MOENVM, ANNO Domini, M. D. LXVI.

Lumley

Title page of Frankfort edition, 1566, of the mediaeval Vita Caroli Magni et Rolandi: Attributed to Turpin, the Emperor Charlemagne's Archbishop of Rheims.

Now first reproduced from B.M. 591. g. 11; formerly in possession of John, Lord Lumley.

When Sir Humphrey Gilbert (circa 1573) proposed that the Librarian of "Queen Elizabeth's Academy" should have a yearly allowance for purchase of foreign publications brought into England from "every mart," the principal "marts" were the Book-Fairs at Frankfort.

Latin being the universal language, and Frankfort a centre both of scholastic and popular literature, attention to works issued at Frankfort will help us to know which epic themes were acceptable. In the 14th century, Roland and Oliver had been included as saints in the "*Catalogus Sanctorum*" of Petrus de Natalibus; and they reappeared in 1523 in the version made by Guy Breslay for Francis I: "*Le Grand Cathalogue des Sainctz et Sainctes, nouvellement trãslate de Latin en Francoys.*" (See overleaf.)

VITA CAROLI MAGNI ET ROLANDI, 1566.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert intended that in his school "all the noble exploytes that ever were or are to be done . . . shall continually be kept in fresh remembrance." *The* Vita Caroli Magni et Rolandi, *Frankfort, 1566 is an example. It shows the fallacy of the epigram that "when the printing press came in Chivalry went out", and that we are misled by the universal modern assumption that the* Orlando Furioso *of Ariosto obliterated the sublime Roland of old heroic song and story.*

Roland, the champion of France and Christendom, loving one woman only,—his betrothed wife, who in the ancient Chanson *dies of grief for his death,—is not recognisable in the erratic and philandering* Orlando *of Ariosto. But in the Introduction to the standard French version of the* Chanson de Roland. Traduction Nouvelle . . . Paris . . . 1878 (*p.* 21), *the translator, L. Petit de Julleville, stated that* "Roland owed it solely to Ariosto that his name was not extinguished in France in the XVI century."

This assertion has been taken on trust by English scholars. Even in Dr. Arthur Way's spirited translation of the Chanson de Roland *issued in* 1913 *by the Cambridge University Press, it was said* (*Introduction, p.* ix) *that after the Renaissance the French "became so infatuated for the singers of Greece and Rome" as to consign* "Roland to oblivion. Men were content, nay, complacent in a blind ingratitude to their glorious past; and this ingratitude was so unanimous, so complete in its results that it lasted more than 300 years. During all this time the name of Roland was preserved only among some poor peasants. . . . As for men of culture they know not our hero even by reputation. . . ."

Not till after Dr. Way's lamented death did the present writer discover that Julleville was wrong, and that 16th century men could read in Italian the traditional story of Roland, as printed in 1570 (*B M* 11426. *b* 24), *or the Latin version issued at Frankfort,* 1566 (*B M.* 591. *g* 11) *and again in* 1584, "Francofurt Apud heredes Andrae Wachehl, Anno MDLXXXIIII." (*B.M* 10604. *i.* 5). *Or they could go back to the earlier publication in French:* "Cronique et histoire faicte et compose par reverend pere en dieu Turpin, archevesque de Reims, lung des pairs de frāce. Contenant les prouesses et faictz d'armes advenuz en son temps du tres magnanime Roy Charles le grād, autremet dit Charlemaigne: et de son nepveu Rolād. Lesquelles il redigea comme copilateur dudit oeuvre. G.L. par maistre Pierre Vidome pour Regnault Chauldiere. Paris, 1527. (4to. *B.M.* 89, *b* 6; *and* 28691; *and G.* 10243). *This is a different translation from the one (not in B.M.) mentioned in* 1822 *by Ciampi,* De Vita Caroli *etc*, *p.* xxxiii, *as* "La Chronique, ou histoire faite par le Reverend Pere en Dieu Turpin Archevesque de Rheims, l'un des Pairs de France, contenant les prouesses de Charlemagne et de son neveu Rolland, traduit du latin en francois par Robert Gaguin, par l'ordre du Roy Charles VIII."

That the ancient Chanson de Roland *was not printed till the 19th century has caused its editors to infer that Roland was forgotten. But actually, through the* "Chronique," *he remained popular in many lands. The degree of favour given in 16th century courtly circles to any special subject can be inferred from dedications, provided they are not the sort which, as in some seditious pamphlets lacking the name of printer, were published without permission.*

That Roland was not sunk in "oblivion" in the 16th century will be the more manifest if we notice that the 1566 edition of the Vita Caroli Magni et Rolandi *is dedicated to "Illustrissimo Piatate Omnique Virtutum Heroicarum Genere Clarissimo Principi et Domino, D Johanni Alberto, Duci Megalopolensi, Principi Henetorum, Suereni Rostochij and Stargardiae" etc., and that the work is issued with Imperial Licence* (cum Caesareae maiestatis gratia . . .) *In* 1584, *the dedication is to the Princes of Saxony. "Illustrissimis Principibus, Christiano, Joani Casimio, Joanni Ernesto, Frederico Wilhelmo, et Joanni, Saxoni Ducibus, Landgraviis Turingiae, & Marchionibus Misncae, . . ."*

This work is in three sections (1) "Eginhartus de Vita et Gest Caroli Magni" (*The brief life by Eginhard, who knew the Emperor personally*); (2) "Annales Regum Francorum, Peppini, Caroli Magni et Ludovici . . ."; *and* (3, *p* 67) "Joannis Turpini Historia de Vita Caroli Magni et Rolandi."

This Chronicle Romance was disliked by the Spaniards,—who used to remind the world that the Moors in Spain, A D 778, regarded themselves as having won the war against the French invaders, and claimed to have made peace with Charles the Great on their terms, not his. But the point now is that whereas by the 18th century Voltaire and other cynics pretended to forget that Roland ever existed, we should not transfer this affectation backwards into the 16th century, when it had not yet come into fashion for men of any civilised nation to mistake neglect of their heroes for a sign of "intellectual progress"

We had a Roncesvalles in London, called after the scene of Roland's last fight. In 1835, *when Kemp published* "The Loseley Manuscripts" *he cited from particulars of Masques and Revels at the Court of Henry VIII,* "Item, 6 laborers to bear 2 Chests from Westminster palace to the Rounsevall. 12d"; *noting that this was the "hospital of Our Lady of Roncesvalles, at Charing Cross; a cell of the Privy and Convent of Roncesvalles in Navarre."*

PART I.

"The art and manner of Governing."

CHAPTER 2.

"AS IF IT SHOULD NEVER HAVE END."

SECTION 2.

"An Armada of the Queen's Majesty of England."

(Experiences of Captain John Hawkins, 1564-1568).

"We . . . of our own mere liberality and certain science, and by the fulness of Apostolical power, do give, grant and assign to you, your heirs and successors, all the firm lands and islands found or to be found . . . towards the West and South, drawing a line from the Pole Arctic to the Pole Antarctic, . . . such as have not been actually heretofore possessed by any other Christian King or Prince . . ."

Bull of Pope Alexander VI to King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella, May, 1493.

". . . nothing will bring these people to their senses. They claim to have a right to go to all lands or provinces belonging to friendly States without exception."

The Spanish Ambassador to Philip II. London, 6th June, 1562.
(B.M. Add: MS. 26, 056[a]. *Calendar State Papers Spanish,* I. p. 240.)

". . . You may assure yourself, and so all others, that by me or any of mine there shall no damage be done to any man: the which also the Queen's Majesty of England, my Mistress, at my departure out of England commanded me to have great care of, and to serve with my Navy the King's Majesty of Spain, my old Master, if, in any places where I came, any of his stood in need."

Captain John Hawkins to the Governor of Margarita.
(Contemp. transcript, Cotton M.S., Otho E. viii, f. 29.)

"Our Captain replied that he was in an Armada of the Queen's Majesty of England, and driven by contrary winds into these parts, where he hoped to find such friendship as in Spain."

"The voyage made by M. John Hawkins Esquire . . . begun in An. Dom. 1564."
(See E.E. p. 287.)

**"If the Queen [of England] should be shameless enough to force us to break with her, I think it would be wise to seize Ireland, as they are constantly begging me to do; and it could be done with troops from Spain. . . .
Consider this well . . . [and] send me your opinion."**

King Philip II to the Duke of Alba; from Madrid, 18th November, 1569. (State Papers, Spanish; Cal: Vol. I, p. 210.)

NOTE.

"*The Hawkins Voyages*" were the theme of the foundation volume of the Hakluyt Society a generation ago, and these contemporary narratives have been often reprinted,—notably in MacLehose's illustrated edition of Hakluyt's "*Principal Navigations,*" Glasgow, 1904, 1905.

In 1888, for the Tercentenary of the defeat of King Philip's Navy, the representatives of Hawkins issued, to subscribers, "*Plymouth Armada Heroes. The Hawkins Family. With Original Portraits, Coats of Arms, and other Illustrations . . . Plymouth. . . . MDCCCLXXXVIII*": in which the old county Histories of Devonshire, and relevant State Papers in the Record Office, Wills at Exeter and at Somerset House, MSS in the Heralds' College, Plymouth Corporation Records, parish registers, and various family papers, were drawn upon, with interesting results. Miss Hawkins, of Hayford Hall, Buckfastleigh, S. Devon, had devoted many years to the collecting and examination of materials; and her large volume contained the first facsimile reproductions of autograph MSS of William and John and Richard Hawkins.

It is surprising that recent biographers of Sir John Hawkins, as if oblivious of the vindication by his own descendant, deem it necessary to warn us not to be influenced by Charles Kingsley's "*Westward Ho,*" in which the dignified and courtly Sir John was metamorphosed into an ugly and blustering boor. No such fancy could have misled Kingsley if he had noticed that in 1573 an intending assassin who set out to slay Sir Christopher Hatton, attacked Hawkins by mistake. As Hatton was one of the handsomest men of his time, comment is superfluous. (See "*Elizabethan England,*" Vol. III, Plate 27, for his portrait in possession of the Earl of Winchilsea and Nottingham.)

Miss Hawkins published in "*Plymouth Armada Heroes*" a fine miniature, by Oliver, of John Hawkins. The Earl of Rosebery has now lent the original for reproduction in "*Elizabethan England*" by a more satisfactory process than was then employed. (See E.E., Vol. II, Plate 14.) In the Tercentenary volume, the frontispiece is the picture of Sir John Hawkins, "*Ætatis suae LVIII. Anno Domi 1591,*" owned in 1888 by Christopher Stuart Hawkins, of Hayford Hall, and now possessed by the Corporation of Plymouth. This will be reproduced in its chronological place in "*Elizabethan England*" As a work of art it is inferior to Oliver's miniature, but it conveys something of the combined vigour and suavity of a man of action who was also a diplomatist. (A half tone reproduction of the 1591 painting was the frontispiece to "*A Sea-Dog of Devon, A Life of Sir John Hawkins, By R. A. J. Walling, With Introduction by Lord Brassey and John Leyland. Cassell . . . . London, Paris, New York and Melbourne. MCMVII*")

As to ancestry, there was a fantastic attempt by a 19th century editor to derive the name of Hawkins from "Hoggins" and "Hodgson"; and a hasty rejection, by a later biographer, of the Hawkins family's claim to descend from the ancient Kentish house of Hawking of Hawking and of Nash Court. But as we shall find King Philip—after England and Spain were at war,—alluding to Hawkins' son Richard as "a Person of Quality," we may rest content. For the erstwhile King of England knew more than we do about the standing of his former subjects. And as another Spaniard described the same "Don Ricardo Achines" as "a true patrician," a pedigree treated with respect in 16th century Spain need not be disparaged in modern England.

PART I.

"The art and manner of Governing."

CHAPTER 2.

"AS IF IT SHOULD NEVER HAVE END."

SECTION 2.

"An Armada of the Queen's Majesty of England."

(Experiences of Captain John Hawkins, 1564-1568).[1]

ALTHOUGH the Grand Turk, even after his defeat at Malta, was as vigorous as ever in his ambition to control the world, his death in 1566 in the Hungarian war appeared to promise Christendom some respite from danger. But in the rivalry between Catholics and Protestants there was no slackening. As the Spanish Ambassador had complained in 1562, Queen Elizabeth paid no heed to papal prohibitions. It influenced her not at all that Pope Alexander VI in 1493 had divided the New World between the Kings of Spain and Portugal: granting to King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella, and their heirs and successors, *"all the firm lands and islands found or to be found, discovered or to be discovered, towards*

[1] The three years between the relief of Malta by Don Garcia de Toledo (1565) and the clash of Hawkins and the Viceroy of Mexico (1568) were peculiarly eventful in Scotland:—The slaughter of Rizzio; the birth of Queen Mary's only child; the Satanic treacheries of Murray; the assassination of Darnley; the carrying away of the Queen by Bothwell; her miserable marriage; her overthrow and Bothwell's by the very men who had urged the match; Bothwell's ignominious flight; Queen Mary's enforced abdication, her captivity, escape, and coming into England, (E.E. I, 3, 1 and 2,) were taking place while Hawkins of Plymouth (*Achines de Plimua*) was leading his series of voyages, the sequence of which it is best not to interrupt. Familiar as these maritime enterprises may be, they must be recollected; or the ensuing hopes of the Queen of Scots for aid from Spain, and King Philip's secret negotiations with Hawkins, would be less easy to understand.

It should be borne in mind that the Spanish Empire was all the while continuing its victorious career of colonisation. See *"The Discovery of the Solomon Islands in 1568. Translated from the original manuscripts. Edited with Introduction and Notes, by Lord Amherst of Hackney, and Basil Thomson."* 2 vols. London, 1901. As to Spanish possessions, see *"The Spanish South-West, 1542-1794. An Annotated Bibliography,"* by Henry R. Wagner; Berkeley, 1924. 100 copies only: Folio: with 106 full-sized reproductions of title pages: and descriptions of 177 separate works relating to the parts of U.S.A. formerly owned by Spain.

the West and South, drawing a line from the Pole Arctic to the Pole Antarctic," including in this donation *"any islands found or to be found towards India (drawing a line from any of the Azores and Cape Verde,) not already possessed by any other Christian Prince."*

As Christopher Columbus, "most worthy and apt," had been appointed by the King and Queen "to seek by the sea where hitherto no man hath sailed," and as Columbus had erected a fortress and placed a garrison, the Pope saw in this the beginning of an establishment of the Catholic Faith. Commending the "devotion and magnanimity" of the Sovereigns to whom he presented half the New World, he forbade any persons, even if of "Imperial or Royal dignity" to traffic in those regions *"without special license of you, your heirs and successors."* If they disobeyed, they would be excommunicated.[1]

When Queen Elizabeth's first Parliament proclaimed her subjects outside the jurisdiction of any foreign Potentate, this statute aimed not only at abolishing the Pope's authority in England, but indicated that Englishmen would trade and traffic wherever their Sovereign might commission them to go. Immediately after her accession, before the Pope had been repudiated, the Spanish Ambassador, the Count of Feria, warned King Philip that the English "deeply resent" any interference with their navigation; even Queen Mary had hesitated to restrain her subjects in those activities: *"I am unwilling,"* added Feria, *"to open up claims which will offend these people, or rather which they will refuse."* This was while a marriage between Queen Elizabeth and King Philip was still regarded as a possibility.[2]

In 1562 the Ambassador, Bishop de Quadra, complained from London to King Philip, *"they keep sending more ships from here, ostensibly for trade, and the French are doing the same; . . . but I do not see that they take any merchandise except a few samples . . . . they are fitted out like men of war."* (They needed to be, as to be attacked by Turkish pirates was always a possibility).[3]

Englishmen liked to remember that Newfoundland had nearly been annexed in Henry VII's day, and again in 1527; and Welshmen alleged that prior to Columbus a discoverer of America had embarked from Wales. It pleased Englishmen also to recall that Williams Hawkins of Plymouth had been among the early

---

[1] *"Exemplar Bullae seu Donationis, Autoritate cujus, Episcopus Romanus Alexander ejus nominis sextus, concessit & donavit Castellae Regibus & suis succorbus, Regiones & Insulas Novi Orbis."* In extenso, Purchase's *"Hakluytus Posthumus,"* Vol. II. (MacLehose, 1905), pp. 32-42.

Upon Pope Alexander's Bull (which was translated into English in 1577) an Englishman commented later: *"I question not the right of the Spanish Crowne . . . . The Castilian Industry I honour . . . .* their Right may, for that which is actually in their Possession, without this Bull, plead Discoverie even before this was written;" for "the Sword" and "long and quiet possession," by Spain had preceded Pope Alexander's gift. *"Hakluytus Posthumus,"* II. p. 47.

[2] 25 Nov: 1558. Cal. S.P.S. I. p. 51. And see p 65, 8th May, 1559, the King to Feria as to stopping an intended English voyage to Madeira. On 3rd June, 1560, Feria's successor complained of Queen Elizabeth that "neither our threats have frightened her nor our persuasions softened her." p. 159.

[3] 31 January. Cal: S.P.S. pp. 227-228. And see p. 239 (6th June, 1562,) "the ships which I wrote to Your Majesty were being got ready are now finished, and a large store of munitions and victuals laid in."

voyagers to Brazil, "a thing very rare in those days, especially for our nation." He married the only daughter and heiress of Roger, third son of Sir John Trelawney, whose ancestor, another Sir John Trelawney, had fought at Agincourt, and received an augmentation to his coat-of-arms to be a token of his valour for ever.[1] The two sons of William Hawkins, William and John, with gallant traditions inherited on both sides, were destined to live through times even more eventful than those in which their predecessors had won distinction. But the earliest voyages of John Hawkins do not differ conspicuously from those of other maritime volunteers; the beginnings were mainly mercantile. On visits to Spain, Portugal, and the Canary Islands, John Hawkins had learnt that negroes were in considerable demand in Hispaniola (San Domingo) and that they could be captured with ease on the coast of Guinea. He consulted his father-in-law Benjamin Gonson, Sir Lionel Ducket, Sir William Winter and others, and in 1562 they contributed to the equipment of three ships, *Salomon,* 120 tons, with Hawkins as "Generall"; the *Swallow,* 100 tons, (Captain Thomas Hampton), and the *Jonas* bark, 40 tons. With this small fleet, Hawkins set out in October to navigate the "West Indian Seas."[2] First he landed at Tenerife, and thence went to Sierre Leone, where he obtained 300 negroes.[3] Taking them "over the Ocean Sea" to Hispaniola, he there exchanged them for pearls, ginger, hides, sugar, and other commodities. Not able to accommodate all this in his three ships, he freighted two hulks with the surplus, and he sent them under Captain Hampton to Cádiz, intending there to sell the

---

[1] William Hawkins was Lord of the Manor of Sutton Valletort; Mayor of Plymouth, 1532; M.P. for Plymouth, 1553. Son of John Hawkins by his wife Joan, daughter and heiress of Wm. Amadas of Launceston, Cornwall. She was granddaughter of Wm. Amadas, Sergeant-at-Arms to Henry VIII. See Harl: MS. 3288. Visitation of Devon, 1564.

[2] "*The first voyage of the right worshipfull and valiant knight Sir John Hawkins, sometimes treasurer of her Majesties navie Roial, made to the West Indies 1562.*" (Retrospective heading in 1589; he was not "Sir John" till 1588.) Hakluyt, III. 500; and MacLehose's Hakluyt, Vol. X, 1904.

[3] In a speech in 1933 a member of the Anti-Slavery Society alluded to Hawkins as the founder of the English slave trade. But before Hawkins in 1562 bartered negroes for pearls, John Lok had done the same: and as the slave trade was then universal it is unjust to blame Hawkins for not looking at this matter with the eyes of the 19th and 20th centuries.

Certain recent commentary postulates the 16th century negroes as harmless and benevolent, knowing no cruelty till they experienced it from Christians. But one of the companions of Hawkins' voyage of 1567-68, describes how the inhabitants of "Guynea" were cannibals, whose custom on capturing a prisoner was to "binde him to a stake and make a fyre hard by," and while he was yet alive "with their knives cut off his flesh" and eat it, and slowly torture him to death. (Cotton MS. Otho viii, f. 26.) To capture such natives, and put them into service of civilized masters, did not appear to Hawkins or other Europeans of his day as other than justifiable. As Mr. (subsequently Sir) Clements Markham wrote in his Introduction to Vol. I of the Hakluyt Society's Publications: not only did Elizabethans regard the exchange and barter of negroes as legitimate, but so late as 1713, "by the treaty of Utrecht . . . England . . . obtained the 'asiento' giving her the exclusive right to carry on the slave trade between Africa and the Spanish Indies for thirty years. So strong was the party in favour of this trade in England, that the contest for its abolition was continued . . . from 1759 to 1807. It is not therefore John Hawkins alone . . . but the English people during 250 years" who approved of the slave trade. Markham might have added that in 1816 the victory of Admiral Lord Exmouth over the Dey of Algiers resulted in the freeing of thousands of Christians who had been enslaved to Moslems. Also that though England in the 16th to 18th centuries participated in the slave trade, the ultimate abolition was largely effected by English influence (with the English Navy as the predominating power).

goods. But the cargo was confiscated, at a loss reckoned by Hawkins as 40,000 ducats. With his three vessels he reached England safely in September, 1563.

Previously during that summer the Spanish Ambassador died "in great grief" that he must "drop from his work" just when he hoped to get the better of the English. He expired with the words "I can do no more."[1]

The new Ambassador, Don Diego Guzmán de Silva, was equally vigilant; and strongly urged the Queen to "prevent the sailing of armed ships in time of peace." (*Spanish* merchant ships did not go to sea disarmed and at the mercy of Barbary Corsairs; but from the Spanish Ambassador's tone it has been inferred that nobody was bellicose except the English). Silva particularly inquired as to John Hawkins: "This Captain is said to be going to Guinea, . . . with a ship of 800 tons.[3] He will take 24 pieces of artillery large and small, . . . and 140 men. Three other ships of medium size and two brigantines accompany him."[2]

In the margin the King noted: *"Advise the Council of the Indies of this . . ."*; and to his Ambassador he wrote, *"Do your best, as adroitly as possible, to hinder the voyage being undertaken."*[4] But although the Ambassador thought Queen Elizabeth, *"as far as her words go,"* of *"great rectitude,"*—and on the 4th of August she published an edict forbidding armed ships to leave her ports without a license,—neither she nor her Council had any intention of permitting the trade of the New World to be monopolised by Spain and Portugal.[5]

In 1564 (18th October) Hawkins again embarked from Plymouth, this time in command of a Royal ship, the *Jesus of Lubeck*, 700 tons, with the *Saloman*, 140 tons; and two barks, the Tiger, 50 tons, and *Swallow*, 30 tons;[6] and with 170 men. The Earl of Leicester and the Earl of Pembroke were chief patrons of the enterprise, and the Queen gave her blessing to the adventurers.

Hawkins' instructions for the shipmasters included an order to *"serve God*

---

[1] Luis de Paz to K. Philip. 26 Aug: 1563. Cal: S.P.S. I, pp. 346-347. He was deep in debt; all his servants' wages unpaid (including "Dionisio [Denis] an Irish groom." Ib. pp. 362-363). His successor (commended by the King for "lineage, prudence, experience" and fidelity,) was ordered to emphasise his Sovereign's amity, and to secure the goodwill of Lord Robert Dudley. Instructions by His Majesty, 19th January, 1563-4. Ib. pp. 349-355.

[2] Ib: p. 370.

[3] Cal: S.P.S. I. p. 370.

[4] Cal: S.P.S. I. p. 372.

[5] Ib: p. 373. In 1563 (15 June) King Philip commends his Ambassador for "advising me of the vessels that were bound for Florida, and the offer of Captain Stukeley who went in command . . ." Cal: S.P.S. I, p. 333. On 19th June (p. 334) the Ambassador reported an offer of Stukeley to desert Queen Elizabeth's service for King Philip's: and added, "My own opinion is that Stukeley is bent rather on committing some great robbery than discovering strange lands." *"He bears the Royal Standard which the Queen has presented him with, although the Ships do not belong to her."* See pp. 335, 339. For the extraordinary career of Stukeley, and his dramatic end, see *E.E.* II, 4, 1 and 2.

[6] S.P.D.E. XXXVII, 61: and MacLehose's Hakluyt, X, p. 9.

dailie, love one another, preserve your victuals, beware of fire, and keepe good companie."[1]

Leaving Plymouth with a favourable wind, they encountered heavy weather on the 21st October, and were obliged to put into Ferrol. Thence they went to the Canary Isles and were entertained courteously by the Governor of Santa Cruz. Past the Cape Verde Islands they sailed to Sambula and Bymba. Hawkins had been told he could there obtain gold and negroes; but he met such stiff resistance at Bymba that he lost seven of his best men, including Captain Field of the *Saloman,* and had twenty-seven wounded. He secured only ten negroes. But he *"carried himself with countenance very cheerful outwardly, as though he did little weigh the death of his men, or yet the great hurt of the rest, although his hart inwardly was broken in pieces for it."*[2] Near the West Indies, the fleet suffered severely by tornadoes. After further traffic and adventures, and "sour sauce by reason of our riding so open at sea and contrary winds blowing," they departed from Curaçoa "not a little to the rejoicing of our Captain and us."[3]

Landing at Rio de la Hacha, they met opposition owing to orders from Spain not to traffic with the English. *"Our Captain replied that he was in an Armada of the Queen's Majesty of England, and driven by contrary winds to come into these parts where he hoped to find such friendship" as "in Spain,"* there being amity between the respective Sovereigns.[4] As compliments had no effect, Hawkins fired a cannon to warn the town, and landed 100 men in armour; whereon some of the people came to the shore as if ready to fight. But on Hawkins discharging two of his guns from his boats "they broke then away and dispersed themselves for

---

[1] Hakluyt, X, p. 10. This 1564 was the year the Philippine Islands were discovered. As related in *"The Generall Historie of Spaine,"* 1612, Lib. 28, p. 1113.

"King Philip, remembering that the emperor Charles his father had sent Ferdinand Magallanes in the yere 1519, to discover the Moluques and other Ilands thereabouts, some of which were more plainly discovered in the year 1542, he gave order this yere [1564] to D. Lewis de Valasco Viceroy of Mexico, to make ready a great fleet, with the which entring into the South sea, and sayling towards the west, he should discover those places better. . . ."

On this successful expedition the four islands they found "in honour of the King, were called Philippine; they also set footing in the Iland of Luzon, which is bigger than all the rest. . . . It was not difficult for the Spaniards to become master of those places. . . ."

The colonisation of the Philippines is described in *"Don Felipe el Prudente, Segundo desto nombre, Rey de las Españas y Nuevo Mundo,"* by Lorenzo vander Hammer y Leon (Madrid, 1625, 2nd ed: 1632). The writer was a Chaplain of King Philip II.

See also *"Bibliografia Española de las Islas Filipinas (1523-1810),"* by J. F. Medina. Santiago de Chile, 1892 (200 copies only). The Spanish conquests and colonies in the New World in general, MSS. as well as printed books, were treated by Fernandez de Navarrete in his *"Biblioteca Maritime Española,"* 2 vols. Madrid, 1852.

[2] *"The voyage made by M. John Hawkins, Esquire."* MacLehose's Hakluyt, vol. X, p. 22.

[3] At Sante Fe they procured potatoes, "delicate roots" that "do far exceed parsnips or carrots," as explained by John Sparke (subsequently Mayor of Plymouth in 1583-4 and 1591-2). According to Miss Hawkins, *"Plymouth Armada Heroes,"* (1888), p. 21, potatoes were first imported into Europe either in 1563 or 1565; first planted in Ireland by "Sir Walter Raleigh:" date not specified. In 1563-5 Raleigh was a boy, unknown to fame.

[4] Hakluyt, X, p. 38.

fear of the ordnance." On Hawkins bidding his men march forward, the townsfolk sent a flag of truce, and amicable barter ensued.[1]

Via San Domingo and Jamaica, Hawkins and his fleet sailed towards Cuba; and with a north-east wind they reached the coast of Florida, which they assumed to be an Island. Eager to meet the French colonists, they went up the May river, and saw M. de Laudonnière and his men. Finding them in distress, the Englishmen gave them provisions and other aid, and Hawkins spared one of his own barks (50 tons) for such Frenchmen as craved to return home.[2]

On the 28th of July, Hawkins left Florida, and passed the coast of a region which some twenty-one years later was to be called Virginia.[3] After skirting Newfoundland they were beaten by contrary winds; and were so short of victuals that their plight seemed almost desperate in the Atlantic. But suddenly the wind changed; and on the 20th of September they came to Padstow in Cornwall, bringing home "gold, silver, pearls, and other jewels great store . . . ."[4]

---

[1] The English on this occasion saw "*many crocodiles of sundry bigness, . . . some as big as a boat, with four feet, a long broad mouth, and a long tail, whose skin is so hard that a sword will not pierce it.*" The crocodile's nature is "*when he would have his prey, to cry and sob like a Christian* . . ." to ensnare unwary humans to come and comfort him: "*and then he snatcheth at them*" to devour. This description was echoed during the next generation:

"As the mournful crocodile
With sorrow snares relenting passengers."
Shakespeare, 2nd *Henry VI.* iii. 1.

[2] Florida, so called "because it was discovered on Palme-Sunday, which the Spaniards call Pascha Florida."

René Laudonnière, "*The description of the West Indies in generall, but chiefly . . of Florida.*" MacLehose's *Hakluyt*, Vol. VIII, p. 450. For "The first voyage of John Rimbault to Florida, 1562," Feb. 1562-3, equipped by the Grand Admiral of France (Coligny-Chastillon), see Ib: pp. 457-486.

Ib: X, p. 22; "The Floridans . . . have a kind of herb dried, who with a cane and an earthe cup in the end, with fire, and the dried herbs put together, do sucke through the cane the smoke thereof." The attribution to Sir Walter Raleigh of the introduction of tobacco into England is open to dispute. Stow ascribes it to Hawkins long before Raleigh's day. (See also John Taylor's "*Prosaical Postscript to the Old, Old, Very Old Man,*" etc. 1635.) But towards the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign, Raleigh helped to make smoking fashionable.

[3] On 27 Aug :1565 the Spanish Ambassador wrote from London to the King, "These people must be waxing fat on the spoils of the Indies. . . . I am told to-day that Captain Hawkins of Plymouth, who left about a year ago, arrived in Florida, and after *having had some differences with the French, had made it up with them, and had taken a very beautiful river where he built a fort and remained.*" (Cal: S.P.S. I, p. 470.) (Observe that none of the assertions now italicised are correct: as the Ambassador afterwards learnt.) The King noted marginally "Let the Indian Council have a copy of this."

[4] See "*The voyage made by M. John Hawkins Esquire, and afterward knight, Captaine of the Jesus of Lubek, one of her majesties shippes, and General of the Saloman, and Other two barkes going in his companie to the coast of Guinea, and the Indies of Nova Hispania, begun in An. Dom. 1564,*" and ended Sep: 1565. Hakluyt, III. 501-521, MacLehose's *Hakluyt* (1904), Vol. X, pp. 9-63.

With Hawkins were John Chester, son of Sir William Chester; Anthony Parckhurst (of whom more later); George FitzWilliam (a warm personal friend of Hawkins); Edward Lacy, and other volunteers. *Hawkins' County* in Tennessee, U.S.A., 750 square miles, still commemorates this voyage; though English and American popular writers persist in treating Raleigh as if he were the pioneer of travel and exploration. He did not accompany the voyages he equipped to America in 1584 and '85. His own Guiana voyage was not until 1595.

When at the "petition and desire" of Leicester and Pembroke the Queen had lent Hawkins the *Jesus*, they undertook that the ship should be back in Gillingham before "the feast of Christmas next coming," and also promised to pay Her Majesty for the loan. But as the *Jesus* could not conveniently be brought from Cornwall to Kent during the winter months, the two Earls allowed Her Majesty £500 in ready money, which they paid into the Admiralty, to Benjamin Gonson, Treasurer of the Royal Navy (Hawkins' father-in-law): this being judged sufficient for the "repairing and furnishing" of the ship to be given back in as good a condition as when "delivered to the said Earls" for the use of Hawkins.[1]

The Spanish Ambassador "used all diligence" to find out details; and on the 5th of November (1565) he forwarded particulars to King Philip:

> "*The man who gives me this account, and who went the whole voyage, tells me that Hawkins got a Spanish pilot out of a Portuguese ship. . . .*" Hawkins "spoke to me in the palace, and I treated him courteously . . . *in order not to arouse his suspicions I asked him to dine, . . .* and he gave me a general account of the voyage," with information "as to the places he went to, but not as regards his mode of trading."
>
> About Florida, "He told me the land was not good, nor the rivers neither. . . . The voyage has brought him 60 per cent. profit."
>
> The Ambassador believed Hawkins would sail again in May; which would necessitate "decisive action; . . . but I want to have the matter very clear. . . ." He hoped the King had information from the places Hawkins visited, "as this would be very important in proceeding against him."
>
> ". . . *If there is any way of getting him punished it will be expedient, . . . but if not, it will be best to dissemble in order more easily to capture and castigate him there if he should repeat the voyage* If his suspicion is not aroused, and he makes the voyage he will touch on the coast of Spain, and I will be on the alert. . . ."[2]

On the 4th February 1565-6, the Ambassador wrote again about Hawkins:

> "He came to me and asked me to write to your Majesty" about "some property taken from him in a former voyage to S. Domingo. I answered him softly, and brought him to dinner with me, promising to do as he asked. I told him he must show me the licences he had obtained from the Governors . . . and he promised me he would do so . . . he appears to be a clever man. . . ."
>
> The Ambassador suggested his entering King Philip's service: "*It seems advisable to get this man out of the country, so that he may not teach others. for they have good ships; . . . and more freedom than is good for them. . . .*"[3]

On the 4th of June, 1566, the Spanish Ambassador repeated to King Philip that Captain Hawkins was probably fitting out his ships "to make another voyage like his last one to the Indies. . . ." Silva did not try to "frustrate the plan yet." He would "wait until it is more advanced," till he could "with good grounds ask the Queen to stop the voyage; *but I think the Governors should be warned.*"[4]

On the 3rd of August, the Ambassador wrote that in a conversation between men of various countries, about navigation to the Indies, all concurred that the English ships were best "in consequence of the timber, which is very good, large and plentiful. . . ." One of those who spoke was an Englishman from Seville, "Roger Bodman, a Catholic, and now almost like a Spaniard." He advised that

---

[1] Letter of Sir W. Winter, Benjamin Gonson and others. 23rd Oct., 1565. S.P.D.E. first published by Miss Hawkins, "*Plymouth Armada Heroes,*" p. 2.

[2] From Antwerp, 5th Nov: 1565. Cal: S.P.S. I. p. 504.

[3] Ib: p. 522. [4] Cal: S.P.S. I, p. 556.

King Philip should have "a good reserve of ships" built in England for transport of gold and silver from the Indies. Silva told him such business could be better conducted from Seville and by merchants. But Bodenham answered that the King himself ought to be the shipowner. The Ambassador thought that the King might consider it: "*certainly the ships built here are very sound and good . . . .*"[1]

"In my last I wrote that Captain Hawkins was fitting out his ships on the understanding that they were for your Majesty's service at his cost. . . ." Silva had at first suspected some subterfuge. But "I believe now that I did him an injustice . . . he told me that his intention was to serve your Majesty all the summer . . . and then, with his four ships and two of the Queen's vessels, . . . to go to the Archipelago and capture Turkish ships. . . . He says they are extremely rich, . . . and could be easily taken, especially if four ships belonging to your Majesty's subjects were to accompany him. . . . This he told me as a great secret, and I praised the idea," but delayed any discussion.[2]

King Philip on the 12th August (1566) announced the birth of his daughter (the Infanta Isabella, who was subsequently to be among candidates for the English Crown). The same day, the King wrote complaining of "robberies which English pirates are constantly committing on our subjects. . . ." He bade his Ambassador admonish Queen Elizabeth that between the Sovereigns "*such perfect peace and concord exist*" that "*the violence and insolence of subjects should not be allowed to cast any shadow thereon.* We should rather try mutually to punish such subjects so severely that it should be an example to the rest. . . .

I approve of your action with regard to Captain Hawkins. You will keep your eyes on what he does, . . . keeping us advised fully."[3]

On the 5th of October, the Ambassador, describing the opening of Parliament on the 2nd ("*not a new one, but only a continuation of the last*"), expressed to King Philip a suspicion that ships were being fitted out "*to go to your Majesty's Indies.*"[4] On the 12th he confirmed this: and related how he had said to the Queen that when Captain Hawkins sailed two years ago, she had promised he would not go to any prohibited part: and yet he had traded in places where even Spaniards might not go without a license. Knowing some of the Privy Council to be in the venture, he had foreborne to complain; but now he sternly remonstrated. The Queen replied that certainly some of her Council were interested in Hawkins' voyage; but if he had been to any forbidden place it was only because driven there by adverse weather; and wherever he had traded, it had been with license from

---

[1] Ib: p. 569. Editor does not correct "Bodman," which should be Bodenham. See "*The Voyage of M Roger Bodenham with the great Barke Aucher to Candia and Chio in the yeere 1550*"(*1*). MacLehose's Hakluyt, V, pp. 71-76. Bodenham was even then on friendly terms with Spaniards; a Spanish pilot from Cádiz ("Cades") accompanied him "without wage, out of good will," in the bark belonging to Sir Anthony Aucher of Ottringden, Kent (who in 1558 was killed defending Calais. *E E*, Prologue, p. 111). The "Aucher" sailed in 1551, first to Mallorca, Sardinia and Sicily, and then obtained a Greek pilot for the Levantine navigation; and returned via Cadiz, "and then I needed no Pilot. And so . . . came to London . . . in safetie." Bodenham was proud that "all those Mariners" with him, were afterwards distinguished: "Richard Chancellor, who first discovered Russia, was with me. . . ." See *E E.*, Vol.. I, pp. 83-88.

[2] Ib: I, pp. 570-571.

[3] Cal: S.P.S. I, p. 572. [4] Cal: S.P.S. I, p. 54.

King Philip's own Governors. She asked for more precise information as to which were the forbidden places.[1]

On the 4th of November (1566) the Ambassador related that the Queen had "summoned Captain Hawkins" and ordered him under grave penalties "not to go to places prohibited by your Majesty. . . . the Judge of the Admiralty was directed to treat in the same way" any others intending similar voyages. *"There were different opinions in the Council about it, but the Queen ordered it."*[2]

Hawkins then sent his ships to sea, but did not accompany them himself.

On the 20th of December, the King wrote to his Ambassador in London: "Your action with regard to the preventing of Captain Hawkins and others from going to the Indies was very opportune, and you will thank the Queen from me for complying with your request. . . ."[3]

That the King suspected the Queen's prohibition would not last long is implied by his adjuring the Ambassador to *"take great care to learn all you can on this subject, as it is most important that we should have news of these things in order to guard against them in time."*

That His Majesty heard more of what was happening in England than many an Englishman was thanks to the vigilance of the Ambassador, who wrote to him on 12th July, 1567,[4]

> "I hear that the ships that Hawkins is going to take out are being got ready rapidly, and I am now told there are to be nine of them, four of the Queen's. . . . They are fine vessels, . . . the 'Jesus de Lobec' of 800 tons, and another of 300. . . . . *They are armed with fine bronze cannon.* The five ships which are to join them consist of one of 130 tons, another of 100 tons, and another of 80 tons, the rest being smaller, but *all very well fitted.*
>
> They have brought out from the Tower of London lately the artillery, corselets, cuirasses, pikes, bows and arrows, spears and other necessary things . . . They say that 800 picked men are to go, and *the sailors to work the ships are engaged by order and permission of the Queen, paid at the same rate as for her service.*
>
> *All this looks as if the object was different from that which they say,* namely, to go to the Cape Verde Islands and Guinea to capture negroes, and thence to go and sell them for gold, silver, pearls, hides, and other merchandise in your Majesty's Indies. . . . . The Admiral went yesterday with his officers to Rochester, where the Queen's ships are being fitted out; they say that they sail in 10 days, and many sailors have come from the West Country to man them.
>
> The Queen . . . assures me that they will not go to places prohibited by your Majesty, and the Secretary [Cecil] has done the same. . . . I have nevertheless asked for an audience of the Queen to warn her again. One of the reasons for believing they are intended for the East Indies is that certain Portuguese are here . . . and have been secretly busy in union with other Portuguese who live here. . . . ."[5]

"From Plymouth the xvj day of September 1567," Hawkins wrote to his "Soveraigne good Lady and Mystres" that the "Portyngales" who were to have piloted him on his intended new enterprise had ungratefully deserted. After receiving from him *"better entertainment than appertained to such mean persons,"*

> "it appeared they could not perform their large promises; and so, having gleaned a piece of money, . . . are fled to deceive some other." Hawkins was not sorry to be rid of them. ". . . I have provision sufficient and an able army . . . to bring here (with God's help) forty thousand marks

[1] p. 585. [2] Ib. I, p. 593. [3] Ib. p. 605.
[4] Cal. S.P.S. I, pp. 656-657. [5] Ib. pp. 656-657.

gains without offence of the least of any of your Highness' allies or friends. It shall be no dishonour unto your Highness that your own servant and subject" would attempt "such an enterprise, and turn it both to your Highness' honour and to the benefit of your whole realm. . . ."

Ready to do whatsoever the Queen might permit, he begged her not to delay his voyage. He meant "to lade negros" in Guinea, "and sell them in the West Indies" in exchange for gold and pearls and emeralds, "*whereof I doubt not to bring home great abundance, to the contentation of your Highness, and to the relief of a number of worthy servitors*"; waiting now to accompany him, but likely to be "driven to great misery" if prevented from sailing. He prayed the Queen to signify her pleasure by the bearer.

Before leaving London he had called on the Spanish Ambassador, with reassurances that he would not offend the King of Spain "whom he desired to serve"; he said "he had his orders from the Queen to that effect."[1]

On the 13th of September, Silva wrote to King Philip,

"I sent a person to Plymouth to see Hawkins' ships and men: . . . he is taking the Queen's two ships and four others, one of 80 tons, another of 50 or 60; and two pinnaces, and six or seven hundred men, with much artillery and munition; but no lime stone or any other building material . . . . . . it is still believed they are going on an ordinary expedition, to capture negros, take them to the Indies, and sell them as usual." . . ."[2]

While Hawkins waited, there occurred an episode characteristic of Queen Elizabeth's defenders. It was an ancient usage,—originating in days when the Plantagenet Kings owned most of the French Coast,—that the Narrow Seas were regarded as English waters. No foreign ship was allowed to omit salutations recognising that sovereignty. The same applied to foreign vessels entering any English port in which a royal ship might be at anchor. On the occasion retrospectively described by Hawkins' son Richard, there came into Plymouth "*a fleet of Spaniards of above 50 sail, . . . which entered betwixt the Island*" (*of St. Nicholas*) "*and the main*[*land*] *without vayling their topsayles or taking in of their flags.*"

Hawkins, in the *Jesus of Lubeck*, ordered his master-gunner to fire at the flag of the foreign intruder, to rebuke his discourtesy.

As the offender took no notice, Hawkins fired again: whereon "*the Spaniards finding the matter began to grow earnest, took in their flags and topsayles, and so ran to anchor.*"

King Philip's Admiral "Generall" then sent a boat with an important personage, "to expostulate." But Hawkins would not receive him on board; and "by another gentleman commanded him to return" and inform his General that as in the Queen's port he had neglected to do her "*such reverence as all owe unto her Majestie,*" his intentions presumably were unfriendly: in which case Hawkins required of him to leave the port with his fleet within twelve hours.

The "Generall" next came in person, and demanded to speak with Hawkins.

[1] Silva to the King. 2nd Aug: 1567. Cal: S.P.S. p. 667.
[2] Cal: S.P.S. p. 675.

Hawkins at first declined conversation. But on a "second entreaty" he consented to parley. On being sarcastically asked whether England and Spain were at war, Hawkins replied that any slight upon the Queen was reason enough for a breach of peace; and that Her Majesty and her Council were being immediately informed by him of the wrong done to her. On being asked in what was there cause for offence? Hawkins retorted by enquiring "*if an English ship should come into any port in Spain (the King's Majesties ships being present),*" *if the English failed to salute, would not the Spaniards shoot down the flags? and if the English did not apologise, would not the Spaniards expel them from that port?*

King Philip's Admiral-General expressed his hope that Hawkins would not create any "jarre" between their respective Sovereigns. Hawkins replied stiffly that the trouble was not of his creating. Then, having pointed the moral, he recurred to "*the ancient amity*" between Spain and England; and he and the Admiral feasted each other on board and ashore.[1]

The King of Spain was notified at once of these events by the personage mainly concerned:

"... whilst I was riding at anchor before Dover, ... awaiting the arrival of the rest of my ships, ... the Mayor of the town came on board and congratulated me on my arrival, saying that the Queen had given orders in all ports of the kingdom that we were to be welcomed. Notwithstanding this, as I was entering the port of Plymouth, before ever I had cast anchor, a certain Mr. John Hawkins (who calls himself Commander of six very large and four middle sized vessels ...) opened fire upon us from a tower and also from his ships, *and discharged six or seven cannon shots at us until one went into my ship, and I was obliged to haul down your Majesty's flag, a thing that has never happened to me before in England during the 17 or 18 years I have filled my post.*"[2]

On the 4th of October the Spanish Ambassador reported more ships in preparation:

"It is not known whether they will join Hawkins, who if they did would thus go very strong ... some think they may go to New Spain, but I have not been able to speak to the Queen about it, as they have been fitted out secretly."[3]

On October the 13th, he corrects the number of ships from 5 to 6; and adds. "On being informed that those that Hawkins sent last year had gone to places prohibited by your Majesty in the Indies, notwithstanding the Queen's order to the contrary, and the giving of security before they sailed, I thought well to write to the Queen ... that she should act with vigour. ..."

[1] Sir Richard Hawkins adds, in his "*Observations*": "The self-same fleet at their return from Flanders, meeting with her Majesties ships in the Channel, ... was constrained during the time they were with the English to vayle their flags" as "*all must that pass the English seas.*" In our day a landsman, not understanding the etiquette of the sea, dismissed the episode as a delusion of Sir Richard Hawkins' old age! But how this Spanish force, commanded by "*the Lorde of Camphyere, Admyrall of Flaunders,*" came in "*with their banners of the kinges armes of Spaine displayed,*" and how "*the worshipfull Mr. John Hawkins esquyre, generall,*" considered such conduct "*a signe of small friendshippe,*" and so shot from both the *Jesus* and the *Minion*, "*ships of the Queens Majestie of Inglond,*" until the intruder furled his flags, was narrated at the time by a companion of Hawkins' "vioadge." Cotton MSS. Otho E. viii. ff. 17, 17^b-18. Moreover the Spanish King, and his Ambassador, and also the Admiral of Flanders, have so much to say on the subject that their letters should have been consulted by any critic before impugning the veracity of Hawkins' son.

[2] 23 Sep. 1567. Simancas MS.: and B.M. Add: MS. 26056^b Cal: S.P.S. Vol. I. p. 676. No. 442, extract. The Admiral describes Hawkins as saying "he is ignorant of his destination, as the Queen has not yet told him."

[3] Cal: S.P.S. I, p. 678.

He suggests to the King to speak to the English Ambassador in Madrid: "It would be a matter of grave inconvenience if this business were not really stopped; because as the profit is very large *and some of the Councillors are interested,* assistance is needed to break up the trade," especially as the Queen is persuaded it would be injurious to her subjects to prevent them from making profits in such adventures.[1]

When the news reached the King "about the molestation suffered by our Flemish fleet in Plymouth, and the Spanish ship carrying galley slaves," His Majesty commended the Ambassador for the steps "taken with the Queen and Council":

> ". . . You acted very wisely, . . . give the Queen from me my thanks. . . Tell her I greatly desire an opportunity of proving my fraternal friendship to her: and on occasions of this sort particularly, an example should be made by punishing those who are guilty of such daring acts. . . ."[2]

But as Hawkins had graphically described how "proudly" the Spanish fleet behaved, Her Majesty was not displeased with his insistence on the ancient rights of England. As to the delayed voyage, she had granted Hawkins her permission to set sail. He weighed anchor on the 2nd of October with his fleet: two of the Queen's ships, the *Jesus of Lubeck* and the *Minion;* with four merchant vessels, the *William and John,* the *Judith* (bark, 50 tons), the *Angel* and the *Swallow.*[3]

The fourth day after they had departed from Plymouth "there arose a great tempest," in which the *Swallow* lost her pinnace; the *Minion* and *Jesus* both lost their long boats; and the *Jesus* "opened in the sterne afte, and leakes broak up in divers places in her." With "continual pumping night and day" they kept afloat, although it seemed almost impossible to hope to survive. Hawkins' "invincible mind" showed no "sorrowe"; but he bade his men appeal to God's mercy. Continuing to set the example of working resolutely himself to try and stop the leaks, he prayed aloud and went on with his efforts. About midnight the wind dropped. "The generall called the company together, and giving thanks unto Allmighty God that he had preserved us," announced they should continue their voyage. They then "sayled towards the Isles" (of the Canaries).[4]

Being there "very well known," he had at first no trouble with the Spaniards.[5] But a new Governor, arriving from Spain, showed a "faire face" but planned their

---

[1] Ib. p 679. [2] Cal: S.P.S. I, pp. 688-689.

[3] Of "*The Jhesus of Lubeke*" (700 tons) and "*The Mynnyon*" (300 tons), there are water-colour sketches in the Pepys Library, Magdalene College, Cambs., reproduced in MacLehose's Hakluyt (1904), Vol. IX, facing pp. 416, 432, and descriptions, pp. xiv-xv. The "Jesus" was bought by Henry VIII in 1544 from the merchants of Lubeck; and the "Minion," built in 1523, was rebuilt circa 1536. See also Ib. p. 398, Miles Philips' description of the 6 ships, the 4th being "The Judith, in whom was Captaine M. Francis Drake."

[4] Cotton MS. Otho E. viii, ff. 19-19^{b}. English traffic with the Canary Isles had gone on for generations. Many references to it in Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations.*

[5] But for an extraordinary mutiny of one of his own officers, who was condemned to be shot, and then at the last moment was pardoned, see Cotton MS. Otho E. viii. ff. 19^{b}-21.

destruction. Hawkins " perceaved " his intention, and at night drew off his ships two leagues from the town and out of range of the guns.[1]

The Spanish Ambassador, 3rd of January, 1567-8, writing to King Philip that Queen Elizabeth " longed for the time of your Majesty's voyage " to Flanders *" in the hope that she might see you,"* added,

> " I thanked her from Your Majesty for forbidding Hawkins and the rest of those who are going to Guinea from proceeding to your Majesty's Indies. . . . *She made me great promises about it, and said she would cut off Hawkins' head if he exceeded by one tittle the orders that had been given to him. . . .*
>
> I am advised by a Portuguese, . . . from the Island of Madeira, that Hawkins' fleet had arrived in the Canaries, and that the ship they call the Mignon with three others took in all the victuals they required, while the Jesus of Ubique [Lubeck] and two sloops did the same at Tenerife, and they had all continued their voyage on the 12th November."[2]

At Cape Verde Hawkins hoped to capture negroes; but suffered much from their " invenomed arrowes " the mere prick of which in many cases led to deadly results. After many adventures, especially at Sierra Leone, the fleet arrived at Dominica towards the end of March, 1568.

Hawkins watered his ships and departed to the island of Margarita, where there were some fifty Spaniards, who " fledde out of their town," afraid of being plundered, as they had been by the French. But he sent a letter to the Governor:

> " Worshipful. I have touched in your island only to the intent to refresh my men with fresh victuals, which for my money or wares you shall sell me. . . . You may assure yourself, and so all others, that by me or any of mine there shall no damage be done to any man: the which also the Queens Majesty of England, my Mistress, at my departure out of England commanded me to have great care of, *and to serve with my Navy the King's Majesty of Spain my old master, if in places where I came any of his stood in need.*"[3]

The Governor was ill, but at once expressed himself by letter as *" joyful "* to welcome a Captain so rich in *" beawty "* and worthiness; inviting Hawkins to tarry as might suit him; and promising that whatever he required was at his service.[4] The Governor " very sickly and weak " rose from his bed and came with a great company of Spaniards to receive his English guest; and " banquetted our General," who in his turn " feasted the Governor." After taking in water, provisions and all necessaries, Hawkins continued his voyage. Arriving on Easter Eve, 17th April, (1568) at " Borboroata a very good port," he wrote to the Governor; saying he knew the King of Spain to have forbidden license for traffic, and therefore he would not ask for any such thing, but he hoped he might just be permitted to sell 60 negroes and some of his wares, merely enough *" for the payment of the soldiers I have in my ships. . . . In this you shall not break the commandment of your Prince, but do him good service and avoid divers inconveniences which happen oftentimes through being too precise in observing precepts without consideration."*[5]

---

[1] Ib: f. 21^b.
[2] Guzmán de Silva to the King. Cal: S.P. Spanish, Vol. II (1894), p. 1.
[3] Spelling modernised from transcript in Cotton MS. Otho E. viii, f. 29.
[4] Ib. f. 29^b. [5] Ib. Transcript of letter. f. 30.

Hawkins also wrote to the Bishop, and sent him presents, which the "Right Revd. Father in God" received affably. But the Governor of "Venesuela," with compliments to the English Captain's merits, declined any dealings: *"I pray you, . . . hold me excused, and think that as you would observe the commandment of your mistress the Queen of England, so I must not break one jot of that [which] the King my master commandeth me. . . ."*[1]

At Rio de la Hacha, Hawkins was resisted with more than words; but as he carried off the ensign of the Governor or "Treasorer," he was held to have had the best of the encounter.[2] The "Treasorer" did not wish to have any parley with him, because knowing him to be so persuasive that any man "talking with him *hath no power to deny*" his requests. To avoid meeting him was not from *aversion, "not for any villainy I know in him, but great nobility,"* and because Hawkins would expect him to prefer English interests before the commands of King Philip.[3] After salving his conscience by this protest, he and Hawkins *"met alone together in a fair plain, and talked together the space of an hour."* An arrangement was made that Hawkins was to affect to use force, so that the Treasurer should not seem to have made voluntary concessions. They "embraced each other," and Hawkins gave "rich presents," and made due payment for some houses that had been burnt. He sold negroes, "to the full content of the Spaniards"; and in July set sail for Santa Marta.[4] There, after shooting "half a score shot over the town" to "make show of force," and landing in armour, he was banquetted by the Governor; and in turn entertained him and other Spaniards aboard the ships, and "trafiqued very friendly."

The next port was Carthagena. Again Hawkins wrote to the Governor and sent the usual presents by messenger. There were some 500 Spanish Infantry and 6,000 Indians ready to oppose his entry. As he had only about 370 men, he thought it "mere folly" to fight. But he wrote a second letter asking leave to water his ships and that he be treated as a Christian. The Governor received this letter, *"but answered never a word thereto."*[5] Hawkins set his course to Cape St. Antonio in Cuba. He encountered such violent storms that his flagship sprung

---

[1] Ib. f. 31. Gunner Job Hortop, writing 23 years later, says (*"Rare Travailes,"* 1st ed:), "our Generall sent some of us to the Bishop of a Toune which standeth on a high hill called Valencia, . . . but hee hearing of our coming presently fled" (Compare with the above).

"In this Countrie of Burborata there are many Tygars, which beast is verie fierce and furious. . . . The order of these beasts are sodainly to leape out of a bush from behind a mannes backe, then take him behinde by the shoulder and so devour him." In the "Island called Riuer de hatch" (Rio de la Hacha) are "monstrous Allagartaes" who "devour both man and beast and carrie horse and man cleane away."

[2] A grant of an Augmentation of Arms, given subsequently by the Crown in 1571, celebrated this occasion.

[3] Cotton MS. Otho E. viii. f 35.

[4] Ib. f. 35-35^{b}. [5] Ib. f. 38.

many leaks. Had it not been for his "great experience" and skill, all hands would have "sunk in the sea" during this "terrible weather."[1]

"We coasted from place to place," wrote Hawkins, "making our traffic with the Spaniards as we might, somewhat hardly, because the King had straightly commanded all his Governors in those parts by no means to suffer any trade to be made with us: notwithstanding we had reasonable trade, and courteous entertainment, from the Ile of Margarita unto Cartagena, . . . saving at Capo de la Vela, in a towne called Rio de la Hacha (from whence come all the pearles), the treasurer who had the charge there, would by no meanes agree to any trade, or suffer us to take water:" but "fortified his towne with divers bulwarks . . . and furnished himself with an hundred Hargabuziers, so that he thought by famine to have inforced us" to have landed the negroes: in which purpose he would have succeeded "unless we had by force entered the towne;" and "with two hundred men brake in upon their bulwarks," losing only "two men of our partes, and no hurt done to the Spaniards because after their voley of shot discharged, they all fled.

Thus having the town with some circumstance, as *partly by the Spaniards desire of negroes, and partly by friendship of the Treasurer, we obtained a secret trade:* whereupon the Spaniards resorted to us by night and bought of us . . . 200 Negroes: in all other places where we traded the Spaniards inhabitants were glad of us and traded willingly,"

except at Cartagena, where the Governor refused to deal: and whence Hawkins departed on the 24th July, hoping to escape the storms "which they call Furicanos." But passing by Cuba towards the coast of Florida, "an extreme storm" raged from the 12th to 15th of August. It "so beat the Jesus that we cut downe all her higher buildings." Her rudder was "sore shaken" and she was leaking dangerously."

Seeking the coast of Florida they could not find any haven: "thus being in greate despaire, and taken with a newe storme which continued other 3 dayes, we were inforced to take for our succour the Port which serveth the citie of Mexico called Saint John de Ullua."[2]

On the way they had captured three ships carrying "passengers," the custody of whom Hawkins hoped "should be a meane to us the better to obtaine victuals for our money." On the 16th of September he entered the port, and *"the Spaniards thinking us to be the fleete of Spaine, the chiefe officers of the country came aboored us."* They were annoyed on discovering their mistake; but Hawkins "recomforted" them by the assurance that he only wanted victuals.

"I found also in the same Port," he relates, "twelve ships which had in them by report £200,000 in gold and silver: "all which," and also the recently captured passengers, he released, *"without the taking from them the weight of a groat."* Then immediately he despatched messengers to Mexico City, 200 miles distant, to the President and Council, explaining that *"as friends to King Philip"* he and

---

[1] *"The Third troublesome voyage made with the Jesus of Lubeck, the Minion, and foure other ships, to the parts of Guinea and the West Indies in the yeeres 1567 and 1568 by M. John Hawkins."* Hakluyt, III. pp. 522-525, and MacLehose's Hakluyt, X, pp. 64-74: Hawkins' narrative; for publication, London, 1569, was then called *"A True Declaration of the troublesome Voyage of Mr. John Hawkins to the Ports of Guinea and the West Indies in the Years of Our Lord 1567 and 1568."* Reprinted by Hakluyt in *"Principal Navigations,"* 1589.

[2] Hawkins: in Hakluyt, X, pp. 66-67. The *"Historia General del Rey Felipe II"* (I. 15. cap. 18) treats of the ensuing affair; and Corbett, *"Drake and the Tudor Navy,"* 1898, pp. 417-20, gave translation of a Spanish official report. See also *"Boletin del Institución de Estudios Americanistas,"* Seville 1913-14, an article based on Inquisition Archives of the Indies.

his men required to be allowed to purchase provisions; and that the Council should " take order " that at the arrival of the Spanish fleet, daily expected, *" there might be no case of quarrel between us and them."*[1]

They had " entered peaceably into the port " because of the Spaniards " thinking we had been a Spanish fleet "; the English flags were by this time so dim and discoloured by exposure to the " foul weather " that no lions nor fleur de lys were visible till the Spaniards were " hard aboard the Jesus."

Hawkins received his guests " very courteously," and kept them with him. Without having these Spaniards on board he could not have " entered this port so quietly."[2] A salute of sixteen guns greeted him, it being still supposed his ships belonged to King Philip.

The position was delicate; and became much more so when at sunrise a Spanish fleet was descried on the horizon. But the wind was against it; so Hawkins had time to land some of his " men and artillery " on the Island. The Captain of the Island then went out in a small boat to the Spanish Admiral, and warned him that an English Captain was in the port, " driven there by leaks and other wants "; and that he might even prevent the Spanish fleet from coming in, unless he were assured that he would be allowed to purchase such provisions as he required.

> " There was [in] these ships that came out of Spain . . . A Viceroy or Lieutenant of the King of Spain, of this Province of Nueva España or New Spain: the chiefest in authority in this country, named Don Martin Enriquez, who had also at sea authority above the General."

At this juncture the MS. of Hawkins' companion breaks off.[3] But we have Hawkins' own story of what happened on the morning of the 17th of September when he descried the thirteen great ships of Spain:

> " I sent immediately to advertise the Generall of the fleet, . . . to understand that before I would suffer them to enter the Port, there should be some order of conditions . . . betweene us " for " maintenance of peace.
>
> " . . . this Port is made by a little Iland of stones not three foot above the water in the highest place, and but a bow-shot of length any way. It is two bow-shots or more from the mainland. . . ." " There is not in all this coast any other place for ships to arrive in safety, because the North winde hath there such violence that unless the shippes be very safely moored with their ankers fastened upon this Iland, there is no remedie for these North windes but death: also the place of the Haven was so little, that of necessitie the shippes must ride one aboord the other, so that we could not give place to them or they to us. . . ."

Therefore Hawkins either had to keep the Spanish fleet from entering the Port *(" the which with Gods helpe I was very well able to do "),* or else let them in, and himself be exposed to risk of treachery. If he had fought to keep them out, his ships might be injured or sunk, and the treasure lost; so " fearing the Queenes Majesties indignation " if he returned empty-handed, he decided to negotiate. At

---

[1] Ib. p. 68. [2] Cotton's MS. Otho E. viii.

[3] Since Vol. I of *" Elizabethan England "* was first finished in 1923-24 the entire MS. Cotton Otho E. viii, ff. 17-41^{b} has been printed in the original spelling by Mr. James A. Williamson as an Appendix to his *" Sir John Hawkins the Time and the Man; "* Clarendon Press, 1927, pp. 492-534, with missing words carefully suggested in square brackets. Mr. Williamson rightly emphasises the value and importance of the MS., one of the few he gives in extenso. See E.E., Note D., p. 306.

this juncture his messenger came back from the fleet, reporting the arrival of the Viceroy, who gave *"many fair words"* and promises of amity.

There were to be "twelve gentlemen" on both sides as hostages, (a number afterwards reduced to ten); and Hawkins stipulated that *"no Spaniard might land on the Island with any kind of weapon."* He insisted on the Island being in his own men's keeping: otherwise he suspected that "with the first North Winde" the Spaniards would have cut the English cables.

After some hesitation, the terms were accepted; and Hawkins received *"a writing from the Viceroy signed with his hande and sealed with his seale . . ." and forthwith a trumpet was blown, with commandment that none should violate the peace on pain of death.* "Thus at the end of 3 days all was concluded" and the Spanish fleet came into the port, saluting "as the maner of the sea doth require."

". . . thursday," recapitulates Hawkins, "we [had] entered the Port, Friday we saw the [Spanish] fleete, and on monday night they entered the Port: then we laboured 2 daies placing the English ships by themselves and the Spanish ships by themselves, *the captaines of each part and inferior men of their parts promising great amity . . . it was ment on our part.*"

"*The Spaniards ment nothing lesse;* . . . but from the maine land had furnished themselves with a supply of men to the number of 1000, and ment the next Thursday being the 23 of September at dinner time to set upon us on all sides."

On the Thursday morning Hawkins felt *"a vehement suspition"* when he noticed *"planting and bending of ordnance"* from the Spanish ships towards the Island. He sent to the Viceroy for an explanation. The answer was *"that he in the faith of a Viceroy would be our defence. . ."* Hawkins was "not satisfied"; for he suspected a large number of men to be *"hid in a great ship of 900 tunnes,"* moored next the *Minion.* So he despatched the shipmaster of the *Jesus* (who spoke Spanish) to ask the Viceroy for a further explanation.

"The Viceroy, now seeing that the treason must be discovered," detained the shipmaster and "blew the trumpet, and of all sides set upon us."[1]

Hawkins had been entertaining Spaniards at dinner; and suddenly, as related by Job Hortop (gunner), "one of the Companie," detected a guest with "a poinyarde in his sleeve" in readiness "to have slaine our Generall." Just in time, the traitor was arrested and deprived of his weapon. Hawkins ordered this would-be assassin to be taken prisoner to "the steward's room." Forthwith "the

Spaniards sounded a Trumpet, *thinking the deadly stroke had been given to the Generall,* and then three hundred Spaniards leaped into the Minion: but our General seeing their treason cried aloude unto us, *God and Saint George . . . my trust is onely in God that the day shall be ours.* Whereat the mariners and souldiers leapt out of the Jesus of Libicke into the Minion, and beate out the Spaniards. Then the Minion with one shot fired the Spaniards, who sodainly were blowen up with powder, their Admiral [flagship] was on fire almost half an houre."[2]

[1] Ib. p. 70. [2] *"The Rare Travailes,"* etc.

As soon as Hawkins inferred that a surprise attack on the *Minion* would be attempted, he had made her ready; and so, "leesing her hedfasts, and hayling away by the sterne fastes she was gotten out." She defended herself vigorously against the 300 Spaniards; whereon they next boarded the *Jesus;* whence "with very much adoe" and the loss of many men, they were beaten back. "Then there were also two other ships that assaulted the *Jesus* at the same instant." And as the English guns on the island had been captured by the Spaniards, these guns were used to fire on the English ships. They sunk the small boats, and "cut all the mastes and yardes of the Jesus," in such sort that it was hopeless to suppose she could attempt a voyage to England. Hawkins therefore decided to place her on the side of the *Minion* "that she might abide all the batterie from the land, and so be a defence to the *Minion* till night." Under cover of night he hoped to shift victuals and other necessaries out of the *Jesus* into the *Minion.* But they had scarcely placed the *Jesus* as a barricade for the *Minion,* when the Spaniards "fired two great ships" to send in amongst them, hoping thus to set the *Minion* on fire.[1]

> ". . . having no means to avoide the fire, it bredde among our men a marvellous fear, so that some said *let us depart with the Minion,* other[s] said let us see whither the winde will carrie the fire from us."

But the *Minion's* men,—having their sails in readiness as described,—"*without either consent of the Captain or master,* cut their saile; so that very hardly" (i.e. with much difficulty) Hawkins "was received into the Minion."

Such men as were left alive in the *Jesus* tried to get away in one of the small boats; but there was not room for all of them; and so some were "inforced to abide the mercie of the Spaniards (which was very little): so with the Minion only and the Judith (a small barke of 50 tunne) we escaped, which barke the same night forsooke us in our great miserie. . ."

When night fell they were only two bowshots from the Spanish fleet; and though the next morning they got a mile further away, they were then overtaken by the North wind: "left onely with two ankers and two cables (for in this conflict we lost three cables and two anchors) we thought always upon death which ever was present, but God preserved us. . . ."[2] For fourteen days, with "sorrowful hearts" they "wandered in an unknown sea," with less and less hope of life, as their victuals failed them. The gunner Job Hortop

> compresses into a few lines how "we cut our cables, wound off our ships," and fought the Spaniards "almost a whole daie," keeping them at bay: "but at night they came upon us on everie side, and killed all our men on the land, except three that went aboard the Jesus of Libicke" They "sunke oure shippe called the Angell, and took the Swallowe, which after was taken from them againe and brought into England. Their Admiral [flagship] had above three score shot through her."

(Hortop refrains from emphasising that he was one of the gunners who helped to achieve this.) The Spaniards "*sustained great losse of men, foure of their ships*

[1] When English popular historians to-day describe how English fireships dispersed the Spanish fleet in 1588, they forget that this manoeuvre had been learnt 20 years earlier by Hawkins *from the Spaniards.*

[2] "*The Third Troublesome Voyage,*" &c., Hakluyt, X, p. 73.

were sunke," he adds; a laconic English way of indicating that even against such overpowering odds, and after being taken by surprise, Queen Elizabeth's seamen did remarkable execution. But if the English gunners could shoot, so also could the Spaniards:

"In this fight the Jesus had five shot through her main mast, was beside sore bruised and torne . . . so as shee was not able to bee brought awaye." The Spaniards "set two of their ships on fire, thinking thereby to have set the Jesus on fire, but we cut our cables and got without shot of the Island. Whereupon our Generall cheered up his men, and called for a drink of beer." It was brought to him in a "silver cuppe." He had no sooner drunk it than a "culvering shot" struck away the cup. "Then our Generall . . . said that he trusted onely in God that he would deliver them. . . ." And so it befel; though with some loss of our men. "Then wee set saile and sought from the iland of Panico to take in fresh water. . . ." As to victuals, "wee were compelled through hunger to eate hides, cats, rattes, mice, parots, monkies and dogges," and "greatly praised God" for averting starvation. But soon "our Generall was constrained to divide his companie through extremitie of hunger, and many of us desired rather to bee on the shoare among wild beasts than to famish on shipbord. . . . Whereupon our Generall set on shoare of our companie fower score and sixteene and gave unto everie of us five yardes of Roan [Rouen] cloth, and monie to those that did demand it." Then he "lovingly embraced us, greatly lamenting our distressed estate."

Bidding them "serve God and love one another," he promised *"to do what he might for us hereafter if God lent him and us life to meete again. . . ."*[1]

Those who went and those who stayed were both unfortunate. As Hawkins came "neere to the colde countrey" the sufferings of the crew increased; weak from hunger, the mariners could ill endure the November weather. Many died, and even the survivors were so ill, that as to be "scantly able to manage the ship." The winds were so adverse that they could not yet "recover England," and had no means of relief except to go to Galicia. Landing at Ponte Vedia near Vigo at the end of December, their troubles were not yet at an end. When the famished men ate fresh meat, they were stricken with "miserable diseases"; and, after weathering so many tempests and enduring so much hardship, some died within a few days of home. Hawkins was sure that the Spaniards knew how feeble they were, and "with all speede possible" he got away. At Vigo (20th of January) he met English ships from which he got "twelve fresh men" and "repairde our wants as we might."[2]

Friends and relations in Plymouth had received no tidings from them for fifteen

[1] See II. I. 6. Hortop and his companions soon met Indians in "huge number," who robbed them of their clothes "and left us as naked as wee were borne," wounding many of them, and "killed eight of our companie". ". . . for that we were naked we made us wreths of greene grasse" In the "wilde wildernesse" though they escaped savage beasts, they were captured soon after by 100 Spanish "horsemen with lances, and were taken prisoners to Panico . . . and then . . . to Mexico . . . sixty leagues away . . . 7000 Spaniards do inhabit it, many silks come from thence but their chiefest wealth is in Silver and Cochenile. . . ." At first the Englishmen were kindly treated; some were sent to the hospitals, "where some recovered and some died." The subsequent experiences of 23 years of adversity are compressed by Hortop into five blackletter pages. See Note, E E, p. 305.

See also *"A discourse written by one Miles Philips Englishman, one of the company put on shoare Northward of Panuco, in the West Indies"* [i.e., Mexico] *"by M. John Hawkins, 1568, conteining many special things . . . for the space of 15. or 16 yeres,"* &c. MacLehose's Hakluyt, Vol. IX, pp. 398-445. Philips describes the Cannibals who "came running fiercely upon us, shooting their arrows as thicke as haile," as being accustomed to "colour their faces greene, yellow, red and blew, which maketh them very ougly. . . ." (p. 411).

[2] Hakluyt, X, pp. 73-74.

months. At the end of 1568 the first news via Spain was to the effect that Hawkins and all his men had perished. On the 20th of January 1568-9 the little *Judith* alone reached Plymouth. Immediately Hawkins' brother William wrote to Sir William Cecil:[1]

"Right Honourable. My bounden duty always had in remembrance . . . this present hour there is come to Plymouth one of the small barks of my brother's fleet; and for that I have neither writing nor anything else from him I thought it good and most my duty to send you *the Captain of the same bark, being our kinsman called Francis Drake*. for that he shall thoroughly inform your honour of the whole proceedings of these affairs, to the end the Queen's Majesty may be advertised of the same." He rated the losses at "two thousand pounds at the least, *besides my brother's absence, which unto me is more grief than any other thing in this world*. whom I trust God hath preserved, will likewise preserve, and send well home in safety.

In the meantime my humble suit unto your Honour is that the Queens Majesty will, when time shall serve, see me, her humble and obedient subject, partly recompensed of those Spaniards' goods here stayed.[2]

And further if it shall please Her Grace to give me leave to work my own self against them. . . . *If I may have any warrant from her Majesty or from your Honour, I shall be glad to set forth four ships of mine own presently* I have already commission from the Cardinal Chastillon[3] for one ship to serve the Princess of Navarre and Condé, but I may not persevere any further without Commission" [from the Queen]. "I shall desire your Honours" [of the Council] "to be advertised by my servant Francis Drake, ...

From Plymouth the XXth of January at night 1568.[4]

By your Honours always to command,

WM HAWKYNS."

A copy of the same letter addressed "To the Right honorable and my Singular good Lords, the Lords of the Privy Counsell," has a postscript: "*. . . My brother's safe return is very dangerous and doubtfull, but that it resteth in Gods hands who send him well if be His blessed will. . .*"

When Francis Drake's first introduction to his Sovereign in 1568-9 was as a bringer of evil tidings, no man could have foreseen that he was destined so to elevate English maritime power that Spain and the world would ring with the fame of "*El Draque*."

On the 27th of January, William Hawkins reported to "Sir Wm Syssell," "I am credibly informed of my brother's arrival with the Minion in Mounts Bay," having heard this not "from him or any of his company," but by one of the Mount" who out of good will came in haste with the news. "I am assured to hear from himself this night at the furtherest. . ."[5] Actually Captain John Hawkins had already written to "Sir Wm Cycylle Knighte and Principall Secretarie to the Queen's Majestie. . ."

"Right Honourable.

My duty most humbly considered: it may please your Honour to be advertised that the 25th day of January, (thanks be to God) we arrived in a place in Cornwall called Mounts Bay, only with the Minyon, which is (alone) left us of all our fleet. And because I would not in my letter be prolix after what manner we came to our disgrace, I have sent your Honour here enclosed some

---

[1] S.P.D. Eliz· Vol. XLIX. Nos. 36 and 37. First published in Miss Hawkins' "*Plymouth Armada Heroes*," pp. 11-12, in the original spelling and punctuation; Drake spelt "Fransyes Dracke," and the Cardinal as "Shatyllon."

[2] See II. 1. 1. (Vol. II.) [3] See II. 1. 4. (Vol. II.)

[4] 1569 n.s. [5] Ib: p. 12.

part of the circumstances . . . *if I should write of all our calamities I am sure a volume as great as the Bible will scarcely suffice.* all which things I most humbly beseech your Honour to advertise the Queens Majesty, and the rest of the Council (such as you shall think meet).

Our voyage was, although very hardly, well achieved and brought to reasonable pass, but now a great part of our treasure, merchandize, shipping and men devoured by the treason of the Spaniards . . . all our business hath had infelicity, misfortune and unhappy end. . . . But herewith [I] pray your Honour eftsoons to impart to such as you shall think meet the sequel of our business. I mind with God's grace to make all expedition to London myself, at what time I shall declare more. . . . ."[1]

The revelations ensuing may have been less of a surprise to Cecil than the events had been to Hawkins. For from April, 1567, when the Duke of Alba had been commissioned Governor and Captain-General of the Netherlands, there had been reason to apprehend, in the proximity of this most famous General, no peaceful portent for England.

Though Alba's letters to Queen Elizabeth were worded with courtesy proper to their respective positions, his actual feelings as to "this lady my neighbour," when expressed in confidence to his own countrymen, were conspicuously different from those affable compositions preserved in our own State Paper Office.[2] And not long after Hawkins came home, King Philip was writing to the Duke that while he judged it "undesirable" at present to "embark upon a war" against England, he nevertheless wished Queen Elizabeth treated in such sort that despite outward "gentleness" from his Ambassador there should be sufficient hint of danger to keep her disquieted with "fears and suspicions."[3]

---

[1] "Thus prayinge to God for your Honours prosperous estate I take my leave· from the Mynion the 25th day of January 1568. Your honours most humbly to command John Hawkins." (Orig. S.P.D. Eliz. First printed by Miss Hawkins, op. cit., p. 34; but "eftsoons" misread as "estate," and "Your Honours" as "yours.")

On the 12th March, 1568-9,—while writing to the King of Spain about Spanish ships arrested in England,—and the retaliation by the Duke of Alba in the Netherlands,—the Ambassador added,

"On the 16th ultimo, 91 boxes of money were brought hither from the West and put in the Tower, *Hawkins accompanying them with four or five boxes of gold brought from the Indies.* During the voyage he has lost at the rate of 50 per cent, besides the loss of his sailors, not 15 persons having survived. *They said he had left in Florida some of his men, but they now tell me he left them in Panuco.*"

Cal: S.P. Spanish, Vol. II, p. 135.

[2] Contrast facsimile letter first published "*Eliz: Eng*·" II. I. 10 (Vol. II, p. 199), with remarks on the Queen's possible marriage in an unpublished letter from Alba to the Conde de Monteagudo, from Brussels, 17 Sep. 1571: "*El casamiento de esta Señora mi vecina ha vuelto atres, siempre tuve a todas las damas por tramposas, pero esta me desatina*" (Palacio de Liria MSS.). As in "*Documentos inéditos,*" and in our *Calendars of State Papers Spanish,* a large proportion of the correspondence of the Great Duke has long been available, that he is neglected by 19th and 20th century historians in this country is the less accountable. In the new "*History of Spain,*" *A D. 711-1931,*" by Louis Bertrand and Sir Charles Petrie (1st ed: London, 1934, 580 pp.), despite the manifest sympathy of both authors for Spain, the 3rd Duke of Alba is only mentioned twice; and his chief victory, in 1580, is omitted both from the text and the Chronology. (For full particulars of that service and its results see "*Eliz: Eng:*" Vol. IV, 1580-1583.)

The present (17th) Duke of Alba, Director of the Academy of History of Spain, is re-examining the Great Duke's letters in the Liria collection, with a view to issuing a transcript of all those he now possesses. But it is not necessary further to hold back "*Elizabethan England*" until after the complete publication of that correspondence,—the main views of the 3rd Duke, especially in relation to England and Portugal, having been already ascertained by the present writer.

[3] *Cal: S P. Spanish,* I, p. 150.

The reason it was not convenient for Spain to go to war with England at this juncture was because the rebellion of the Moors of Granada and Murcia was assuming formidable proportions. The Spanish Ambassador in the spring of 1569 did his utmost to conceal from Queen Elizabeth and her Council the extent of the trouble: "*but they will not believe me,*" he wrote to the King; "*they cry out that the other provinces of Spain have risen against your Majesty, [they] little knowing the fidelity of the Spaniards.*"[1]

The Moors hoped not only for helpers from the other provinces, but that the Moslems from North Africa would aid them in the smiting of King Philip. Actually the two years war in Southern Spain was destined to end in 1570 in a complete triumph for the Catholic King. But had the issue been otherwise, all Europe would have been threatened by the warriors of the Crescent; a menace overlooked by English armchair critics who censure King Philip for what they term a "sluggish hesitancy" to invade England. Though the postponement of that undertaking was to be partly due to the prompt measures of Sir William Cecil and the Earl of Sussex in the crisis of 1569, the Queen owed it also to King Philip's troubles with the Moors of Granada that the plans then hatched in England for her discomfiture did not work out according to the hopes of her enemies.[2]

---

[1] *Cal.* S.P.S. I, p. 149.

[2] Martin Hume in 1892, Cal: S.P. Spanish, Vol. I, Introduction, stated that "*over and over again in the course of the correspondence are junctures*" when "*only a little boldness was wanting in his part to place England and all Europe in his hands.*" It is not specified where or when these junctures arose! And when Hume rashly alleged that "the majority of English nobles were in his [Philip's] pay and interest," he disposed of a whole class without mentioning a single name! But we will see that of the two English noblemen who in 1569 regarded their interests and King Philip's as identical, one ended on the scaffold, and the other became an exile for life.

When Hume further asserts that "*the common people out of London and the Southern counties would have welcomed any ruler who would ensure them the peaceful enjoyment of the Catholic religion,*" he seems hardly more intimate with the people than with the nobility: for though the peasants in the North were willing in 1569 to follow their feudal Lords in rebellion, this was partly because the two peers worded their appeal in patriotic terms, and did not divulge to the masses their secret expectations of Spanish military assistance. See "*Eliz: Eng:*" II. 1. 2. (Vol. II.).

DRAKE'S DIAL: inscribed "Humfrey Colle made this diall anno 1569."

Now first reproduced: with acknowledgments to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.

Shown in the Tudor Exhibition of 1890 (No. 1004), this was described in the Catalogue as an "Astrolabe constructed for Drake, prior to his first expedition. . . It subsequently belonged to the Stanhope family, and in 1783 it was presented by Philip, 5th Earl of Chesterfield, to the Rev. Thomas Bysby, from whom it passed in succession to his younger brother, Robert Bysby, and to the latter's son Dr. Robert Bysby, who in 1831 presented it to William IV."

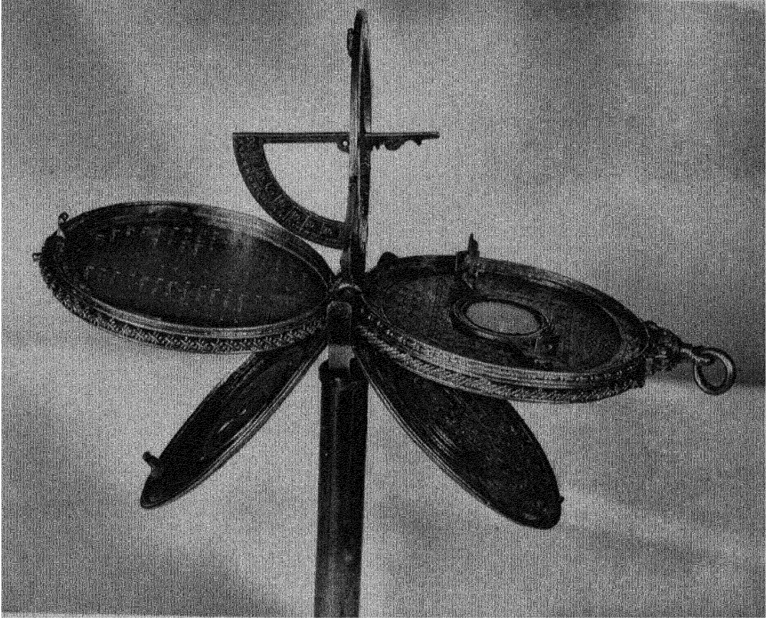
It is then (p. 199) stated to have been "bestowed" by King William "upon the Royal Hospital, Greenwich." H.M. may have lent it, but it was Queen Victoria who finally presented it.

Professor Geoffrey Callender, F.S.A. of the Royal Naval College, Greenwich, tells the present writer that there was some question as to whether it had really belonged to Drake; but that there is no reason to doubt the tradition, which has been strengthened recently "by a comparison with Drake's Drinking Cup preserved at Nutwell Court" in possession of The Lady Seaton. "The emblem and symbols chased on the surface of the cup and on the cover of the instrument are exactly the same.

"The instrument, ever since its donation, has been called 'Drake's *Astrolabe.*' But it is not an astrolabe. It is a composite invention. Shaped like a very large locket, to be worn round the neck by a chain, it contains in its interior a number of aids to the navigator. In the centre is an Armillary dial, inscribed with the maker's name . . This was used like a garden sun-dial for ascertaining the time; but, unlike a garden sun-dial, it could be set for any latitude, if the latitude could be ascertained.

"One of the phlanges, seen immediately to the left of the picture contains a list of latitudes of famous places. On the opposite side is a compass. The other parts are an ingenious set of Tables for predicting the time of high water at the main harbours in Europe; a Perpetual Calender; and a Nocturnal: i.e. a device for ascertaining the time by night through the position of the pointers of the Great Bear."

In the illustration the dial has been placed on the top of a brass rod, so that its internal arrangement can be seen to better advantage.



NOTE A:
"MANY STRANGE AND WONDERFUL THINGS SEENE":

The experiences of one of Hawkins' men, Job Hortop; dedicated to " The most high and mightie Princesse, Elizabeth, by the grace of God Queene," etc., etc. 1591, relating to events of 1568-80.

Representative both of the age and the man are "*The Rare Trauailes of Iob Hortop, an Englishman, who was not heard of in three and twentie yeeres space. Wherein is declared the dangers he escaped in his voiage to Gynnie, whereafter hee was set on shoare in a wilderness neere to Panico, hee endured much slaverie and bondage in the Spanish Galley. Wherein also he discouereth many strange and wonderfull things seene in the time of his trauaile, as well concerning wilde and sauage people, as also of sundrie monstrous beasts, fishes, and foules, and also Trees of wonderfull forme and qualitie. London. Printed for William Wright, 1591.*" The B.M. copy of this first edition "appears to be unique." It has been reproduced in facsimile, 100 copies, privately printed: "*The Rare Travailes of Job Hortop, Being a Facsimile Reprint of the First Edition with an Introductory Note by G. R. G. Conway. 3ª Calle de Marsella, 47 Mexico 1928.*" Mr. Conway says "The first edition was apparently withdrawn from circulation and a revised one prepared for printing within a month or two afterwards," called "*The Travailles of an Englishman. Containing his svndrie calamities indured by the space of twentie and odd yeres in his absence from his natiue Countrie, wherein is truly decyphered the sundrie shapes of wilde Beasts, Birds, Fishes, Foules, rootes, plants, &c With the description of a man that appeared in the Sea: and also of a huge Giant brought from China to the King of Spaine. No less pleasant than approued. By I.H Published with authoritie. Imprinted at London for William Wright, and are to be solde at his shop neere vnto Pauls Schoole. 1591.*"

Although the actual "*Travailes*" are familiar from having been printed by Hakluyt in his "*Principal Navigations,*" Mr. Conway's facsimile of the first edition is a treasure for collectors who prize a work not merely for its rarity (a volume might be unique and yet of scant interest), but for its human value. That Hortop dedicated his story to the Queen, "beseeching your majestie to accept the same at your subjects hands, as our Sauior Christ accepted the poor widdowes mite," is as typical as that instead of opening his narrative with a complaint of the heavy price he had paid for his valour, he says he is "most joyfull" to find England on his return "*stand in so happie and flourishing estate, which I praie God still continue to the worlds end.*"

Job Hortop had no pretensions to worldly consequence, nor even to gentility; but innate manliness, then so general in all ranks, appears in his reticence, and his refraining from recrimination, no less than in his courage and endurance.

> "When we came to the Gallies," he relates, "we were chained foure and five to an oare, every mans allowance was dayly six and twenty ounces of course black bisket and water, our clothes for the whole yeere was two shirts of course Canuas, two paire of breeches of the same, and a red coate of course Cloth. . . . ."
>
> "Hunger, thirst, cold, and stripes" were their portion.

He refrains from reminding the Queen that the sentences passed upon himself and the others were because they would not forsake their country's Church, of which Her Majesty was the official "Defender." Sentenced to ten years in the galleys, he spent not ten but twelve in that miserable slavery. During all his sufferings his brave and generous heart remained unembittered, and his faith carried him triumphantly through every ordeal. When at last restored to home and country, it hardly occurred to him that he had been a hero. He took for granted that as an Englishman he could not have wavered, compromised, or surrendered.

Of such material was the English Navy and Army made, when we possessed no ports overseas, no "dominions" except Ireland (usually in rebellion); and when our Empire depended not on material wealth and vast territories but on an indomitable national spirit.

NOTE B:

"THE CHARACTER, INFLUENCE, AND ACHIEVEMENTS OF A GREAT ENGLISHMAN."

Since the foregoing section 2 was first written in 1924, the Oxford University Press issued *"Sir John Hawkins The Time and the Man by James A. Williamson,"* 1927, with maps old and new, and other good illustrations. In the Preface Mr. Williamson promises to reveal a *"great Englishman in relation to the outlook and problems of his time,"* and *"to depict the period as clearly as possible, to show what the many were thinking and doing"* and thus provide a proper background for unfolding *"our subject's life history."*

But it was not upon "what the many were thinking" that the fortunes of Elizabethan England primarily turned. As Hawkins emphasised in one of his most pungent private letters, it was not English inclinations or ambitions *so much as the aspirations of the King of Spain* which prevented himself and other Englishmen from leading a quiet life. Mr. Williamson has made a larger collection of details of Hawkins' career than any previous commentator. But unfortunately his King Philip is not the "Leviathan" known to our Elizabethan ancestors, but is the feeble Philip of Corbett's *"Drake and the Tudor Navy"* (1898). Moreover Williamson's "Alva" (whose power in the Netherlands ends in "decay,") is a shadowy figure, bearing scant resemblance to the superb *"Gran Duque"* whose combination of martial genius, unwavering patriotism, and drastic sternness to himself and others, with the most polished courtesy and lofty dignity, impressed every Englishman who came in contact with him. (See *"Elizabethan England,"* Vol. II, Part II. 1. sections 1 and 2; and Vol. IV, Part II. 4: sections 7 and 8: the concentrated results of long study of the most eminent Grandee in an age when men of his rank in every nation were expected to be both efficient "martiallists" and accomplished courtiers. See also Cal: S.P. Spanish, Vol. I 1892.)

In regard to Hawkins' voyage of 1567-68, Mr Williamson has wisely printed all that remains of Cotton MSS Otho E. VIII, ff. 17-41b (Appendix, pp. 491-534). But in his Chapter VII, p. 146, quoting one of the most eloquent passages as to a tempest which nearly proved fatal, he describes Hawkins as taking *"a course in which the men of his age believed"*—i e., praying to God,—and adds, "The English of to-day are not the English of Shakespeare. The tears and *most of the prayers have gone,"* etc. As Shakespeare's name did not come into print till 1593, it is premature to invoke him in relation to events of 1567. And, however little some of "the English of to-day" ashore believe in God, all ranks in the Royal Navy are still expected to pray. After the battle of Jutland, H.M.'s ships had each a booklet of *"Thanksgiving after Victory,"* not conspicuously different either in matter or manner from what their Elizabethan predecessors felt and expressed.[1] (See also *"Elizabethan England,"* Vol. IV, p. 276, note 1, for an episode of the late Great War so Elizabethan in spirit that it might as well have occurred in 1588 as in 1916.)

There are not any living seamen, whether of the Royal or Merchant Navy, named by Mr. Williamson among his advisers and helpers. His rendering of Hawkins is from the point of view of a landsman influenced more by the opinions of other landsmen than by the feelings of the mariners themselves. Referring to Job Hortop as seeing from the standpoint of "the lower deck" and as recording "non-essentials," Williamson gives little indication of the fortitude, patience, fidelity, and heroism of the "lower deck" (for which see *"Eliz. Eng:"* Vol. II, pp. 120-123.)

When Mr. Williamson states he has himself avoided hero-worship, he manifestly regards such abstinence as meritorious. But the Elizabethans prided themselves on their zest for "good words and magnificent deeds." Being fervent and impassioned, they were spontaneously dramatic. They therefore lose much of their individuality when their ideas and actions are rendered in a lower key. Some

[1] That of H.M S. *"Conqueror"* (in the present writer's collection) includes Psalm xlvi, a favourite with the Elizabethans; and addresses in a special prayer "Almighty God, the Sovereign Commander, . . who art the only Giver of Victory . . . to whom be all glory and honour, world without end."

disparities between *"Sir John Hawkins the Time and the Man"* and the actual time and man arise (1st) from lack of sympathy with the supernatural beliefs which whether in Catholics or Protestants were then common in all classes; and (2nd) the dwarfing of King Philip, the Duke of Alba, and other outstanding opponents of England. The biography—though drawing upon many different sources—is so phrased as to be less a reflection of 16th century England in relation to the Europe of that day, than an embodiment of the 20th century outlook; in which the underrating both of Spanish and English genius has unconsciously erected barriers between our students and the perfect comprehension of the causes and effects of Elizabethan policy.

NOTE C: DRAKE AT SAN JUAN DE ULUA, 1568.

As *"our kinsman called Fransyes Dracke"* was sent by Captain John Hawkins's brother, William, to give to Sir William Cecil particulars of the misfortunes which had come upon the expedition, we infer that William Hawkins was satisfied with Drake's conduct. Otherwise he would hardly have trusted him with such an important errand to the Principal Secretary of State.

In regard to Drake's behaviour, Mr. G. R. G. Conway offers interesting comments, in his Introduction to *"The Rare Travailes of Job Hortop,"* 1591, reprint, Mexico, 1928, pp. iv-vii. Hortop, he points out, after long captivity and many adventures, returned to England after 23 years' absence and wrote from memory. But his second edition the same year, called *"The Travailles of an Englishman,"* appears to have been revised after reading the narratives of Miles Philips and of Hawkins himself, both printed by Hakluyt in *"Principal Navigations,"* 1589. In the first edition of Hortop's story there is no reference to Drake;

> "nor to the fact that immediately after the battle of San Juan de Ulua in September, 1568, the Judith separated from the Minion. . . ."

When the fleet was sailing "from the Island of Gomera to Cape Verde," Drake was given command of the captured French caravel. (See Vols. 55 and 57 Inquisition Records, A. G. N., Mexico.)

> "This French caravel, which was named the *Espiritu Santo* and re-christened by Hawkins *The Grace of God,* was commanded by Jean Planes. . . . ." (called Blanes by the Englishmen).

Hortop in his revised edition when referring to the engagement at San Juan de Ulua, says, "he [Hawkins] invited M. Francis Drake to come in with the *Judith* and to lay the *Minion* aboard to take in men and other things needful, and to go out *and so he did.*" With this Mr. Conway contrasts Hawkins' statement published 20 years earlier: "So with the Minion onely and the Judith (a small bark of 50 tonne) we escaped, which barke the same night forsook us in our great miserie." Upon which Mr. Conway observes:

> "There is no evidence that the separation of the *Judith* from the *Minion* was intentional. To those who have experienced a 'norther' in crossing the Gulf of Mexico from Progreso to Veracruz, or who have watched the effect of the terrific gales on the reefs near the Island of Sacrifices and at Verde Island, outside of San Juan de Ulua, there is no other feeling than wonder at the consummate skill of the young navigator in steering his little bark safely. . . . That a strong 'norther' was raging is confirmed by the contemporary Spanish accounts."
>
> Subsequently *"The Grace of God (Espiritu Santo),* was sold by auction as the *nao francesilla* in the port of Veracruz on the 1st October, 1568, for the sum of two hundred Castilian ducats. The *Jesus of Lubeck,* the proud ship of Hawkins' royal mistress, was disposed of at the same time for the miserable sum of six hundred and one ducats. (*Carta al Rey de Juan de Ubilla,* 16th Dec: 1588. A. de I. *Papeles de Simancas,* 59-4-2. Libro de Cartas. . . .)."

Whatsoever may have been the temporary displeasure of John Hawkins against Drake, the careers of Hawkins and Drake in the eventful years ahead are closely connected, in the great epic of maritime revival which is the central feature of Elizabethan prosperity.

NOTE D:

"THE DISCONTENTS OF THE MOORISH NATION" IN SPAIN, 1568-70.

Seldom remembered to-day in England is the rising of the Moors of Granada and Murcia. Caused chiefly by resentment against the Inquisition, this rebellion, ably led, was extremely formidable.[1] That it heavily taxed King Philip's resources was one of the reasons for delay of his intended "enterprise of England" (invasion)

The Marqués of Mondejar, Marqués de los Velez, and the Duque de Sessa, were the respective leaders of the royal troops; and then in April, 1569, the King's young illegitimate half-brother Don John of Austria was appointed to the command of Granada:

> "Before his lodging there presented themselves above foure hundred women, widowes, and many poore orphans, Christians, which had beene in the Moores hands: crying and lamenting in most miserable manner, and demanding justice for their fathers and husbandes which had been murthered."[2]

The rebellion was vigorously maintained until its leader was killed, and his head and severed quarters exhibited "upon the highways"; after which his followers "layd aside their armes, and submitted themselves to the Kings mercie according to the general pardon. . . ."[3] But, despite their capitulation,

> "they were all drawne out of the mountaines and the townes of Granado, . . . and sent into plain countries, . . . as the Emperor Trajan did with the ancient Spaniards," whose hill fastnesses had enabled them to defy him.

> "Thus ended the warre of the Moores of Granado, in November, 1570, *having continued neere two yeares, verie dangerous and difficult.*"[4]

The losses were rated at some 30,000 Christians: "As for the Moores that were slaine of all ages and sexes, the number cannot be said. . . ." But "If they had been intreated with more mildnesse and humanitie," King Philip "might easily have kept them in obedience. . . ."[5]

---

[1] "*Historia de la Rebelion y Castigo de los Moriscos del Reyno de Granada,*" (Malaga 1600, and Madrid 1797), by Luis del Mármol Carvajal, who "from first to last" took part in the fighting. He had been with the Emperor Charles V at the capture of Tunis; and during seven years as a prisoner of war among the Moslems he improved his knowledge of Arabic. In 1571 his "*Descripcion general de Africa*" was dedicated to King Philip. A yet more famous work is that of Diego Hurtado de Mendoza: "*Guerra de Granada hecha por el Rey de España don Philippe II contra los Moriscos de aquel reino*" (Lisbon, Giraldo de la Vina), 1627. As with many 16th century histories, the writer had practical knowledge of matters of war and statecraft. Born at Granada (or Toledo) he was a son of the Conde de Tendilla. Educated at Granada and Salamanca, he is said to have known Hebrew as well as Arabic and Greek. He had been Ambassador to England to try and arrange a marriage between Princess Mary (Tudor) and the Infante Don Luis of Portugal; and Ambassador to Venice 1539-47, when he collected valuable Greek MSS, which he bequeathed to the King. At the Council of Trent in 1540 he represented the Emperor; and was Ambassador to Rome in 1547; Governor of Sienna, and Knight of the Order of Alcántara. After all these responsibilities and honours, he fell into disfavour at the Court in 1568, for an intended duel. And though he served under his nephew the Marqués de Mondejar against the Moors in 1568-70, he never recovered the royal favour; but died in 1575 without reward for his labours.

In "*The Generall Historie of Spaine,*" London, 1612 (translated and enlarged by Edward Grimstone from "*L'Historie Generale d'Espagne,*" 1586) the Moresco war was rendered in elaborate detail pp. 1138-1156.

[2] p 1146. op. cit.

[3] "*Gen: Hist: of Spaine,*" p. 1156

[4] Ib. [5] Ib.

The word "easily" is retrospective and disputable. If the rebellion of 1568-70 had been successful, the Moors of North Africa would have poured into Spain to aid their kinsfolk; and if Spain had been conquered by Islam, a Moorish war upon France would have been the next act in the world drama. From France the peril might soon have spread to England.

After the danger was over, the drastic measures taken to meet it began to be criticised; and there is now a tendency to idealise the Moorish civilisation, and dismiss King Philip as a "barbarian" and a "bigot" because he did not submit to lose what his predecessors had won. Certainly while making it agreeable for Christians to settle in Granada,[1] his terms to the conquered Moors were drafted with the determination not to leave them the means to attempt another Civil War.[2]

---

[1] Edict of 24 Feb: 1571.

[2] See his "*Pragmatica y declaracion sobre los Moriscos que fueron tornados por esclavos de edad de diez años y medio, y de los esclavos de nueve medio del Reyno de Granada*" (1573). Males under the age of ten, and females under nine, were to be removed from Granada, and put in charge of Christians till they were 20 years old. Also King Philip published "*Pragmatica y declaracion sobre los Moriscos, esclavos, que fueron tornados en el reyno de Granada. Y la orden que con ellos se ha de tener*" They were not allowed to carry weapons; and were all to accept Christianity.

SCOTLAND AND FRANCE.

Before turning to Scotland we must recall that the trouble did not arise merely from personal rivalry between two feminine Sovereigns, but grew up from seeds sown before Queen Elizabeth's accession. That the English invasion of Scotland in 1547 had been provoked by the refusal of the Scots to betroth their infant Queen to Edward VI, is sometimes forgotten now, but was then remembered all over Europe. The heavy defeat of the Scots at Musselburgh did not cause them to forego the matching of their Queen with the Dauphin of France. On July 7th, 1548, the Estates of Scotland ratified the betrothal negotiations for the little Queen aged five; and on the 7th August she embarked for France, in one of the galleys of King Henry II. From the time of her landing at Brest (13th August, 1548,) to the end of her life her predominant sympathies were with France, her mother's country. We have seen that her marriage did not take place until after France had been defeated at St. Quentin by Spanish troops with English aid.[1] But her father-in-law, Henry II, still hoped to control Scotland; and had previously, in 1550, expressed himself with no uncertain voice:—

> "Henry by the Grace of God King of France," rejoicing that Boulogne had lately been "brought back into Our possession and obedience, by honourable composition and reconciliation of perfect friendship with Our very dear and very beloved brother, cousin, and perpetual ally the King of England," (Edward VI,) "*having moreover obtained the entire liberation and pacification of the Kingdom of Scotland, with the recovery of everything which had there been taken and usurped by the English: the which Kingdom We esteem as Our own, as well on account of having taken it into Our protection as on account of the marriage negotiation . . between Our very dear and very beloved son the Dauphin and Our very dear and very beloved daughter the young Queen of Scotland. . . .*" etcetera.[2]

Although the Marriage-Contract as published on 19th April, 1558, recognised the independence of Scotland, this was an empty compliment; for on the 4th of April the young Queen of Scots had signed a document putting Scotland at the disposal of the King of France until he should recoup his expenditure on its defence; and he also had required her to sign a paper disclaiming responsibility for any objections the Estates of Scotland might in future cause her to make in opposition to this arrangement.[3]

Of an affectionate and trusting disposition, and warmly admiring her French relations, the influences brought to bear upon Queen Mary from her childhood were not such as to prepare her for a successful reign in Scotland. But on the boy King Francis's accession (after the tragic death of Henry II from a wound in a tournament), coming events did not yet cast their shadows before. "*Les triomphes faictz à l'entrée du Roy à Chenonceau le dimanche dernier jour de Mars*" were "*pleines de joye et allegresse.*"[4] The ancient oak trees in the park were decorated with mottoes in Greek, Latin, and Italian; great noblemen made welcoming speeches, and the wives and children of the workmen, gaily clad in many colours, were grouped under the trees to share in the rejoicings. Victory and Minerva presented the King with a laurel crown and garlands of flowers; praising the beauty of his "divine et illustre" consort, and predicting long life and every happiness. Praises of the Crown culminated in an apostrophe to God, "*Le Dieu, le grand, le puissant, l'infiny, Celui qui fist d'un rien ce grand monde, Les airs, les cieux, le feu, la terre, et l'onde.*"

The early death of King Francis, childless, deprived France of any legitimate excuse for ruling Scotland. And whereas the Franco-Scottish alliance had been popular of old in Scotland when the Scots were Catholic, the Caledonian Presbyterians, now stimulated by the vehement oratory of John Knox, were to vent upon the "Popish" Queen Mary, an extremity of hatred the more bewildering to her in contrast with the lavish admiration she had been accustomed to receive in France.

---

[1] Prologue, p. 119.

[2] St. Germain en Laye, 2nd Aug: 1550. Orig: 1 p. large folio: vellum: in possession of Messrs. Maggs Bros. Cat: 597 (1934). Item 465, p. 84.

[3] See I. 1. 3. Dispute between Q. Elizabeth's Commissioners and the French in 1560.

[4] "*Les Triomphes,*" &c. "*A Tours. Par Guillaume Bourgeat, 1559.*" Reprinted by Prince Alexandre Galitzin. Paris, 1857.

PART I.

"The art and manner of Governing."

CHAPTER 3.

"THE POWER OF FORTUNE'S SPITE."

SECTION 1.

"A verie sharp encounter."

(The Battle of Langside. 13 May, 1568).

"In affairs of War, infinite variety doth arise, even from one hour to another . . . But this is to be a lesson that he who hath an opportunity lose it not, because it lasts but a very little time."

Francis Guicciardini. Maxim 61. (circa 1525.)

". . . there was a verie sharp encounter; for after they had bestowed their shot of harquebuzes and arrows, they fell to it with spears and swords. But at length after three quarters of an hours fight, the Queen's part was put to flight."

Raphael Holinshed: "The Historie of Scotlande, conteyning the beginning, increase, proceedings, continuance, Actes & Gouernements of the Scottish nation from the originall thereof unto the year 1571." (ed: 1805; Vol. II. p. 347.)

". . . the power of fortune's spighte,
Whose malice most on highest state do lighte."

"The Legend of Mary Queen of Scotland . . . . now first published from MS of the Sixteenth Century." London, 1810. (St. xi.)

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE.

The student should consult John Scott's "*Bibliography of Works relating to Mary Queen of Scots 1544-1700*," Edinburgh Bibliog: Soc: Vol. 11 (25 copies) 1896, 4to (B.M. R.Ac.9703).

Also "*Catalogue of the Valuable and extensive Library of the late John Scott, Esqr, C.B., Halkshill, Largs, Ayrshire . . . . sold by auction by Messrs. Sotheby. . . . . 1905 . . . . .*"

Useful especially are "*Selections from unpublished Manuscripts, ... illustrating the Reign of Mary Queen of Scotland, 1543-1568*," ed: Stevenson, Maitland Club, 1837.

"*Historie and Life of King James the Sext*" (1566-1617), Bannatyne Club, 1825:

"*Papal Negotiations with Mary Queen of Scots during her Reign in Scotland, 1561-67*": ed: from orig. documents by J. H. Pollen, S.J., Scottish History Soc: 1901.

Sir James Melville of Halhil, "*Memoirs of his Own Life*," 1549-1593, from the original MS.; Bannatyne Club, 1827 (latest ed: A. Francis Steuart, 1929).

Also Hosack's "*Mary Queen of Scots and her Accusers*," 1869-74, and Skelton's "*Impeachment of Mary . . . Queen of Scots*," 1876, and "*Mary Stuart*," 1893, Goupil Series. Skelton's works contain excellent answers to Froude, but his arguments are weakened by lack of sufficient footnote references.

That the Queen of Scots is not called "*Mary Stuart*" in the present work is of set purpose. Though she made an anagram on her name, "Maria Estuarta," her worst enemies at the English Court, did not even in their private letters omit her titles. "*Ye Scots Q*" and "*ye Q. of Scots*" are their customary methods of allusion. English Courtiers, though bitterly incensed against her, would no more have called her "Mary Stuart" than they would have called their own Sovereign "Elizabeth Tudor."

Our Calendars of State Papers relating to Queen Mary of Scots (Note, p. 325) are among the best edited of the series. But the greatest service to her memory had been performed previously by Prince Alexandre Ivanovich Lobanoff-Rostovsky, who issued

"*Lettres inédites de Marie Stuart*," 1558-1587. Paris, 1832.

"*Lettres, Instructions et Mémoires de Marie Stuart, publiés sur les Originaux et les Manuscrits du State Paper Office de Londres, accompagné d'un Résumé Chronologique*." 7 vols. 1844.

"*Répertoire et Nouveau Répertoire des Lettres, &c., de Marie Stuart*." 2 vols. 1839.

"*Pièces et Documents relatifs au Comte de Bothwell*." St. Petersbourg, 1856.

"*Glossaire Français des Locutions et Mots peu usités qui se rencontrèrent dans la Correspondence de Marie Stuart*." Paris, 1844.

"*Note sur la Collection des Portraits de Marie Stuart*." St. Petersburg, 1860.

Leader's "*Mary Queen of Scots in Captivity*," 1880, is acrimoniously hostile to the prisoner.

Of sympathetic publications suited to the general reader, one of the most agreeable is Mrs. P. Stewart-Mackenzie Arbuthnot's "*Queen Mary's Book A Collection of Poems and Essays by Mary Queen of Scots*," London, 1907: with reproductions of manuscripts: Queen Mary's own Discourse on Adversity being particularly characteristic.

Bibliographical Note will be continued under 1586-7.

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

in widow's mourning for François II of France.
From a picture on panel at Hertford House,
Wallace Collection, No. 530.
School of the Clouets.

Photograph, W. E. Grey, for the Trustees.

Clouet's own painting of Queen Mary, just after the death of the French King, is not known to survive; but his drawing for such a picture is in the Cabinet des Estampes, Paris. (Dimier, No: 465. See Louis Dimier, "*Histoire de la Peinture de Portrait en France au XVIme Siècle*," 1924-26.)

Upon this drawing, numerous pictures of Queen Mary in her white mourning seem to have been based. most notably those in the Carnavalet Museum, Paris; and National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh; and a picture in the collection of the Grand Duke of Hesse-Darmstadt, exhibited at Dusseldorf in 1905.

The similar picture at Windsor Castle was at one time believed to be an original: and is reproduced as such in Mrs. P. Stewart-Mackenzie Arbuthnot's "*Queen Mary's Book*," 1907.

Of authentic portraits of this Queen, whom Sir James Melville described as "*very lovely*," few suggest such attractions as we know her to have possessed. The chief exception cannot now be reproduced, because it perished by fire, without ever having been engraved or photographed.

It belonged to the Earl of Southesk, and was traditionally said to have been always at Kinnaird Castle since first painted in honour of the marriage of Queen Mary with Lord Darnley. Both their pictures, full length, hung on the main staircase at Kinnaird: and were exceedingly striking. Darnley tall, slim, handsome, but with a disagreeable expression; the Queen not so tall as he, but above average height, and so graceful and gracious as to justify her reputation for a charm which even her enemies felt,—and resented.

·MARIE·STVART·REYNE·DESCOSSE·
·VEVFE·DE·FRANCOIS·SECOND·
·ROY·DE·FRANCE·

"Narratione dello stato della Regina di Scotia, e del Principe suo figliuolo," etc., 1573, by *Francesco Marcaldi*. dedicated *"At Florence 8th of January, 1580, to the noble knight the Sr Pietro Andinguillara."*

Extracts now first Englished: *From the MS. in possession of The Marquess of Bute, K.T., Mount Stuart, Rothesay, Isle of Bute.*

This brief chronicle, with its appeal for aid in the "turbulent times," and its recapitulation of the misfortunes of the Scottish Queen, was not published in her lifetime, but circulated by hand among her Continental sympathisers; the author dedicating it anew to each different personage of quality for whom he transcribed it.[1] It was not printed until Queen Mary's son James VI of Scots had been for two years James I of Great Britain; effecting peaceably at last that Union of the Crowns which had been so often frustrated, and as often predicted anew by seers north of the Tweed.

It does not seem to have penetrated to the English Catholics.[2] Not brought forward now for any distinction in style or novelty as to matter, its interest is in showing the way the events were rendered abroad at a time when there was yet "great hope" that the Scottish Queen's wrongs might be avenged, and her rights restored: when certain Princes (as Marcaldi expressed it) were "from day to day" being "stirred and urged" to embrace her cause "for the common profit of Holy Church." The standpoint being directly opposite to that of Queen Elizabeth's admirers, it is the more noteworthy, in contrast to twentieth century scoffing at Her Majesty's armies, that Marcaldi pays a reluctant tribute to the efficiency of the English soldiers in the first war of the reign. (I, 1, 3, ante):

> "Elizabeth was so vexed," by Queen Mary's assumption of the Royal Arms of England, "that she felt deep rooted hatred, and showed herself openly inimical to France; and thus hoped to be able to frustrate their arrangements." And "to attain this object, under cover and veil of religion she instigated and stirred up to rebellion against the French certain Lords of the Kingdom of Scotland, who made war in Scotland, [she] not letting them want for necessary expenses and materials. . . . . And *she also sent many English soldiers to Scotland by whose valour the French were forced to leave the Kingdom;* and so the Catholic Religion was extinguished in the Kingdom, . . . the Monasteries ruined; the Bishops, the Abbots, . . . driven from their sees . . . and many too were punished and imprisoned and suffered very heavy wrongs. Francis King of France having died, the Queen again returned to Scotland, thinking by her presence and authority that she would be able to quiet and calm the civil disturbances, and to restore . . . the rites of Holy Church."

How Queen Mary's illegitimate brother James entered into dealings with the Queen of England, "who gave him money and joined with him in conspiracy," how the "Earl of Huntley was killed . . . and his eldest son condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and his

[1] The Mount Stuart MS. is small 4to, 65 leaves written on both sides. Other copies are known; the earliest dated Florence, 6 Dec., 1578; another Lucca, 24 Jan., 1580; and 3 copies which belonged to John Scott, dated Siena, 8 Feb., 1580; Bologna, 15 Dec., 1581; Cremona, 21 Jan, 1583; (*"Bibliog. of . . . Mary Queen of Scots,"* 1911). A copy seen by Bishop Nicholson, 1702, was dated Venice, May, 1581; another was of 14 Dec., 1582; and there is a copy among the Laing MSS. Edinburgh University. The MS. of 1581 in the Biblioth. Nationale of France was edited by Dr. E. Giglio in 1907, in Italian.

Addendum: E.E., Vol. I, p. 313, Note 2. On a re-examination of the Mount Stuart MS., the name of "Sr Pietro Andinguillara" appears to be spelt "ArdinGrillari": which peculiar orthography is now notified in case some Italian scholar can decide whether it is a clerical error or represents a different surname.

second son sentenced to death; and the Earl of Sutherland banished, after all his possessions had been confiscated," and how "the Earls of Arran and Bothwell were also banished, together with the Archbishop of St. Andrews and others," leads up to the year 1563, when "the Queen, alone in the midst of heretical Lords did not dare to attempt anew anything in favour of the Religion," but (1564) "was forced to abandon everything to the judgment of James [Earl of Murray] and the other heretics."

In 1565, "Finally the most pious Queen, seeing that all the affairs of the kingdom were falling into ruin, . . . decided it to be expedient for her to marry some devout and Catholic Prince . . . . wherefore with the common consent of all her Lords, she solemnly wedded Henry Stuart her cousin, by dispensation of our Lord the Pope, Pius IV."

"But the Queen of England . . . endeavoured to prevent this marriage; and incited the illegitimate James and the Lords of his party to arms. And the Queen of Scotland with her husband drove them off with a large army and forced them to flee to England, where they were received graciously by order of the Queen."

There follows a bald statement as to the murder of Rizzio, "a certain David, a Catholic and her secretary." Marcaldi represents Henry the King Consort as most penitently acknowledging to the Queen "his great wickedness" in having encouraged and aided the conspirators.

"Afterwards in the following month of June, on the 19th [1566], the Queen gave birth to her son James, now Prince of Scotland." His godparents were King Charles of France, the Queen of England, and the Duke of Savoy, by proxy of their Ambassadors. But although Queen Mary pardoned her enemies and Rizzio's murderers, Morton, Ruthven, and Lindsay, forgiving them "more readily than they deserved," they were only the more incensed against her, and now against her husband since he had come over to her party. Scarcely was the christening over than "a new plot and conspiracy was again started by those men" (the Lords of Morton's faction), their determination being the "putting of Henry to death: nor did they rest till their plot was accomplished; . . . carried out by Earl Bothwell with certain others, so that by night Henry with his companions was overwhelmed, and burnt with explosives in his own house. . . ."

Next, "with the consent of the Lords of his party, his companions in crime, Bothwell resolved to marry the Queen, . . . and suddenly attacked her with soldiers on a journey . . . between Stirling and Edinburgh he seized her and brought her to the Castle of Dunbar, the command of which had been committed to him; and kept her with some of her Lords for the space of some time, as he wished that she should consent to such a marriage," and she did.

The downfall of Bothwell, his defeat in battle, his flight to the Orkneys and thence to Denmark, are compressed into a sentence; as also the "inhuman" tyranny of "the Lords" when they imprisoned the Queen in a "very strong castle standing in Loch Leven," "threatening her many times with death if she would not promptly obey their wishes."

"Finally she was forced to sign with her own hand certain letters in which she granted the government of the kingdom to her son. And meanwhile James the Queen's natural brother was appointed Regent . . . . she with tears consented under compulsion to their demands; protesting that she would revoke all this" as soon as she could secure her freedom. The little Prince "at the age of one year" was crowned King; the Queen's illegitimate brother "managing all matters at his own will, and acting cruelly against the Catholic and faithful subjects of the Queen."

This brings us to the year 1568, in which Queen Mary was "almost miraculously released" from Lochleven Castle. As Marcaldi had no talent for describing martial actions, and devoted only eighteen words to the decisive battle of Langside, we will now take up our story from English and Scottish sources.

PART I.

"The art and manner of Governing."

CHAPTER 3.

"THE POWER OF FORTUNE'S SPITE."

SECTION 1.

"A verie sharp encounter."

(The Battle of Langside. 13 May, 1568).

WHEN Queen Elizabeth's Ambassador had protested against the imprisonment of the Queen of Scots in Lochleven Castle, the victorious conspirators had answered that if Her Majesty persisted in finding fault with their doings, she would provoke them into active hostility to England.

Instead of setting Queen Mary at liberty, they would more likely consider whether it would be best to "take her life." Their blend of brutal shamelessness with unctuous affectation of piety edified neither Thomas Randolph nor Sir Nicholas Throckmorton; and Throckmorton privately made suit to his Sovereign to forbid him to be present at the Coronation of the infant Prince James.

Baffled in effort to arouse in the masters of the situation any feelings of humanity or compassion towards their Queen, Throckmorton was unwilling for the task of Ambassador at the new Court. He described himself, with dignity, as accredited to the Queen and not to the Lords.

From her prison in Lochleven Queen Mary managed to send out a letter indicating her firm belief that the moral support of England would be hers against her rebellious subjects.

Her winning of a devoted admirer in George Douglas, brother of her gaoler the Laird of Lochleven, the skill with which Douglas contrived her escape, on Sunday the 2nd of May 1568, between 7 and 8 in the evening, "to the astonishment of everyone," is an often told tale which has never lost its fascination.

It seems not to have been until a week later, 9th May, that tidings were despatched to England how on the 2nd of the month a servant in Lochleven, "nursed there since his birth" and therefore trusted, stole the keys during supper time; "received the King's Mother forth of her chamber"; and conveyed her to

a boat; having locked all the gates and "despoiled" the other boats so that none could follow.

According to this news sent to Secretary Cecil, it was when the Queen and her rescuers had come to land that George Douglas, "in fantasy of love wyth hir," met her at the lochside with the Laird of Ricarton and ten Horse. Lochleven's horses had been taken away to prevent pursuit; and within a couple of miles Lord Seton and James Hamilton of Ormiston with thirty horsemen came to meet the Queen: in which company she passed the Ferry. Then Lord Claud Hamilton joined her with twenty Horse; and escorted her to Lord Seton's house of Niddry, where she wrote despatches with her own hand and rested for the night. On her leaving Niddry, Lord Herries met her with another thirty Horse, and with this combined Cavalry she was escorted to Hamilton Tower.[1]

There rallied immediately to her standard nine Earls, as many "lords," and the "Lairds of Lochinvar, . . Dalhousie, Roslin, and Sir James Hamilton," with retainers amounting to six thousand.[2]

Many of these had come at the bidding of Lord Claud Hamilton, younger son of the 2nd Earl of Arran, erstwhile Regent of Scotland, upon whom King Henry II of France had conferred the Dukedom of Chatellherault in 1548-9.[3]

On the 3rd of May a proclamation in the infant King's name, announced the escape of the Queen from Lochleven and her arrival at the Place of Hamilton. His Majesty's lieges were summoned to gather at Glasgow, with 15 days' provisions, in readiness to take what action might be needed for preservation of the King's authority and the "quietness" of the realm.[4]

Meanwhile the old Tower of Hamilton, built as a fortress, was becoming a Court. The Queen's Abdication Act was revoked; and on the 8th of May a bond was signed by "9 Erles, 9 Bishopes, 18 lordes" and many minor nobles, all pledging themselves in such terms that Queen Mary hoped to "draw home again to her obedience" the greater number of her people.

Protesting against the conduct of disobedient and unnatural subjects,—who lately, holding their Sovereign captive for "their own pre-eminence," had boasted "from time to time" that they could take her life if they pleased,—the loyal peers, ecclesiastics, and gentlemen, vowed to forego old grudges and differences among themselves; and to unite in defence of the Queen's Majesty, with their bodies, lands,

---

[1] 2½ pp. Contemp: copy. Edinburgh, "this Sunday." S.P. Scot: VOL. II. No. 652. pp. 404-5. See also narrative (presumably derived from Q. Mary herself, long afterwards) by Claud Nau, "*Memoires,*" pp. 88-91.

[2] Cal: S.P.S. II. (1900) No. 653, p. 405, "*Names of the Lords with the Queen on the field:*" "*Earls:* —Argyll, Montgomery [Eglinton], Cassilis, Rothes. *Lords:*—Herries, Boyd, Yester, Borthwick, Sancher (Sanquhar), Flemyng, Levyston (Livingstone), Seton, Sheriff of Ayer, lord Rosse, lord Glowde (*Claud* Hamilton); Sir James Hamilton, all the rest of the Hamiltons and "many great barons and gentlemen."

[3] G.E.C.'s *Complete Peerage,* 1887, Vol. I. pp. 5-6, gives later vicissitudes of the Dukedom.

[4] Broadside. Glasgow. 1st year of K. James VI. Cal: S.P. Scot: II. 648. p. 402.

goods, and friends, for the re-establishment of her royal authority and the welfare of her kingdom, to their uttermost power, and to their lives end.[1]

Archibald Earl of Argyll, George Earl of Huntley, Hew Earl of Eglinton, David Earl of Crawford, the Earls of Cassillis, Rothes, Montrose, Sunderland, and Erroll (High Constable); Lords Fleming, Livingston, Seton, Boyd, Somervill, Borthwick, Sanquhair, Hay of Yester, Drummond, Elphinston, Lord Claud Hamilton, Lords Sinclair and "Cairlett," were the first to sign. Next came John, Archbishop of St Andrews, and the Bishops of Dunkeld, Ross, Galloway, Aberdeen, Brechin, the Isles, Argyll, and Murray; the Abbots of St Colmes Inch, Lyndores, Glenluce, New Abbey, Dundrennan, Crosraguel, Kelso, and others; and of the lesser territorial nobility a large number, including Lochinvar, "Dalhoussy," Lamington, Rowallan, Johnston of Lochmaben, "Annestoun," Crichton of Ryhill, and many another.

On the 7th of May a second Proclamation had been issued in the infant King's name, commanding the heralds to pass to the market crosses of Glasgow and 14 other burghs; and there admonish all subjects that none of them should rise in response to overtures from conspirators who "pretended" the authority of the King's "dearest Mother." Any lieges who had been beguiled to join the rebels were offered the Regent's favour and pardon if within 48 hours they confessed their offence before him; but all who persisted in the conspiracy were warned that the ancient laws and penalties for treason would be executed speedily upon their persons.[2]

At a Council at Hamilton, over which the Queen presided, it was carried that "our Sovereign Lady's most noble person be surely transported to Dumbarton with the whole army." Dumbarton Castle was regarded as impregnable; but the decision on the 12th of May was made too late. The intention must, moreover, have been discussed beforehand, and communicated by some spy to those who had the power to prevent it; because four days earlier, on the 9th of May, from Edinburgh, the project is mentioned in a hostile anonymous letter, referring also to differences of opinion among the Queen's partisans at Hamilton which of them should be her Lieutenant-General.[3]

It presaged ill for Queen Mary that her forces were without a leader whom all were willing to obey. But there can have been no doubt that she would be obliged to give the name of Lieutenant-General to the head of the clan Campbell, Archibald 5th Earl of Argyll. He was then 36 years of age, and had succeeded to the Earldom ten years before; in August 1558, three months before Princess Elizabeth ascended the English throne. He had been a boy of 15 when his father the 4th Earl faced

[1] 2 pp. Broadside. Copy. Endorsed by Sir W. Cecil "VIIJ Maij, 1568. The band ...... for defence of the quene of Scots." Cal: S.P. Scot: II. pp. 403-4. With names of subscribers.

[2] Blackletter broadside. Printed at Edinburgh by Robert Lekprevik, printer to the King's Majesty. Cal: S.P. Scot: II. 649. pp. 402-3. (3 copies in P.R.O.)

[3] Cal: S.P. Scot: II. 652. p. 405.

the English in the battle of Musselburgh (Pinkie Cleugh). He was 20 or 21 when Queen Mary from France had appointed him to the hereditary office of Justiciary of Scotland for life (on the resignation of his father).[1] His wife Jean, an illegitimate half-sister of Queen Mary, had been present when Rizzio was murdered; and she stood proxy for Queen Elizabeth as godmother to the child born soon after the tragedy.

Argyll had been hostile to the Queen in 1565; and in 1567 he had been implicated in the murder of Henry the King Consort. His adherence to Queen Mary in 1568 was half-hearted; and it remains to this day uncertain whether he joined her with good or ill intentions. Whatsoever his motives, his total lack of martial ability was to bring to naught all the valour of Lord Claud and the Hamiltons; and of Seton, Herries, Fleming, and other loyal peers.

Though the Queen had reached Hamilton on the 3rd of May, she did not sign Argyll's Commission until the 13th, the very day which was to prove ruinous to her cause.[2]

The same letter of May the 9th already quoted, mentions that the Regent's proclamations in the King's name are being well obeyed; while those of the Queen are torn up and their circulators punished. Also that the Regent's army far exceeds the Queen's, in number and in quality of troops.[3]

In the cool of the morning, while the dew was on the grass, Queen Mary's spearmen, harquebussiers, and archers, Cavalry and seven pieces of artillery, set out from Hamilton Tower, the Hamiltons marching in the place of honour at the head of the vanguard of some 2000: the Queen riding in the main body of her forces, which were only 4000 strong.[4]

A sudden attack of illness on the part of the General was woefully inopportune; and as, by the treachery of some among the Queen's followers, the Regent Murray in Glasgow had been warned that her ride to Dumbarton was planned for that

---

[1] G.E.C. *Complete Peerage*, 1887. Vol. I. p. 122.

[2] Agnes Strickland says "The night before the disastrous conflict . . the Queen slept at Castlemilk . . . the chamber she occupied is still known as Queen Mary's room." But A. C. Scott, in his excellent essay *The battle of Langside* (p. 74 et seq) points out that as the Queen was at Hamilton Tower presiding over the Council on the 12th of May, and at Hamilton signed Argyll's Commission early on the 13th she could not have slept at Castlemilk on the night of the 12th.

Miss Strickland continued, "It was from the battlements of Castlemilk that Mary is supposed to have first beheld the rebel troops advancing with the rival royal banner they had unfurled against her in the name of her infant boy." To which A. M. Scott answers that even if the Queen had been at Castlemilk, "the physical configuration of the district would have prevented the Regent's army from being seen. The high ground of Aikenhead intervened." Miss Strickland further says, "On the morning of . . . . May 13, Maxwell the loyal Laird of Nether Polloc, brought up his vassals, tenants and domestic servants to her assistance. As a token of her gratitude she knighted him under the royal standard; and this was the last chivalric honour she ever had it in her power to bestow." But he had been knighted over thirteen months before (prior to 14 April 1567).

[3] Cal: S.P. Scot: II. 652. p. 405.

[4] Numbers as given in "*Advertisments of the conflict in Scotlande,*" 16 May, 1568. 4 pp. (damaged by damp). Cal: S.P.S. II. No. 655. pp. 407-8.

especial morning, he turned for counsel to old soldiers, as to how it could be impeded.

The instrument of Queen Mary's calamitous destiny was a member of the Church to which she had been inviolably faithful. Her subsequent secretary, Claud Nau, relates how "*at the time when the Queen was leaving Hamilton, the Regent's party had decided to retreat*"; but "the old Lord Semple, eighty years of age or thereabouts, *a Catholic in religion,*" argued that considering they held Glasgow, they could hazard prompt and daring action. If the Regent and his army did not go out to meet and overcome the Queen's forces before she could reach Dumbarton, they not only would be disgraced, but would seriously "injure their own interests." If, on the other hand, they could secure the hill of Langside, and compel the Queen to fight at a disadvantage, upon ground unfavourable to Cavalry, in which her forces were superior, her flag would never fly from Dumbarton Castle; and her army could be broken at the start.

The Regent accepted this counsel; and Queen Mary's doom was sealed. Semple was one of those whom she afterwards described as having rejected her offers of forgiveness, and refused a safe conduct to Lord Boyd, when she would have been willing to treat with her enemies in hope of avoiding bloodshed.[1]

The first view the Regent Murray can have had of his sister's army was when from the Calton of Glasgow he would have seen her vanguard emerging from Rutherglen; after which the long narrow line headed westward; thus manifestly not intending an attempt on Glasgow, but a direct march to Dumbarton as he had been informed.

Could Queen Mary have been in "surety" behind the strong walls of Dumbarton Castle, she might have held out against besiegers until her kin in France had time to bring an army to help her. But if Lord Murray established himself and his troops on Langside Hill, which commanded the Dumbarton way, he could compel the Queen's men to fight him at a grave disadvantage. All, or nearly all, depended upon whether he succeeded in reaching the hill of Langside first.

Though we in England are more concerned with the consequences of this fight than with the particulars, it is always instructive to note how and why a battle is

---

[1] "Copy of the Q. off Scottes lettre to the Q. Majesty." (C.P.) Cal: S.P.S. II. p. 408.

Froude depicts this decisive battle as if the Regent's army had been gathered together casually as for a picnic. Such of the Scots farmers, he says, as were "loyal to their King" (i.e. disloyal to their Queen) "in a few minutes" buckled on their swords, donned "steel caps and breastplates," stowed "cold meat and bread behind their saddles," and went out to join the Regent. (*Hist: of Eng:* Vol. III. p. 221 et seq).

This passed for familiarity with the times, until A. M. Scott (*The Battle of Langside.* 1885, pp. 43-44) pointed out that "it is doubtful if a farmer in Scotland had a breastplate," and that cold meat was not a common form of Caledonian ration; furthermore that very few of the farmers were mounted in the battle. Froude errs also as to the relative strength of the forces; he reverses the direction of Langside village, the scene of the combat; the Regent's "main body" he places in a position not occupied by any of the Regent's troops; and having thus made a false start, his blunders continue to the end.

won or lost. The defeat of Queen Mary was directly due to the lack of a competent General on her side; and to her half-brother Murray being shrewd enough to follow the veteran Lord Semple's advice. Why Semple, if a "Papist," put his brains into the service of the Presbyterian party is outside our present enquiry. But his astuteness, on the one side, and the incapacity of the Earl of Argyll on the other, afford sufficient explanation of what ensued.

Even in the "*Advertisementes of the conflict in Scotlande*" sent to England three days after the battle, that Argyll "as is reported, for fault of courage and spirit swooned," is one of the reasons put forward for the Queen's defeat.[1] Whether this was "want of courage" or was a pretended illness may be matter for debate. It is notable that *despite the Regent's proclamation of 7th of May, threatening penalties for "Treason" to all who had joined Queen Mary unless they withdrew and made submission to himself before 48 hours had expired, Argyll her Lieutenant-General lost neither title nor estates when he lost the battle.*[2]

On the Regent's side, the tactics were prompt and effective:

"The Laird of Grange had already viewed the ground, and with all possible diligence caused every horseman to take a footman of the Regent's guard behind . . . and rode with speed to the head of the Langsyde hill, and set down the said footmen with their culverins at a strait Loan head"[3] where they stood at "great advantage" and "with their continual shot" picked off "divers in the vanguard led by the Hamiltons."

Despite their "courage and fierceness," the Hamiltons were "already out of wind" when the Regent's vanguard attacked them. Wisely the Regent had "committed unto the Laird of Grange," as an experienced Captain, the task of overseeing the troops, "to ride to every way and encourage and make help where the greatest need was. . . . ."[4]

". . . The great ordinance shot for the space of an half hour or thereby," says Melville. "The Regent had six pieces carried in carts The Queen had seven. In time of shooting the great ordinance, forty of the Regent's Harquebussiers went and skirmished before the Queen's avantguard. . . ."[5]

The Queen's vanguard "marching through Bus-an-aik Road and Lang Loan was "greatly annoyed by the Regent's Harquebussiers." The Regent's vanguard

---

[1] S.P. Scot: II. p. 407.

[2] He survived till 1575; when he was succeeded by his half-brother Colin Campbell, husband of Lady Agnes (née Keith) widow of the Regent Murray. (G.E.C. I. p. 122.)

[3] i.e. at the head of Lang Loan.

[4] *Memoirs of Sir James Melville* etc. p. 200 et seq. (In broad Scots: now put into English). See also Geo· Buchanan's *Hist*: *of Scot*: ed: Aikman, 1827, Vol. II. p. 536 et seq. and in Lord Herries' *Memoirs* etc. cit (reprinted A. M. Scott, *The Battle of Langside*, 1885, Appendix.)

[5] In Froude's rendering, the artillery duel is transferred from the beginning to the end of the fight; and he so confuses the localities that if the troops had been marshalled as he sets them, the Hamiltons would have taken up their position between their own artillery fire and the enemy! Lord Herries' Cavalry operations, and indeed the chief happenings on both sides, are jumbled in the same careless fashion. In short, "of all the more modern inaccurate narratives of the battle . . . Froude's . . . is surely the worst." See the nine blunders of Froude in this connection, and the eleven mistakes of Agnes Strickland, as quoted and answered in "*The Battle of Langside MDLXVIII. By Alexander Malcolm Scott, F.S.A. Scot*: *Glasgow* . . . 1885," (pp. 43-46 and 74-81), with excellent sketch map, showing the 16th century topography in dark full lines, with the modern localities in faint dotted lines. Scott's exposures of two authors who were apt to describe battles without paying heed to the configuration of the ground, are rebukes equally applicable to many other "standard" descriptions of famous conflicts.

"marched fast . . . and received them after they came out of the strait lane on the north-east side of Langside village, with long spears." There was "a very sharp encounter for the space of half an hour without yielding or giving ground on either side; so that where spears were broken they cast whingers, broken pieces of spears, stones, or whatever came to hand at the faces of their enemies . . .

"The Regent's Harquebussiers shot continually from the Dikes and housetops."[1] Though some of his Highlanders "fled from the wing where they were set, the Lord Lindsay who stood nearest to them . . . said 'Let them go, I shall fill their place better:' And so stepping forward with a company of fresh men," charged the Queen's forces "whose spears were now spent;" and drove them backwards.[2]

Having previously been almost overcome by the fire of the Harquebussiers and the vigour of the Regent's vanguard, this charge by Lindsay was more than they could endure. Nevertheless many put up a very brave defence:

"Lord Claud Hamilton . . . . sustained the attack of his enemies until he found himself surrounded on all sides and assailed in the rear by the Laird of Grange. The Queen's main body of troops could not help them in time, either by want of courage of its Commanders *or some other secret dealing on the part of the enemy.* And so it came to pass that this poor young nobleman, seeing the whole force of his enemies made to bear upon him, was at last compelled to retreat; and falling back upon the main line he was so hotly pursued that in the end the rest of the army was put to flight. Of the surname of Hamilton fourteen were killed and Lords Seton and Ross and Sir James Hamilton were taken prisoners."[3]

In Lord Herries' Memoirs the overthrow is dismissed in a sentence:

"With these forces the Queen advanced and resolved to beat the Regent. . . . But they found the Regent too hard for them, for although he was weakest in horse, yet he soon put the wings of the Queen's army in disorder, and the bodie being straitened in the pass . . . was so galled with shot from the old houses and dykes on everie hand, that they were easilie forced to recule in disorder also. In the end the Queen's armie was beaten from the field."[4]

Before ten o'clock on that fatal morning, Queen Mary's artillery was in the hands of her foes; her General had vanished; and her army was in headlong flight.

On the Regent's side "never a man slain" (that is, none of note), "but divers sore hurt."[5]

From "about a mile distant from the field, upon a hill some hundred yards east of Cathcart Castle," the Queen saw the overthrow of those who four days earlier

---

[1] Caldewood's MS "*Church Hist:*" cit A. M. Scott, pp. 94-95.

[2] Ib: p. 95.

[3] Claud Nau, "*Memoirs,*" p. 93. An imperfect description. Particulars sent to England refer to "3 or 4 score Hamiltons as slain" and "many more Hamiltons" prisoners. Cal: S.P. Scot: Vol. II. No. 653. p. 405.

[4] Op: cit. pp. 97-98. Buchanan, "*Hist of Scot*": ed: 1827. Vol. II. p. 536 et seq, writes as if archers on both sides had been of value: but any results achieved by so antique an arm of the service were only momentary.

Buchanan's and all the contemporary printed accounts of this battle are brief and unsatisfactory; Holinshed (ed: 1805, Vol. II. p. 34) devotes to it only a few lines: and by him "Harquebuzes and arrows" are mentioned as if one had been as good as the other. From MS accounts, it seems as if, extra to the superior generalship on the Regent's side, his harquebussiers made up for his relative weakness in Cavalry.

[5] "*Advertisements of the conflict in Scotlande,*" 16 May 1568. ("the lords won 10 brass pieces and slew the master gunner." Cal: II. p. 407; but the Queen is elsewhere said to have had only 7 guns.)

had vowed to stand by her to their lives' end.[1] With bewildering swiftness, all her hopes were shattered. And she was not even safe in person; for Cathcart Castle had been alienated to the Semples, the head of whom was the old Catholic Lord who had thrown in his lot with the Presbyterian Regent, and commanded Renfrewshire men that morning in the right wing of the army which had barred her passage to Dumbarton.

With the Queen on the hillside were Lords Herries, Livingstone and Fleming, George Douglas, who had contrived her escape from Lochleven eleven days before; and the fifteen-year-old Willie Douglas. Seeing the battle hopelessly lost, they took her at a gallop to Terregles; and from thence she rode with the same faithful champions, and a few attendants, to the ancient Abbey of Dundrennan in Galloway.

According to Sir James Melville—who was *not* present—her courage failed; and in an agony of dismay and terror her only thought was how to get out of Scotland into England as swiftly as she might.[2]

Even if this were so, her brave spirit soon rallied; and within a few weeks an Englishman, one of her unwavering adversaries and reluctant admirers, was testifying to her "valiancy" and vigour; her love for gallant deeds; her scorn of "cowardnes."

It was precisely because the Queen of Scots was such a "notable ladie" that Queen Elizabeth's Councillors and defenders beheld in her a dangerous rival to their Sovereign. Her plight therefore aroused not so much their compassion for her griefs, as a dread of where her energy and talent might lead her; and with what effect upon England.

---

[1] The spot where she stood was marked with a thorn tree. When, about 1790, James Hill. W.S. bought the Castle, the thorn tree withered. He planted another. This was replaced by General Sir George Cathcart with a block of freestone, on which was roughly cut "M. R.", a crown, and the year, 1568. The General was killed at Inkerman. His nephew and successor, Earl Cathcart, erected in place of the former stone, a granite memorial, with crown, initials; and day, month and year of the battle. A. M. Scott, op. cit. p. 48.

[2] *Memoirs* . . . .1827, and ed: 1929, p. 170.

PART I.

"The art and manner of Governing."

CHAPTER 3.

"THE POWER OF FORTUNE'S SPITE."

SECTION 2.

"Now what is to be done with such a ladie?"

(1568).

"Madame . . . on the joyful news of your happy enlargement, affection to my nearest relation and the honour of a Queen, constrain me to send this word . . . and my advice in matters touching your estate and honour, whereof I am no less careful than you can wish, and whereof you have been careless in the past . . ."

"*Copy of the Q. Majesties lettre to the Q. of Scottes.*" 1 p. French. 17 May 1568.
(Cal: S.P. Scot. II. No. 656. p. 407.)

"Travelling . . . hitherward, I perceive the people in this north (which are more ignorant of religion and altogether untaught) much to rejoice in the liberty of the Queen of Scots . . . What end it may bring, unless provided for, God knoweth . . ."

John Willock to Sir William Cecil. Berwick. 22 May 1568.
(Cal: S.P. Scot. II. 668. p. 412.)

". . . if it please you I come to you without ceremony or in private, I will tell you the truth against all their lies . . . if for any reason I cannot come to you, seeing I have freely come to throw myself into your arms, you will I am sure permit me to seek assistance of other allies; for thank God I am not destitute of some."

Queen Mary of Scots to Queen Elizabeth. Carlisle. 28 May 1568.
C.P. Vol. I. French. Orig: endorsed by Sir William Cecil.
". . . Brought by the Lord Herriss. 5 Junij."

"She shoethe a greate desyer to be avenged of hyr enymyes, she shoethe a redines to expose hyr selfe to all perils in hoope off victorie, she delyteth motch to here of hardines and valiancye . . . for victories sake, payne and parylle semeth plesant unto hyr . . . Nowe what is to be done with soch a (Ladie) and pryncesse . . . ?"

Sir Francis Knollys to Sir William Cecil. Carlisle. 11 June 1568.
(Cotton MS. Calig: C.1. f. 124. Cal: S.P. Scot. II. 697).

"CAPTIVITY AND UTTER WRECK TO OUR QUEEN:"

The extraordinary prediction of Bassentyne, the Astrologer (1562).[1]

Sir James Melville, in his Memoirs,—relating how Queen Mary, after the loss of the battle of Langside, "never rested till she was in England,—thinking herself sure of refuge there, in respect of the fair promises formerly made to her,"—was writing long after the events: "God and the World knows how she was kept and used." Deploring her hard fate, he adds "a tale" that his brother Sir Robert Melville had told him at "the time he was busiest dealing betwixt the two Queens" (in 1562) hoping to promote friendship and arrange for them to meet "at a place near York." Even then it was foretold by Bassentyne, "a Scotsman . . . learned in high sciences," that the Scots and English Queens would not come to a good accord:—

"*All your upright dealing and your honest travail will be in vain where you believe to obtain weal for our Queen at the Queen of England's hands,*" he said to Melville: "*You but lose your time . . . for first they will never meet together, and next there will never be anything else but dissembling and secret hatred for a while; and at length captivity and utter wreck to our Queen from England.*"

Sir Robert considered such "devilish news" could only come by "false, ungodly and unlawful" means. But Bassentyne had held the Chair of Mathematics in the University of Paris, and had published in France his "*Astronomia*" and "*Paraphrase de l'Astrolabe*" He had then recently returned to Scotland[2] He firmly replied, "I am a Christian of your religion, . . . ," never practising "unlawful arts" but versed in "natural sciences which are lawful, and daily read in divers Christian universities." In these "as in all other arts, God gives to some less, to some more and clearer knowledge . . . . by the which knowledge I have also that *at length the Kingdom of England shall of right fall to the Crown of Scotland.* . . . . But alas! it will cost many their lives, and many bloody battles will be fought ere things be settled. . . . ."

---

[1] Anglicised as "Bassinton" in "*Memoirs of Sir James Melville of Halhill. 1535-1617. Edited, with an Introduction by A Francis Steuart, Advocate, Editor of " The Trial of Mary Queen of Scots, etc.*" London, 1929, p. 171. (In Scots from orig: MS. in Bannatrye Club ed: 1827, p. 202.)

[2] Sharman, "*The Library of Mary Queen of Scots,*" London, 1889, p. 138.

PART I.

"The art and manner of Governing."

CHAPTER 3.

"THE POWER OF FORTUNE'S SPITE."

SECTION 2.

"How what is to be done with such a ladie?"

(Queen Mary of Scots in England, 1568).[1]

BECAUSE we cannot forget that the Queen of Scots was to find in Elizabeth Regina no loving sister, but a foe, who, refusing to meet her face to face, was to keep her in prison close on nineteen years, and sign at last the warrant for her execution, it seems perplexing that she ever looked to England for protection. Defeated by her half-brother and her rebel subjects, why did she expect more sympathy from the English Queen than from her Scottish kin? Was it rational to anticipate support from the very ruler whose title and arms as Sovereign of England, she, when Queen of France, had been instructed by her elders to claim?[2]

From the papal standpoint, not Elizabeth the heretic but Mary the Catholic was the rightful monarch of England; for which reason England was the country of

---

[1] The essential correspondence in regard to the matters ensuing is summarised, and partly quoted verbatim, in the carefully compiled "*Calendar of the State Papers relating to Scotland and Mary Queen of Scots 1547-1603 preserved in the Public Record Office, the British Museum, and elsewhere in England.*" Edited by Joseph Bain, F.S.A. Scot. &c. Vol. II. A.D. 1563-1569. H.M. Gen: Reg: House, Edinburgh, 1900, (The year 1568, pp. 400-559)

[2] Under 1559, 27 July, Sir William Cecil had noted,

"The Arms of the Scot: Queen were set upon certain Arches at the Marriadge solemnised for the King of Spain with the French Kings daughter, *with the Armes of England,* with these verses underneath:

'The Armes of Mary Queen Dolphin of France,
The noblest Lady in Earth for till advance *(sic)*
Of Scotland Queen and England too,
Of Ireland too, as God hath provided it so . . .'"

State Papers, ed: Murdin (1759) p. 749. This was after the treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis. The Duke of Alba acted as proxy for King Philip at the wedding ceremony, and then escorted the young Queen Isabel to Spain. For Queen Elizabeth's demands in regard to the taking down of the English Royal Arms, see ante, I, 1, 3.

all others that Queen Mary should have refrained from entering, unless escorted by a powerful and victorious army.

Nothing is easier than thus to be wise after the event. But unless we go back into the circumstances, as they appeared in mid May of 1568, we may misjudge not only the Queen of Scots but the Queen of England.

On Sunday the 16th about seven in the evening, Queen Mary arrived at Workington near Cockermouth, with "the Duke's son named Glawde" (Lord Claud Hamilton), Lord Herries, Lord Fleming, and other attendants; only one being a woman.[1] Next day, she wrote a long letter (in French) to Queen Elizabeth, recapitulating the evil procedure of her subjects; including the slaying of her servant Rizzio. Describing her imprisonment at Lochleven, and her compulsory resignation of her crown; her subsequent escape; her efforts to come to terms with the Regent's party and to avoid bloodshed; the arrest and imprisonment of her messengers by the confederate Lords; their besetting of her on the way to Dumbarton with intent to capture or slay her; the overthrow of her forces; her flight to Lord Herries' home, and thence with him into England,—after riding sixty miles, and having nowhere to go that night,—she appealed to her sister Sovereign to have compassion upon her "*piteux estat,*" not only as a Queen but in human mercy: "*Vostre très fidelle et affectionnée bonne soeur cousine et eschapée prisonière* MARIE R."[2]

That same evening, Richard Lowther wrote to tell Sir William Cecil of the arrival of "hir majestie of Scotland." He had waited upon her, and proposed to conduct her next day to Carlisle Castle until he could "know by your honour the Queenes Majesty's pleasure."[3] Meanwhile Queen Elizabeth had heard of her "sister's" escape from "*tres infortunée captivité*"; but not yet of the disastrous battle. She wrote from Greenwich:

" . . . affection to my nearest relative, and the honour of a Queen, constrain me to send this word

---

[1] News from Scotland. ½ p. (copy, in hand of Cecil's clerk.) C.P. I. Cal: S.P. Scot: II. 661. p. 409.

[2] 33 pp. French, copy by Cecil's clerk. Docketed by Cecil 17 May 1568. "Copy of the Q of Scottes lettre to the Q Maiestie sent." C.P. and Cal: S.P.S. II. 657. p. 408.

[3] "Cockermouth at night." "Richard Louther." 1 p. C.P. Vol. I. Cal: S.P.S. II. 658. p. 408.

Lowther was High Sheriff of Cumberland, 8th and 30th Elizabeth; thrice "Commissioner in the great affairs between England and Scotland." He married Frances, daughter of John Middleton of Middleton, Westmorland; and gave his children a "virtuous education, ... advanced his brothers and sisters out of his own patrimony, governed his family, and kept plentiful hospitality for 57 years together. (Le Neve's *Monument: Angl:* Vol. I. p. 16.)

He was knighted after the Union of the Crowns. Vide "*A Perfect Collection or Catalogue of all Knights Batchelaurs made by King James since his coming to the Crown of England*" etc. (1603). "*Sr Richard Lowther Cumb.*" (Metcalfe's "*Book of Knights,*" 1885. p. 144.)

He died 27th January, 1607, aged 77, and was buried at Lowther. (Effigy tomb, with table of 4 descents.)

In a Journal kept by his great-grandson J. Lowther, 1st Viscount Lonsdale, it is stated that

"Sir Richard Lowther was incarcerated in the Tower of London for entertaining the Queen of Scots; from whence he was happily delivered with much honour, after he had been twice there imprisoned at his great cost, as appeareth by his books of expense in going and remaining there." (Information from his descendant, the present Viscount Ullswater).

by a gentleman, and my advice on matters touching your estate and honour, whereof I am not less careful than you can wish, and whereof you have been careless in the past, as he will declare in plain terms. If you had as much regard thereto as to an unhappy and wicked one" (*ung malheureuse meschant,* meaning the Earl of Bothwell) "all the world would have condoled with you; as, to speak without disguising, not many do. But this is a time for congratulation; . . . my affection leading me to consider your present needs, and give the advice which I should wish for myself in like case. I pray you give ear to what the bearer will say, and remember that those who have two strings to their bow may shoot stronger, but they rarely shoot straight."[1]

The next day, 18th May, Queen Elizabeth, still not aware of the battle of Langside, sent to the Regent Murray an epistle drafted by her Principal Secretary: Hearing that the Queen her good sister is at liberty, contrary to the Regent's mind, and that great forces are being gathered on both sides, she, being desirous that no foreign army should be brought in, has sent the bearer Thomas Leighton to impart her letters and views to her sister, and the like to the Regent, expecting a speedy answer.[2]

Her instructions to Leighton were to express joy to the Queen of Scots on her deliverance from captivity, and promise that if without calling in aid from France, she would abide by her English sister's intervention, she should receive help, either to persuade or compel her subjects to obedience. With Her Majesty's consent, Leighton was next to repair to "the contrary party," delivering letters to the Earl of Murray, and moving him and his associates to submit the whole controversy to Queen Elizabeth's decision. But if the Queen of Scots manifestly meant to call in help from France, it must be concluded that her aim was to renew old quarrels; and Leighton must then express his Sovereign's sorrow, withdraw all offers, and return home with speed.[3]

It is useless to speculate what would have happened if Leighton could have reached Scotland before the battle of Langside; but we must remember that what Queen Elizabeth then dreaded was a combination of the Catholic Queen of Scots with the Catholic King of France.

The French Ambassador met Queen Mary at Carlisle on his way south; as related by Richard Lowther, when reporting on the 18th May how he had attended the Scottish Queen at Cockermouth: "Her Grace's attire is very mean, and as I learn she hath not any better, neither other wherewith to change."

Conjecturing her to be without money, Lowther defrayed the costs of her stay at Cockermouth, and provided geldings for the journey of herself and her company to Carlisle, where he lodged her in the Castle. He adds that on hearing that the Regent intended to execute some of her followers, she said with tears that she trusted either her good sister the Queen of England, or her friends in France, would soon avenge those injuries.[4]

---

[1] 1 p. Fr: Secretarial hand, docketed by Cecil's clerk "Copy of the Q. Majesties lettre to the Q. of Scottes. By Mr. Tho. Leighton." Cal: II. 656. pp. 407-8.

[2] Ib: 659. p. 408.

[3] Gist of 3 pp. draft by Cecil, much corrected. Ib: 660. Cal: p. 409.

[4] C.P. I. Cal: S.P.S. II. 664. p. 410.

There now enters upon the scene an English peer, upon whose fortunes the Queen of Scots was to have a far more unhappy effect than on her Scottish champion Lord Claud Hamilton; who, despite his gallantry on the losing side, was to survive to see his son a Privy Councillor and Earl of Abercorn when Queen Mary's son was ruling Great Britain and Ireland in the next century.[1]

Sir Thomas Percy, 7th Earl of Northumberland, Knight of the Garter, came of one of the most ancient houses in the kingdom. Married to a devoted wife, of ancestry nearly as distinguished as his own, and with everything in private and public affairs to hold him back from needless hazard, he was to be one of those to lose all in the cause of the Scottish Queen. But no premonition of tragedy can be detected in his letter to Queen Elizabeth relating how "this Tuesday 18th May" at about 1 p.m., he had received intelligence, from the officers of his Liberty of Cockermouth, that late last Sunday night the Queen of Scots was come to Workington, with "divers of her nobility to the number of sixteen persons": whereon for her entertainment and safety he had sent word to his friends there to attend upon her, until his Sovereign's pleasure should be known to him.[2] At the same time he wrote to Sir William Cecil expressing a hope that as the Queen of Scots had "happened" into his hands, Cecil would not so discredit him as to deliver her over to any other.[3]

On the 21st of May, Northumberland arrived at Carlisle Castle, spoke with the Queen of Scots; and fell into "great heat and anger" when Lowther refused to give her over into his keeping.[4] So "At mydnyght" on May 25th, Sir Francis Knollys wrote, "I shall desyre your lordship, in the Queenes hyghnes name, not to medle with the removyng of the Queene of Skottes any furder into this realm before I shall come to hyr Graces presence . . . ."[5]

Knollys, an experienced soldier and courtier, describes Queen Mary graphically:

> ". . . this lady and Princess," he wrote to Secretary Cecil, "is a notable woman; she seemeth to regard no ceremonious honour beside the acknowledging of her estate royal; she showeth a disposition to speak much, to be bold, to be pleasant, and to be very familiar.
>
> "*She showeth a readiness to expose herself to all perils in hope of victory; she delighteth much to hear of hardiness and valiancy; commending by name all*

[1] 19 years after the defeat at Langside, James VI conferred upon Lord Claud Hamilton the Barony of Paisley, 1587; and his son James was created Baron Abercorn, Co. Linlithgow, 1603; and Earl of Abercorn 1606. This branch of the Hamiltons is now represented by the Duke of Abercorn.

Though the main claim to remembrance of Lord Claud Hamilton (younger son of the 2nd Earl of Arran and 1st Duke of Chatellherault) is his effort on behalf of his Queen in 1568, this service is not mentioned in the account of his career in G.E.C.'s *Complete Peerage*, 1st edition.

[2] 1 p. holog: C.P. Vol. I. Col: S.P.S. II. 662. p. 410.

[3] "Your right assured cosyn Northumberland." 1¼ p. Holog: Ib: 663.

[4] Ib: No. 670. p. 412.

[5] ½ p Holog: Ib. 671. p. 413.

approved hardy men of her country, although they be her enemies; and she concealeth no cowardness even in her friends.

"*The thing she most thirsteth after is victory;* and it seemeth to be indifferent to her to have her enemies demolished either by the sword of her friends, or by the liberal promises and rewards of her purse, or by divisions and quarrels raised amongst themselves; so that for victory's sake pain and peril seemeth pleasant unto her; and in respect of victory, wealth and all things seemeth to her contemptible and vile. *Now what is to be done with such a lady and Princess . . . ?*" [1]

There could not be a more signal tribute to Queen Mary's brave spirit than this description of how resolute she appeared, less than four weeks after the overthrow of her army under her very eyes.

Her ill-starred appeal to Queen Elizabeth we shall see working out slowly to results culminating on a scaffold inside Fotheringhay Castle; when on the 8th of February, 1586-7, she was to face with heroic courage a death which remains to this day a blot upon the name of England. Nevertheless the Councillors who at last urged their Sovereign to so cruel a measure—Lord Robert Dudley Earl of Leicester, Sir William Cecil Lord Burghley, Sir Francis Walsingham, and Sir Christopher Hatton,—in no way resembled the shamelessly treacherous Scottish nobles who had rebelled against their Queen. These English statesmen, according to their code and creed, laboured devotedly in the service of their Monarch; and had no enemies except her enemies, no friends except her friends.

Attempts to depict and interpret the captivity of the Queen of Scots in England have too often been marred by imperfect comprehension of the European wars, which were so to react upon her case that in the end her violent death was hastened by the Spanish projects ostensibly intended for her deliverance.

Whether we be following meanwhile the course of events in England, France or Ireland, in Spain or Portugal, or even in the Ottoman Empire, we should carry in mind that during all these changes and chances a Princess who had inherited a Crown when only a few days old, who had been Queen Consort of France before returning to her Northern Kingdom,—accomplished, courageous, vigorous-minded, still young and beautiful,—was shut away from the activities which were her birthright.

If she plotted escape, who in her place would have done otherwise? If she conspired with the Spanish King and the Pope, and appealed to the Duke of Alba, did they not seem her destined champions? If she was ready to promise her hand in marriage to the Duke of Norfolk, however necessary it was for Queen Elizabeth's ministers to frustrate such plans, it is in no way obligatory upon English Protestant historians to-day to represent the Scottish prisoner as a monster. Nor is it needful

---

[1] Holog: 2 pp. 11 June 1568. From Carlisle. Cotton: Calig: C.I. f. 124. (Cal: S.P.S. 1900. Vol. II. p. 428. in orig: spelling).

to the argument for the Catholic Church to class Queen Elizabeth's high officials as unmitigated villains.

While the indiscretions of some of Queen Mary's defenders and the hard-heartedness of her detractors tend to make confusion, the point sometimes obscured is that she suffered more for her religion than any other Catholic potentate of her day. She had the most to gain by compromise; but from her arrival in Scotland, till her death, in all the six-and-twenty years of continuous ordeals, she never wavered in her faith.

Accustomed to her regal rank since earliest childhood,—"the charge to which God called me in my cradle,"—she suffered more acutely in captivity than had she been of a hermit's disposition, or impelled by the form of piety which renounces the world because weary of the world. Commenting upon humility as one of the Christian virtues, she characteristically added that, in avoiding pride, it was far worse for a Sovereign to fall into the "*ugly slough of pusillanimity: a thing unworthy of generous souls, such as those should be who by the Divine Will are called upon to wield the sceptre . . . and exercise authority. . . .*"[1]

In her kingdom of Scotland she had encountered such false friends and relentless foes, and so many of the harshest measures against her had been taken under colour of religion, that if she abhorred heretics, such feeling was as natural as that many of the English Protestants had chafed against the rule of Philip of Spain, when King Consort of England.

Generous-hearted, apt to trust blindly those she cared for, Queen Mary of Scots was so extraordinarily ill-fated that by comparison the good fortune of Queen Elizabeth seems the more astonishing. After an unhappy childhood and forlorn girlhood, repudiated by her father, and in her sister's time for a while a prisoner in the Tower of London, expecting death,—Elizabeth's triumphs after her accession, and the great ability and steadfast loyalty of her chief ministers, are in striking contrast to the life drama of Queen Mary.

In every crisis, Queen Elizabeth was to be saved by the wisdom of her Councillors and the courage and determination of her naval and martial defenders. But on each occasion of an effort being made on behalf of Queen Mary, any seeming success was but a means of luring her towards further dangers.

As gracious and as open-handed as Queen Elizabeth was cold-hearted and close-fisted, to *give* was as natural to Queen Mary as to *get* was instinctive with Queen Elizabeth. Of the two, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the Queen of Scots was of more princely spirit. Yet Destiny was on the side of the Queen of England.

The explanation is largely to be found in the character of the English. Whereas in Scotland Queen Mary's sex was her worst misfortune, her ministers

[1] Concluding parag: "Discourse on Adversity." Orig: holog: P.R.O.: M.Q. of Scots, XI. 57. Undated; bound with S.P. for 1580. In French. "*Queen Mary's Book*," 1907, ed: Stewart-Mackenzie Arbuthnot, pp. 179-190. Trans: pp. 116-127.

treating her as they would have hesitated to treat a male Sovereign, Queen Elizabeth's sex on the contrary appealed to the chivalry of the English. Moreover whereas Queen Mary in Scotland was devotedly constant to an unpopular religion, Queen Elizabeth in England released her people from the Church which, when represented by her sister and by King Philip, had been hated by many for its accompaniment of Smithfield fires. Whereas Queen Mary of Scots was fated to be a heavy loser by her loyalty to the Church in which she had been bred, Queen Elizabeth profited materially by restoring unity of Church and State in her own person.

Though the refusal by her first Parliament to accept any pronouncements of "the Bishop of Rome" drew upon her the enmity of her Catholic subjects, her statesmen were capable of providing against ensuing dangers. Few Monarchs have been better served than Elizabeth Regina; and the "causes why" her absolute power was deliberately built up by her Councillors afford an education in the art of government. And whereas, with exceptions such as Lord Herries, Lord Seton, Lord Claud Hamilton and a few more, Queen Mary's Scots nobles were shamelessly self-seeking,—often as ready to lie and deceive as if they had never heard such words as "truth" and "honour,"—the largest number of Queen Elizabeth's aristocracy saw in the creation and maintenance of a strong Monarchy the only hope for their country.

The miserable state of Scotland, with its ferocious political factions, and its many private feuds, stood ever before them as a warning. But the mental force of Queen Elizabeth's chief Councillors is yet imperfectly realised, because history is usually studied in fragments, wrapped up in generalities, varying according to whether the writer has been born Protestant or Catholic. It is not modern opinion which will help us; but entering into the complexities as they were at the time: a very different matter from what they appear in certain volumes styled *"The History of England,"* but more precisely to be entitled *"The Impressions of James Anthony Froude."*

Froude ended his *"History"* in 1588, believing that the execution of Queen Mary in 1587, and the defeat of the Armada the following summer, settled for ever the supremacy of the seas and the security of Protestant England. But the beheading of Queen Mary did not end the Succession Controversy; and peace with Spain was not publicly to be signed until Queen Mary's son, as King of Great Britain and Ireland, won the title of Rex *Pacificus*.

Lovers of the Queen of Scots need not fear that her courage will seem less, or their sympathy for her anguish be reduced, after fuller knowledge of the hazards faced by Queen Elizabeth. Nor need defenders of Elizabeth Regina imagine that the case for Protestant England will be overthrown if justice be done to the memory of the Catholic Queen of Scotland. But to see the circumstances as they appeared to those concerned, will enable us to recognise the ruinous error of judgment made by Queen Mary when she chose this country for her refuge. The mistake was not

without grace of spirit; for the inference is that had Queen Elizabeth been vanquished, and fled to Scotland, the Queen of Scots would have received her with open arms; and therefore assumed an equal measure of compassion would be given to herself.[1]

Queen Mary's idea then was that among all Sovereigns there should be a defensive alliance; treason and rebellion not being to the interest of any one Monarch to countenance against another, lest the ill example spread.

Such was Queen Elizabeth's professed principle; and in another instance we shall see her acting upon it. But between Mary the dethroned "Papist" Queen of Scotland and Elizabeth the Protestant ruler of England, was a wide gulf; and the Regent Murray was to make it wider.

In the *Narratione dello Stato della Regina di Scotia,* circulated among continental sympathisers of Queen Mary, Marcaldi describes how, after the defeat of the Scottish Queen in battle, by the usurping Regent,

> "the Queen of England sent letters and Ambassadors to her, ... *comforting her and exhorting her to patience, and to support bravely such misfortune. and invited and urged her to come into her kingdom of England: and promised to treat her most lovingly as her own sister: and particularly wished that her subjects should render her obedience.*
>
> The Queen, lured with these fair but false words, took the road to England: but on arrival was suddenly shut up in a certain castle, ... nor thenceforth could she go into the presence of the Queen of England," who "pretended that she wished to settle and reconcile all the affairs of the kingdom of Scotland" in the Queen's favour, but "secretly supported" her foes.
>
> "The Council was summoned. The Lords assembled and met in England; amongst whom was the Duke of Norfolk and others on behalf of the Queen of England. The Bishop of Ross and certain other Ambassadors of Scotland vindicated the actions of their Queen. James the unlawful Regent and various others undertook to defend the party of the Confederates. Nor was any agreement reached by this; but each one shouted at and accused [the others,] and as much as he could sowed discord. The Ambassadors were irritated; and after many months in London the Council was dismissed and dissolved. The Scots returned to their homes; only the Bishop of Ross, the Ambassador of the Queen of Scotland, at her request remained. . . ."[2]

This was the Conference in which James Earl of Murray continued his deadly machinations against the sister and Queen he had begun slandering to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, in Paris seven years before."[3]

As Queen Elizabeth's earliest war (on coming to the throne) had been north of the Tweed, Murray in 1568 had no wish to risk another English invasion, such as might ensue if Queen Mary gained access to the Queen of England. So he and all the Confederates regarded it as vital to their own safety to prevent a meeting between the two Queens, such as could hardly have failed to lead to a discovery by Queen Elizabeth that in 1561 Lord James Stuart had deliberately deceived her as to Mary's intentions.[4]

---

[1] She had reason to think so: "in respect of the fair promises formerly made to her by the Queen of England by word to her Ambassadors, and by her own hand writ both before and after she was captive in Lochleven."
Sir James Melville's *Memoirs,* (ed: 1929), p. 170.

[2] Bishop Leslie, whose eloquent writings in defence of his defeated Sovereign have immortalised him.

[3] I. 1. 4 App: B. pp. 205-210. [4] Ante. I. 1. 4. App: B.

When Lord Herries, at Carlisle, had spoken to Sir Francis Knollys of Queen Mary's " innocence of the murder of her husband," Sir Francis—though admiring her " eloquent tongue," " discreet head," " stout courage and liberal heart,"—had answered that until she could be cleared of the " great slander of murder," Queen Elizabeth might hesitate to meet her face to face.[1]

This may have given to Mary's enemies the idea of producing the preposterous Casket Letters: concerning which they offered such elaborate stories—in effort to distract attention from a former Act of Parliament of their own, with which the letters did not tally,—that the very plethora of detail, and the reiterated protestations as to their perfect veracity, seem such as from time immemorial have been used to bolster up political fictions.[2]

That the " lettrez, missives, contracts, sonnettes and utheris writtes " were offered for inspection " without alteration, chaneging, eking or dismissing of anything found or ressavit in the said box," was sworn by the Confederates. (Persons who have no scruples about murder do not hesitate to commit perjury.)

As to their discovery of a marriage contract of *" Marie par la grace de Dieu Royne descosse "* to *" Jacques Hepburn Comte de Boduel,"*[3] common-sense should convince us that if Bothwell could have obtained Queen Mary's written promise to marry him,—and if she had indeed been so madly obsessed with his supposed attractions as to be ready to contrive a murder for his sake,—he need not have waylaid her outside Edinburgh, and *" with force and treasonable violence "* have laid hands upon her and carried her off to Dunbar Castle; *" incarcerating and holding her therein captive for the space of twelve days or thereby, ... compelling her through fear . . . to give him a promise of marriage,"*—as stated in the Scottish Act of Parliament for his forfeiture, December the 20th, 1567, when it suited his late accomplices to abandon him.

But as the Virgin Queen of England scorned amorous sentiment (if applied to others),—and had rebuked Queen Mary for being too lenient to the " unhappy wicked one " Bothwell, after his downfall and flight,—to represent her as criminally

---

[1] 29 May, 1568. Lord Scope and Sir F. Knollys to Q. Eliz: Cotton MS. Calig: C. I. f. 108. Cal. S.P.S. II. p. 417.

[2] Morton's story to Cecil, Dec: 1568 (after there had been some incredulity shown by the English Council,) was that one of Bothwell's servants, *when threatened with torture,* was " movid of conscience " and brought him the casket *voluntarily* on 19th June, 1567 (the emphasis as to the date suggests that the forgeries were more recent than the time specified). Lacking the key, said Morton, the box had been forcibly opened on 21 June, in the presence of certain peers (named). Vide *" The trew declaration . . . of me James erll of Mortoun how a certain silver box ourgilt conteyning dyvers missive writtings sonettz contractis & obligations for marriage betwixt the Queene mother to our soveran lord, & James sumtyme erll Bothwell, was found . . ."* Add: MS. 32, 091, f. 216, docketed " This is the copie of that quhilk was gevin to Mr Secretarie Cecill upon Thursday the vij of December 1568." Confirmed and signed, 29 Dec: 1568. In extenso Cal. S.P.S. M.Q. of S. Vol. II. ed: Bain (1900) pp. 730-731. When Skelton published his defence of Queen Mary (*" The Impeachment "* etc. see Bibliog: Note, Ante p. 312,) these State Papers had not been calendared. Skelton's arguments can be supported a hundredfold from the wealth of material now easily available, though frequently neglected by popular disputants.

[3] Cotton MS. Calig. C. I. f. 271.

infatuated with him was a skilful if devilish method of endeavouring to incur the disdain of Elizabeth. Hence the portrayal of Queen Mary as hurling herself into Bothwell's arms during Darnley's lifetime, and concocting in cold blood, with hideous merriment, the plot for her wretched husband's violent death.[1]

Bitter experience made Mary apprehensive that the same rebels who had murdered Darnley, and dethroned her, would try to justify themselves; and, though they had not been able to take her life, they would plot to wreck her honour. So she wrote to her Commissioners (as Skelton quoted in 1876):

> "In case they allege they have any writings of mine which may infer presumptions against me, ye shall desire that the principals be produced, *and that I myself may have inspection thereof and make answer thereto;* for ye shall affirm in my name I never wrote anything concerning that matter to any creature; *and if any such writings there be, they are false and feigned, forged and invented by themselves to my dishonour and slander; and there are persons in Scotland both men and women, who can counterfeit my handwriting, and with the like manner of writing which I use as well as myself,* and principally such as are in company with themselves."

The "feigned" effusions, purporting to have been written to Lord Bothwell, were shown "in private and secret conference" by the Scots Confederates to the English Commissioners at York on the 21st of October. Unlike Queen Mary's genuine letters, which were usually in French, they were in the Scots dialect.

Queen Elizabeth's Commissioners read them with disgust, finding them "foul," "abominable," "most unmete to come from a Queen," or indeed to be presented at all to "honest ears."[2]

A memoranda by Sir William Cecil headed "*Pro Regina Scotorum*" sets forth that as she came to England trusting in the help of the Queen from whom she had received many messages, she could reasonably claim assistance. Furthermore she had been unlawfully dethroned by her subjects; and being a Queen, she was not bound to answer accusations, other than her own conscience might urge her to do. She had offered to clear herself: and why should she not? Even a private person

---

[1] Q. Mary is made to invite Bothwell to "laughe" at the way she had deceived her husband "trymly" to "make a lye . . . & to mingle truthe therwith." Also the Q. Mary of the letters appeals to "God" to make of her and Bothwell "the most faythfull couple that ever he did knytt together. This is my fayth, I will dye in it. . . . Burne this lettre, for it is to dangerous . . . . now to please you, ... I spare neither honour, conscience, nor hazard, nor greatness. . . . Your humble and faythfull lover . . ." Cal. S.P.S. pp. 722-727: English version of letter which begins "il me semble" etc.

[2] Cotton MS. Calig: I. f. 200 (Cal: S. P. Scot, M.Q. of S. II. p. 527); and Ib: pp. 586-587: But in the 19th century a fashion arose for morbid rhapsody over what the more manly taste of the 16th century found detestable. Even Kingsley, animadverting on the "utter self-abasement" of the letters, (vide Skelton, p. 214) called them "so unexpected, so subtle, and yet so true to the heart of woman" that "as has well been said," if invented they must be the product of an "*earlier Shakespeare*"! But as Shakespeare's Queens and great ladies—even Hamlet's mother,—are dignified in manner and diction, conspicuous always for grace, charm, and high breeding, nothing could be less Shakespearian than the dreary grossness, coarse fatuity, and cold cruelty of the Casket Letters. Presumably Kingsley can only have read them in a bowdlerised paraphrase.

coming into England for refuge, under a criminal charge, would not be condemned unheard.

If we read only so far we would assume Cecil likely to defend her. But notes "*Contra Reginam Scotorum*" ensue; and recapitulate the Confederates' charge: that she procured her husband's murder, after constituting him King; and that she caused Bothwell to be acquitted, and gave to this principal murderer greater estates than previously to the King Consort; and also despite Bothwell's evil conduct to her she had permitted him to escape from justice at last.[1]

But on the 30th of June Cecil had stated that it was not the wish of his own Sovereign to condemn the Scottish Queen, but rather to try and make "reasonable conditions" between her and her subjects. There follows what seems to be his first reference to the Casket Letters:

> "*Question.* Whether if the originals shall accord with the copies of the writings produced, . . . the proofs shall be thought sufficient?
>
> *Answer.* No proofs can be taken for sufficient without hearing both parties."[2]

Queen Mary declared she did not wish to answer until she could see the Queen of England in person. But Elizabeth, while professing belief in her innocence, requested her to answer to "any noble person" who might be appointed for the purpose."[3] The Scottish Queen wrote a long letter beseeching her "good sister" not to be "mine enemy until you may see how I can discharge myself in every way":

> "Alas, do not as the serpent that stoppeth his hearing, for I am no enchanter, but your sister and natural cousin. If Caesar had not disdained to hear or read the complaint of an advertiser, he had not so died. . . . I am not of the nature of the basilisk, and less to the cameleons to turn you to my likeness. And though I should be so dangerous and curst as men say, you are sufficiently secured with constancy and with justice. . . ."[4]

Long prior to this being published in our own day, Skelton in 1876 had pointed out that the private correspondence of Queen Elizabeth's Councillors with each other is not such as to suggest that they really accepted the criminal accusations:

> "The Earl of Sussex, after examining the letters addressed a confidential letter to Cecil, in which the tone of doubt . . . . is strongly emphasised. The [Scots] Lords will not venture, he says, to accuse the Queen of murder by producing her letters, as in that event 'she will deny them, and accuse most of them of manifest consent to the murder, [of Darnley] *hardly to be denied,* so as upon the trial on both sides *her* proofs will judicially fall out best, *as is thought.*'
>
> "'And now, touching my opinion of the matter,' he continues, 'I think surely no end can be made good for England except the person of the Scotch Queen be detained by one means or another in England.' To accomplish this object the Queen must be proved guilty of the murder. But 'if this will not fall out sufficiently (as I doubt it will not) to determine judicially if she denies her letters,' another course, which he points out, ... would require to be adopted. The

[1] Cal: S. P. Scott: p. 439. [2] Ib: f. 152. Cal: p. 448.

[3] 30 June, 1568. Copy of letter in Q. Elizabeth's own hand. C.P. I. Cal: S.P.S. p. 449.

[4] July 5, 1568. 3 pp. Copy in Cecil's hand. Ib. f. 160. Cal: pp. 451-453. For Queen Mary's holog: letters to Q. Eliz. from 17 May, 1568 to 1st Oct., 1569, from Cotton Calig: MSS. C.I. (B.M.) see Cal: S.P.S. (1900) ed. Bain, Vol. II. App. I. pp. 701-721.

sagacious and experienced Sussex, it is clear, had formed an extremely unfavourable opinion of the value of the documents which the Lords had produced at York."

When the Conference adjourned from York to Westminster, again in the absence of Queen Mary's own Commissioners, her foes put forward the Casket Letters; this time in French, in which tongue, as the Council Minutes attest, they were read and copied, and " by reading and inspection " found to " accord " with the alleged originals which the Earl of Murray *" required to be redelivered "* to him. When the Council met again at Hampton Court, the letters were compared with genuine letters which had been addressed to Queen Elizabeth.

"The examination was of the most cursory and unscientific kind. 'It is to be noted,' Cecil frankly admits, 'that at the time of the producing, showing, and reading of all these foresaid writings, *there was no special choice, nor regard paid to the order of the producing thereof*. but the whole writings lying altogether upon the Council table, the same were one after another showed rather by hap, as the same did lie on the table, than with any choice made, as by the natures thereof, *if time had so served,* might have been.'"[1]

Had Cecil, with the Duke of Norfolk, and the Earls of Sussex and Arundel, believed the letters genuine, the methods would have been very different.

Though it seems to have escaped notice that Queen Elizabeth rebuked Lord Murray for *" his so audacious slandering of his Sovereign Lady,"*[2] it has long been known that the English Commissioners dismissed the Scots Confederates with the assertion that *" ' there had been nothing sufficiently produced nor shown by them against the Queen their Sovereign, whereby the Queen of England should conceive or take any evil opinion of the Queen her good sister, for anything yet seen.'"*[3]

But though the usurpers of Queen Mary's rule in Scotland went back to Edinburgh apparently defeated, they had so far accomplished their sinister purpose that the network of slander they had woven around the most unfortunate of all the Royal Stuarts was more than sufficient to ensure the continuance of her captivity, in the country she had sought in hope of vindication and assistance.

---

[1] Skelton, *" The Impeachment,"* etc. p. 48. [2] Cal: S.P.S. II. No. 929.
[3] Skelton, p. 246.

APPENDIX A.

"HIS SO AUDACIOUS SLANDERING OF HIS SOVERAYN LADY":

The Conference on the "Casket Letters."

Queen Elizabeth having referred to the Earl of Murray's *"so audacious slandering of his Soverayn Lady,"*—using this phrase in connection with his statement that the Scots Queen had written letters which showed her guilty of the murder of her husband,—it appears remarkable that the majority of the 19th and 20th century discussions upon the attitude of Queen Elizabeth to her cousin rarely include her own words.

Of vacillation and double dealing, and of harsh injustice in detaining as a prisoner the kinswoman who came to her trusting in her hospitality, the Queen of England cannot be acquitted. But any assumption that she accepted as genuine the repulsive "Casquet Letters," produced by Lord James Stuart, Earl of Murray, in hope to "prove" his half-sister a murderess, is not borne out by the official correspondence.

The chief material is so elaborate and prolix that it may be doubted if the writers of popular discourses thereon have read it through.[1] We will therefore extract the main points: not digressing to what Froude or Kingsley thought long after the events, but keeping to what the Sovereigns themselves said at the time.

On the 11th of October the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Sussex, and Sir R. Sadleir wrote to Queen Elizabeth as to having been shown by Queen Mary's accusers "one horrible and long letter *of her own hand as they say, containing foul matter abominable to be either thought of or to be written by a Prince,* with divers fond ballads of her own hand, which letters, ballads and other writings before specified were closed in a little coffer of silver and gilt, heretofore given by her to Bothwell."

> These papers show "such inordinate" ("and filthie,"—crossed out) "love between her and Bothwell, her loathsomeness and abhorring of her husband that was murdered, *in such sort as every good and godly man cannot but detest* . . . . these men here do constantly affirm the said letters and other writings which they produce of her own hand, *to be of her own hand,* and do offer to take their oath thereon" (two words scored out) "the matter contained in them being such as could hardly be invented or devised . . . . we have noted to your Majesty the chief and special points of the said letters written *(as they say)* with her own hand, . . . it may please your Majesty to consider . . . . whether the same be sufficient" to convict her of the murder of her husband, *"which . . . . if the same letters be written with her own hand"* (six or seven words crossed out) *"is very hard to be avoided."*[2]

"If the same letters be written with her own hand," is the question. And if Norfolk and Sussex had felt sure, they would not have added *"If."*

---

[1] The student will find it, including the copies of the Casket Letters, in *"Calendar of the State Papers relating to Scotland and Mary, Queen of Scots, 1547-1603, preserved in the Public Record Office, the British Museum, and elsewhere in England. Edited by Joseph Bain, H.M. General Register House, Edinburgh, 1900,"* pp. i-xxvi, and 1-842.

[2] Cotton MSS. Calig: C.I. f. 200. Cal: II. p. 527. The description of the letters is appropriate to the contents. It has been reserved for 19th and 20th century minds to find them delightful and expressive of "a woman's heart," though there is every reason to believe them forged by men, who having committed murder, did not stick at the most villainous fabrications in order (as they hoped) to divert suspicion from themselves.

Queen Elizabeth's next action was to recall Norfolk, Sussex and Sadleir from York to Westminster, and join with them as Commissioners Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, the Earls of Arundel and Leicester, the Lord High Admiral, and Sir William Cecil: to meet Queen Mary's Commissioners and those named for the infant King of Scots.[1]

The Queen of England then ordered it to be stated that in calling a Commission, it was not her intention "that the Earl of Murray or any with him should be boldened . . . to enter into accusation of the said Queen for any crime *or suspicion of crime:* for that *her Majesty principally wished that, upon the hearing, . . . the honour of estate of the said Queen of Scots were preserved and found entirely whole and firm . . .*"[2]

Queen Mary's Commissioners, the Bishop of Ross and others, then openly accused the "*devilish band*" of Scottish Lords of being themselves the culprits; and declared that "It was not the punishment of that slaughter" of Darnley "but the usurping of the Sovereign's authority" which was their object. This counter accusation was true; and if we go back to the first conversation of Lord James Stuart with Sir Nicholas Throckmorton in Paris seven years before, we will see how the same traitor who in 1561 had deceived Throckmorton,—and, in affecting zeal for unity between the two Queens, had done his utmost to sow seeds of hatred,—was again in 1568 the chief cause of all the troubles of his sister. That in the interval she had heaped him with favours and given him an Earldom made no difference. Those who intend to take all are never propitiated by being given part. The difference between 1561 and 1568 was that in 1568 this man had thrown off his mask.[3]

During the enquiry at Westminster the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal informed Murray that Her Majesty wished them all to know that she considered it "*very strange*" that they, as Scotsmen, should accuse their Queen of such an offence against law and nature: and "*although you . . . . have forgotten your duties, ... yet her Majesty meaneth not to forget the office of a good sister and of a good neighbour and friend.*"[4]

The producing of the so-called Marriage Contract of Queen Mary to Bothwell, and the subsequent conference at Hampton Court, did not lead to any open decision: though had this contract and the letters been accepted as genuine there could have been no doubt as to Queen Mary's guilt.

On the 19th of December she wrote to her own Commissioners,[5] protesting that whereas "the Earl Murray and his complices" state "*that we knew, conceded, devised . . . . or commanded the murder of our husband,*" they were themselves the "*authors, inventors, and doers*" of that crime. Denouncing their hypocrisy, in that they tried to "fortify themselves in Our Son's name till their tyranny were better established," she asks to "*see the alleged principal writings if they have any produced. And with God's grace we shall make such answer thereto that our innocence shall be known to our good sister and all other Princes,*" and the accusers shall be shown as the devisers of the "crime they would impute to us . . . ."[6]

In a personal letter to Sir Francis Knollys the following day, Queen Elizabeth related

[1] Cal. p. 552, from CP. vol. II. 24 Nov: 1568.

[2] Cotton MSS. Calig: C.I. f. 311. Cal: p. 554.

[3] For the Book of Articles (Charges), Add: MSS. 33, 531. p. 51, &c., 27 pp., is summarised in Cal: II, pp. 555-559, and was printed in Hosack's "*Mary Queen of Scots and her Accusers.*" For the answer of Mary's Commissioners, see Cotton, Calig: C.I. f. 314; Cal: pp. 560-561.

[4] Ibid: p. 567. [5] Cotton MSS. Calig. B. IX. f. 344. Cal: p. 585.

[6] Letter is in Scots dialect. Queen Mary wrote either in French or Scots; rarely in English. Cotton MS. Calig: B. IX. f. 344. Cal: S.P. Scot, vol. II (1900), pp. 585-586.

how Queen Mary's Commissioners demanded leave for her "to come hither to our presence, to answer before us and all the Ambassadors of foreign Princes, and our Nobility.

Whereupon we answered them that we thought more mete for the honour of the Queen their mistress *to charge and reprove the Earl of Murray of his so audacious a slandering of his Sovereign Lady, than to seem by calling her hither to give any credit to the accusation.* Which being done by our Commissioners very sharply, the said Earl .... did exhibit a great multitude of matters, ... *letters and writings which they upon their oaths affirmed to be of the Queen's own handwriting*" to the Earl of Bothwell both before the murder of the Lord Darnley and after, ".... very unmete *to come from a Queen.*" These last words crossed out, and "*to be repeated before honest ears*" substituted.

Queen Elizabeth states she had not spoken to the Earl of Murray except once to refer him to her Commissioners. Knollys is bidden to explain all this to the Queen of Scots,

"and let her understand how necessary it is for her honour that she should accord to make answer. . . And the sooner *you attempt the matter the better* ...."[1]

But the Queen of Scots apparently was not allowed to see the collection of letters. Only one was shown to her, and she protested to Cecil that she never wrote anything of the kind.[2] The so-called originals were taken back to Scotland by the producers thereof, and only the copies were kept in England. *No pronouncement was ever made by Queen Elizabeth upon them.*

In the nineteen years captivity of the Scottish Queen, Cecil, during all the negotiations, was certainly the predominating influence upon Queen Elizabeth in keeping her cousin and heir a prisoner. He wrote in 1569 that he considered the Queen of Scots a perpetual danger to England; although this danger would be modified if Queen Elizabeth would marry. The detention of Queen Mary he excused on the ancient pretext that the English Sovereigns were the overlords of Scotland. But on hearing of the Duke of Norfolk's secret plan to marry Queen Mary, when Queen Elizabeth referred to it as "treason," Cecil denied that it deserved that designation.[3] The additional circumstances which afterwards were to bring Norfolk within the compass of the statute against High Treason will be examined in their place. Meanwhile the point is that the Duke must, on consideration, have become convinced the Casket Letters were malevolent forgeries; or he would certainly not have proposed to be the fourth husband of the Princess of whom he had written so emphatically that *if guilty* of writing those atrocious letters, she must be detestable to all "good and godlie men."[4]

---

[1] Cal: S.P. Scot: II., No. 929. pp. 586-587 (From C.P., vol. II).

[2] Letter in secretarial hand, to Cecil. Signed "*votre bien bonne amye Marie R.*" 2 pp. Cotton MS. Calig: C.I. f. 391. Cal: p. 612.

[3] "6 October, 1569. My advise to the Q. Ma^ty in the D. of Norfolk's case." Cotton Calig: C.I. f. 456. Cal: p. 684.

[4] Cotton MS. Calig: C.I., f. 200: and E.E., p. 337 ante. In the "*Compendio Historico vniversale,*" printed in 1594, the "*morte di Henrico marito della Regina di Scotia*" is alluded to, followed by the Queen's marriage with the "*Conte di Boduel.*" Queen Mary's imprisonment in "*l'Isola di Locluuin*" (p. 553), the regency of "*Giocomo Stuardo natural fratello di Regina,*" and Mary's sad experiences in England, are summarised. It is asserted (p. 559) that Queen Mary's death was what the Queen of England all the while had desired; but there is not a word about the Casket Letters. (Although the French Ambassador had privately alluded to such letters, it was in such terms as to indicate that he did not believe them genuine. See E.E., p. 344.)

APPENDIX B.

THE QUEEN OF SCOTS AND HER COMMENTATORS.

As the "Casket letters" were not accepted as reliable evidence by Queen Elizabeth's Commissioners in 1568, and as it was in 1876 that Skelton published his excellently lucid answers to Froude's sensational but superficial defence of the authenticity of those forgeries[1]—the oceans of ink spilt subsequently upon the same theme have appeared needless. But just as the final proofs of "*Elizabethan England*" are being passed for printing, a leading London daily paper has stated the Hatfield MSS. to include an "original" of one of "the *Casket letters on which Mary Queen of Scots was condemned to death.*"

The alleged "originals" of the "Casket Letters" were taken back to Scotland in 1568, and have long since vanished. As they were fabricated to "prove" the Scots Queen's passion for the Earl of Bothwell, and her supposed connivance at his murder of her second husband Henry Lord Darnley,—and as they contained nothing bearing upon England or Elizabeth,—they were irrelevant to Queen Mary's ultimate condemnation, which was on the accusation of prolonged complicity with the declared enemies and intending invaders of England. As the "Casket Letters" purported to relate to Queen Mary's morals when she reigned in *Scotland* (and would in any case have not been matter for the jurisdiction of an *English* Court), the newspaper assumption that she was executed in 1587 on "evidence" brought to England in 1568, is astonishing.

In "*Mary Stuart: Forgotten Forgeries,*" by Sir George Turner, K.B.E., etc., 1933, the publisher announces that "this important contribution to the literature of Mary Queen of Scots . . . *must* be read by all students . . . a clear and documented narrative," etc., etc.

But the volume is not "documented." There are no footnote references. The worst charges against Queen Elizabeth's chief Ministers and defenders are put forward not only without direction where to find the MSS. paraphrased from other modern books, but without even the full titles of 19th century works approved or condemned. Most conspicuous is the absence of reference to Skelton: who defended the Queen of Scots when Froude was so much in fashion that it required real courage to invoke the actual Elizabethans to confound the historian who was being hailed as "inimitable" and treated as an intellectual Columbus.[2]

Sir George Turner's sub-title "*Forgotten Forgeries*" is unexpected, in that the Casket Letters are among the most notorious of forgeries. But, the publisher and Sir George explain that the word "*forgotten*" refers to the eleven extra letters printed in 1726 and reprinted in

---

[1] See ante, Bibliog: Note, p. 312.

[2] As to recent works, Sir George Turner mentions "General Mahon," without any names of his books. They are (1) "*The Indictment of Mary Queen of Scots as derived from a manuscript in the University Library at Cambridge, hitherto unpublished With comments on the authorship of the Manuscript and on its connected documents By Maj. Gen. R. H. Mahon, C.B., C.S.I. Cambridge University Press,*" 1923. (The MS. is the accusation produced at the Westminster Commission of December, 1568, generally known as the "Book of Articles"); and (2) "*Mary Queen of Scots, A Study of the Lennox Narrative in the University at Cambridge With some reflections on her environment in France and on her Marriage Negotiations. By Major-General R. H. Mahon, C.B., C.S.I., F.R. Hist. Society. Cambridge University Press . . . MCMXXIV.*"

The present writer does not agree that the first two of the Casket Letters are "beyond the power of human genius to forge in their entirety." Forgery was not a rare accomplishment in 16th century Scotland, and Queen Mary's worst enemies were among her most intimate acquaintances. The most practical test is to compare the Casket Letters with the numerous genuine writings of Queen Mary, published long since by Prince Lobanoff (see Bibliog: Note, p. 312, ante): a labour which the most recent commentators upon her character appear not to have performed. Sir George Turner's "*Mary Stuart: Forgotten Forgeries*" (1933) contains so much paraphrase of other people's writings on Queen Mary, and so few authentic words of her own, that while warmly defending her "innocence," it would give the novice little if any idea of the Scottish Queen's actual character, talents, regal dignity, and defiant courage.

1824: and the publisher adds that "the effect of the application of those letters said to have been written by Mary, upon the three hundred and sixty-five years old controversy is startling, and they throw a vivid light into incidents in her history which have hitherto been matter only for conjecture."

But as Sir George Turner's point is that the letters were *not* written by Mary, how a vivid light can be thrown upon her "history" by these dreary fabrications is not explained.[1] Sir George appears himself not certain what to pronounce upon them. On page 28 he says "they were *probably* forged 365 years ago in 1567." But on page 29 he says, "It is quite *possible* that the date of their forgery was 1724, but they read as the clever forgery of a contemporary of Mary rather than that of one who lived 136 years after her murder." On page 90 he says, "If forged—*and there can be no doubt they were*" (then why "if"?) "the forger in all probability was Lethington." This hypothesis has by page 96 become accepted by Sir George as a fact: "Lethington was too clever a forger to omit Mary's signature," etc.

But let us notice the manner of the forger. (Translated from French):

"I protest, my ever dear Bothwell, that for an humble life with you I gladly would exchange this load of greatness .... this gaudy burthen of a crown."

As Lethington had every reason to know that next to her religion Queen Mary held her crown as sacred, whoever may have forged this effusion, Maitland of Lethington did not. Take another sample: "I learned this maxim from Katherin de Medicis, to wear a countenance the reverse of my heart. .... Elizabeth circumvents all the plots of her enemies .... my thoughts are taken up with love," etc. (pp. 101-102).

Not only is this not the language of Lethington; it is not the language of the 16th century. Sovereigns did not then allude to each other in this casual fashion: "the Queen of England" or "my sister of England," would have been the phrase of any contemporary forger; and Lethington would not have dreamt of Queen Mary alluding to her mother-in-law as "Katherin de Medicis." "The Queen Mother of France" would have been the natural designation.

With Sir George Turner's belief in Queen Mary's "innocence"—so far as the Casket Letters are concerned,—we should concur. But when Sir George refers to "her accusers" as having "*so long carried the day,*" and considers her vindication necessary, he forgets that half a century ago Sir John Skelton disposed effectually of the most damning charges.

Though protesting against scandals as to the Queen of Scots, no scandal is too gross for Sir George Turner to believe if it smirches the Queen of England. But apart from the injustice of giving new currency to old calumnies, the homely proverb that "Two blacks do not make a white" should be remembered. Even if Queen Elizabeth had been the "bad woman" Sir George asserts, and Leicester her "lover" in the reprehensible sense, with numerous others (unnamed),—if Elizabeth had been a second Messalina,—Mary's character stands or falls not by what Elizabeth was, but by what Mary herself wrote, said, and did. Calling Cecil the "evil genius" of Elizabeth, and branding Leicester as a "wife-murderer" does not advance the argument for Queen Mary. The assumption of Mary's defenders that in order to clear the Scots Queen's moral character they are bound to make the Queen of England into a creature of loose habits and squalid vices is the more of an anachronism, because Queen Elizabeth's notorious decorum and primness were precisely what the original forgers hoped to work upon. Their object was to convict Queen Mary of the sort of coarse and vile behaviour as would disgust her "sister" of England. But passing from what Queen Mary did not write, to what did genuinely come from her pen, will remind us that whether in prose or verse she had a strong and dignified style: as Queen Elizabeth's chief Ministers were aware. It was Sir William Cecil, Lord Burghley, who in 1579, after the Scottish Queen had been eleven years a prisoner, published a Latin translation of a poem she had written to Queen Elizabeth in happier times:

[1] These eleven letters in French were editorially said to have been "found in Bothwell's Secretary's closet after his decease, and now in the possession of a gentleman at Oxford. Translated by Edward Simmons, Ch. Ch., Oxford, 1726." (p. 89). Put forward as written in 1563 "when ye Earl of Bothwell was in Banishment."

"*Adamas loquitur*" (the diamond speaks): which Latin was explained by Sir Thomas Chaloner to be a translation "*of certain verses . . . . first written in the French language, . . . sent by the most serene Queen of Scotland to the most serene Elizabeth Queen of England, in pledge of mutual friendship, . . . with a ring of excellent workmanship, in which a remarkable diamond was conspicuous.*"[1]

"True and unblemished as her wishes are
Who sends me hither: she my counterpart"

hopes to link their minds together with

"a chain of adamant so fair
That never malice, hatred and mistrust
Come to intrude and work a ruin there."

These verses, from

"a heart which love obeys,
And all arts' triumphs yield to virtues' praise,"

would have been as well-known to Mary's false courtiers as to Elizabeth's faithful councillors.[2] And instead of discussing the erotic sonnets of the "Casket," it is more useful to recall the genuine sonnet of Mary to Queen Elizabeth after arrival in England in 1568,—"*Carminae Regina Scotiae ad Angliae Reginam*":[3]

"A longing haunts my spirit, day and night,
Bitter and sweet, torments my aching heart;
Twixt doubt and fear, it holds its wayward part,
And, while it lingers, rest and peace take flight.
Dear sister, if these lines too boldly speak
Of my fond wish to see you, 'tis for this,—
That I repine and sink in bitterness
If still denied the favour that I seek.
As I have seen a ship freed from control
On the high seas, outside a friendly port,
And what was peaceful change to woe and pain.
Ev'n so am I, a lonely trembling soul,
Fearing—not you, but to be made the spoil
Of Fate that bursts the closest strongest chain."

She uses the same simile in her letter of the 24th of September, 1568: "*Je vous ay asses souvent prie de recevoir mon navire agité en votre port durant la tourmente. Si à ce coup, il trouvera port de salut, je y jeteray mes ancres pour jamais; . . . .*"[4]

---

[1] "*De Rep. Anglorum*" (full title E.E. III. 4. 4. p. 188). Mrs. P. Stewart-Mackenzie Arbuthnot, "*Queen Mary's Book*" (1907), pp. 89-90, gives the poem in English, but without realising that Lord Burghley was responsible for its first publication in Latin.

[2] A recent assumption that the verses were not the Queen's but are Buchanan's can be answered. See the Ambassador (Thomas Randolph) to Sir William Cecil, 17th June, 1562, holograph, and endorsed by Cecil's secretary; 5 pp.; epitom: Cal: S.P. Foreign, 5, (1867), ed: Stevenson, p. 101:—"She [Q. Mary] said above anything she desired to see her good sister; and next that they might live like good sisters together; and that she purposed to send La Croc with a ring, with a diamond fashioned like a heart; *that her meaning should be expressed in a few verses" (which Randolph should see)*, &c. Correspondence in same vol: as to the intended meeting between the two Queens, proposed to be at York, pp. 103—104, 109—110; place changed to Nottingham and proposed for end of August, p. 129, Lord Robert Dudley to Sir Wm. Cecil, 25th June; and (p. 157) 12 July, Henry Killigrew in London refers to "*a few verses in French*" for Queen Elizabeth being put into Latin, "*with a token which was a heart of diamonds.*" See pp. 162—63. Articles for the terms of postponement of the interview—put off till October; and see S.P. D. Elz: xxix, under 4 Aug: 1563; and Treaty Book, I, 232.

[3] Cotton MS. Calig: B.V. f. 316. "Ung seul penser," etc., and "The same in Italian." See "*Queen Mary's Book*" (1907), pp. 162-3; and p. 100 (English).

[4] Resemblance first noticed by Malcolm Laing, "*Hist: of Scot:*" Vol. II, pp. 220-221.

To the English Ambassador she had exclaimed more than three years previously, "How much better were it that we two, being Queens, so near of kin, neighbours, and living in one isle, should be friends, ... like sisters, than by strange means divide ourselves to the hurt of us both. . . ." And "Why may it not be between my sister and me, that we, living in peace and assured friendship, . . . as notable things may be wrought by us women as by our predecessors. . . . . ?"[1]

"*God,*" she said, "*has chosen Kings and commanded the people to obey them; and Kings have appointed and constituted princes and nobles to assist them in their labours, and not to dictate to them.*" That this Queen who defined her own position in such uncompromising terms would have debased herself and her rank in the grovelling Casket Letters will not be believed by any reader who has studied the logic of human character. When it was represented to her that a Sovereign should be guided by the advice of the nobility, on the strength of their exalted origin, she protested that if the nobility derogated from true honour they must be judged accordingly; for even assuming that virtues should be hereditary with titles, ". . . what ought to be is not always the case. . . . What? are they traitors, and yet should be free and smiled upon?" Are the selfish and wicked to be allowed to make their exalted descent a cover for unworthy actions? On the ground of their ancestry must the authority of the Sovereign be infringed upon by them? Certainly not; for the power of the Crown "comes from God, . . . the other from the King under God."[2]

It was in her regal capacity that Queen Mary wished to be judged in every emergency of her life. The combination of graciousness with determination, of keen emotions with a pungent wit, of bold initiative in action with a fastidious refinement in poetry and art,—and above all a steadfast and unconquered soul in matters of religion,—calls for treatment in language appropriate to the theme. But Sir George Turner's "poor Mary" is rarely allowed to speak for herself. More characteristic than any modern commentary upon her motives is her own essay on Adversity:

". . . . Leaving philosophy to philosophers, laws to legislators, ... I have thought I could not better employ my time (to avoid idleness,[3] now that I am deprived of exercising the charge to which God called me in my cradle), than by discoursing upon the diversity of human afflictions. . . . . Nor can anyone, I think, justly blame me for choosing this theme (to me so familiar), seeing that *no person of our age, especially of my quality, has had greater experience therein.*"[4]

Upon her various husbands, and upon the "love" letters which she did *not* write, there have been more than enough animadversions. What will be directly to the purpose are her secret dealings with foreign powers, especially Spain. But before considering her letters to the Duke of Alba,—not hitherto quoted in any work of English history,—we must make closer acquaintance with that superlative Grandee, saluted even by his most uncompromising adversaries as "exceeding all Spaniards of his time" in dignity, determination, statecraft, and the arts of war."[5]

---

[1] Reported by Randolph to Q. Elizabeth, 5th Feb., 1564-5; Cal: S.P.S.; and Arbuthnot, p. 138.

[2] Abbreviated from Cotton MS. C. IX. f. 457[b]; endorsed "out of a waste paper of the Queene of Scotts owne hande." Undated. Lobanoff describes the copy as in the hand of Queen Mary's secretary Nau, and conjectures the date of the original as 1566.

[3] "*fuiant oysiveté.*"

[4] S.P.O. M.Q. of Scots, Vol. XI, No. 37. Undated, but with MSS. of 1580. Mrs. P. Stewart-Mackenzie Arbuthnot has transcribed it in extenso from the original French, with cancelled passages, and alternative words. "*Queen Mary's Book,*" 1907, pp. 179-190. Translation pp. 116-126, with facsimile page. (Quotations E.E., Vol. V.) Not known to Prince A. Lobanoff when he compiled his "*Recueil,*" etc.

[5] On 17 Jan[ry], 1568-9, Sir Francis Knollys warned Cecil of his fears, "lest her Majesty should feed the glorious humour of *that proud Spaniard Alva,*" &c. (Cal: S.P. Scot: II. p. 603: from C.P., Vol. II.). Knollys had written to the Queen that Alba was the "chief champion of the Pope's conspiracy." The actualities of the Great Duke's position and intentions it is essential to us to understand. See E.E. II. 1. 1 (Vol. II).

NOTE: THE REGENT EARL OF MURRAY.

In the English Calendar S.P. Spanish, Vol. I, 1892, the editor, Martin Hume (Introduction, p. lx-lxi,) assumes Queen Mary guilty of her husband's death, on the strength of an *"extremely interesting and important interview with Guzman de Silva"* (the Spanish Ambassador). Says Hume, Murray *"plainly expressed his belief in his sister's complicity in the murder of her husband. This remarkable interview took place at the end of July, 1567, and Murray thus early appears to have been fully cognisant of the existence and purport"* of the *"casket letters which have always been considered the primary documentary evidence of Mary's guilt."*

But as Murray was the chief conspirator against his Sovereign and sister from 1561 onwards, he was naturally "cognisant" of all the treacheries. Moreover, it is misleading to state in 1892 that these letters were *"evidence of Mary's guilt,"* when sixteen years earlier, John Skelton had shown how even Queen Elizabeth's Ministers were sceptical about them. Hume draws attention to a reference to these letters, 12th July, 1567 (No. 431), and states that *"arguments against their genuineness, founded upon their late production, thus disappear."* Actually (see Cal: I, p. 657) the Spanish Ambassador merely quotes the French Ambassador as telling him privately of the existence of such letters, and that it is the Queen of Scots' *"adversaries"* who assert she was concerned in her husband's murder. The reasonable inference is that the French Ambassador did not believe this, nor regard the letters as genuine: for he proceeded to say that the King of France *"could not avoid giving his aid to the Queen"* of Scots.

When quoting part of Murray's Act of Council, 4th December, 1567, as to "privie letters" of the Queen proving her as accessory to the murder of her husband, Hume claimed that the previous July reference by the Spanish Ambassador overthrows all argument for Queen Mary's innocence. But Hume did not appear aware of the usual argument: viz., that if the letters had been genuine, they would hardly have been held back *until after Queen Mary fled to England.* Hearsay references to them prove nothing; and from Hume's assertion (p. lxii) that Murray would not have *"ventured to concoct such an elaborate forgery,"* we must suppose Hume not to have studied Murray's previous methods and aims. Because Hume refers to the Casket Letters as *"the blow struck to the Catholics by Mary's conduct,"* this has given many students, from 1892 onwards, the erroneous notion that 16th century Catholics accepted the Casket Letters as genuine.

Murray could never forget that had his birth been legitimate he and not Mary would have inherited the Crown. That James V's rightful successor was betrayed and overthrown by James's bastard is a sufficiently ironical fact. The sequel was as grim. Among Queen Mary's champions at Langside had been Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh. Condemned to death for "High Treason" (i.e., for fidelity to a dethroned Sovereign), he was subsequently pardoned. But his wife's estate of Woodhouselee was confiscated; and conferred on one of Murray's partisans, who turned her out of doors on a bitter winter night Shock and exposure caused her death. Her husband vowed vengeance. As Murray rode through Linlithgow, on the 23rd January, 1569-70, he was shot at by Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh from the balcony of an empty house. Bothwellhaugh, though pursued, escaped to France. Murray died of the wound. That the patron of assassins had his career cut short by assassination, seemed to Queen Mary's followers not so much a tragedy as a nemesis.

Printed for the Author
At the Sign of the Dove with the Griffin
at Royal Leamington Spa
in the County of Warwick

MCMXXXIV