

add to the pathos of Don John's character and career; they show all through a certain strain of melancholy. In the Italian letters this only occasionally casts a shadow over the sunniness of the young soldier, who, like many melancholy men, is rich in humour. Under the gay Flemish skies the gloom has settled down, only occasionally to be broken by a flash of the old merriment. It may be worth while to compare two characteristic passages. From Meccina Don John wrote in November 1571—

They tell me that Landriano is arranging some tournament or other, and a ladies' party; but my inclination jumps so little at all this that if I could I should try and escape. I pass many hours in this little study, turning over old papers and my past life. Every day I feel my loneliness more and more, and my lack of her. . . . I die of envy for other men more fortunate, yet not more in love. I ramble on building a thousand 'castles of France' in my head. And at last all they and I tumble in the wind without any hope of sounder construction, especially in this country. This is all there is to say of this life and this place.

Infinitely sadder is the note in February 1578.

The worst is that a man may be stored with noble thoughts, and with a will hungering to convert them into action, especially at a season so wretched as is the present age; here I am full of opportunities and of courage to earn the name of my father's son, and here, on the other hand, I am the most neglected knight in the world. After all one has to bear the cross, and not to lose it until the end; and thus I go on doing, moving whither I can, for as to moving whither I wish, there is no help forthcoming. For the good times of Genoa and its Riviera the Knight of the Lion bears not a jot of envy, save that his own life is to a far greater extreme laborious than that of the Idle Knight is idle.

Don John has been accused of selfish indifference. The last of these letters is a petition for the release from Doria's galleys of a lacquey who had killed a man in self-defence, and the last sentence, in Don John's own hand, runs thus: 'As this poor man has been my servant, I long for the favour towards him which you are sure to show.' E. ARMSTRONG.

Calendar of Letters and State Papers relating to English Affairs, preserved principally in the Archives of Simancas. Elizabeth. Vol. III. (1580-1586.) Edited by MARTIN A. S. HUME, F. R. Hist. S. (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode. 1896.)

THE period covered by the present volume embraces the last three years of Mendoza's embassy at London, and the beginning of the time when Philip was compelled to forward his English schemes through his ambassador at Paris. A somewhat peculiar history is attached to a number of the documents. When the armies of Napoleon were overrunning Spain the correspondence relating to French affairs was abstracted from Simancas and taken to Paris. By some mistake the earlier letters of Philip to Mendoza, those written while the latter was still ambassador to Elizabeth, were likewise taken, although the corresponding letters of Mendoza to Philip were left at Simancas. Thus all, or nearly all, Philip's letters were in the Paris archives, and Mendoza's up to the beginning of 1584 in their original home. The whole of this most important correspondence for seven years, deciphered and translated, is now presented by Major Hume to the English reader. Of equal value, though

less voluminous, is Philip's correspondence with Juan Bautista de Tassis, Mendoza's immediate predecessor at Paris, and with Olivares, his ambassador at Rome; a number of letters from Mary, queen of Scots, and a few documents in the British Museum are included among the remaining papers. While some of this material has been already utilised by Mignet, Froide, and other historians, and some edited by Teulet and Labanoff, the volume contains a whole mass of matter entirely new.

The position of affairs disclosed in these papers was probably quite unique. In spite of apparent outward amity Philip supported the adherents of Mary Stuart, at home and abroad; he encouraged the Jesuits and seminary priests; he harassed Elizabeth in Ireland. In return Elizabeth assisted the revolted Netherlanders; she granted the Portuguese pretender Don Antonio an asylum; Drake and others devastated Spanish colonies and plundered treasure ships. The audiences which Elizabeth granted the ambassador did not tend to improve matters. From Mendoza's one-sided accounts it is difficult to ascertain the exact position of affairs, but probably Elizabeth was quite capable of holding her own.

As time went on the relations became more and more strained. 'It is impossible,' the ambassador reports to Philip, 'for me to express to your majesty the insincerity with which she and her ministers proceed.' No one would associate with him; he was insulted in the streets, his correspondence in danger of being tampered with. At last, in January 1584, came a request to attend a meeting of privy councillors. Walsingham and four others advanced with many bows to meet him, and speaking in Italian Walsingham gave him fifteen days' notice to quit for supporting the cause of Mary Stuart.

They made use of impertinences I dare not repeat to your majesty. The least of them was that I ought to be very thankful that the queen had not ordered me to be punished for what I had done, and that I had injured your majesty.

Mendoza acknowledged he lost his temper before he retorted—

As she was a lady, there was nothing strange at her not being the least thankful to those who desired to serve her, as I had done; but, as I had apparently failed to please her as a minister of peace, she would in future force me to try and satisfy her in war.

It got abroad that he had been harsh and hasty, and was to be expelled for plotting against the life of the queen, while Walsingham declared that even Philip was displeased with him. So bitter was the anger of the London populace that he felt compelled to bring away with him not only the servants of his household, but all the people outside who had helped him in any way, 'as I cannot leave them on the horns of the bull.' He borrowed money to get as far as Rouen, and points out to Philip the great expense of the French hostilities for one with 'such a swarm of people.' His last words written on English soil were—

The insolence of these people has brought me to a state in which my only desire to live is for the purpose of revenging myself upon them, and I pray that God may let it be soon, and will give me grace to be his instrument of vengeance, even though I have to walk bare-footed to the other side of the world to beg for it

Henceforth the hostility of England and Spain, springing from so many sources, was to be open and avowed, and last till Philip's death.

The despatches of Mendoza give full details of the conclusion of the Alençon affair. Elizabeth despised Alençon, *le chien, qui estant souvent batu, retourne à son maître*; the marriage was unpopular with her subjects; she was, as Mignet says, too fond of being her own mistress ever to submit to a husband. But, situated as she was, she thought it better to encourage Alençon in private. William the Silent was desirous of her young lover assuming the sovereignty of the Netherlands, but Elizabeth was equally anxious to prevent a French supremacy at Brussels, and additional complications ensued. The French ambassador was continually demanding the fulfilment of Elizabeth's promise, and threatened that the latter would publish her love letters unless his request was acceded to. The queen consulted Sandys, archbishop of York, whose judgment she valued highly.

My lord, here I am between Scylla and Charybdis. Alençon has agreed to all the terms I sent him, and he is asking me to tell him when I wish him to come and marry me. If I do not marry him I do not know whether he will remain friendly with me; and if I do I shall not be able to govern the country with the freedom and security that I have hitherto enjoyed. What shall I do?

Sandys's answer was that if she had no intention of marrying him she ought to tell him so without delay, and Burghley, who was present, remarked that he had always heard that 'they who tricked princes tricked themselves.' In spite of this Elizabeth continued to procrastinate until Alençon, disregarding his brother, advanced to the relief of Cambrai. He was now openly siding with William the Silent, and it was necessary to keep him on good terms. He was invited to come to England, and was hospitably entertained at Sion House. Camden described the famous 'gallery' scene, when, in reply to the reiterated demands of the French ambassador, the queen, who was walking with her lover, turned and said, 'You may write this to the king: that the duke of Alençon shall be my husband.' She gave him a kiss, and they exchanged rings, and calling together her court she repeated her determination. Neither Mendoza nor Burghley was deceived, although the people of London considered the marriage as good as accomplished. It was a clever and dramatic move on the part of a woman placed in a difficulty, and kept both Alençon and his brother from siding with the Guises and Philip against her. This took place in November 1581, and the farce was kept up until the February following, when Alençon departed for the Netherlands. In bidding him farewell the queen assured him that she trusted he would return, and the wedding take place within twenty days. Alençon would have remained in England longer, but the commissioners from Flanders insisted in strong terms that he must go at once. He complained of their language to the queen, who had them brought before her, and addressed them in the following manner:—

You! shoemakers, carpenters, and heretics, how dare you speak in such terms to a man of royal blood like the duke of Alençon? I would have you know that when you approach him or me you are in the presence of the two greatest princes in Christendom.

It was characteristic of this wily woman thus to upbraid the people who were serving her purpose. Instead of returning within twenty days Alençon was invested as duke of Brabant and 'marquis of the Holy Empire' at Antwerp, and continued during the short remainder of his life a hopeless aspirant for her hand.

It seems strange that Philip should not have recalled his ambassador, considering the open way in which English privateers, equipped at the expense of Leicester and other leading men, plundered Spanish ships and colonies. Drake had been long absent on his first voyage round the world, and Winter had returned with an unfavourable account. Other vessels were got ready to go out and search; but the anxiety was needless, for in October 1580 Drake was reported at Plymouth with 'twenty English tons of silver, of 2,000 pounds each, and five boxes of gold a foot and a half long, besides a large quantity of pearls, some of great value. According to advices sent from Seville he has even stolen more than this.' He was most favourably received by the queen, and lavished his wealth, so that he might not be brought to account.

Drake is squandering more money than any man in England, and proportionately all those who came with him are doing the same. He gave to the queen the crown which I described in a former letter as having been made here. She wore it on New Year's Day. It has in it five emeralds, three of them almost as long as a little finger, whilst the two round ones are valued at 20,000 crowns, coming, as they do, from Peru. He has also given the queen a diamond cross as a New Year's gift, as is the custom here, of the value of 5,000 crowns.

Burghley and Sussex declined his gifts, on the ground that he had stolen all he had, but they stood alone: all the others accepted, 'Leicester getting most of all.' The queen was entertained on his ship at Deptford at a banquet 'finer than has ever been seen in England since the time of King Henry.'

In addition to these injuries to commerce the question of Queen Mary assisted in bringing about the position of affairs that finally culminated in the Armada. Mendoza gives the real reason, if there were any doubt upon the subject, for the continued imprisonment of Mary. In 1588 Sir Walter Mildmay, on behalf of Elizabeth, made five conditions of release. The last was 'the voluntary renunciation of any claim she might have to the English crown *during the life of the queen*, the renunciation to be acquiesced in by her friends and relatives.' 'It may be believed,' adds the ambassador, 'that she will not agree to this point.' So far from this she joined in the plots in her behalf, which were always spoilt by the meddling interference of the Jesuits, of which both she and Mendoza complained. There are several letters to the latter of the existence of which Labanoff was ignorant. In one, which has escaped Mignet, she writes (after thanking God for the dangerous wound William the Silent had just received at the hand of a would-be assassin)—

If you think that his majesty will be willing now to take in hand the affairs of this island, with the aim of establishing the catholic religion and frustrating this queen's design on the Netherlands by keeping her busy at home, I am of opinion that our object would be greatly forwarded by your encouraging the principal catholics of this country, so many of whom you know, although most

of them are already well disposed towards me. I shall always be willing to employ my life, and everything I have in this world, in order to push this matter well forward.

But various matters caused delay, notably Philip's hesitation, and he was anxious for the pope to assist. This he could not get. At the beginning of 1586 Olivares wrote that Sixtus V believed that the aim of Philip was personal revenge and advantage, and that, influenced by the French party at the Vatican, the pope would do nothing.

Hence the long-threatened expedition against England seemed no more advanced than years before. In May of the same year Mendoza reported from Paris that the English catholics had sent a priest to him, meaning John Ballard, to ask if Philip would assist them 'to shake off the oppression of the queen;' and the next day, in another despatch, 'I am advised from England by four men of position who have the run of the queen's home that they have discussed for the last three months the intention of killing her.' This is the first intimation of the Babington plot, which Mendoza and Philip knew of, but of which little new is to be found in this volume. On 10 Sept. Mendoza wrote, 'I am of opinion that the queen of Scotland must be well acquainted with the whole affair, to judge from the contents of a letter which she has written to me;' and on 8 Nov.—

Wotton also brings another authenticated letter which the queen of Scotland wrote to Babington. . . . When the two secretaries of the queen of Scotland deciphered it they said they had earnestly begged her not to write it, and prayed her not to approve of Babington's resolution.

The originals of the despatches of Mendoza from which these two passages are extracted are at Paris, but the apologists of Mary have ignored them; and, indeed, they might urge that in other matters he was not always accurate. He placed Beaudesert in Yorkshire; he seems never to have heard of the Humber or Hull, had no idea of the relative size of Westmoreland, and in what professes to be an exhaustive account of the resources of England makes no mention of Leicester, Gloucester, and thirteen other counties, and made the sweeping statement that the whole of the gentry of Lancashire sided with Mary Stuart, while he included Raleigh amongst the six who had sworn to kill the queen. His accuracy in detail is, then, open to question, and it may perhaps be doubted whether his statements concerning the knowledge and assent of Mary Stuart to the murder plot are to be accepted, while his report that Elizabeth threw a slipper at Walsingham and hit him in the face, and that she often behaved in as rude a manner, must certainly be accepted with reserve.

The volume closes when Mary Stuart was under sentence of death, and only half-hearted measures being taken to save her life. Major Hume has done his work well, the deciphering, translation, and indexing being alike creditable. The student must consult with this the contemporary volumes of the Venetian and Colonial series, as well as the Hatfield papers.

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