

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS,
SPANISH.

ELIZABETH.
1580—1586.

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13 Jan. 1. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

I wrote to your Majesty on the 28th ultimo. On the previous day the Queen had sent to the French ambassador to come and see her, as she had received three dispatches from Stafford, enclosing letters from the King of France, his mother, and Alençon. The latter told her that he was making ready for his departure, and would come as she pleased, either with or without a company, and either before or after the signing of the capitulations. He said he was very sorry they had cut off the hands of the men concerned with the book,* and he would indeed be glad if he could remedy it, even at the cost of two fingers of his own hand; but as that was now impossible, he entreated her to pardon the men and award them some recompense, so that they might understand that they owed their lives and her favour to his intercession. He was equally grieved to learn that she was not showing so much favour as formerly to the earl of Leicester; and also that Simier had not carried out his (Alençon's) instructions in making friends with the Earl, whom, if he (Alençon) came to England he would regard as a comrade and a brother. He entreated her not to bear ill-will to Leicester and the other councillors who had opposed the match, as they no doubt did so, as they thought, in her interests. He said he had now his mother's blessing and his brother's permission for the marriage; and the King's letters were to a similar effect, adding, however, that if it was necessary to alter any of the conditions they (*i.e.*, the English) who had drafted them, might do so. This greatly gratified the Queen and she loaded the ambassador with caresses. On the 1st instant Stafford arrived here, having been sent by Alençon with a letter to the Queen, in the sealing-wax of which was embedded an emerald worth 400 crowns. The purport of it was to confirm, with many fine words, the letters previously sent: and Stafford said that Alençon would soon be here; two persons of

* This was Stubbs' book "The discovery of a gaping gulf." See Note, p. 700, Vol. II.

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rank, however, would precede him. Alençon gave him a chain of a 1,000 crowns and as much more in jewels and buttons. The Queen sent a post to Alençon on the night Stafford arrived, and told the latter to make ready for his speedy return to France.

The French ambassador had high words with Leicester the other day about his trying to persuade him to confess to the Queen that he was married, as Simier and he, the ambassador, had assured her.* This is one of the grievances that Leicester has against him, and the ambassador in his desire to be reconciled with him sent word by a confidant of his to say that he, Leicester, might see by what Alençon wrote, the good offices which he, the ambassador, had effected, and that the French were as friendly with him as ever. Leicester replied that he knew all about it, and that it was nothing but French chatter. When Alençon came to marry the Queen, he said, he would be obliged to treat him as his master. He said besides, that he wanted to have no more to do with Frenchmen and would never trust them again. At this time Stafford arrived, and on his coming Leicester no doubt repented of what he had said, seeing the business settled; and sent for the man who had brought him the message and told him that if he had not already seen the ambassador he was not to repeat his answer; but, as if on his own account, was to recommend the ambassador to write to France, urging the great importance of gaining Leicester over if the marriage was to be carried through. He has also caused the same thing to be written to M. de la Mothe,† who was formerly French ambassador here, for him to represent the same in France. One of these letters has fallen into my hands, and I send it to your Majesty. I am told the ambassador has written to the same effect. Amongst the other indications that the marriage is settled, although both parties are holding off, not the least is that Leicester is making warm efforts in the direction I have mentioned.

An English captain whom these folks have with the Prince of Condé has arrived with letters from him to the Queen, addressed to Leicester and Walsingham, whom he has seen. They tell him they will dispatch him shortly and that he will take a present to Condé. They have ordered three captains to raise six hundred Englishmen, four hundred of whom have already slipped across to Flanders, as the rest of them will do. These are the men I told your Majesty had been promised to Condé to help his entry into the Netherlands.

Leicester has a ship ready to sail on a voyage for plunder on the

* Some months previous to the date of this letter, Leicester had seen that the Alençon match, which he had pretended to favour, was assuming too serious an aspect under the guidance of Alençon's agent, Simier, who had entirely captured the good graces of Elizabeth. Two attempts were made, almost certainly at the instance of Leicester, to murder Simier; and the latter, determined at one blow to avenge himself, and remove from the road the permanent obstacle to the Queen's marriage with his master. Secure in his possession of the Queen's favour, he did what no other person had dared to do, namely, tell her Majesty of the private marriage of the earl of Leicester with the Countess of Essex. Castelnau de la Mauvissière, the French ambassador, had aided Simier in the revelation.

† La Mothe Fénelon.

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route to the Indies. It will leave in ten days and they have collected the most experienced English sailors for the voyage. Although I understand the main object to be robbery if opportunity offers, the design also is to aid Drake if they can come across him, and strengthen him with their vessel, as Leicester and his party are those who are behind Drake.* With a similar object, three ships of 100, 80, and 70 tons, are being fitted out in Plymouth, in the name of John Hawkins, the pretence being that they are taking merchandise to the coast of Brazil. In fact some goods are being shipped in them; and this is to the direct prejudice of the crown of Portugal, although the treaty for three years which expired in November has not been confirmed. This treaty did not distinctly prohibit trade in this direction nor with Barbary, the English having simply undertaken not to go either to Mina or the coast of Brazil.—London, 13th January 1580.

13 Jan. 2. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

After writing the enclosed I sent to ask audience of the Queen to give her an account of certain robberies that had been committed by pirates. She sent to say that, although she wished that affairs necessitated her seeing me more frequently, she would be glad if I would go at once, in order that I might enjoy an entertainment they had prepared for her. This was one of those which are customary here, in which bears are baited by dogs. As it was rather a novelty for her to give me audience so quickly, I suspected she wanted to hear something from me about the French business, she having received a packet from France the previous day. She asked me if it was true, as was said, that your Majesty's Italian fleet had seized Genoa. I replied that I had no knowledge of such a thing, but if your Majesty had done so it would be for the purpose of restoring it to the Genoese, whose liberty and commonweal you would thus defend and prevent their being assailed by others. After this she could only talk about the great forces which she heard on all hands that your Majesty was raising. She said that she had just heard that 6,000 Spaniards had been ordered to be levied, as well as a large additional number of high-decked vessels, and that this would be the greatest fleet ever collected by a Christian prince. After many other things she said with great emphasis "Ut quid tot sumptus"? I replied, "Nemo movit nisi cui pater revelavit." Whereupon she said that I had been something more than a light cavalry-man.† She said that, although many people told her that the fleet was

* Drake had sailed on his first voyage round the world more than a year before the date of this letter. As related in the last volume of the Calendar, Winter had returned from the Straits of Magellan with one of his ships bringing bad news of the expedition, and great apprehension for its safety existed in London, notwithstanding rumours which were already arriving of the great depredations which had been committed by it on the Spaniards in South America.

† Mendoza, previous to his appointment as ambassador, had greatly distinguished himself in the Netherlands as captain of a squadron of light horse. Mr. Froude seeks to explain the above allusion by saying that Mendoza was master of the horse to Philip, which is incorrect.

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to come to England and Ireland, which she did not believe; even if it did, it would doubtless be sent by your Majesty in a brotherly spirit, and she would receive it in the same way. I replied that I could say no more than I had done on that point as I had no part in the revelation. I can see that she was alarmed about affairs in Ireland, whence she has news that Desmond is daily becoming stronger and has most of the principal people on his side.—London, 13th January 1580.

13 Feb. **3. JUAN DE VARGAS MEJIA to the KING.**
Paris Archives,*
(late) B 51.56.

On the 11th I went to visit the Scots ambassador to hear anything that M. de Guise might have told him about Flanders. He told me that he (Guise) was engaged in what he considered one of the most important matters possible, namely, by secret means to prevent the agreement between the duke of Alençon, Bearn, Condé, and the Huguenots. He was keeping his cousins the duke of Aumale and the marquis of Elbœuf near Alençon for this purpose, and if he succeeded, as he hoped, he thought he should have done great service to God and your Majesty, as the Queen of England and Orange were trying all their devilish arts to bring them together and attach them to themselves. I thanked him (Beaton) and asked him to thank M. de Guise and urge him to continue in a task so worthy of him, as I was sure he would prefer the cause of God, with which your Majesty's interests were bound up, to all other things. In the course of the conversation the ambassador said, "I wanted to have seen you before but deferred
" doing so, in the expectation that M. de Guise would see you first;
" it having been agreed between us that he should secretly visit
" you in disguise and alone one of these nights, and speak with
" you at length. I was anxious for you to hear from him personally
" what he wished to convey to you, so that you might not think it
" came from me. But since we are together I will not conceal it
" from you, only asking you to keep it to yourself, as my friend;
" since my head depends upon it, as you will see when you have
" heard what I have to say. When M de Guise speaks to you
" about it, do not let him suspect that you have heard a word. I
" take this course because I recognise your straightforwardness and
" your attachment to the cause of God and the interests of my
" mistress; and seeing the important bearing this matter may have
" on the affairs of Flanders. For more than a year past I have
" tried by every means to induce her (the queen of Scotland) to
" adopt a course which I thought would be most beneficial to both
" causes; and, to make a long story short, I will now confine
" myself to showing you the words she herself writes to me. She
" instructs me to inform you that she has determined to place
" herself, her son and her realm, in the hands and under the
" protection of his catholic Majesty unreservedly; sending her son
" to Spain, if his Majesty wishes, and having him married there

* The numbering of the Simancas papers in the Paris Archives has recently been changed, but documents in future will be distinguishable either under the old or the new references.

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"entirely according to his Majesty's pleasure. She orders me to convey this decision to the duke of Guise, her kinsman and confidant. He (the duke of Guise) took the matter in hand and said he wished to be the first person to propose it to you." I thanked him (Beaton) and promised secrecy, and said I would go whither M. de Guise wished, in disguise, to save him trouble, if he would send me word. I did not carry the matter further or ask any questions, in order not to appear curious and arouse suspicion. He told me that means were offered for his mistress to escape from prison, but she refused them as her aim was to leave her prison queen of England and not otherwise, even though it cost her life. I asked him whether the Queen could dispose of her son to send him to Spain or elsewhere. He said yes; but not very emphatically.

As the matter is of so much importance I have thought well to inform your Majesty at once, in order that you may have it maturely considered. Such is the present condition of England, with signs of revolt everywhere, the Queen in alarm, the catholic party and the friends of the Queen of Scotland numerous, the events occurring in Ireland, and the distrust aroused by your Majesty's fleet, that I really believe that if so much as a cat moved the whole affair would crumble down in three days beyond repair. They know it perfectly well themselves, and hence their fear. If to all this be added a rising of Scots; or the queen of Scotland's party in England were to make an arrangement with her, your Majesty's fleet helping them as soon as it is free from Portugal, with the added advantage which the possession of that country gives your Majesty, it seems as if the affair might be openly undertaken, in despite of all they might do; even if they attempted resistance, which probably they would not do, as it would soon be over. If your Majesty had England and Scotland attached to you, directly or indirectly, you might consider the States of Flanders conquered, in which case you would be a monarch who could lay down the law for the whole world. In order to keep these people (the French) from interfering, it is of the greatest importance that M. de Guise be concerned in the affair. His close connection with the queen of Scotland would enable him and his house to keep them in check, and perchance they (the Guises) might find an opportunity of seizing for themselves various territories of this Crown, which would thus be weakened in a way that no fear might be felt of it. The injury and inconvenience caused by the constant suspicion of their (the French) power and machinations would then disappear, and your forces be free to remedy evils everywhere and fight the infidels and other sects and seditions. So far as I understand the queen of Scotland, from my knowledge of her actions and from having seen her here, I consider her a woman of valour and deeply offended with these people, upon whom, woman-like, she wishes to be revenged. From what I could gather from the Ambassador, her view is to marry her son to one of the *infantas*, and, on his conversion, to make him king of England and Scotland, whilst she will marry whom she pleases: having no doubt thought of the prince of Parma. I know that this match has

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been broached, and your Majesty's English pensioners with the army are talking about it, perhaps to please the Prince. The English ambassador here says that letters have been intercepted dealing with the matter at great length.

I forgot to say that some time ago Balfour of Burleigh, a Scotsman whom I have mentioned several times, and who now lives here, wished to see me and propose under certain conditions to induce all the Scotsmen in Flanders to retire, and perhaps at the same time to do your Majesty some signal service. We commenced negotiations when he arrived here, and as a mark of confidence and to learn what there was in the proposal, I secretly mentioned it to the ambassador who is an honest trustworthy man. He advised me to listen to Balfour who, he said, was clever and was able to be of service, if he liked, especially in the way indicated. Balfour has not yet opened the matter to me but has told the ambassador that he wishes to do so, and when the interview I have just described with the ambassador took place, the latter said, "I have communicated to my mistress the proposal which Balfour wished to make; and I may tell you privately that she writes approving of it. Balfour will now speak to you about it, and I will see that he carries the matter forward. You and I will then consider how it can be arranged." The matter so remains, and I venture to point out to your Majesty that, as so much advantage might be obtained from it, it would be worth while to have it carefully considered and a decision sent to me, so that if the proposal is to be accepted, the parties may be treated in a way which will encourage others; and if not, they may be diverted in such a manner as shall prevent them from feeling aggrieved or repent of having opened out to me.—Paris, 13 February 1580.

B.M.
MSS. Add.
28702.
No date.

4. DOCUMENT ENDORSED: "Reply ordered by Cardinal de Granvelle to be given in writing to Englefield."

His Majesty desires nothing better than to see the queen of Scotland free, and together with her son, safe and contented; with the Catholic religion restored both in Scotland and England; and they will find his Majesty as well-disposed as ever he has been.

Matters are now much changed from the position in which they were when it was proposed to rescue the King from the hands of Morton and bring him to Spain or elsewhere, that he might be brought up in the Catholic faith, which is the principal point, as without assurance of this no step should be taken about his marriage.

Now the King has Morton under arrest, whilst he is free to govern his kingdom himself, and with the aid of d'Aubigny to stand against those, who from within or without, should attempt to obstruct him.

Things being in this condition, it would be very bad advice for the King to leave his country, as it would discourage those who are on his side, and have recently declared themselves, whilst his opponents would gather fresh courage; and the King's friends, finding themselves in peril, might join with their enemies, and so exclude the King from his realm for good.

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His Majesty will be glad to learn the present position of affairs in Scotland, what the King thinks of doing, what facilities he has to sustain himself and go forward, what course he intends to pursue with Morton, what aid he expects from France, and from whom there, who are his adherents in his own country, and who his opponents, what is their strength, what troops has the King, and what fortified places?*

20 Feb. 5. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

In reply to your Majesty's question as to whether Drake gave any sureties here before he sailed, there is a law which was made here to exonerate these pirates, the effect of which is that they have to give sureties before sailing, not to injure anyone excepting those who are the declared enemies of this Crown. It is, however, a dead letter, and when any attempt by a private person is made in due form to enforce it, it is found impossible to do so. In one case an Englishman on his way from Spain with merchandise, stole 150 crowns worth of fish from one of your Majesty's subjects belonging to Corunna, who sent a power here to demand restitution. The people came to me to make the claim on the sureties who had been given by the Englishman in the port, but they were not worth a crown and nothing could be got, the names themselves being false. Those who sail for the purpose of robbery do not give sureties at all as they are generally under the protection of the principal courtiers, as, for instance, Drake, who was fitted out by Leicester and his friends.

For months past I have had men secretly staying in some of the western ports, where it is expected that Drake will first arrive if he comes hither, in order that I may have instant news of his coming. I have not been able to do more than this, because his principals, as soon as they had the news I mentioned about his capture, ordered the justices of the ports to aid him in getting off safely. When I speak to the Queen about it and to her ministers, which I have only done yet in general terms, as your Majesty ordered, it will be well, if your Majesty approves, to threaten that, if they do not make entire restitution and punish the pirates, your Majesty will issue letters of marque for the owners to recover their property, taking possession of English property wherever they may find it. This is what they fear most, and the

* In the B.M. MSS. Add. 28702, as a pendant to the above memorandum, there is a note from the King's secretary at Badajoz on the Portuguese frontier where the King then was, to Cardinal de Granvelle at Madrid, dated 2nd June 1580, advising the arrival of Fernihurst there and enclosing for the consideration of the Cardinal and Sir Francis Englefield the papers brought by him. The King desires the answer to be sent soon so that he may get rid of the Scotch envoy, whom, says the Secretary, they had some difficulty in understanding "as he only talked broad Scotch, without any other manner of tongue; a fine thing indeed for a place like Badajoz!" In another note from the Secretary to De Granvelle dated 17th June the former says that Fernihurst's pretensions are very great but that the King will certainly have to grant either pensions or a subsidy. See also the preceding letter which details the approaches made by Beaton to the Spanish ambassador in Paris with a similar object to that of Fernihurst's mission.

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merchants themselves make the greatest outcry over it, saying that, because two or three of the principal courtiers send ships out to plunder in this way, their property must be thus imperilled and the country ruined. This makes them more anxious to condemn it and to give me information, when they know of any of the plunder being concealed.

They are apprehensive about Drake's return as the voyage is long and he must be short of ships. They think that if he do not arrive within two months they must give him up as lost. Those ships which I wrote were fitting out for St. Vincent on the coast of Brazil, are now ready to sail.—London, 20th February 1580.

20 Feb. 6. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

The English merchants here some time ago received the ships which were dispatched from Spain for them at the end of December and beginning of January, and at the same time had letters from their agents in Madrid saying that your Majesty had not yet given them a reply about the loading of the ships. This has swollen their pride more than ever, and they declare, with terrible insolence, that your Majesty has granted them no favour, and that you have been forced by pure necessity to give them the permission, as there are not ships in Spain to carry the merchandise. As it is so important to your Majesty's service that they should be oppressed and powerless to carry out their evil intentions, I cannot help telling your Majesty what I think about the matter, in view of events here, humbly beseeching your Majesty to pardon my great boldness which is only prompted by my ardent zeal.

The trade with Spain is of the greatest importance to the English, as I set forth in the report I sent on the 25th September, it being the principal source of their wealth and strength, which consists mainly in the great number of their ships. They are daily building more; but the moment the Spanish trade fails them and they are not allowed to ship goods in Spain they will stop building, as they have no other trade so profitable, both on account of the vast sums of specie they bring, which they can get from no other place, and the richness of the merchandise which they carry. This makes them almost the masters of commerce in other parts as well, as they have the monopoly of the shipping, whereby they profit by all the freights. Although for many reasons it is unadvisable to entirely prohibit them from shipping goods at this time, it will be very advantageous for your Majesty to order that the edict should be re-published, that they may see the favour and boon that your Majesty gave them, and be made to understand that in future the edict will be carried out and that special license will have to be given to ship goods in any place in the manner decided by your Majesty. This is most important in Andalusia, as they would suffer more from being prevented from shipping goods there than elsewhere, on account of the great cargoes of oil, wines, and fruits, which are sent from there, and of which vast quantities are consumed in England, and in consequence of the shortness of

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the number of ships in that province to carry their produce, owing to the fertility of the country and the inaptitude of the inhabitants for a seafaring life; a sterile soil being generally the only reason why men overcome their dread of so dangerous a trade. In this way, if special license is given as a favour in each case, and in order that the crops in Andalusia and elsewhere may have an outlet, the English will be kept in suspense and will take care not to offend your Majesty, as they are most anxious not to lose this benefit, in which the whole country is concerned. They will therefore not attempt to interfere with your forces on the Indian voyage and elsewhere, whilst, at the same time, they will not care to build new ships for the trade which they see will only be temporary and uncertain, they having to beg for license each separate time. The great part of their strength will thus be consumed when the trade comes to an end, and this they fear so much that they cannot conceal it. They confess that it will utterly ruin this country, the principal reason why they have grown so rich in the last ten years being that they have had the carrying trade of Spanish goods. It will be difficult to stop it except by the means now suggested, or by God's punishing them with a civil intestine war, such as they richly deserve.—London, 20th February 1580.

20 Feb. 7. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

In addition to the preparations ordered to be made by the Queen, detailed in my former letters, she has given instructions for ten more of her ships to put to sea in company with the first seven. She has also commanded the city of London to raise 4,000 foot-soldiers, which the towns here usually do on the sovereign's demand, the towns paying for their equipment and wage until they arrive at the place where they are to be employed or shipped; after which they are maintained by the sovereign.

She has also ordered a general muster of the militia throughout the country, as is customary here. There will be about 80,000 or 90,000 infantry on the rolls altogether, so that when an alarm is sounded in any part of the country and the beacon fires are lit as a signal, they can collect 25,000 at any given point within 12 hours to prevent a landing; the rest of the force following them later, as may be ordered. Most of the men are armed with bows, and the rest with weapons of all sorts, in the use of which, however, they are not very expert.

The insurgents in Ireland keep bravely afoot, and although the English are sorely beset by them and are daily beseeching the Queen to send them succour of all kinds, nothing has been sent but victuals, as the Council think it will be unwise just now, to give an appearance of importance to the rising. They fear it might result in disturbance here, in conjunction with the coming of the Spanish fleet. They therefore are putting the matter off until a more convenient season, saying that they cannot carry on a campaign now, as most of the Englishmen who take the field there in the

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winter die, whilst the Irish are such changeable people that no trust can be placed in them, although it is now generally affirmed that the earl of Desmond is acting in a way that will cause the Queen much trouble.

The earl of Shrewsbury who is guarding the queen of Scots is very ill, and this Queen has sent Middlemore, a gentleman of her Privy Chamber, a great heretic, and badly disposed towards the queen of Scots, to take charge of her until further orders.

The Portuguese ambassador has been discussing with the Queen the business about which he came, namely the extension of the treaty by which the English are not to trade with the Mina* nor with Barbary. She answered him that she would appoint the ministers with whom he was to negotiate, but I am told that she has not yet done so, and is delaying the matter with the object of keeping it pending until the declaration about the Portuguese succession is made. They think that if the Portuguese unanimously accept your Majesty's right, she will be able to get greater concessions than before; whilst, if the contrary happens, the Portuguese in order to obtain her help will consent to any terms.

Four days ago the Queen sent for Davison, who used to be her representative in Antwerp, and asked him why the States did not pay her the money she had lent them, the time having expired. He replied that the war and their needs prevented them from doing so, whereupon she told him that he was a knave, and that others like him had persuaded her into this, and had got her to help rebels; she said she did not know how she was going to get out of it, even with the loss of her money.

Nothing more has been heard about the English trade with the land of the Turk since the departure of the many vessels which I mentioned, and amongst them one that was to go to the isle of Chios, whence an Englishman from her was to go and negotiate.

Stafford came from France five days since, it is believed with a decided resolution about the marriage. This has caused the matter to be discussed more lukewarmly than before; Parliament having been prorogued until April as soon as Stafford arrived.—London, 20th February 1580.

20 Feb. 8. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

In accordance with the orders contained in your Majesty's letter of 29th December I saw the Queen on the 12th instant. I found her so much alarmed about the fleet, no doubt accused by her own evil conscience, that she descended from the dais in the privy-chamber and came forward six paces to meet me. Before I could say a word she asked me whether I came as a herald to declare war upon her; to which I replied that it was she, apparently, who was going to war with all the world; seeing the great number of men and ships she was raising. She said that was in order that

* The Mina, now called Elmina, was the principal Portuguese station in West Africa.