

but her jealousies and fears must have been under some subjection to a higher feeling when she was founded on by those in whom she had the sweetest trust; by the petitioners of the Commons and the clamour of the populace; to do a deed for which all the bells of London would have rung, but which she shrink from, to remain in perpetual apprehension of her life. Unless we can believe against all proof that such danger was imaginary, we must

CHAPTER VI.
 Jesuits in England.—Campion.—Increased severities against Papists.—Expedition to the Netherlands.—Leicester in the Netherlands.—Death of Sir Philip Sidney.—Naval successes under Drake.—Babington's conspiracy.—Trial of the conspirators.—Alleged complicity of Mary in the plot.—Mary's papers seized.—She is removed to Fotheringay Castle.

From the terrible day of Saint Bartholomew in 1572, to the detection of the conspiracy against the life of Elizabeth in 1586, the struggles between the two great principles of Romanism and Protestantism was incessant in England. The government was earnestly supported in this contest by what was now a large majority of its subjects; for although the opinions of the Puritans had become a serious source of alarm to the Established Church, this party never swerved from a general loyalty to the queen, even under persecution. We shall defer, till another chapter, a general notice of this Protestant schism; and here confine ourselves to a rapid view of the events in which the hostility between the old and new religions was the principal element.

In 1580, the pope, Gregory XIII., at the suggestion of William Allen, despatched a body of Jesuits to England. The mission of these religious enthusiasts was to attempt the re-conversion of the heretic islanders. They were led and organised by Robert Parsons and Edmond Campion, who had formerly belonged to colleges in Oxford, and had been avowed Protestants before their conversion to Romanism. Out of the college of Douay, in which Campion was professor of divinity, came many of those ardent spirits who professed to interpret the bull of Pius V. against Elizabeth in a purely religious sense, but who, nevertheless, were not regarded by the English government as other than secret and most dangerous traitors. The parliament of 1581 met this inroad of able Englishmen, trained in the school of Loyola to extraordinary subtlety and invincible determination, by the most stringent enactments. The first Act of the session of the 23rd of Elizabeth recites that the Statute against bringing in bulls and writings from Rome has been evaded; and that "divers evil-affected persons have practised contrary to the meaning of the said statute, by other means than by

bulls written and printed, to withdraw the queen's majesty's subjects from their natural obedience to her majesty," &c. This is distinctly levelled against those who interpreted the decrees of the see of Rome through their oral communications; who, invested with especial authority, moved quietly about from town to town, and from village to village; who were cherished and concealed in mansions where they were cautiously introduced to persons of wavering opinions. The statute makes it a treasonable offence to pretend to any power of absolving subjects from their obedience, or practising to withdraw them to the Romish religion; and all subjects thus willingly absolved or withdrawn from their obedience were also to be deemed traitors. Those who said mass or attended mass, and those who did not attend church, were subject to heavy penalties. The proceedings against Campion and others are such as strikingly exhibit the unfairness and cruelty of trials for treason, as then conducted. Campion was arrested in Berkshire, in July, 1581; and was lodged in the Tower with two other priests. He was tortured; and revealed the names of those who had sheltered him. He was questioned, again and again, upon the power of the pope to depose sovereigns, and, his answers being evasive, he was racked with increased severity. Finally, he was tried for high-treason, not under the statute of 1581, but under that of Edward III., for compassing and imagining the queen's death. Others were tried and convicted with him; but three were spared, who renounced the pope's deposing power. It was a principle of the Jesuits that the pope had an undoubted right to deprive kings of their crowns. The Romanist exiles had proclaimed throughout Europe that the heretic Elizabeth was an usurper. The English government rested its defence of the severities which it had practised, upon the ground that the persecutions were not directed against religious tenets; that catholics, whether of the laity or the priesthood, lived unmolested on the score of their faith, when they paid due temporal allegiance to their sovereign; and that none were indicted for treason but such as obstinately maintained the pope's bull depriving the queen of the crown. Gregory XIII. had opened the door to evasion of this charge, by granting to Romanists a permission to dissemble, under the colour of an explanation, "that the bull should be considered as always in force against Elizabeth and the heretics, but should only be binding on catholics when due execution of it could be had:"*—that is, that they should obey till

* Raper, vol. ii. p. 111. Hallam, "Constitutional History,"

they were strong enough to throw off their allegiance. The queen's High Court of Commission would not accept this interpretation: "The prisoners were called upon to say, if the pope were to absolve them from their oath of allegiance, and to attack England, what they should do, and which side they should support. The miserable frightened men knew not how to extricate themselves from this dilemma. They answered that they would render unto God what was God's and unto Cæsar what was Cæsar's; but this evasion was itself interpreted into a confession by their judges. Thus the prisons were filled; execution followed upon execution; and Catholicism, in its turn, had its martyrs."* The severities of the laws against papists went on increasing. In 1584, all Jesuits, seminary priests, and other priests, were commanded by Act of parliament, to depart from the kingdom within forty days, on pain of being adjudged traitors; and penalties were to be inflicted upon those who, knowing any priest to be within the realm, should not denounce him to a magistrate. These intolerant enactments produced the very opposite consequences that were contemplated by the legislature. It was probably difficult to restrain the zealotry of some of the more fiery Protestants. In a memorial to the queen in 1583, Burleigh thus sensibly speaks of the results of enforcing penal laws against such as refused the oath of supremacy: "I account that putting to death does no ways lessen them; since we find by experience that it worketh no such effect, but, like hydra's heads, upon cutting off one, seven grow up; persecution being accounted as the badge of the church: and, therefore, they should never have the honour to take any pretence of martyrdom in England, where the fulness of blood and greatness of heart is such, that they will even for shameful things go bravely to death, much more when they think themselves to climb to heaven; and this vice of obstinacy seems to the common people a divine constancy; so that for my part, I wish no lessening of their number, but by preaching and by education of the younger under schoolmasters."†

The reign of Elizabeth was, happily for the progress of the country, singularly exempt from foreign wars. Her policy was of the most cautious nature; involving upon the face of it some insincerity. In her relations to France and to Spain, when the governments were oppressing their Protestant subjects, she abstained, except in 1562, from sending troops to the assistance of those with whom she was identified in principle. But indirect aid

* Ranke, vol. ii. 168. † Quoted in Hallam, chap. iii.

she on many occasions afforded. Thus, in 1577, she had assisted the revolted provinces of the Netherlands, whose commissioners had, in 1575, offered her the sovereignty, which she declined to accept. But ten years later it had become of essential importance to England to weaken the power of Philip of Spain, by keeping alive the cause of independence and religious freedom in the Low Countries. The assassination of the prince of Orange in 1584, by a religious fanatic, excited by the reward which Philip II. had set upon his head, had produced a fierce indignation in England against the bigoted king of Spain. The schemes of Philip and pope Sixtus V. for the invasion of the contumacious island were no longer concealed. The Jesuits and seminary priests had been steadily endeavouring to weaken whatever spirit of patriotism remained amongst the English catholics. It was a wise resolve, therefore, of Elizabeth's government to break through that superstitious love of peace which influenced the queen, and boldly encounter Philip on his own ground. Elizabeth was very slow to consent to engage in a war in the Netherlands. To support subjects against their sovereign, appeared to her as treason against the rights of monarchs. The democratic government of the United Provinces was to her an anomaly which she held in scorn. Above all, she dreaded, and wisely, expenses which would fall heavily upon her people. But her old sagacious counsellor, Burleigh, the acute Walsingham, and the favourite Leicester, prevailed over her scruples, and an expedition was determined upon at the end of 1585. Burleigh, writing to Leicester, who was appointed to its command, says, "For the advancement of the action, if I should not with all the powers of my heart continually both wish and work advancement thereto, I were to be an accursed person in the sight of God; considering the ends of this action tend to the glory of God, to the safety of the queen's person, to the preservation of this realm in a perpetual quietness."* Elizabeth had again declined the sovereignty which had been again offered her by the commissioners of the States; and she now instructed Leicester also to refuse their offer to put themselves under the absolute control of the lieutenant she should send with her army, but to exhort them to listen to his advice. The extreme eagerness of the ambitious earl to undertake this command, offering even to pawn his estates to the Crown to cover some of the expenses of the undertaking, seems to indicate that he had personal designs upon that sovereignty which his queen had rejected. On

* "Leicester Correspondence," p. 21.

the 10th December, the English fleet was near Flushing. Leicester was received with pageantries which appear to have thrown him off that balance which it was somewhat hazardous for one of Elizabeth's ministers to lose. On New Year's Day, 1586, the States General, by a solemn deputation, offered the queen of England's lieutenant the absolute government of the United Provinces. He first hesitated, then yielded to further supplications, and on the 25th of January accepted the dangerous honour. On that day, a letter was written to him expressive of the queen's dislike of his proceedings. He had sent his secretary with explanations, but his arrival was unaccountably delayed. Then the queen herself wrote a letter to the earl, which is one of the most remarkable examples of that force of character which she frequently displayed in the nervous words of her correspondence. There was no chance of mistaking the meaning of such sentences as these: "We could never have imagined, had we not seen it fall out in experience, that a man raised up by ourself, and extraordinarily favoured by us above any other subject of this land, would have in so contemptible a sort broken our commandment in a cause that so greatly toucheth us in honour. . . . Our express pleasure and commandment is, that all delays and excuses laid apart, you do presently, upon the duty of your allegiance, obey and fulfil whatsoever the bearer hereof shall direct you to do in our name; whereof fail you not, as you will answer the contrary at your uttermost peril."* One who could thus write might not be an amiable mistress to serve; but she was a queen fit to be at the head of a great nation. She had sent an army to assist the people of the Low Countries to maintain their civil privileges and their religious faith against Philip and against Rome; and was she to contradict her own published declarations? was her servant to disobey her positive instructions? It was very long before the anger of the queen could be softened. She withdrew from her first intention to compel Leicester publicly to lay down his authority, but she restricted its exercise in many ways which were irksome to so proud a man. The war was altogether mismanaged. The prince of Parma, who commanded the troops of Spain, was an experienced general. Leicester was always hesitating; sometimes successful through the bravery of his captains; but gradually losing fortress after fortress, and obtaining petty advantages with no permanent results. There was one in his

* "To my lord of Leicester from the queen by Sir Thomas Heneage," "Leicester Correspondence," p. 110.

army who, in this disastrous campaign, closed a short career of military experience, but who has left a name which Englishmen still cherish amongst their most eminent examples of real greatness. Few were the heroic deeds of Philip Sidney, but his heart was the seat of true heroism. The rare scholar, the accomplished writer, the perfect gentleman, might have been forgotten as a soldier, if his night-march upon Axel, and its daring capture, had been his chief title to distinction. But his demeanour when he was carried wounded from the walls of Zutphen, will never be forgotten. His friend, lord Brooke, has told the story, which, known as it is to every schoolboy, must be repeated in every History of England if that history is to show of what material our heroes have been made. "Passing along by the rear of the army where his uncle [Leicester] the general was, and being thirsty with excess of bleeding, he called for some drink, which was presently brought him. But as he was putting the bottle to his mouth he saw a poor soldier carried along, who had eaten his last at the same feast, ghastly casting up his eyes at the bottle; which Sir Philip perceiving took it from his head before he drank, and delivered it to the poor man with these words, 'Thy necessity is yet greater than mine.'" Being repulsed at Zutphen, Leicester shortly went into winter quarters. The expedition came to an end without calling forth any higher qualities in the general than might naturally be expected from an intriguing courtier; showing, indeed, that the raw levies of England might be led to fight valiantly; but also showing that, without the habitual discipline of a regular army, they could not stand up against starvation and other consequences of mismanagement. There had been a long peace; and even in the warlike times of the Plantagenets armies were often lost from the natural difficulties of obtaining supplies. But in those times the feudal relations of lord and vassal kept men together under the direst pressure of want. Leicester's army was without food or clothes; and they deserted by hundreds. The old organisation was broken up; the organisation of modern times was not established.

The partial failure of the expedition to the Low Countries was, in some measure compensated by the naval successes against Spain. Philip had laid an embargo upon English vessels and property, through the extent of his wide dominions. Elizabeth did not fit out royal fleets; but she gave her subjects permission to seize Spanish ships or merchandise wherever they were to be found. This war of privateering was perfectly suited to the Anglo-Saxon

character. The spirit of the old Norsemen was revived; and the hope of gain sent hardy adventurers into distant seas, and eager colonists to search for new lands to subdue. The daring spirits of Elizabeth's reign have a strong similitude to the pirates and buccaneers that became odious when they were no longer wanted, and to the filibusters that are still offensive to European civilisation. But they led the way to England's maritime and colonial glories; and if they plundered somewhat too freely, and destroyed too mercilessly, they had large national objects in view as well as private lucre. Drake, in his expedition to the West Indies in 1585, with twenty-five ships, of which only two belonged to the crown, destroyed several Spanish settlements; took Carthagena and San Domingo; and brought home a considerable amount of treasure and two hundred and forty pieces of ordnance.

Whilst the battle between the two great principles that were dividing Europe was being fairly fought out by England and Spain, horse to horse, and ship to ship, there was a more deadly strife about to be waged, with all the inveteracy of war without its honours. In a letter from Walsingham in London to Leicester in the Low Countries, dated the 9th of July, 1586, we hear the first mutterings of the coming storm. The secretary alludes to "the discovery of some matter of importance, in the highest degree, through my travail and cost;" a secret about which he cannot write, but which the gentleman who bears the letter is to communicate to the earl. He then adds, "my only fear is that her majesty will not use the matter with that secrecy which appertaineth. . . and surely, if the matter be well handled, it will break the neck of all dangerous practices during her majesty's reign."* The handling of such a matter by Francis Walsingham could not be other than successful—if success it could be called to "break the neck of all dangerous practices" by a deed which the historian of the Reformation mildly deems "the greatest blemish of this reign;" which others describe as an act of unparalleled wickedness; but which was then held as a political necessity, of which we, who live in happier times, and are trained to very different feelings, are no competent judges. Walsingham saw that the conspiracy of a missionary priest with some enthusiastic young men for the deliverance of Mary might involve her in their plot for the assassination of Elizabeth. The secretary, though a statesman of rare disinterestedness and general integrity, was so vigilant in the detection of plots against his mistress, that

* "Leicester Correspondence," p. 341.

his spies and secret agents were in every suspected house at home. In what is meant for panegyric it is said of him, "he outdid the Jesuits in their own bow, and over-reached them in their own equivocation and mental reservation. . . . He would cherish a plot some years together, admitting the conspirators to his own and the queen's presence familiarly." His spies waited on some men every hour for three years.* This was the man, with his maxims that "knowledge is never too dear," and that "secrecy is policy and virtue," whom a dozen rash young catholics, incited by a fanatical priest, thought to circumvent.

In February, 1585, Dr. William Parry was convicted of high treason, and he was executed on the 2nd of March. His career was a very extraordinary one. He was, after 1580, employed as "a collector of secret intelligence in foreign countries." He had a pension given him in 1584. He is tried as a public enemy six months afterwards. On his trial he made a confession which implicated one Morgan, an agent of Mary at Paris for the receipt and administration of her dower as queen of France. His statement was to this effect: "In October [1582] I came to Paris, where (upon better opinion conceived of me amongst my catholic countrymen) I found my credit well settled, and such as mistrusted me before ready to trust and embrace me. And being one day at the chamber of Thomas Morgan, a catholic gentleman (greatly beloved and trusted on that side), amongst other gentlemen, talking of England, I was desired by Morgan to go up with him to another chamber, where he told me that it was hoped and looked for that I should do some service for God and his church. I answered him, I would do it, if it were to kill the greatest subject in England, whom I named, and in truth then hated. 'No, no,' said he, 'let him live to his greater fall and ruin of his house. It is the queen I mean.' I told him 'it were soon done if it might be lawfully done, and warranted in the opinion of some learned divines.' And so the doubt once resolved (though, as you have heard, I was before reasonably well satisfied), I vowed to undertake the enterprise for the restitution of England to the ancient obedience of the see apostolic."

Elizabeth was greatly enraged against Morgan, and called upon the king of France to deliver him up. This was refused; but Morgan was sent to the Bastille. Full of plans of revenge, he procured means of correspondence with Mary, and had various agents

* Lloyd, "State Worthies," pp. 514-516.

in England, some of whom were unable to elude the vigilance of Walsingham, and yielded up their secrets to the wary minister, or became his own dark sentinels.* In the summer and autumn of 1585, a catholic priest came to England, who was dressed as an officer, and moved about under the name of Fortescue. His real name was John Ballard. One of Walsingham's intelligencers obtained his confidence; and after visiting various parts of this island they proceeded to Paris. Here Ballard saw Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador; and proposed to him, that during the absence of English forces in the Netherlands, an army should be landed, whose presence would be the signal for a general rising in favour of the queen of Scots. The ambassador gave little encouragement to this scheme; and Ballard turned to other devices. There was an English officer of the name of Savage, who had undertaken to assassinate Elizabeth; and Ballard came back to England to tempt violent partisans into listening to this proposal. He addressed himself to Anthony Babington, a gentleman of Dethick, in Derbyshire. He had always professed a chivalrous devotion to the cause of Mary; and had been the medium of transmitting letters to her when she was at Sheffield castle. He adopted the proposal that Savage should kill the queen; but he held that it was a plan of too much importance to be left to one man's resolution; and that six should engage in that service, whilst others should liberate the queen of Scots. There can be no doubt that here was a real plot. Young men, the friends of Babington, were induced to enter into the scheme, to their eventual destruction. One of the most interesting of these was Chidick Titchbourne, of Porchester, in Hampshire; and in the address which he delivered at his execution, we may see how such rash and criminal projects found acceptance with ardent and generous minds:—"I had a friend, and a dear friend, of whom I made no small account, whose friendship hath brought me to this; he told me the whole matter; I cannot deny, as they had laid it down to be done; but I always thought it impious, and denied to be a dealer in it; but the regard of my friend caused me to be a man in whom the old proverb was verified; I was silent, and so consented. Before this thing chanced, we lived together in most flourishing estate. Of whom went report in the Strand, Fleet-street, and elsewhere about London, but of Babington and Titchbourne? No threshold was of force to brave our entry. Thus we lived, and wanted nothing we could wish for; and

* Lloyd's happy definition of a spy was "a dark sentinel."

God knows what less in my head than matters of state. Now give me leave to declare the miseries I sustained after I was acquainted with the action, wherein I may justly compare my estate to that of Adam's, who could not abstain one thing forbidden, to enjoy all other things the world could afford; the terror of conscience awaited me. After I considered the dangers whereinto I was fallen, I went to sir John Peters, in Essex, and appointed my horses should meet me at London, intending to go down into the country. I came to London, and then heard that all was bewrayed: whereupon, like Adam, we fled into the woods to hide ourselves."

The employment of spies by a government necessarily leads to the belief that the spy incites the enterprise which he is commissioned to discover. Walsingham was acquainted with this conspiracy through a seminary priest of the name of Gifford; and, says Dr. Lingard, "that artful minister, while he smiled at the infatuation of the youths, who had thus entangled themselves in the toils, was busily employed in weaving a new intrigue, and planning the ruin of a more illustrious victim." What that artful minister did is clear enough. He removed the difficulties which prevented Babington's correspondence with Mary; and he possessed himself of copies of that correspondence. The ruin of the more illustrious victim was accomplished by her own readiness to enter into a plan for her deliverance, founded upon invasion and insurrection, and the assassination of Elizabeth. This was the charge justly sustained against her, if the documents produced upon her trial were not forgeries.

On the 13th, 14th, and 15th of September, fourteen persons accused as treasonable conspirators were brought to trial. Babington, Ballard, and Savage, with four others, pleaded guilty. The remainder were also convicted. The executions of seven, on the 20th of September, were attended with the horrible barbarities of the full penalty of treason. In the case of the others these cruelties were dispensed with. Babington is held "to have behaved ungenerously. He it was who sought to inveigle the others into the conspiracy; and yet his confession was the chief proof against them."* In that confession, as given upon the trial of Mary, was also found what was alleged as a corroborative proof of her complicity with this attempt:—"He set down at large what conferences passed between B. [Ballard] and him, and the whole plot of conspiracy for the murder of Elizabeth, and deliverance of Mary. He

* Lingard, vol. viii: note at p. 261.

declared further, that he did write a letter to the queen of Scotland touching every particular of this plot, and sent it by the same unknown boy [through whom he had corresponded previously]. She answered twenty or thirty days [after] in the same cipher by which he wrote unto her, but by another messenger. The tenour of both which letters he carried so well in memory, that he reported and set down all the principal points of the same, as upon conference of the said declaration with the copies of the said letters it appeared. Babington in all particular points prayed her direction; for instance, that six noble gentlemen would undertake that tragical execution.*

The queen of Scots had two secretaries, de Naou, a Frenchman, and Curle, a Scot. It appears from a letter of Elizabeth to Shrewsbury, that de Naou was recommended by the French king; and that she consented to his appointment, he having "promised that he shall carry himself in that even manner that becometh an honest minister." † When the knowledge of the conspiracy was sufficiently mature, these secretaries were arrested, and the papers of Mary were seized and transmitted to the council. The queen of Scots was at Chartley, ‡ in the county of Stafford. She had been removed from Tutbury in the beginning of 1586, which place she appears to have greatly disliked, saying, in one of her letters, "I suffered here so much rigour, insult, and indignity, that I have ever since looked on it as wretched and unfortunate." § Mary was residing at Chartley when the discovery of the suspicions against her was abruptly communicated. She was riding to the chase, with sir Amyas Paulet, her two secretaries, and her usual attendants. On the way sir Thomas Gorges told her that he had received orders from the queen to take her to Tixhall, a country seat at a short distance, and that de Naou and Curle were to be arrested. She was very angry, and even called upon her people to protect her. But Gorges went one way with the secretaries, and Paulet another with the queen. Meanwhile a messenger from the Council had taken possession of Mary's papers. § Some days after, Mary was conducted back to Chartley, and found that her private cabinets had been opened, and her papers removed. On the 27th of August, Paulet thus reports of her demeanour as she left Tixhall, a seat of the Astons:—"As Mary was coming out of sir Walter

* Raumer, p. 344.

† Ellis, First Series, vol. ii. p. 278.

‡ Lingard, perhaps by a typographical error, speaks of Mary's residence at Chertsey.

§ Letter from M. d'Esneval. Raumer, p. 315.

Aston's gate, she said with a loud voice, weeping, to some poor folks which were there assembled, 'I have nothing for you, I am a beggar as well as you; all is taken from me.' And when she came to the gentleman, she said, weeping, 'Good God; I am not witting or privy to anything intended against the queen.' . . . On her coming hither Mr. Darell delivered the keys as well of her chamber as of her coffers to Bastian, which he refused by direction of his mistress, who required Mr. Darell to open her chamber-door, which he did, and then this lady, finding that the papers were taken away, said in great choler, that two things could not be taken away from her—her English blood and her catholic religion, which both she would keep unto her death, adding further these words, 'Some of you will be sorry for it,' meaning the taking away of her papers. I was not present when these words were spoken, but no doubt they reached unto me, in what sense she only knoweth. I may be sorry for others, but I know there is nothing in her papers that can give me cause to be sorry for myself."

The sensation produced upon the citizens of London, when the news of the Babington conspiracy first opened upon them, and the determination in the mind of Elizabeth to regard Mary as a principal in the design, are described in a letter of Chateaufort, the French ambassador, to his king, Henry III.—"I have not been able to send your majesty any information for the last fortnight, all the roads to France being closed on account of a conspiracy which was directed against the queen and the state. She told me herself that she has had from twenty-five to thirty persons, all catholics, arrested on account of it, and this continues daily. A great sensation was caused by it in this town, where the people are much incensed against the catholics; nay, for eight or ten days there was reason to apprehend that acts of violence would be committed upon all who were considered to be catholics. Bonfires were lighted in every street, and the bells rung for twenty-four hours together, because the queen had escaped from so great a danger. It was determined, it is said, to shoot the queen on the 15th of August, and according to the plan agreed upon, every catholic in the kingdom was to take up arms, and place Mary on the throne. Elizabeth, at least, ascribes the whole undertaking to her, for which reason M. d'Esneval and I repaired to Windsor last Sunday, when she said to me, 'I know that the queen of Scotland contrived this. This, in truth, is repaying evil for good, and the more so as I have several times saved her life. The king of France will have news in a

few days that will little please him? For the understanding of this, I must inform your majesty, that during the ten or twelve days that the investigations were carried on with the greatest ardour, there was a report in the city that this conspiracy had its origin in France, and that even your majesty and the king of Spain took part in it; that your fleet was in readiness to aid it, and that those leaders of the plot who had not yet been discovered were concealed in my house, and that it ought to be forcibly searched.

I have accordingly complained of this report, and also of a thousand scandalous and insulting words which my people are exposed to in the streets; and that I was as if besieged, and in danger of being plundered. The only answer I received was, "The people are greatly excited, and cannot be restrained."

From Chartley, the queen of Scots was transferred to Fotheringay castle. This feudal pile, of which scarce a trace remains, was demolished by order of James VI., when he came to the English throne. Here Richard III. was born, and here Mary Stuart closed her life. Its associations were necessarily painful to James; and they probably offered some reproach to his conscience. As we proceed to the close of the tragical history of his mother, we shall find sufficient evidence of the weakness and selfishness of this king. His endeavours to procure a mitigation of the fate of Mary, and his final resentment, were never very strenuous. He was always thinking of the splendid lot that was before him as successor to both thrones. It may be very reasonably conjectured, from the whole tenor of Elizabeth's conduct, that she designed James to succeed her; that she was perfectly aware of the inestimable benefits that would result to both countries from their union under one sovereign. Her solicitude was far greater for the good government of Scotland than was to be ascribed to her desire for a peaceful and protestant neighbour. She took James under her tutelage, and read him many a sage, and many a stern admonition. There is a remarkable letter from Elizabeth to James VI., dated the 4th of October, 1586, which is a reply to a letter of James in which he congratulates the queen upon her escape from the conspiracy directed against her life. This characteristic letter of Elizabeth gives a dark hint of her belief that the mother of the king of Scotland was accessory to this design. He would, indeed, shortly "hear all;" for at this very date it had been determined to put Mary upon her trial. A league between England and Scot-

* Ranmer, p. 317.

land had been concluded a short time before this eventful season. "And for that the curse of that design rose up from the wicked suggestion of the Jesuits, which make it an acceptable sacrifice to God, and meritorious to themselves, that a king not of their profession should be murdered, therefore I could keep my pen no longer from discharging my care of your person, that you suffer not such vipers to inhabit your land. They say you gave leave under your hand that they might safely come and go. For God's love regard your surety above all persuasions, and account him no subject that entertains them. Make not edicts for scorn, but to be observed. Let them be rebels, and so pronounced, that preserve them. For my part, I am sorrier that they cast away so many goodly gentlemen than that they sought my ruin. I thank God I have taken more dolor for some that are guilty of this murder than bear them malice that they sought my death. I protest it before God. But such iniquity will not be hid, be it never so craftily handled; and yet, when you shall hear all, you will wonder that one accounted wise will use such matter so fondly."* There can be no doubt to whom the singular expression "one accounted wise" refers.

* "Letters of Elizabeth and James VI.," p. 38.