

## 1591

At **RICHMOND PALACE**, Surrey.

Jan 1, Fri New Year gifts; play, by the Queen's Men.<sup>T</sup>

Jan 1: Esther Inglis, under the name *Esther Langlois*, dedicated to the Queen: '*Discours de la Foy*', written at Edinburgh. Dedication in French, with French and Latin verses to the Queen. *Esther* (c.1570-1624), a French refugee settled in Scotland, was a noted calligrapher and used various different scripts.

She presented several works to the Queen. Her portrait, 1595, and a self-portrait, 1602, are in Elizabeth I & her People, ed. Tarnya Cooper, 178-179.

January 1-March: Sir John Norris was special Ambassador to the Low Countries.

Jan 3, Sun play, by the Queen's Men.<sup>T</sup>

Court news. Jan 4, Coldharbour [London], Thomas Kerry to the Earl of Shrewsbury: 'This Christmas...Sir Michael Blount was knighted, without any fellows'. Lieutenant of the Tower. [LPL 3200/104].

Jan 5: Stationers entered: 'A rare and due commendation of the singular virtues and government of the Queen's most excellent Majesty, with the happy and blessed state of England, and how God hath blessed her Highness, from time to time'.

Jan 6, Wed play, by the Queen's Men.

For 'setting up of the organs' at Richmond John Chappington was paid £13.2s8d.<sup>T</sup>

Jan 10, Sun new appointment: Dr Julius Caesar, Judge of the Admiralty, 'was sworn one of the Masters of Requests Extraordinary'.<sup>APC</sup>

Jan 13: Funeral, St Peter and St Paul Church, Sheffield, of George Talbot, 6th Earl of Shrewsbury (died 18 Nov 1590). Sheffield Burgesses 'Paid to the Coroner for the fee of three persons that were slain with the fall of two trees that were burned down at my Lord's funeral, the 13th of January', 8s.

Jan 14: death. John Bourke, 2nd Baron Bourke of Connell, a young Irish lord who had lived in England since 1580, was killed near Wandsworth, Surrey.

Bourke had gone to the fields to fight a duel with Captain Arnold Cosby, a soldier well known about court; whilst Bourke was making ready, unbuckling his spurs, Cosby stabbed him repeatedly.

Bourke's brother Richard Bourke, a university student, became 3rd Baron Bourke of Connell. The Queen granted Cosby's lands to him, and in 1592 a £200 annuity.

Jan 21: Sir John Carmichael received £3500 for King James. [Scot.xiii.202].

Jan 25: Trial, at London Sessions. Arnold Cosby was tried for murder.

Cosby stated that the cause of the quarrel with Lord Bourke was that, on the night before, Bourke had pulled his nose. He stated that after wounding Bourke he had offered him his life if Bourke would return to court and acknowledge that he had wronged Cosby, fought with him, and been spared by him.

Cosby was found guilty and was sentenced to death.

Jan 25: Stationers entered: 'The arraignment and condemnation of Arnold Cosby for murdering the Lord Bourke'.

Jan 26: Stationers entered: 'The tragical murder of the Lord Bourke with the sorrowful sighs of a sad soul for his untimely loss'.

Jan 27: Arnold Cosby was executed near Wandsworth.

[Details of the murder are taken from a broadside, The Arraignment, Examination, Confession and Judgement of Arnold Cosby].

Jan 29-March 9: Edmund Yorke was special Ambassador to the King of France. Yorke was sent to report on the state of Brittany, which had been invaded by the Spanish, and on King Henri IV's need for succour.

Feb 3, Robert Bowes (Ambassador to Scotland) to Lord Burghley:  
King James cannot maintain his pastime of hunting next summer without some fallow deer out of England (from the Queen). For your information on how to obtain and send them he will send an Englishman, a woodman. Feb 23:  
The King is sending Cuthbert Rayne, the woodman. [Scot.x.458,468].

Feb 5: News of Sir John Perrot, former Lord Deputy of Ireland, in custody in Lord Treasurer Burghley's house, and of imprisoned Irish officials.

Feb 5, York House, Arthur Bostock to Anthony Stoughton, in Dublin:  
'Sir John our master I do assure you he is at my Lord Treasurer's which I hope will not continue long...The Bishop of Leighlin [Meredith] is close prisoner in the Fleet, but merry as ever he was, Sir Nicholas White in the Marshalsea close, and taketh it heavily, Sir Thomas Williams in the Marshalsea close prisoner'...  
'No doubt but you hear of Arnold Cosby's execution, and the manner of my Lord Bourke's death, which was very badly'. [Intercepted letter. SP63/153/37 III].  
White was Master of the Rolls in Ireland, Williams was Muster-master there. In March all were committed to the Tower as close prisoners, as was Perrot.

Court news. Feb 6, 'in great haste', Lord Burghley to Edward Grimston (Edmund Yorke's secretary, in France):

'Here are arrived two Deputies of Brittany, one a Treasurer, the other an Advocate. They require aid from hence to expel the Spaniards. Here is also come Monsieur de la Tour, who is to go into Almain [Germany]'.

'I hear that Mr Edmund Yorke is come thither to you, and until he return here will be no answer for Brittany'. [LPL 647/131].

A succession of envoys came from Henri IV during 1591 for aid.

Feb 6: Stationers entered a book by Guillaume de Saluste du Bartas:  
Hebdomas. Dedicated to the Queen, in Latin prose.  
Text in Latin verse, divided into seven books, each a different day.  
First day, or first book; second day, or second book, etc. 112p. (London, 1591).  
This format proved popular, and several English poets brought out similar verses. Saluste du Bartas had visited the Queen in April-May 1587.

Feb 9: Stationers entered a book by Job Hortop, dedicated to the Queen. Hortop had sailed from Plymouth in October 1567, on a voyage to the West Indies, as a gunner in The Jesus of Lubeck, one of the Queen's ships. He had been left on land beside the Bay of Mexico, October 1568. He had returned to Portsmouth on 2 December 1590 in The Galleon Dudley. His brief book was entitled:

'The Rare Travels of Job Hortop, an Englishman, who was not heard of in three and twenty years space. Wherein is declared the dangers he escaped in his voyage to Guinea, where after he was set on shore in a wilderness near to Panico, he endured much slavery and bondage in the Spanish Galley. Wherein also he discovereth many strange and wonderful things seen in the time of his travel, as well concerning wild and savage people, as also of sundry monstrous beasts, fishes, and fowls, and also Trees of wonderful form and quality'.

*Dedication: 'To the most high and mighty' Queen. 'Most gracious and renowned Sovereign, being about three and twenty years past pressed forth to serve in a gunner's room for the Guinea voyage (of which Sir John Hawkins was general), such was our success before his return into England, we were distressed through want of victual, nor could we obtain any for money; by means whereof many of us (though to our general's great grief) were constrained to be set on shore, in a land inhabited by none but Negroes and wild people. Since which time...I have passed sundry perils in the wildernesses, and escaped many dangers...And being now come into my native country of England, I do in all humbleness prostrate myself (together with the Discourse of my travels) at your Highness's feet, humbly beseeching your Majesty to accept the same at your subject's hands, as our Saviour Christ accepted the poor widow's mite'. 19p. (London, 1591).*

*Hortop's Rare Travels was soon withdrawn, and a revised edition was published later in 1591, with a similar Dedication but different title, and changes in the text, e.g. to add references to Sir Francis Drake. New title:*

*The Travels of an Englishman. 'Containing his Sundry Calamities endured by the space of twenty and odd years in his absence from his native country; wherein is truly deciphered the sundry shapes of wild Beasts, Birds, Fishes, Fowls, roots, plants, etc. With the description of a man that appeared in the Sea; and also of a huge Giant brought from China to the King of Spain. No less pleasant than approved. By I.H. Published with authority'. 27p. (London, 1591).*

*The revised edition is reprinted in Hakluyt's Voyages, vi.336-354.*

*February 11: Queen left Richmond. Richard Kellefet, Keeper of the Standing Wardrobe at Richmond, two men and 8 labourers, 'to take down, air, shake, brush, carry, recarry and lay up all such hangings and other wardrobe stuff as he had then in charge after her Highness's remove from Richmond to Greenwich'.<sup>T</sup>*

Feb 11, Thur **LAMBETH PALACE**, Surrey; Archbishop of Canterbury.<sup>T</sup>  
John Whitgift. Lambeth churchwardens paid: 'For ringing when the Queen's Majesty came from Richmond to Lambeth the 11th of February, 2s'

*Feb 11: death: Daniel Rogers, a Clerk of the Council, died at his house in Silver Street, London. Will: February 10 (proved February 11), leaving his unborn child £30 p.a. if a son, £300 at age 16 if a daughter.*

*A Herald noted that he died on February 11 'his wife brought to bed the same day of a daughter whose name was Posthuma, who followed her father to be christened at his funeral being the 16th day of February'.*

*[Registers of St Olave Church, Silver Street; BL Stowe MS 586].*

Court news. Feb 13, London, Thomas Wilkes to Sir Robert Sidney, in Flushing:  
'We here doubting what will become of the poor King [of France] her Majesty hath dispatched unto him Mr Edmund Yorke, to be informed of his case and state, to the end she may proportion her succours accordingly for his relief...My Lord of Essex is in some hope (if her Majesty do increase her numbers intended to be sent into France) that he shall have the chief conduction of them as General'...  
'I have no home news to write unto you more than of the Queen's removing to Greenwich this day'.<sup>SD</sup>

Beauvoir, French Ambassador, informed the King of Essex's endeavours to be appointed General of forces sent to France: 'The Earl told me that the Queen has refused him three times...He was on his knees before her for more than two hours...This young lord burns with desire to do service'. [Devereux, ii.215].

Sir John Norris, an experienced commander, was appointed.

Feb 13, Sat **GREENWICH PALACE**, Kent.  
Lambeth Church: 'For ringing when her Majesty went from Lambeth to Greenwich the 13th of February', 2s.

Feb 14, Shrove Sunday play, by the Queen's Men.  
 Feb 16, Shrove Tuesday play, and feats of activity,  
 by Lord Strange's Men and Lord Admiral's Men.<sup>T</sup>

Feb 24, Wed sermon, Greenwich: Dr Lancelot Andrewes.  
 Text: Psalm 77:20: 'Thou didst lead Thy people like sheep, by the hand  
 of Moses and Aaron'. Devoted to an analysis of good government.  
*John Harington*: Dr Andrewes 'made a sermon before the Queen long since,  
 (which was most famous)...Which sermon (though courtiers' ears are commonly  
 so open, as it goes in at one ear and out at the other) yet it left an *aculeus*  
 [sting] behind in many of all sorts. And Henry Noel, one of the great gallants  
 of those times, swore "as he was a gentleman, he never heard man speak with such  
 a spirit". [*Nugae Antiquae*, ii.193]. The sermon was printed in 1629.

Feb 26: Stationers entered: 'John Harington's *Orlando Furioso*'.  
*Harington* (1560-1612) translated from Italian Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*.  
*Orlando Furioso in English Heroical Verse*. Title-page has Harington's  
 portrait, aged 30. 'To the most excellent, virtuous, and noble' Queen:  
 'Most Renowned (and most worthy to be most renowned) Sovereign Lady; I presume  
 to offer to your Highness this first fruit of the little garden of my slender  
 skill. It hath been the longer in growing, and is the less worthy the gathering,  
 because my ground is barren and too cold for such dainty Italian fruits...  
 but the beams of your heavenly countenance, vouchsafing to shine on so poor a  
 soil, shall soon disperse all hurtful mists that would obscure it'...  
 'I desire to be brief, because I love to be plain. Whatsoever I am or can, is  
 your Majesty's. Your gracious favours have been extended in my poor family even  
 to the third generation, your bounty to us and our heirs. Wherefore this (though  
 unperfect and unworthy work) I humbly recommend to that gracious protection,  
 under which I enjoy all in which I can take joy. If your Highness will read it,  
 who dare reject it? if allow it, who can reprove it?'.  
 In 46 books. 423p. (London, 1591). Harington wrote, 1596:  
 'The whole work being enjoined me as a penance by that saint, nay rather  
 goddess, whose service I am only devoted unto'. [*Metamorphosis of Ajax*, 256].

By 'tradition' (first published in 1804) Harington originally translated  
 only Ariosto's Book 28, the tale of Astolfo and Jocondo, a lewd story of two  
 cuckolded husbands who discover that there is not a woman in the world whose  
 favours cannot be won by wooing, or by money. This was passed around the court  
 and came into the hands of the Queen. She sent for Harington, reprimanded him  
 for endangering the morals of her Maids of Honour by such an indecorous tale,  
 and ordered him to retire to his country seat until he had translated the whole  
 very lengthy work. [*Nugae Antiquae*, i. (biographical account, x-xi)].

March 4: Trial at Chelmsford Assizes, for conversion and extortion, of Edward  
 Sharpe, of Harlow, Essex, Deputy to one of the Queen's Purveyors for Poultry.  
 At Harlow in 1590 Sharpe twice feloniously converted to his own use 12 chickens  
 (value 5s) taken under colour of his office for the Queen's use. Guilty on first  
 count, confessed to the second; sentenced to death. [*Assizes, Essex*, 360].

Court news. [March 8, London], Monday, Philip Gawdy to his 'sweet brother',  
 (after Philip volunteered to join Sir Richard Grenville on an expedition to the  
 Azores): 'The Queen hath commanded all possible speed to be made. Sir Richard  
 and other captains will presently go to the court, with whom I will go. And so  
 away as fast as the ships will fall down. I have already bought my arms and  
 target [shield]...My apparel will be made tonight..I hope to win much honour'.<sup>GY</sup>  
 Gawdy was to be captured and imprisoned; Grenville died on September 2.

Mar 8, Mon Lord Thomas Howard and his captains at Greenwich to take leave. Lord Thomas, with Sir Richard Grenville, was to lead a squadron of ships to the Azores, hoping to intercept the Spanish treasure fleet.

March 8: *Sir John Perrot was committed to the Tower, with Sir Thomas Williams. March 9: Bishop of Leighlin (Richard Meredith) was committed, and on March 11 Sir Nicholas White, all as close prisoners. Perrot's Trial: 27 April 1592. Williams died in the Tower, 20 Aug 1591; White died there in 1592; in 1593 his son took his body for burial in Ireland; Meredith returned to Ireland in 1593.*

March 10, Greenwich, John Stanhope to the Earl of Shrewsbury:  
 'Yesterday Mr Edmund Yorke returned from the French King' who 'requireth of her Majesty 4000 foot' to fight the Duke of Parma.  
 'My Lord Thomas Howard hath kissed her Majesty's hand, and is gone down to his ships, Sir Richard Grenville being his Vice-Admiral, and they and their partners ...make a very goodly fleet. God send them good speed, and a safe return'...  
 'I have ventured to commit thus much news to a fool's carriage'.  
 PS. 'Good my Lord, if the fool Jenkin be drunk, which I fear, let him be whipped home'. [*Lodge*, ii.436-8]. The Queen declined to hear Edmund Yorke because of some alleged indiscretion. She sent 3000 footmen to France in April.

Court news. March 12, Thomas Phillips, draft: 'The not naming a Secretary proceeds from their quietness here, and the Queen's slowness in bestowing places of importance; the great ones about her would each have his friend. The Earl of Essex labours for Davison's restitution; the Treasurer for his son Robert Cecil, and is likely to prevail...The Treasurer meanwhile executes this office, as almost all other places of the realm, to the discontent of many'. The Earl is 'like enough, if he had a few more years, to carry Leicester's credit and sway'. [SP15/32/7]. William Davison was joint Secretary 1586-1587; after Sir Francis Walsingham died in April 1590 the post of Secretary was vacant till Sir Robert Cecil was appointed in 1596.

By March 24: Sir George Carew at Greenwich from Ireland. Lord Deputy Fitzwilliam, March 13, Dublin, licensed Carew, Master of the Ordnance, 'to repair into England about the Queen's business and his own private affairs', and to be absent for six months, with 10 horsemen of his retinue. Carew wrote on March 24 of his safe arrival at court. [Carew, iii.49-50]. The Queen kept Carew in England until her summer progress ended.

March 28: *birth: William Cecil, 1st child of Robert Cecil (Lord Burghley's son) and Elizabeth (Brooke), daughter of William Brooke, 10th Lord Cobham. April: christening. Queen was godmother to 'Mr Robert Cecil's son'.<sup>T</sup> Simon Bowyer went 'from the court at Greenwich to London...to make ready for her Majesty's deputy', April.<sup>T</sup> Queen's gifts: three gilt bowls with a cover; one pair of gilt pots, to 'Mr Robert Cecil non [no] Sir Robert Cecil knight's child'.<sup>PS</sup> Cecil's house was in the Strand; he was knighted May 20. William Cecil (1591-1668) became (1605) Viscount Cranborne; married (1608) Lady Katherine Howard; became (1612) 2nd Earl of Salisbury.*

April: Lord Thomas Howard and Sir Richard Grenville left for the Azores. The Queen's ships were: *The Defiance* (Howard, Admiral); *The Revenge* (Grenville, Vice-Admiral); *The Bonaventure*; *The Crane*; *The Foresight*; *The Lion*.

Apr 1, Maundy Thursday ceremonies and alms-giving, Greenwich parish church. By Richard Fletcher, Bishop of Bristol, Queen's Almoner; to 57 poor women, each 20s in a red purse, 57d in a white purse.<sup>T,W</sup>

Apr 3, Sat Contract for men for Brittany signed at Greenwich.

King Henri IV had sent Antoine de Moret, Sieur de Reau, as his special Ambassador, to press for aid. The contract was signed by Beauvoir, resident French Ambassador, with De Reau as a witness. Lord Burghley noted:

'The French Ambassador bound for payment for the 3000 appointed for Brittany'.

April 6: 'Sir Roger Williams and De Foix [De Reau] do pass to Dieppe with 600 men, parcel [part] of 3000 appointed for Brittany'.<sup>B</sup>

Sir John Norris landed in Brittany on May 2 with the remaining 2400 men.

*April 9-10: Earl of Essex entertained 'the Ambassador of France', at his house at Wanstead, Essex; total expenses £53.6s11d. [Bath, v.254].*

April 14: News of quarrel at court between Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex (1565-1601) and Henry FitzGerald, 12th Earl of Kildare (1562-1597).

April 14, Greenwich, the Privy Council 'understanding of some unkindness and falling out between the Earl of Essex and the Earl of Kildare in her Majesty's Presence Chamber, and that there passed between them unfit words to be used in that place and of persons of that calling and quality, did this day call before them the said Earls and examined the occasion of accident happening upon very small matter...a quarrel begun in her Highness's Chamber of Presence, so near to her royal person'. They were enjoined 'upon their allegiance to keep her Majesty's peace either towards other', and acknowledged a recognizance for £10,000 'not to challenge, provoke or assault the other'.<sup>APC</sup>

*April 18, in Westminster Abbey: William Dethick, Garter King of Arms, assaulted Henry Browne gentleman, then and there being in God's and the Queen's peace. Dethick maliciously drew his dagger and struck Browne on the head.*

*At a special Sessions on August 7, before Sir Owen Hopton and Recorder William Fleetwood and a jury, Dethick pleaded not guilty of various transgressions and contempts; he was acquitted. [Jeaffreson, i.194,197].*

*April 18, Sir Horatio Palavicino, special Ambassador to the German States, to Lord Burghley, asking for licence to return home in July and to bring his wife, as it would be risky if the Queen had no notice of his marriage before his return. In Frankfurt on April 27 Sir Horatio married Anna Hoostman, daughter of Giles Hoostman, a wealthy Antwerp merchant. [SPF List 2, 431].*

*The Queen was godmother to their first child (April 1592).*

Apr 21, Wed Richard Carmarden at Greenwich with the Queen.

Carmarden, a Customs official, worked under 'Customer' Thomas Smith.

Carmarden to Robert Cecil, April 24, London: I was certified last Tuesday that Mr Smith was 'in danger of death' and that the Queen wished me to attend at court next day to receive her pleasure touching him and his causes.

[HT.MS 19/82]. Smith died on June 7; his main residence was in Kent, where his memorial remains in St Mary's Church, Ashford.

Apr 22, Thur Eve of Garter ceremonies, Greenwich.

At a Chapter of Garter Knights the Queen appointed a Lieutenant, as customary.

Apr 23, Fri St George's Day Garter ceremonies, Greenwich.

Greenwich parish church was made ready.<sup>W</sup> Queen's Lieutenant: Henry Stanley, 4th Earl of Derby. The Queen was in processions and at the service.

Apr 24, Sat Final 1591 Garter ceremonies.

No new Knights were elected.

April: *christening*. Queen was godmother to Earl of Kildare's daughter.  
Parents: Henry FitzGerald, 12th Earl of Kildare; wife: Frances (Howard), daughter of Charles 2nd Lord Howard of Effingham, Lord Admiral.

Richard Brackenbury went 'from the court at Greenwich to the Lord Admiral's at Chelsea there to make ready for her Majesty against the christening of the Earl of Kildare's daughter', April. Nicholas Pigeon, Jewel-house Officer, went from Greenwich to London for 'plate to be given by her Highness'.<sup>T</sup>

Queen's gifts: three gilt bowls with a cover; one pair of gilt pots.<sup>PS</sup>  
Child: died in infancy.

\*April 1591: sermon, Greenwich: John Aylmer, Bishop of London (1521-1594). John Harington's description: 'One Sunday (April last) my Lord of London preached to the Queen's Majesty, and seemed to touch on the vanity of decking the body too finely. Her Majesty told the ladies that "If the Bishop held more discourse on such matters, she would fit him for heaven, but he should walk thither without a staff, and leave his mantle behind him". Perchance the Bishop hath never sought her Highness's wardrobe, or he would have chosen another text'. [Nugae Antiquae, i.170-171; undated; the next note can be dated 1591].

May 1: *death*. Elizabeth (Manners), Baroness Ros (1576-1591), died at Barking, Essex, in childbirth (2nd child). She was wife of William Cecil, who was Sir Thomas Cecil's son and Lord Burghley's grandson.

Funeral, May 19: Westminster Abbey. Her monument is in St Nicholas Chapel. Her son William Cecil (1590-1618) became 16th Lord Ros.

See 'Proposed progresses: 1591' for the itinerary for a short progress in Middlesex, Hertfordshire, and Essex.

May 5, Tues **HACKNEY**, Middlesex; Sir Rowland Hayward. Kingshold manor-house, King's Place; owned by Sir Rowland Hayward (c.1520-1593), clothworker, Alderman of London 1560-1593, Lord Mayor 1570-1571, and also in September-October 1591, after Sir John Allot, Lord Mayor, died in office.

2nd wife: Catherine (c.1564-1617); daughter of 'Customer' Thomas Smith.

Richard Brackenbury made ready Sir Rowland Hayward's house and 'a standing at Hackney for the Queen's Majesty's hunting'.<sup>T</sup> Treasurer of the Chamber's warrants, May 5: court at Greenwich; court at Hackney.<sup>T</sup>

**Start of SHORT PROGRESS** in Middlesex and Hertfordshire.

[May 10, Mon] *dinner*, Enfield, Middlesex; Mr Wroth.<sup>T</sup>  
Durants manor-house; owned by Robert Wroth (c.1539-1606); wife: Susan; daughter of John Stoner of Luxborough, Chigwell, Essex.

May 10-20: Queen at Theobalds, with Lord Burghley.

Burghley's 'Memorial for the Queen's coming to Theobalds', includes 'To provide hangings for the Maids' chamber'. 'The disposition of the lodgings at Theobalds', listing those to be lodged in the First and Second Courts.

Those 'To wait upon the Queen's Majesty this short progress'.

'A note of such noblemen, ladies and gentlemen as are to be lodged at Theobalds'. These include 'the Queen's Majesty's Lutes, Mr Ferdinando, Mathias and Hales'; Dr Bayley, Dr Gifford, Mr Morgan apothecary; Mr Poyntz, Clerk of the Kitchen. Also at Theobalds are to be the Spicery, Cellar, Pantry, Buttery, Ewery, Chandlery, Privy Larder, Ushers' Larder, Wet Larder, Scullery, Poultry, Scalding-house, Pastry, Saucery, Pitcher-house, Woodyard, Boiling-house, Confectionery. Nine Gentlemen Pensioners 'To be lodged by the Harbingers'.

[HT.MS 140/33,35,36; 143/65].

*Theobalds entertainment. This comprises: a Hermit's speech in verse welcoming the Queen; a mock 'Writ' from the Queen to the Hermit, signed on the reverse by Lord Chancellor Hatton, and sealed with the Great Seal; a Gardener's Speech and a Mole-catcher's Speech. Robert Cecil's new garden at Pymmes in Edmonton, Middx, is described. [Modern edition: Nichols, *Progresses* (2014), iii.529-541].*

May 10, Mon **THEOBALDS**, Cheshunt, Herts; Lord Burghley.<sup>B</sup>  
Theobalds; owned and built by William Cecil, 1st Lord Burghley (c.1520-1598), Lord Treasurer; widower. His sons Sir Thomas and Robert Cecil were present.

Simon Bowyer made ready 'the Lord Treasurer's house at Theobalds'.  
Stephen Fulwell, Jewel-house Officer, 'for the hire of three horses for himself and his two men for the safe carrying of cups of gold and other plate of gold from London to Theobalds for her Majesty's service and giving his attendance thereupon, with charges of himself, his men and horses', 3 days, 33s4d.

Also 'for the hire of three horses for himself and his two men from Theobalds the Lord Treasurer's to Greenwich for bringing of plate from thence for her Majesty's service there and for giving his attendance thereupon and carrying of the same plate back again', 6 days, 60s.<sup>T</sup>

The Queen's first visit since a number of deaths which had much grieved Lord Burghley: of his mother (March 1588), his daughter the Countess of Oxford (June 1588), his wife Mildred (April 1589), his grandson's wife (May Day 1591).

The Hermit's Welcome.

'My sovereign lady, and most gracious Queen,  
Be not displeas'd that one so meanly clad  
Presumes to stand thus boldly in the way  
That leads into this house accounted yours...  
I am a hermit that this ten years' space  
Have led a solitary and retired life,  
Here in my cell, not past 3 furlongs hence.  
Till by my founder, he that built this house...  
Full sore against my will I was removed.  
For he, o'ertaken with excessive grief,  
Betook him to my silly [simple] hermitage,  
And there hath lived two years and some few months,  
By reason of these most bitter accidents...  
[The various deaths in his family]  
These brought him to this solitary abode...  
...though to serve your Majesty,  
He often quits the place and comes to court,  
Yet thither he repairs, and there will live.  
Which I perceiving sought by holy prayers  
To change his mind and ease my troubled cares'...

[The prophetess Sibilla came to the Hermit in a trance, and gave him verses with golden letters signifying the name of the one who can relieve his misery]

'A princely paragon, a maiden Queen,  
For such a one there is and only one...  
After this vision...  
The bruit [rumour] was that your Majesty would come;  
But yet my founder kept his hermitage...  
I humbly crave these verses may be read,  
Whose capital letters make ELIZABETH,  
By you, my noble Lord High Admiral...  
Seeing in these lines your princely name is writ  
The miracle of time and nature's glory,  
And you are she of whom Sibilla spoke'...

'Call my founder home unto his house,  
 That he may entertain your Majesty,  
 And see these walks, wherein he little joys,  
 Delightful for your Highness and your train...  
 May it please you to restore me to my cell,  
 And, at your Highness' absolute command,  
 My Lord High Chancellor may award a writ  
 For peaceable possession of the same...  
 Which seeing done, I'll to my hermitage,  
 And for your Highness pray continually,  
 That God may pour upon you all his blessings,  
 And that the hour-glass of your happy reign  
 May run at full and never be at wane'...

[*The Hermit presents a bell 'which hermits call Saint Anthony'*].

May 10: 'Writ' from the Queen 'To the disconsolate and retired sprite, the Hermit of Tybolles'. The Hermit has possessed himself of Theobalds for two years and two months. Fate has brought into the house 'desolation and mourning...whereby Paradise is grown Wilderness'. We 'have commanded you Hermit to your old cave...too bad for our worthily beloved Councillor. And...have given power to our Chancellor to make out such and so many writs...to abjure desolation and mourning...enjoining you to the enjoyment of your own house and delights without memory of any mortal accident or wretched adversary'.

May 11/19, at Theobalds. The Gardener's Speech.

'Most fortunate and fair Queen...vouchsafe to hear a country controversy... At Pymmes some four miles off the youngest son of this honourable old man devised a plot for a garden, as methought and in a place unfit for pleasure, being overgrown with thistles and turned up with moles'...

'The moles destroyed and the plot levelled, I cast it into four quarters. In the first I framed a maze, not of hyssop and thyme, but...all the Virtues, all the Graces, all the Muses winding and wreathing about your Majesty... All this not of potherbs, but flowers, and of flowers fairest and sweetest, for in so heavenly a maze, which astonished all earthly thoughts, what did not beauty bring, what did not fortune promise. The Virtues were done in roses... the Graces of pansies...the Muses of nine several colours...These mingled in a maze...Then was I commanded to place an arbour all of eglantine'...

'As he was telling me more, I...set my spade with all force into the earth, and, at the first, hit upon the box. This Ratcatcher (as children do when anything is found) cried "Half", which I denying, claimed all, because he killed the moles, and if the moles had not been destroyed there had been no garden, if no garden no digging, if no digging, no box found'.

'At length this box bred boxes between us. Till weary of these black and blue judges we determined to appeal to your Majesty, into whose hands we both commit the box and the cause, hoping that this weasel-monger, who is no better than a cat in a house...shall not dissuade your Majesty from a gardener, whose art is to make walks pleasant for princes, to set flowers, cast knots, graft trees, to do all things that may bring pleasure and profit...As much odds as there is between a woodcleaver and a carpenter, so great difference in this matter is between the Molecatcher and the Gardener'.

Written about the box.

'I was a giant's daughter of this Isle,  
 Turned to a mole by the Queen of Corn.  
 My jewels I did bury by a wile,  
 Again never from the earth to be torn,  
 Till a Virgin had reigned 33 years,  
 Which shall be but the fourth part of her years'.

## The Molecatcher's Speech.

'Good Lady and the best that ever I saw or any shall, give me leave to tell a plain tale...I went to seek you at Greenwich, and there it was told me that the Queen was gone from the Court...Next was I pointed to Hackney, there they said the Court was gone into the country. I had thought to have made hue and cry, thinking that he that stole fire from heaven had stolen our heaven from earth. At the last I met with a Post, who told me you were at Theobalds'...

'I cannot discourse of knots and mazes...I came not to claim any right for myself, but to give you yours...I went to lawyers to ask counsel... Said one, it belongeth to the lord of the soil, by the custom of the manor. Nay said the other, it is treasure trove. What's that, quoth I? Marry, all money or jewels hidden in the earth is the Queen's...I let go my hold, and desire your Majesty that you will hold yours'.

'Now for that this Gardener twitteth me with my vocation, I could...tell the tale of the giant's daughter which was turned to a mole...And how good clerks told me that moles in fields were like ill subjects in commonwealths, which are always turning up the place in which they are bred. But I will not trouble your Majesty, but every day pray on my knees that all those that be heavens at your State may come to a mole's blessing, a knock on the pate and a swing on a tree'.

'Now madam, for this Gardener, command him to tend his garden, and till his melancholy be past let him walk in the alleys and pick up worms like a lapwing'.

May 12: Stationers entered 'The Compound of Alchemy'.

*George Ripley's Compound of Alchemy. 'Or the ancient hidden Art of Alchemy: containing the right and perfectest means to make the Philosopher's Stone... with other excellent Experiments. Divided into twelve Gates. First written by the learned and rare Philosopher of our Nation George Ripley...Set forth by Ralph Rabbards Gentleman, studious and expert in Alchemical Arts', with a long Dedication to the Queen, and a Dedication 'To the Gentlemen of England'.*

*The book is in verse, the 'twelve Gates' being twelve stages in Alchemy: Calcination, Dissolution, Separation, Conjunction, Putrifaction, Congelation, Cibation, Sublimation, Fermentation, Exaltation, Multiplication, Projection.*

*Also verses on 'Erroneous Experiments'. 84p. (London, 1591). Ripley, who had dedicated his book to King Edward IV, died c.1490.*

May 12: Lord Burghley, Edward Kelley and Edward Dyer.

The alchemist Edward Kelley, who went abroad with Dr John Dee in 1583, was at the court of Emperor Rudolf II in Prague; Edward Dyer was also in Prague.

May 12, Theobalds, Burghley to Dyer, asking him to obtain Kelley's return, or to procure a small portion of the powder (which he claimed to convert into gold), 'to make a demonstration, in her Majesty's own sight, of the very perfection of his knowledge....I wish he would, in some secret box, send to her Majesty for a token some such portion as might be to her a sum reasonable to defer her charges for this summer for her navy, which we are now preparing to the sea, to withstand the strong navy of Spain, discovered upon the coasts between Britain [Brittany] and Cornwall within these two days'.

The Emperor already suspected that Kelley was a charlatan; Kelley fled to avoid arrest, and Dyer was detained in Kelley's house. In June the Queen sent a special envoy, Thomas Webb, to secure Dyer's release; Dyer and Webb returned to London in late July. Kelley never returned. [Dyer, 114-121].

May 16, Sun At Theobalds: 'The Queen dined abroad in the chamber called the Queen's arbour in company of the French Ambassador and Lords'.<sup>B</sup>

c.May 16 Burghley wrote of the Queen's stay at Theobalds, 'which time I could be contented might have been tripled so I had but one corn of Sir Edward Kelley's powder'. [BL Cotton Titus B II, f.227].

May 20, Thur At Theobalds: knighting of Lord Burghley's son:  
'Robert Cecil made knight at the Queen's Majesty's removing'.<sup>B</sup>

*Lord Burghley's 'expenses and charges' for the Queen at Theobalds from May 10 supper-May 20 breakfast included payments for:*

*Pantry: manchet [bread], fine and coarse wheat, knives, baskets, trenchers.*

*Buttery: ale and beer. Cellar: Gascon and Rhenish wine, sack.*

*Kitchen: beef, veals, muttoms, lambs, kids, poultry, wild fowl, venison, sturgeon, orangeado and quinces, gammons, flitches, salt tongues, lings, haberdins, salmon, pigs, tongues, lard, butter, eggs, milk and cream, herbs, salt, vinegar, mustard, 'rewards being presents'.*

*Grocery: 'banqueting stuff', spices. Pastry: flour and meal.*

*Chandlery: torches, wax lights, white lights. Woodyard: wood, coals.*

*Hire of cooks, of turnspits, labourers and women, hire of bakers; pewterers' wages. Hire of vessel, loss of vessel.*

*'Rewards to musicians, Yeomen of the Guard, Footmen, with Officers of Household, etc. attending'. Carriage and hire of fish; carriage of poultry; carriage and recarriage of wardrobe stuff, plate, vessel.*

*Bedding: paid for bedding for servants taken up about Theobalds; hire of beds from the upholsterer from London. Necessaries, including rushes.*

*Total: £998.13s8d. 'For a gown for the Queen, £100'. [SP12/238/157].*

May 20, Thur dinner, Tottenham, Middx; Sir Richard Martin.

Simon Bowyer made ready 'against her return from Theobalds'.<sup>T</sup>

Tottenham High Cross house of Sir Richard Martin (1534-1617), goldsmith, Lord Mayor of London in 1589 and 1594; Master of the Mint 1581-1617.

1st wife: Dorcas (Ecclestone) (c.1536-1599); bookseller and translator.

All Hallows, Tottenham, has a memorial to Dorcas Martin.

May 20, Thur **HACKNEY**, Middx; Sir Rowland Hayward. [As on May 5].

Richard Coningsby made ready 'for her Majesty Hackney house against her return from Theobalds'.<sup>T</sup>

Court news. May 21, London, Thomas Phillips, draft:

'The speech is here all of the coming of 20 sail of Spanish upon the Scillies and coast of Cornwall...The Queen hath been much moved with these news and was very melancholy at my Lord Treasurer's, whence she came yesterday to Hackney. His son not being yet Secretary'. [SP12/238/159].

May 22, Sat **GREENWICH PALACE**, Kent.

Thomas Sheffield, Under-Keeper of Greenwich Palace, for 8 labourers for 6 days at 10d each per day 'for making clean all the Privy Lodgings, the Presence Chamber, the Great Chamber, the Galleries, Closets, and Council Chamber against her Majesty's return from Hackney', 40s.

Simon Bowyer, with 9 men, 'making ready and altering the house at Greenwich when her Majesty was at Hackney and Theobalds'.<sup>T</sup>

Works: George Gower (Serjeant Painter)'painting of a seat and a long board on both sides for her Majesty to sit on in the garden and painting a new door case and a door in it in the Orchard all in marble colour'. [March 1591-1592].

May 23: marriage, at Shelford, Notts: John Holles (c.1567-1637), married Anne Stanhope (1576-1651). Two of her uncles were courtiers: John Stanhope was a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, Michael Stanhope a Groom of the Privy Chamber.

Queen's gift to Sir Thomas Stanhope's daughter at her marriage: 'A pair of bracelets of gold containing 16 pieces like daisies garnished with sparks of rubies and pearls'. New Year gifts to the Queen, 1591. [BL Add MS 5751A, f.225].

John Holles was created (1616) Baron Houghton; (1624) Earl of Clare.

May 24, Whit Monday sermon, Greenwich: Dr Gervase Babington, Canon of Hereford; before the Privy Council; referring to a recent sermon by himself.

Text: 2 Kings 5:13-16, Naaman's cleansing from leprosy in the River Jordan. Babington began: 'Having elsewhere of late (Right Honourable) considered of this chapter to this place, I have thought good to go forward with thus much more of it at this time, hoping it shall not be judged unfit for this place, and these days wherein we dwell. The words read...are parcel of the Story of Naaman the Syrian, a story so well known unto us..Naaman was a mighty man, and very honourable in the Court of the King of Syria...There is not in this world a more just cause of honourable regard and most high account to be had and made of a man, not only with people, but even with Prince, than faithful love and fruitful service to King and Country...But amidst all this honour...Naaman was a leper'.

Dr Babington defends uniformity and church discipline against those who would have 'open assemblies in this land...in woods, in fields, in holes and corners'.

Sermon printed, 1591, dedicated to 'the Lords of the Privy Council'.

In August 1591 Dr Babington became Bishop of Llandaff, Wales.

May 25, Tues French Ambassador at Greenwich for audience. Beauvoir presented the Queen with a portrait of Henri IV. [SPF List 2, 340].

*c. May 25-June: Laird of Buccleuch in London.*

*Sir Walter Scott, Laird of Buccleuch (1565-1611) had passed through London in autumn 1590 on his way from Scotland to France to seek a remedy for the gout. He now returned, still seeking a remedy.*

*May 27, Archibald Douglas to Burghley: 'The other day the Laird of Buccleuch is come to this town from Flanders, where he is to remain some few days with me while his coffers may come to him from Dieppe...Thereafter he is to pray licence to kiss her Majesty's hand and then to return home to his country'. [Scot.x.521].*

May 28, Greenwich, Council's warrant for Patrick Enos and five other Irishmen to be paid 'to every of them £3 the piece by way of her Majesty's gift for bearing of their charges hence to their country of Ireland'.<sup>T</sup>

*June 1: Seditious words in Essex. John Feltwell, of Great Wenden [in Wendens Ambo], labourer, said 'Let us pray for a father for we have a mother already'. John Thurgood said 'What mean you by that?'. Feltwell replied 'Let us pray for a King', whereupon Thurgood retorted 'We have a gracious Queen already, wherefore would you pray for a King?'. Feltwell again replied 'The Queen was but a woman and ruled by noblemen, and the noblemen and gentlemen were all one and the gentlemen and farmers would hold together one with another so that poor men could get nothing among them, and therefore we shall never have a merry world while the Queen liveth but if we had but one that would rise, I would be the next, or else I would the Spaniards would come in that we may have some sport'.*

*Verdict: Guilty; to be pilloried. [Assizes, Essex, 373].*

June 4, Dieppe, Sir Roger Williams to the Queen (after Williams and his men had routed two Spanish regiments): 'Sacred Majesty, If you can, help the King to take Rouen...Then shall he be well able to maintain himself, and your Majesty's purse be well spared...If he should be beaten, be assured in few months to fight for the English ports'.

Williams wrote again to the Queen in June: 'Doth the Spanish ruin this King, Holland and Zeeland will be found good cheap, and England in that case I pray God never to see it. Therefore, most sacred Sovereign, a penny to save a pound is well bestowed...My meaning is better to spend part of your wealth and subjects than to hazard the whole. This King is on making or marring, resolving only on your Majesty's succour. Having it, he doubts nothing to take Rouen'. [Motley, *United Netherlands*, iii.116-117].

June 6, Greenwich, Council to Lord Lieutenants of counties: 'Her Majesty is informed that divers unlawful games are daily used in most places of this realm and that thereby archery is greatly decayed and in a manner altogether laid aside, being an exercise not only of good recreation, but otherwise of good use and defence to the realm'. You are to take care 'that such kinds of exercises, games and pastimes as are prohibited by law, namely bowls, dicing, carding, and such like, may be forthwith forbidden' and that instead 'archery may be revived and practised and that kind of ancient weapon whereby our nation in times past hath gotten so great honour may be kept in use'.<sup>APC</sup>

June 8, Greenwich, Thomas Wilkes to Sir Robert Sidney: 'I suppose you have heard of her Majesty's great entertainment of late at Theobalds, of her knighting of Mr Robert Cecil, and of the expectation of his advancement to the Secretaryship; but so it is (as we say in court) that the knighthood must serve for both'. PS: 'This day Sir John Perrot is for the last time examined at the Tower, by my Lords of the Council, and...he is to be indicted of sundry treasons, and so further proceeded withal at her Majesty's pleasure'.<sup>SD</sup>  
[Perrot's Trial for high treason: 27 April 1592].

June 12, Archibald Douglas, Scottish Ambassador, to Lord Burghley:  
'Of late at Stepney' I spoke to the Queen. [Scot.x.529].

*The most prominent resident of Stepney, Middx, was Henry 3rd Lord Wentworth (1558-1593); wife: Anne, a former Maid of Honour, daughter of Sir Owen Hopton, former Lieutenant of the Tower. Queen was godmother to their son, November 1591.*

June 20, London, Earl of Essex to Richard Bagot (in Staffordshire):  
'I am commanded into France for the establishing of the brave King in quiet possession of Normandy. I carry a company of horse...If you know any, or can stir up any, that will send either tall men well horsed, or good horses or geldings, they shall be very welcome to me. I would have them to be here by the 10th July at the furthest'. [Devereux, ii.215].

Court news. June 21, The Savoy, Sir Henry Lee to the Earl of Shrewsbury, of a new resident Ambassador to France: 'For matters of court...This is only determined, that Sir Harry Unton, a right proper young gentleman, is certainly appointed to go presently into France, for which he speedily provides'...

'Here is speedy provision for the sea; six of her Majesty's, and many merchants, are making ready'. As to the men going to France: 'My Lord Burgh is sent for; thought to have the leading of them; yet, in my judgement, my Lord of Essex will have his will, he is so fully bent to perform it. The French King hath written very earnestly for him'. [Lodge, ii.439-442].

June 25, Fri Accord made at Greenwich.  
Beauvoir and De Reau (sent again by King Henri IV), French resident and special Ambassadors, agreed Articles for 3,400 additional men to be sent to Normandy, the King to pay all charges, otherwise they may return. [Unton, 10].

Also June 25: Earl of Essex's commission to be General over the forces sent was formally agreed. De Reau took shipping at Dover for Dieppe on July 8.

By June 30: Scottish messenger at Greenwich with the Queen.  
Thomas Foulis, an Edinburgh goldsmith, sent by King James.

June 30, Sir Robert Cecil to Robert Bowes: Mr Foulis has been with the Queen and very graciously used. His errand was all for money; he obtained £4000, and is dispatched with it. [Scot.x.539].

July 1? visit, Heneage House, London; Sir Thomas Heneage.

Heneage House, Bevis Marks; owned by Sir Thomas Heneage, Vice-Chamberlain, Privy Councillor, died 1595; 1st wife: Anne (Poyntz), died 1593.

Heneage House entertainment: 'A Pedlar's Tale', and gift-giving; dated July 1. Before the Pedlar opens his pack he makes a long discourse on what he has learnt in his travels in foreign countries, where at last in Greece he met a Lady who counselled him not to travel to learn languages but to go home and learn wit. 'There serve God sincerely, love thy Prince truly...so shalt thou live and die happily'. To follow her advice the Pedlar has come home 'and by chance am come hither to tell you this idle tale and show you my foolish trifles, which done I shall depart, wishing well Ladies to you all, and best to the best of you'.  
*[For the complete Tale see: 'Miscellaneous': Heneage House entertainment].*

Court news. July 1, Thomas Phillips, draft: 'The Earl of Essex is now to go to France, although the Queen was long unwilling, and his friends here have advised him to the contrary, wishing him rather to seek a domestical greatness like to his father-in-law...but the Earl is impatient of the slow process he must needs have during the life and greatness of the Chancellor and Treasurer [Sir Christopher Hatton and Lord Burghley]. Sir Henry Unton goes with great bravery to France. The Earl must be over within one month'. [SP12/239/70].

Essex was to leave from Portsmouth. His father-in-law was Sir Francis Walsingham, but Phillips probably refers to the Earl of Leicester, who in modern usage was his step-father.

c.July 7: French envoy at Greenwich for audience.

Monsieur Garnier, Secretary of the Governor of Dieppe, who sent him to the Queen with papers taken from Emanuel d'Andrada, a Portuguese suspected of being hired by the King of Spain to kill the Queen; he wished to come to England to speak secretly to her. He was to ask what she wished to be done with him. It was said that a gold chain would be well bestowed on Garnier. [SPF List 3, 323].

During July Nicholas Pigeon, Jewel-house Officer, went from Greenwich to London 'to provide a chain for a French gentleman'.<sup>T</sup>

Emanuel d'Andrada came to England but was kept away from the court; after being questioned by Lord Burghley he was allowed to leave in September.

*July 10: News of proposed progress to Portsmouth.*

*July 10, Lord Hunsdon (Lord Chamberlain) to Sir William More (of Loseley, Guildford, Surrey), in haste: 'I have thought good to let you understand that her Majesty is resolved to make a progress this year as far as Portsmouth, and to begin the same the 22nd or 23rd of this month, and to come by your house. She is very desirous to go by Petworth and Cowdray, if it be possible; but none of us all can set her down anywhere to be at between your house and Cowdray. And therefore I am to require you that you will set this bearer some way for her to pass, and that you will let some one of your own men, who is best acquainted with those ways, to be his guide, that he may see whether they be fit for her Majesty or no. And whether it be best going from your house to Petworth and so to Cowdray, or else from your house to Cowdray. And if you can set her down any place between your house and Cowdray that may serve for one night, you shall do her a great pleasure, and she will take it very thankfully at your hands'.*

*'But I have thought good to let you understand that, though she cannot pass by Cowdray to Petworth, yet she will assuredly come to your house, and so towards Portsmouth such other way as shall be set down to her, and therefore I pray you advertise me by this bearer of your full knowledge and opinion therein'.*

*'And so I commit you to God'. 'Your loving friend, Hunsdon'.*

[July], More to Lord Hunsdon: 'Understanding by your letters her Majesty's good pleasure in purposing to visit my poor house, I am most heartily glad thereof, and account myself infinitely bound to her Highness' favour therein. And whereas your Lordship doth require to be advertised from me of some fit place between my house and Cowdray for her Majesty to lodge in one night, it may please you to understand that there is not any convenient house for that purpose standing near the way from my house towards Petworth or Cowdray. Only there is a little house of Mr Lawrence Eliot's distant 3 miles from mine, the direct way towards either of the said places and within 10 miles of Petworth and 11 of Cowdray, to which house I directed Mr Constable by a servant of mine, who hath viewed the same and can make report to your Lordship thereof. From thence there is another, the like house, in Shillinglee, of one Bonner's, distant 5 miles the direct way to Petworth, and about a mile out of the way to Cowdray, where King Edward dined in his way from Guildford Park to Cowdray'. [Kempe, 270-272].

Locations: The Queen arrived at Loseley, Sir William More's house, August 4, at Cowdray on August 14, and at Portsmouth on August 26.

Not known to have been visited: Busbridge, Godalming, Surrey (Lawrence Eliot); Petworth, Sussex (Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland);

Shillinglee, Kirdford, Sussex: manor owned by the Earl of Arundel, occupied by Mr Bonner; King Edward VI dined there in July 1552.

July 13, Queen to Sir Thomas Leighton, Governor of Guernsey, ordering him to go to Dieppe to join the Earl of Essex: 'We wish him to have with him some special person of wisdom and knowledge in wars, and one who has the French tongue, - the Earl being but young, though otherwise very forward and well disposed to the service'. You are 'to give him counsel in martial affairs, which we have told him to listen to'. [SP15/31/19].

Leighton had audience at Bedhampton, Hants, Aug 26, on his way to France.

July 16: 'Prophets' in London: William Hacket, of Northants, who believed himself to be John the Baptist, and laid claims to gifts of prophecy and miracle working, had come to London to spread his message. He had defaced the Queen's coat of arms and pierced a portrait of her with a bodkin through the heart.

He appointed two Puritan gentlemen, Henry Arthington and Edmund Coppinger, as prophets of mercy and of vengeance. These two began to proclaim to a crowd in Cheapside that Christ had come again, that Hacket was his representative on Earth, the Queen was worthy to be deprived of her Crown, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Lord Chancellor should be consigned to Hell.

When the Queen heard of this at Greenwich two Privy Councillors were sent to London to take action, and all three were arrested and sent to Bridewell.

William Hacket was tried at London Sessions on July 26 for treason, found guilty and sentenced to death, and on July 28 was executed in Cheapside.

Coppinger, who believed Hacket to be King of Europe and the Recording Angel who would separate the sheep from the goats, refused food and died on July 29.

Arthington recanted, and became an author of pious works.

[Richard Cosin, Conspiracy for Pretended Reformation (1592)].

By July 18: Sir George Carew at Greenwich with the Queen. Carew, Master of the Ordnance in Ireland, first came to court in March.

July 18, court, Carew to Lord Deputy Fitzwilliam: 'I had long conference with the Queen about her garrison, your government, and the present state; but ere our speech ended the Lord Treasurer [Burghley] made the third'...

'The general state of the kingdom was amply discoursed upon...Of the great lords and others much speech passed'. The Queen 'flatly denied my return until the progress were ended'. [Carew, iii.58-59].

July 19, Mon visit, Cecil House, Strand; Lord Burghley.

Burghley noted: July 19: 'The Queen at my house to see the Earl of Essex horse in Covent Garden. Three thousand men appointed to be embarked for Dieppe to serve under the Earl of Essex'.<sup>b</sup> Beauvoir, French Ambassador, was present.

July 19, Thomas Phillips, draft: 'The Queen goeth to Portsmouth with the Earl herself, but his friends mislike the voyage...There are great expectations from him, and if he returns with honour from his voyage he is like to be a great man in the State'. [SP12/239/93].

c. July 20, Tues Noel Caron at Greenwich for audience.

Noel Caron, Sieur de Schoneval, already living in England, had just received from the Dutch States-General a letter of credence to become their resident Agent, in succession to Joachim Ortell, deceased. [SPF List 3, 160].

Ortell had died in London in 1590. Caron remained until his own death in 1624, when he was Ambassador for the States of the United Provinces.

July 21, Greenwich Earl of Essex's Commission for Normandy. Essex and his men were sent to France for two months initially.

A clause was added empowering him to make knights, but as formerly he had given knighthood by favour rather than desert, sometimes to persons unable to maintain the honour, and to some not descended in blood of either noble or gentleman, he is desired not to bestow knighthood on any person of mean birth, or not deserving the same. [Devereux, i.218]. Essex disobeyed this clause.

21 July 1591-17 June 1592: Sir Henry Unton was **Ambassador** to France. Sir Henry (1557-1596) was son of Sir Edward Unton and Anne, Countess of Warwick (daughter of the Duke of Somerset, uncle to and Protector of King Edward VI). His credentials described him as of a good family and long brought up in the Queen's court. He kept a 'Journal of my proceedings' from July-1 October 1591; quoted from Berks RO: T/A 13/2 (copy; original at the University of Virginia). His passport was dated July 21. Correspondence of Sir Henry Unton, ed. Joseph Stevenson (1847), is shown as 'Unton'.

July 23: Sir Henry Unton's Journal: 'I took my leave of her Majesty at Greenwich and so likewise of the lords'.

July 24, Lord Mayor (Sir John Allot) to Essex, sending a small present on behalf of the City for the great assistance he had rendered to the glory of God, the safety of the realm, and the general defence of all Christian states that professed the gospel and true religion of Almighty God. [Remembrancia, 408].

July 25: Seditious words at Stanford-le-Hope, Essex.

Tristram Blaby, of Stanford-le-Hope (preacher), said 'There was never any so high or mighty in authority that could or might rule and govern both sorts of people, both the spirituality and the temporality, for the Bishop of Rome himself being as mighty and in as great authority as he is could never hitherto rule and govern both the spirituality and the temporality. Neither can or may any other prince or potentate, whatsoever they be, rule and govern both the spirituality and the temporality in any of their own dominions'.

Blaby and William Partridge (clerk) maliciously and seditiously interrupted Martin Clipsam, Rector of Stanford-le-Hope, during evening prayer on August 8; on August 15 they assaulted him. The Rector (who often left the church when Blaby got up to preach) was indicted for scandalous words and assault, for insults to Blaby (e.g. 'Come down, prating Jack') and assaulting Partridge with a knife in the churchyard. Verdicts unknown.

[Assizes, Essex, 375,382-3. Details of numerous disturbances at the church: F.G. Emmison, Elizabethan Life: Disorder (Chelmsford, 1970), 57,189-192].

July 25, Privy Council to Lord Mayor of London and the Justices of Middlesex and Surrey: 'Whereas heretofore there hath been order taken to restrain the playing of interludes and plays on the Sabbath Day, notwithstanding the which (as we are informed) the same is neglected to the prophanation of this day, and all other days of the week in divers places the players do use to recite their plays, to the great hurt and destruction of the game of bear-baiting and like pastimes, which are maintained for her Majesty's pleasure if occasion require. These shall be therefore to require you not only to take order hereafter that there may no plays, interludes or comedies be used or publicly made and showed either on the Sunday or on the Thursdays, because on the Thursdays those other games usually have been always accustomed and practised'.<sup>APC</sup>

*July 25: Silver plate was delivered out of the Jewel-house to Sir Henry Unton, new Ambassador to France: 12 platters, 23 dishes, basin, ewer, 6 saucers.*

*July 26: Sir Henry dined with the French Ambassador at Hackney (as also on July 24 and 25). On July 26 they met the Earl of Essex at the Tower 'and had there conference together. The said night at 11 o'clock I passed to the court'.*

July 27, court at Greenwich, Lord Burghley sent Unton an 'alphabet' (cipher), e.g: Queen of England: Emanuel; Emperor: Balthasar; French King: Vespasian; King of Spain: Bersa; Unton: Adamus; Lord Chancellor Hatton: Maecenas; Burghley: Aurelius; Essex: Cyrus; England: 100; France: 200; Spain: 50; Brittany: Worcester; Normandy: Leicester; Paris: Shrewsbury. [Unton, 12-15].

*July 27: Sir Henry Unton's Journal: 'At 3 o'clock in the morning I departed from thence [Greenwich] with the Earl of Essex to Gravesend by barge', then to Canterbury for the night, and on July 28 to Dover. July 30: 'We embarked ourselves. The Earl in The Vanguard and myself with my own train only in The Swallow'. July 31: Set sail, landing at Dieppe on Aug 2 after a bad voyage.*

July, Greenwich: Terrestrial Globe presented to the Queen.

Emery Molyneux, who was making the first 'terrestrial and celestial' globes in England, presented the first completed globe to the Queen.

The Grand Duke of Tuscany, a potential purchaser, had sent to England a courier, Francesco Parola. Petruccio Ubaldini, a Florentine resident in London, who was well-known at court, took Parola to the Lambeth workshop of Molyneux, and wrote to him at the end of August 1591 a letter to be taken to the Grand Duke. Ubaldini described the globes, and continued:

'I had seen these globes of his before he had issued a single one, and liked them very much, but the first completed globe was to be the Queen's, and he was still working on it...At the end of July he presented the globe to her Majesty at Greenwich. I saw it at my leisure when it was taken there. It was covered by a taffeta curtain in the form of a dome encompassing it down to the ground... and truly it is an object worthy of a prince...The Dedication to the Queen has to be printed with the royal arms, and its wording suggests that he gave her the globe to let her see at a glance how much of the seas she could control by means of her naval forces. This is a fact well worth knowing'.

Molyneux's first printed globes were published in 1592; he received an annuity from the Crown until he left for the Netherlands, where he died in 1598 or 1599.

[*Der Globusfreund*, 35 (1987) 11-16; illustrated: *Elizabeth*, ed.S.Doran, 134-5].

Court news. July 30, Butterley [Derbyshire], Earl of Derby to the Earl of Shrewsbury: 'This day her Majesty beginneth her progress, whereof I have here enclosed sent your Lordship a geste...which it is well hoped her Majesty when she is on the way, and near some standing house, will shorten'.

[LPL 3199/357].

No geste or itinerary has survived.

July 30: *The Queen left Greenwich. Hugh Underhill, 'Keeper of her Majesty's Standing Wardrobe at Greenwich, for the allowance of himself and 8 labourers in carrying, recarrying, taking down, airing, brushing, and dressing up of her Highness's wardrobe stuff there after her Highness was removed from thence, by the space of 12 days, August 1591', 106s8d.*<sup>T</sup>

July 30, Fri **MITCHAM**, Surrey; Lady Blanke.<sup>T</sup>

Mitcham house of Margaret Lady Blanke, widow of Sir Thomas Blanke of Mitcham, haberdasher, Lord Mayor of London 1582-1583; she died in 1597.

**Start of SUMMER PROGRESS** in Surrey, Hampshire, and Sussex.

July 31, Sat **NON SUCH**, Cheam, Surrey; Lord Lumley.

Nonsuch, Cheam; owned by John Lord Lumley (c.1533-1609).

2nd wife: Elizabeth (Darcy), died 1617.

'Her Highness came not at the time appointed'.<sup>T</sup>

Court news. [Aug 2], John Stanhope to Sir Robert Sidney: 'My Lord of Essex is gone with his army and this day I hope is put to the sea...I assure you the Queen shows greatly to favour him...This day I think assuredly Sir Robert Cecil shall be sworn a Councillor, and Sir Edward Stafford Principal Secretary'.<sup>SD</sup>

Aug 2, Mon new Privy Councillor: 'Sir Robert Cecil sworn of the Privy Council at Nonsuch, where the Lord Chancellor gave him the oath'.<sup>B</sup> Cecil's father, Lord Burghley, the Lord Treasurer, was present. The Secretaryship remained vacant.

Aug 2: *Sir Henry Unton and Essex landed at Dieppe. Sir Henry's expenses: 'For carriage of some of my stuff from London to Dover, £20; for 46 post-horses from London to Dover, £24; for the transportation of my horses, stuff, and servants, from London, where they were shipped; and myself and my company and other charges from Dover to Dieppe, with pilotage there due, £81'.*

*Sir Henry was soon taken ill, remaining at Dieppe till mid-September, with a 'very violent burning fever, accompanied also with the yellow jaundice'.*

*He wrote, Sept 7: 'my disease came a horseback, and goeth away a foot'.*

[Unton, 31,67,231].

[Aug 3, Tues] dinner, Leatherhead, Surrey; Mr Tilney.<sup>T</sup>

The Mansion, Church Street; owned by Edmund Tilney (c.1536-1610), Master of the Revels 1579-1610; a distant kinsman of the Queen;

wife: Lady Bray: Mary (Cotton), widow of Sir Edward Bray; she died 1604.

Edmund Tilney had dedicated to the Queen in 1568: *The Flower of Friendship*.

In his will Tilney bequeathed 'all my apparel wherein I have spent much money very vainly that might have been otherwise better employed' to be sold to benefit the poor of Leatherhead and Streatham.

Tilney's monument is in St Leonard's Church, Streatham.

Aug 3, Tues **EAST HORSLEY**, Surrey; Mr Cornwallis.<sup>T</sup>

\*Bishop's manor-house; owned by Thomas Cornwallis, Groom-Porter of the Royal Household, died 1597; wife: Lady Katherine Wriothesley, daughter of Thomas Wriothesley, 1st Earl of Southampton; she died in 1626.

Aug 4, Wed dinner, West Clandon, Surrey; Sir Henry Weston.<sup>T</sup>

Clandon Park, owned by Sir Henry Weston (c.1534-1592);

2nd wife: Elizabeth (Lovell), widow of Henry Repps.

Sir Henry Weston's father Sir Francis Weston was executed in 1536 for alleged adultery with the Queen's mother Queen Anne Boleyn, who was herself executed two days later.

The Queen also visited Sir Henry at Sutton, Woking, in September 1591.

Aug 4, Wed **LOSELEY**, Guildford, Surrey; Sir William More.<sup>T</sup>

Loseley manor-house, Guildford; owned by Sir William More (1520-1600), widower. Also occupied by his son, George More. Their monuments, with their wives, are in the Loseley Chapel, St Nicholas Church, Guildford.

Nicholas Pigeon, Jewel-house Officer, 'for the hire of two horses for himself and his man repairing to the court at Nonsuch and Loseley Sir William More's house to convey broken plate from thence to London to be mended and returning with the same again', four days.<sup>T</sup>

August: *Provisions for the Queen's progress brought to the Purveyors by villagers near Guildford.* The Constable of Merrow to Sir William More and other Justices of the Peace: 'They being sworn and appointed to bring in a true presentment of all provisions served for her Majesty's Household within that parish before Michaelmas 1591' state that 'in August 1591 they carried 4 bushels of wheat to Guildford for her Majesty's use, being paid 2s4d a bushel. At the same place a bushel and half of oats at her Majesty's last being at Loseley. And carried for her use one load of beer or ale from Guildford to Southampton, at her last being at Loseley; and that 5s6d was paid for the carriage'.

Similar return from Send and Ripley, 11 January [1592]: 'We have paid for the carriage of 3 loads of malt from Wickham Bushes to Shalford, when her Majesty did lie at Sir William More's house; Richard Symon hath carried a tun of beer from Guildford to Cowdray, for which he was paid 3s1d.

Delivered by George Harry, Head Constable of Send, to George Watkins, Purveyor, 18 truss of hay and 4 bushels of oats, at The Lion at Guildford, for which he was paid 4d for every truss of hay, and 6d for every bushel of oats, when her Majesty lay at Sutton'. [Nichols, *Progresses* (1823), iii.84].

Aug 5/9: hunting, Guildford Park, Surrey; Crown property. Simon Bowyer made ready 'a standing in Guildford Park'.<sup>T</sup>

Aug 5/9: dinner, St Catherine's Hill, near Guildford. Simon Bowyer made ready 'a dining house at Katherine Hill'.<sup>T</sup>

*Sir Robert Cecil accompanied the Queen in August and September on her summer progress, and wrote frequently to Sir Christopher Hatton, Lord Chancellor, when Hatton was away from court. Contemporary copies of Cecil's letters are quoted here from University College, London, Ogden MS 7/41, f.7v-f.34v.*

*The letters are edited by Paul Hammer in Religion, Politics, and Society in Sixteenth-Century England (ed. Ian W. Archer). (Camden Soc. (2003), 197-267).*

Aug 6, from Sir William More's, Sir Robert Cecil to Lord Chancellor Hatton: 'Since the coming of Sir Thomas Gorges and Mr Nicholas Darcy who both brought letters from my Lord of Essex the Queen is nothing satisfied with the Earl, especially because he forgot to answer some points of her Majesty's last letter written with her own hand containing a divine prayer and full of all princely favour. [UCL Ogden MS].

Aug 7,8: Loseley: Privy Council meetings.

Aug 8, court, Cecil to Hatton: 'Hither came yesternight lame Cavendish who had long speech with the Queen. His pretence of access was to dissuade her Majesty from going further, alleging that she was to pass through a tickle country and places fraught with suspected and discontented persons'. [UCL Ogden MS].

Aug 9: Loseley: Privy Council meeting.

Aug 10, Guildford, Queen wrote to Prince Christian of Anhalt.

[An ally of Essex and the King in France]. [SPF List 3,46].

[Aug 10,Tues] via Seale, Surrey.  
Seale Church: 'For ringing when her Majesty came to Farnham, 12d'.

Aug 10,Tues **FARNHAM CASTLE**, Surrey.<sup>T</sup> Bishop of Winchester's palace.  
Thomas Cooper (c.1517-1594), Bishop of Winchester 1584-1594; wife: Amy.  
Farnham manor included the Castle and 1000 acres of woods; two parks well wooded; three chases, two of red deer and one of fallow; 25 or 26 acres of meadow; two great fishponds, the least containing a mile and a half about; and fishing rights in two rivers. [HT.v.65].

Bishop's gift to the Queen, during the progress: 'one cup of gold with a cover having an angel in the top thereof with a scroll over his head *Vivat Regina Elizabetha*'. [Jewels, 1594]. In September the Queen stayed with the Bishop at Farnham again, and also at Bishop's Waltham, Hants.

Aug 10,11: Farnham: Privy Council meetings.

Aug 11/13: dinner, Alice Holt Forest, Hants; Lord De La Warr.  
William West, 1st Lord De La Warr (c.1520-1595), Keeper of Alice Holt Forest, Crown property; 2nd wife: Anne (Swift), widow of Thomas Oliver.

Richard Coningsby 'twice making ready my Lord Delaware's house in the Holt, the first for her Majesty's hunting, at which time she came not, the other for a dinner house for her Majesty'.<sup>T</sup>

[Aug 14,Sat] dinner, Bramshott, Hants; Mr Mervyn.<sup>T</sup>  
Bramshott manor-house; owned by Edmund Mervyn, died 1605; wife: Anne (Jephson).

*August 14-20: Cowdray Entertainment. Two descriptions were published in 1591:*  
1. *The Speeches and Honourable Entertainment...at Cowdray..by...Lord Montacute.*  
2. *The Honourable Entertainment...at Cowdray.* No.2 gives a fuller description, and is followed here, with the Songs quoted from No.1.

*Modern edition of No.1, and the Songs: Records of Early English Drama: Sussex, 188-197. Modern composite edition: Nichols, Progresses (2014), iii.548-561.*

Aug 14,Sat evening via North Park, Fernhurst, Sussex; Viscount Montagu.  
North Park, Fernhurst parish; a deer park. Simon Bowyer made ready 'a lodge in the North Park for her Majesty to rest as she came to Cowdray', 39s4d.<sup>T</sup>

Aug 14,Sat **COWDRAY**, Midhurst, Sussex; Viscount Montagu.  
Cowdray manor-house, Midhurst; owned by Anthony Browne, 1st Viscount Montagu (or Montacute; c.1528-1592); 2nd wife: Magdalen (Dacre) (1538-1608), daughter of William 3rd Lord Dacre. Prominent Catholics, who had a priest-hole on their estate, and usually a hidden priest.

During the Queen's visit they moved to the Priory house in the adjoining parish of Easebourne; their monument is in Easebourne Church.

Simon Bowyer, Gentleman Usher, and his nine men, made ready Lord Montague's house at Cowdray (118s) and 'the Priory house at my Lord Montague's' (39s4d) and 'three standings for her Majesty at the Lord Montague's' (118s).

Nicholas Pigeon, Jewel-house Officer, 'for the hire of three horses for himself and two men to convey rich plate from the Tower of London to the court at Cowdray the Lord Montague's house and giving attendance there'.<sup>T</sup>

Aug 14: The Queen 'came with a great train to the right honourable the Lord Montacute's...about 8 o'clock at night. Where upon sight of her Majesty loud music sounded, which at her entrance on the bridge suddenly ceased. Then was a speech delivered by a personage in armour, standing between two Porters carved out of wood, he resembling the third, holding his club in one hand and a key of gold in the other'.

The Porter greeted 'the wisest, the fairest and the most fortunate of all creatures...O miracle of time, nature's glory, fortune's empress, the world's wonder! Soft, this is the Poet's part, and not the Porter's. I have nothing to present but the crest of mine office, this key: Enter, possess all, to whom the heavens have vouchsafed all. As for the owner of this house, mine honourable Lord, his tongue is the key of his heart, and his heart the lock of his soul. Therefore what he speaks you may constantly believe: which is, that in duty and service to your Majesty he would be second to none, in praying for your happiness equal to any'...

'Wherewithal her Highness took the key, and said she would swear for him, there was none more faithful. Then being alighted, she embraced the Lady Montacute and the Lady Dormer her daughter. The mistress of the house (as it were weeping in her bosom) said "O happy time, O joyful day!".

'That night her Majesty took her rest'.

Aug 15, Sun At Cowdray.

The Queen was 'most royally feasted. The proportion of breakfast was three oxen, and 140 geese'.

Aug 16, Mon At Cowdray.

'At 8 o'clock in the morning, her Highness took horse with all her train, and rode into the Park, where was a delicate Bower prepared, under the which were her Highness's musicians placed, and a cross-bow by a Nymph, with a sweet song, delivered to her hands, to shoot at the deer, about some 30 in number put into a paddock, of which number she killed three or four, and the Countess of Kildare one. This ditty following sung while her Majesty shot at the deer'.

'Behold her locks like wires of beaten gold,  
Her eyes like stars that twinkle in the sky,  
Her heavenly face not framed of earthly mould,  
Her voice that sounds Apollo's melody,  
The miracle of time, the world's story  
Fortune's Queen, Love's treasure, Nature's glory...  
Goddess and Monarch of this happy Isle,  
Vouchsafe this bow which is a huntress' part'...

'Then rode her Grace to Cowdray to dinner, and about 6 o'clock in the evening from a Turret saw 16 bucks (all having fair law) pulled down with greyhounds... All the hunting ordered by Mr Henry Browne, the Lord Montague's third son, Ranger of Windsor Forest'. [Countess of Kildare: Mabel, Viscount Montagu's sister, widow of Gerald, 11th Earl of Kildare].

Aug 17, Tues dinner, Easebourne Priory, Sussex; Viscount Montagu. Simon Bowyer made ready 'the Priory house at my Lord Montague's for her Majesty'.<sup>T</sup> 'Her Majesty went to dinner to the Priory, where my lord himself kept house, and there was she and her lords most bountifully feasted'.

'After dinner she came to view my lord's Walks, where she was met by a Pilgrim, clad in a coat of russet velvet, fashioned to his calling, his hat being of the same, with scallop-shells of cloth of silver, who delivered her a speech'. 'Fairest of all creatures, vouchsafe to hear a prayer of a Pilgrim... God grant the world may end with your life, and your life more happy than any in the world: that is my prayer'.

[The Pilgrim described a nearby oak, and meeting a 'rough-hewed ruffian' and a Lady called Peace, and led the Queen to the oak].

'Then did the Pilgrim conduct her Highness to an Oak not far off, whereon her Majesty's Arms, and all the Arms of the noblemen and gentlemen of that Shire, were hanged in escutcheons most beautiful. And a Wild Man clad in ivy, at the sight of her Highness spoke...the Wild Man's Speech at the Tree'.

'Mighty Princess, whose happiness is attended by the heavens, and whose government is wondered at upon the earth: vouchsafe to hear why this passage is kept, and this Oak honoured. The whole world is drawn in a map, the heavens in a globe, and this shire shrunk in a tree'...

'This Oak...resembles in part your strength and happiness...All hearts of oak, than which nothing surer, nothing sounder'...

'Abroad courage hath made you feared, at home honoured clemency. Clemency which the owner of this grove hath tasted: in such sort that his thoughts are become his heart's labyrinth, surprised with joy and loyalty. Joy without measure, loyalty without end, living in no other air than that which breathes your Majesty's safety'.

'For himself, and all these honourable lords and gentlemen, whose shields your Majesty doth here behold, I can say this, that...they being in divers places, when your Majesty shall but stand in fear of any danger, will bring their bodies, their purses, their souls, to your Highness, being their heart, their head, and their Sovereign...The heavens guide you, your Majesty governs us: though our peace be envied by them, yet we hope it shall be eternal'.

*There followed a 'Ditty' inspired by the Phoenix, beginning:*

'There is a bird that builds her nest with spice,  
And built, the Sun to ashes doth her burn'.

'Then upon the winding of a cornet was a most excellent cry of hounds, and three bucks killed by the buckhounds, and so went all back to Cowdray to supper'.

Aug 18, Wed At Cowdray.

'The lords and ladies dined in the Walks, feasted most sumptuously at a table four and twenty yards long'.

'In the evening, her Majesty coming to take the pleasure of the Walks was delighted with most delicate music, and brought to a goodly Fish-pond, where was an Angler, that taking no notice of her Majesty spoke'...

'I have been here this two hours and cannot catch an oyster...We Anglers observe that the shadow of a man turneth back the fish. What will then the sight of a Goddess? Tis best angling in a lowering day, for here the sun so glisters that the fish see my hook through my bait. But soft, here be the Netters, these be they that cannot content them with a dish of fish for their supper, but will draw a whole pond for the market'.

'This said, he espied a Fisherman drawing his nets toward where her Majesty was'. The Fisherman: 'Madame, it is an old saying, There is no fishing to the sea, nor service to the King: but it holds when the sea is calm and the King virtuous'...

I come 'with a poor Fisherman's wish, that all the hollow hearts to your Majesty were in my net...A dish of fish is an unworthy present for a prince to accept...Whatsoever there is, if it be good it is all yours, most excellent Lady, that are best worthy of all'. 'Then was the net drawn'.

'The Song of the Fisherman'.

'The fish that seeks for food in silver stream

Is unawares beguiled with the hook'... [3 stanzas].

'The Netter having presented all the fish of the pond, and laying it at her feet, departed'.

'That evening she hunted'.

Aug 19, Thur At Cowdray.

The Queen 'dined in the Privy Walks in the garden, and the lords and ladies at a table of forty-eight yards long. In the evening the country people presented themselves to her Majesty in a pleasant dance, with tabor and pipe, and the Lord Montacute and his Lady among them, to the great pleasure of all the beholders, and gentle applause of her Majesty'.

Aug 19-23: in France: Earl of Essex met King Henri IV; on August 22: 'The King with all his nobles would needs leap, where our Lord General did overleap them all'. [*Thomas Coningsby, Journal of the Siege of Rouen, 18*].

Aug 20, Fri The Queen 'departed towards Chichester'.  
 'Going through the arbour to take horse, stood six gentlemen, whom her Majesty knighted, the Lord Admiral laying the sword on their shoulders'.  
 George Browne, Viscount Montagu's 2nd son;  
 John Caryll (the Queen's host at Bedhampton, Hants, Aug 26);  
 Robert Dormer, Viscount Montagu's son-in-law;  
 Henry Glemham; Henry Goring; Nicholas Parker.  
 'So departed her Majesty to the dining-place, whither the Lord Montacute and his sons, and the Sheriff of the Shire, attended with a goodly company of gentlemen, brought her Highness. The escutcheons on the oak remain, and there shall hang till they can hang together one piece by another'.

*Viscount Montagu made a speech to his family and local gentlemen and women at his West Horsley house, 27 Jan 1592, prior to returning to Cowdray, saying: 'I have done her Majesty good service both beyond the seas and elsewhere... I find her my gracious prince and do receive at her Majesty's hands an extraordinary favour, the freedom of my conscience. For I confess before you all that I am a Catholic in my religion, which I keep to myself...It hath been told her Majesty that it was dangerous coming for her to my house, and she was advised at her peril to take heed how she came to me to Cowdray this summer past...It was also told her Majesty at her being at Loseley your house Mr More, turning himself to Mr George More sitting by him, that I was a dangerous man to the state, and that I kept in my house six score recusants that never came to church, a wonderful untruth'. [Michael Questier, 'Loyal to a Fault: Viscount Montague Explains Himself', *Historical Research*, 77 (2004), speech: 246-253].*

Aug 20, Fri dinner; Richard Lewknor's house. [West Dean, Sussex].  
 'For her Majesty to dine at betwixt Cowdray and Chichester'.<sup>T</sup>  
 West Dean manor-house; owned by Richard Lewknor (1541-1616), Recorder of Chichester; 2nd wife: Margaret (Atkins), widow of:  
 (1) Dr Thomas Hughes; (2) Stephen Hadnall.

Aug 20, Fri **CHICHESTER**, Sussex.  
 Richard Coningsby made ready 'at Chichester' and 'the church at Chichester'.<sup>T</sup>

Aug 20/23: John Burchall, 'eldest Yeoman' of the Chapel Royal, 'died at Chichester in the Queen's progress...John Patten was sworn Groom in his place in the same progress by the Gentlemen Ushers, but was new sworn by the Sub-Dean at his return, before he could be received into wages'.  
 [*Cheque Book of the Chapel Royal, i.14*].

Aug 22, Sun Queen at Chichester Cathedral service.

Aug 22, Chichester, Sir Robert Cecil to Lord Chancellor Hatton:  
 'To fill up my paper must I presume to insert the news of court and progress. Howsoever my Lord of Sussex's provisions were countermanded (to his displeasing) by objections against her Majesty's coming to Portsmouth, it is now otherwise ordered to double his trouble, for the Queen will needs to Portsmouth for a night and then make her return homeward. She hath been here presented by the Corporation with a cup of mother-of-pearl and £30 in gold, by the Bishop with a purse and £20, and today by one of the Prebends with a notable sermon to her Majesty's liking in the Cathedral Church'. [UCL Ogden MS].

The traditional location for the Chichester house in which the Queen stayed, and where she met the Corporation, is a house in East Street.

It was first described in 1815: 'John Lord Lumley prepared a house in the East Street near the Cross...for her reception, with a spacious banqueting room, in which she gave audience to the Mayor and citizens'. [J.Dallaway, *History of the Western Division of the County of Sussex*, (1815), 21]. The owner in 1591 was in fact William Holland, who had twice been Mayor of Chichester, and who died in 1614; the house subsequently came into the hands of the Lumleys. (John Lord Lumley had died in 1609). By 1750 it was an inn, The Royal Arms. [VCH Sussex].

August 23: The Queen left Chichester.

Rewards given at Chichester, Portsmouth and Southampton:

'Instructions for accustomable allowances and rewards used to be given to the Queen's Majesty's servants attending in progress and accordingly was given this year anno 1591 at Chichester, Portsmouth and Southampton'.

Mr Garter King of Arms, £3.6s8d; Gentlemen Ushers, 40s; Serjeants of Arms, 20s; Footmen, 53s4d; Trumpeters, 53s4d; Messengers, 20s; Harbingers, 26s8d; Musicians, cornets, viols, etc. 40s; Porters, 20s; Yeomen Ushers and Waiters of the Guard, 20s; Yeoman that carried the Sword, 10s; Yeoman of the Flagons, 20s; Yeoman of the Mall, 10s; Grooms of the Chamber, 20s; Marshal's men, 20s; Queen's coachmen, 13s4d; Surveyor of the Ways, 10s; Black Guard, 20s. Sum: £24.3s4d.

[Bodleian Rawlinson, B.146, f.116].

Aug 23, Mon **STANSTED**, Stoughton, Sussex; Lord Lumley.<sup>T</sup>  
Stansted manor-house, Stoughton; owned by John Lord Lumley, also of Nonsuch.

Aug [25], Stansted, Sir Robert Cecil to Lord Chancellor Hatton:

'This progress grows wearisome, though it will not be confessed, and hither to Stansted her Majesty came very late on Monday night by moonshine. The house is fair, well built without and not meanly furnished within, but want of water is a great inconvenience. Tomorrow her Majesty goeth to Portsmouth to bed, next day at night hither again, and so towards Basing'...

'The ratification of the Contract [between the Queen and Henri IV] which was confirmed at Tours is come to Dieppe and hither it shall be brought by Monsieur de Reau, whose coming the Queen misliketh, for that the known occasion of his message being of no greater importance, it doth threaten some purpose of unknown further demands'. [UCL Ogden MS].

Aug 25, Stansted near Portsmouth, Sir Robert Cecil to Michael Hicks (one of Lord Burghley's secretaries): 'You may thank God you have not been here all this while, for I assure you on my faith I never saw more troublesome nor more importunate tedious suits and suitors'. Cecil had also written to Hicks: 'All is well: my Lord holds on his progress, the Queen hunts and is merry, you shall do well to come to Portsmouth...You cannot take any harm by bringing something to Portsmouth that is dainty, although Bess Cecil [his wife] says it is a shame for me thus to move you'. [Bath, ii.37; Wright, ii.413: undated].

August 25-September: *French special Ambassador, De Reau, again in England. Henri IV to the Queen, from his Camp before Noyon [Aug 5]: 'Nothing has rejoiced me more than that Sieur de Reau told me on his return that he heard that you were to come to Portsmouth when we shall be near the coast of Normandy. If that happens I beg you to find it good that I may come to kiss your hands as King of Navarre, and to be there for two hours so that I may have the good fortune of seeing, at least once in my life, the one to whom I have dedicated myself, and whom I love and revere more than anything in this world...I beg you to take in good part the charge which I have again given Sieur de Reau'. I ask that he may have a kindly audience. [HT.iv.132-133]. The King failed to come.*

Aug 26, Thur Stansted: Privy Council meeting.  
At Stansted the Queen had news of the arrival of De Reau, special Ambassador.

Aug 26, Thur dinner, Bedhampton, Hants; Sir John Caryll.<sup>T</sup>  
Bedhampton manor-house; occupied by Sir John Caryll (c.1554-1613) also of Warnham, Sussex (knighted at Cowdray); wife: Mary (Cotton), died 1601. Their monument is in Warnham Church. Sir Thomas Leighton, Governor of Guernsey, had audience, having landed at Portsmouth on his way to Dieppe to join Essex.

Aug 26, Thur **PORTSMOUTH**, Hants; Earl of Sussex.

Simon Bowyer made ready 'the Earl of Sussex's house at Portsmouth'.<sup>T</sup>

Henry Radcliffe, 4th Earl of Sussex (c.1532-1593), Captain and Chief Governor of Portsmouth 1571-1593; wife: Honor (Pound), died 1593.

The Earl's private residence was Bugle Hall, also called Bull Place, in Bugle Street; his official residence as Governor was God's House.

Portsmouth defences included an Artillery Platform, near God's House. Preparations included erecting scaffolds at the stone walls 'against the Queen's coming there', begun August 9, finished in January 1592. [SP12/241/33].

Court news. Aug 26, Portsmouth, Sir Robert Cecil to Lord Chancellor Hatton: 'Yesterday Monsieur de Reau long spoken of is come from the King to Portsmouth ... He landed yesterday night here and to Stansted yesterday night was brought the news of his arrival to her Majesty, and withal a slender excuse that he would not present himself to her royal presence there or here before he had conferred with the King's lieger Ambassador at London, whither he is gone and hath baulked the Queen, being not eight miles from Portsmouth nor two miles out of his way to London'. She has 'a settled purpose to refuse all his demands'.

She finds 'that promise is not kept by some expected at Portsmouth (wherein your Lordship knows my meaning), but that they are gone further as her Majesty is come nearer... Her mind is somewhat unquieted, though for her body, health, stomach and looks I saw it not better these seven years, praised be God'.

'This afternoon Sir Thomas Leighton is come from Guernsey, and as he saith going for Dieppe was put in here, and hearing of her Majesty's nearness came to her dining house about five miles from Portsmouth in her way as she came from Stansted. News he bringeth none'... 'I humbly take my leave from Portsmouth, where even now the Queen is arrived at 8 o'clock at night'. PS. 'Tomorrow her Majesty turns homeward'. [UCL Ogden MS]. Leighton joined Essex in France.

Aug 27, Fri Review of soldiers, outside Portsmouth.

Simon Bowyer made ready 'a standing for her Majesty without Portsmouth to see the soldiers'.<sup>T</sup> The men were from the Isle of Wight, whose Captain was Sir George Carey, son of Lord Hunsdon, the Lord Chamberlain.

Also Course of the Field (Tournament without lists).  
Tilters included Ferdinando Stanley, Lord Strange (later 5th Earl of Derby).

Aug 27, Portsmouth, Cecil to Hatton (the Queen's 'sheep' or 'mutton'):

'Being with her Majesty today... she showed me a jewel of your Lordship's sending in form of a bagpipe which she weareth in her ruff with the word [motto] upon it which doth very much please her, and with your token doth she make much sport, remembering your Lordship by the name of her mutton, adding to her other speeches of you this protestation, that being in her coach upon the top of all her platforms today where she viewed the Downs covered with sheep, she had rather than £10,000 that you had been there with her in that stately place'...

'She is exceedingly well pleased with my Lord of Sussex's entertainment which is very honourable indeed. Sports she hath had both in martial kind by Sir George Carey's soldiers of the Isle, and in another kind by my Lord Strange, who became a Hermit and ran the Course of the Field for her Majesty's sake'...

'This day at 4 o'clock arrived two French ships with passengers from Dieppe who brought the letters from the Queen's Ambassador [Sir Henry Unton] and withal the Ratification signed and sealed by the King...This it was believed always that Monsieur de Reau should have brought, but he leaving it behind him, it confirms the Queen's jealousy [suspicion] that his access to her presence will be for more supply, whose messages yet not delivered her Majesty prepares to receive with as constant denial as if she knew already his arguments'...

'From my lodging in Portsmouth at 9 o'clock being newly come from the quenching of a fire close to the Queen's house, which hath bred no small fear and trouble'. [UCL Ogden MS].

Aug 28, Sat **SOUTHWICK**, Hants; Mr White.<sup>T</sup>  
Southwick manor-house, Southwick Priory; owned by John White, married, died 1607. The Queen visited his grandfather, also John White, in 1560.

Aug 30, at Portsmouth: At an assembly in the Mayor's house John Rider, Chaplain to the Earl of Sussex, was admitted as a Burgess of Portsmouth 'in consideration that the said John Rider was then Orator for the said town at the coming of the Queen's Majesty to Portsmouth...as also for that he hath likewise promised to supply the same place at any other time when occasion shall serve'. [*Robert East, Extracts from Records of Portsmouth, 2nd ed. (1891), 138*].

Aug 30, Mon dinner, Portchester Castle, Hants; Crown property.  
The Queen had an impromptu dinner in the house-keeper's bedchamber.

Aug 31, from my lodging near Southwick, Cecil to Lord Chancellor Hatton:  
'Yesterday the Queen from Southwick (within five miles of Portsmouth) where she lay, being a gentleman's house called White, did ride to dinner to Portchester, not so meaning at her going forth, but being come so far rather chose so to do than to turn back upon the sun at 11 o'clock. If your Lordship had seen her entertainment you would have also seen the difference of her liking of her usage when she was to bid herself welcome'.

'The Castle hath only in it a poor man and his wife that keeps the house, and when the Queen was alighted the floors of the Castle were so rotten as nobody durst adventure her Majesty upon them, and therefore was she fain to go even to the stately bedchamber of the house-keeper where his bed was newly made, and there did she dine and was as merry as could be'.

'Instead of her sweet perfumes the chamber was as full of rue and hyssop as ever it could hold, and yet no fault found with anything. There did she with a settled resolution determine to go to Southampton and so to tarry four days upon the coast longer...She makes no haste homewards'. [UCL Ogden MS].

Court news. Aug 31, Thomas Phillips, draft: The Queen was at Lord Montague's at Cowdray 'where she and the whole court were magnificently entertained'...

'No Secretary has yet been appointed, though the Queen had given it out, and the parties, Sir Edward Stafford and Mr [Edward] Wotton, were ready to be sworn at Nonsuch, the day Sir Robert Cecil was sworn of the Council [August 2]'.

'It is said that the Lord Treasurer seeks to bring in his son, notwithstanding the Queen seems resolved to the contrary, but my Lord being sick, the whole management of the Secretary's place is in his hands'. [SP12/239/159].

Aug 31, Sept 1: Southwick: Privy Council meetings.

Sept 1, Wed Two French Ambassadors at Southwick for audience.  
De Reau, special Ambassador, with Beauvoir, resident French ambassador, whom he had met in Surrey. The Queen declared that she would withdraw her troops if the King did not at once assemble all his forces to go to Rouen. The French delivered a long list of the causes why he could not go. [SPF List 3, 332].

Sept 2, Thur **TITCHFIELD**, Hants; Earl of Southampton.  
Titchfield manor-house, Place House; owned by Henry Wriothesley, 3rd Earl of Southampton (1573-1624), not yet married. Richard Brackenbury made ready at Titchfield and 'two standings for her Majesty'.<sup>T</sup>

*Sept 2: death: Sir Richard Grenville died aboard a Spanish ship.*

*Grenville and Lord Thomas Howard had left England in April with a squadron of ships, hoping to intercept King Philip's treasure fleet.*

*On August 31, near Flores in the Azores, a huge Spanish fleet approached. All the English fleet but The Revenge, commanded by Grenville, set sail and escaped. Grenville stayed to fight, and was fatally wounded fighting 53 Spanish warships.*

*Philip Gawdy, also on The Revenge, was captured, and was later imprisoned in Lisbon Castle. He was ransomed, and returned to England in September 1592.*

*When news of Grenville's heroism reached England he was celebrated in verse and prose. Sir Walter Raleigh described his last fight. [Hakluyt, v.1-14].*

*Raleigh's account inspired the most memorable tribute, penned by Alfred Lord Tennyson and entitled The Revenge (1878), which has Grenville ordering:*

*'Sink me the ship, Master Gunner - sink her, split her in twain!  
Fall into the hands of God, not into the hands of Spain!...  
I have fought for Queen and Faith like a valiant man and true;  
I have only done my duty as a man is bound to do'.*

Sept 3, Fri French Ambassadors at Titchfield for audience.  
The Queen gave her answer, and De Reau took leave. [SPF List 3, 344].

Sept 3, Titchfield, Privy Council to Justices of the Peace in Middlesex:

*'In this time of vacation and absence of her Majesty in Progress divers disobedient persons very contemptuously do continue both to erect new buildings and to finish other lately begun about the City of London, taking the opportunity of the time as they think in the absence of the court and of the Justices of the Peace for that county'. It will be very offensive to the Queen, and you are 'to have better regard to the matter'.<sup>APC</sup>*

Sept 4, Sat dinner; John Caplin. [South Stoneham, Hants].  
South Stoneham manor-house; owned by John Caplin, merchant, died 1608.

Richard Brackenbury made ready 'a dining house for her Majesty at Mr Caplin's in her going from Titchfield to Southampton'.<sup>T</sup>

Sept 4, Sat **SOUTHAMPTON**, Hants.

Richard Coningsby made ready 'a house at Southampton'.<sup>T</sup>

\*Southampton Friary; owned by the Caplin family.

St Lawrence's Church: 'Paid the ringers when the Queen came and went, 2s'.

Sept 4, Southampton, Sir Robert Cecil to Lord Chancellor Hatton:

*'The coming of Monsieur de Reau hath much displeased her Majesty'...*

*'Her Majesty hath written very sharply to my Lord of Essex reproving his negligence in advertising [reporting], and his looseness in being more pliable to a stranger [foreign] King's demands than to his Sovereign's instructions'...*

*'Of the jstes [itinerary] I sent your Lordship I will not give my word, for even now her Majesty is determined without possibility of change to go to the Isle of Wight to bed on Monday night [Sept 6] with very few in a Pinnacle of her own and to dine at Calshot, which is ten miles by sea, and from thence after dinner to the landing-place called Cowes, and so to bed at the Castle and to tarry there but a night. The answer her Majesty made your Lordship to the tune, she saith, of your bagpipe [a jewel], today she read to me'. [UCL Ogden MS].*

Locations: Calshot Castle, on the Hampshire coast; Cowes, and Carisbrooke Castle, in the Isle of Wight.

Sept 6, from my poor lodging in Southampton near the court, Cecil to Hatton: 'This was the day appointed and set down for the Queen to go to the Island, and so continued firmly till yesterday night at 6 o'clock, that Sir George Carey came hither, who expressed the length of the journey and the uncertainty of the wind, which must for her Majesty's purpose be one way going and another coming, for else might she have stayed longer than she would. By this and other like circumstances her Majesty's purpose is altered, and homeward, according to my last jstes sent your Lordship, she doth tomorrow take her journey, not finding herself very well disposed and troubled with a cold'. [UCL Ogden MS].

Sept 7, Tues Queen's meeting with Huguenot refugees, near Southampton.

In 1567 the Queen had permitted refugees to settle in several towns. Register of the Walloon Church at Southampton (note translated from French):

On Sept 4th the Queen 'came to Hampton with all her court, which was very large, and left on the 7th around midday. When she was leaving and was outside the town, as we had very little access to her Majesty inside the town, we thanked her for having kept us under her protection for the past 24 years in this town, and by her benign clemency in all tranquillity and peace. She replied very kindly, praising God for giving her power to welcome and to help the poor strangers, and saying that she knew well that their prayers had served much to preserve her'. [Huguenot Society Publications, 4 (1890), 129].

*Southampton expenses for the Queen's visit included:*

'Gilding of the mace, £1.1s; for a purse for her Majesty, £1.9s; given in the purse to her Majesty, £40; Clerk of the Market at her Majesty's being here, £1; the Crier and Trumpeter of the Clerk of Market, £1; Yeomen of the Flagons, £1; Surveyor of the Ways, £1; Trumpeters, £2.13s4d; Serjeants at Arms, £2; Harbingers, £1.6s8d; Yeoman Usher which brought the Sword, 10s; Marshals, £1; her Majesty's Porters, £1; her Footmen, £2; her Musicians, £2; her Coachmen, 13s4d; the King of Arms, £3.6s8d; the Black Guard, £1; her Majesty's Turnbroaches, 10s; Yeoman of the Mall, 6s; Grooms of her Majesty's Chamber, £1; Gentlemen Ushers, £2; Ordinary Messengers, £1; 3 boats' loads of boughs, 2s; bringing up of the boughs, 4d; making clean above the Castle Ring, 8d; a quart of rose water, 1s2d; to my Lord Admiral's players, £1; to scour the windows for her Majesty, 3s4d; liveries for the Drum players, £3.4s; trimming of the Butts, £1.5s8d; making the Drums' apparel, 10s'. [Southampton Liber Debitum, f.133].

[Sept 7, Tues] dinner, Fairthorne, Bishop's Waltham, Hants; Mr Serle. Fairthorne estate, Bishop's Waltham parish; owned by the Serle family.

Richard Coningsby twice made ready a dining house at Fairthorne.<sup>T</sup>

Sept 7, Tues **BISHOP'S WALTHAM**, Hants.<sup>T</sup> Bishop's Palace.

Thomas Cooper, Bishop of Winchester, whom the Queen also visited at Farnham Castle in August and September.

Sept 7: Queen's birthday celebrations, e.g. St Stephen Walbrook, London: 'For bread, drink and cheese for the ringers on the Queen's birthday, 12d'.

Lambeth Church: 'To ringers for ringing on the Queen's birthday, 5s'. Also in September: 'For a prayer book to pray for the French King, 4d'.

Sept 9, Queen to George Earl of Cumberland (on his way back from his fourth privateering voyage): 'It may seem strange to you that we should once vouchsafe to trouble our thoughts with any care for any person of roguish condition, being always disposed rather to command others to chasten men of that profession. But such is our pleasure at this time...to let you know that we remember you'.

We 'express our great desire to hear of your well doing...hoping well of good success in the action now you have in hand'...

'Provided always you do not requite this our good meaning with betraying our extraordinary care of you to our Knight Marshal here, who may by this our partiality to you abroad grow bold hereafter in favouring them at home whom we would not have him suffer to pass uncorrected for divers their misdemeanours'...

'Assuring you of our most princely care for your safety and daily wishes of your safe return, whereof we shall be right glad as any friend you have'.

'Dated at our court at Bishop's Waltham whither we are returned from our Progress where we have spent some part of this summer in viewing our Fortifications at Portsmouth and other our principal towns along the sea coast'.

'Your very loving Sovereign, Elizabeth R'. [Williamson, 78-79].

Cumberland's flagship, on an unprofitable voyage, was one of the Queen's ships, *The Garland*. Knight Marshal: Sir George Carey.

*c. Sept 9: proposed visit, Warnford, Hants; Mr Auditor Neale.<sup>T</sup>  
Warnford manor-house; owned by William Neale (c.1521-1601), Auditor of the Court of the Exchequer.*

*c. Sept 9: proposed visit, Winchester, Hants.  
Simon Bowyer made ready 'the Bishop of Winchester's house at Winchester'.<sup>T</sup>  
There were Works payments at Winchester, and on September 7 the city was still preparing to receive the Queen, but she abruptly changed her route.  
For Winchester preparations see 'Proposed Progresses: 1591'.*

[Sept 9, Thur] dinner, Tichborne, Hants; Mr Tichborne.<sup>T</sup>  
Tichborne manor-house; owned by Benjamin Tichborne (c.1542-1629);  
wife: Amphilis (Weston), daughter of Judge Weston, of Essex. Catholics.  
Their monument is in Tichborne Church. Tichborne's kinsman Chidioc Tichborne was implicated in the Babington Plot in 1586, and was executed for high treason.

Sept 9, Thur **ABBOTSTONE**, Itchen Stoke, Hants; Marquis of Winchester.  
Simon Bowyer made ready at Abbotstone twice for the Queen; first in August 'at which time she came not'.<sup>T</sup> Works also twice made payments, the second time at 'Aberston, against her Majesty's return'.

Abbotstone manor-house, Itchen Stoke parish; owned by William Paulet, 3rd Marquis of Winchester (c.1531-1598); wife: Agnes (Howard), daughter of William 1st Lord Howard of Effingham, formerly Lord Chamberlain; she died in 1601.

The Marquis had dedicated to the Queen in 1586 *The Lord Marquis Idleness*.

c. Sept 10: at Abbotstone: Winchester College boys came before the Queen. Dr John Harmar, a master at Winchester College, stated in 1596 that:  
'At her Majesty's last being in Hampshire it pleased her Highness to have the scholars of the College brought before her at Abbotstone'. [HT.vi.238].

Sept 11, Sat dinner, William Wallop. [Wield, Hants].  
'Mr William Wallop's between Abbotstone and Farleigh'.<sup>T</sup>  
Wield manor-house; owned by William Wallop (c.1553-1617), half-brother of Sir Henry Wallop. 2nd wife: Avena (Knight), widow of William Staveley.  
William Wallop's monument, with his 3rd wife, is in Wield Church.

Sept 11, Sat **FARLEIGH WALLOP**, Hants; Sir Henry Wallop.<sup>T</sup>  
Farleigh Wallop manor-house; owned by Sir Henry Wallop (c.1531-1599), Under-Treasurer of Ireland 1579-1599; wife: Katherine (Gifford). Both died in Ireland in 1599 and were buried in St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin.

Robert Cranmer, Jewel-house Officer, 'for the hire of two horses for himself and his man to the court at Sir Henry Wallop's, at Basing, and at Oatlands, conveying of broken plate to her Majesty's goldsmiths at London, and returning therewith being mended', 46s8d.<sup>T</sup>

Sept 11, Robert Cecil to Lord Chancellor Hatton: 'Even now your Lordship may be pleased to understand that Mr Darcy is come and that Mr Devereux within four miles of Rouen, in an unnecessary light skirmish, is slain with a musket shot in the face. It was in no great service but even a mere bravado'. [UCL Ogden MS].

Essex's brother Walter Devereux was killed on September 8 whilst attempting to induce the enemy to come out to fight. Walter's body was brought to England later in the year for burial.

Sept 12, Sun: 'Farley': Privy Council meeting.

Sept 13, 'from the court at Sir Henry Wallop's near Basing', Lord Burghley 'to my very loving friend Sir Henry Unton, knight, her Majesty's Ambassador in France', ending: 'Being distracted by many other causes for her Majesty, without any jot of leisure to hunt or see hunting occupation for a progress'.

PS. 'My Lord Chancellor [Hatton] was looked for tomorrow at Basing, but I doubt he will not come but to Oatlands about the 22nd of this month'.

The Queen reached Oatlands on Sept 27. Unton had been using 'new style' dates on his dispatches, ten days in advance of English dates, and Burghley had written, Sept 6: 'You may please me if you will use the English style, for so it is meet for all ministers of England to do'. [Unton, 61,71-72].

\*Sept 13: via Basingstoke, Hants. At the Holy Ghost Chapel, or the School, the Wardens 'Laid out...for glazing against the Queen's coming, 5s4d'.

[J.E.Millard, ed. *Book of Accounts of the Wardens of the Fraternity of the Holy Ghost in Basingstoke* (1882), 64].

Sept 13, Mon **BASING**, Hants; Marquis of Winchester.<sup>B</sup>  
Basing manor-house, Basing House; owned by William Paulet 3rd Marquis of Winchester (also visited at Abbotstone, Sept 9). Richard Brackenbury made ready at Basing, and 'a standing for her Majesty in the Little Park at Basing; a standing for her Majesty in the Great Park at Basing; a standing ready for her Majesty in the Great Park at Basing when she was there a-hunting'.<sup>T</sup>

Sept 15,16: Basing: Privy Council meetings.

Sept 16, Basing Castle. Proclamation (737) commanding that no corn, victual, ordnance, 'nor furniture for shipping be carried into any of the King of Spain's countries, upon pain to be punished as in case of Treason'.

Sept 16, Thur **ODIHAM**, Hants; Mr More.

Richard Coningsby made ready 'Mr More's house at Odiham', and a standing.<sup>T</sup> Contemporary descriptions of the Queen's visit to Elvetham (Sept 20-23) state that she came 'from her own house of Odiham' and 'out of Odiham Park...from Odiham House', i.e. Odiham manor-house, Crown property.

The house was leased by Edward More (c.1553-1623), of a family which owned other land in Odiham; a Gentleman Pensioner from mid 1570s-1623.

1st wife: Mary (Poynings), daughter of Sir Adrian Poynings, formerly Captain of Portsmouth; she died 29 October 1591. Edward More married (2) Frances Lady Stourton (twin sister of Sir Robert Cecil's wife).

Sept 16, Odiham, Sir George Carew to Lord Deputy Fitzwilliam: 'This last night at Basing the Queen told me I should forthwith be sent away'. [Carew, iii.60].

Carew was preparing to return to Ireland.

Sept 18, *The Vyne* [Sherborne St John parish, near Basing], Sir Henry Lee to Sir Thomas Heneage (Vice-Chamberlain): 'I am old, and come now evil away with the inconveniences of progress. I followed her Majesty until my man returned and told me he could get neither fit lodging for me nor room for my horse. All these things considered hath made me return...unto my poor home, where I am much more fit to pray for her Majesty than now to wrestle with the humours of court (which I find to be cross), or fortunes of the world (which are most uncertain)'.

'Wherefore I beseech you if it so stand with your liking declare to her most excellent Majesty the true and necessary cause of my departure'. [HT.iv.136].

Sir Henry Lee (1533-1611), Keeper of Woodstock Palace, had houses in Bucks and Oxfordshire; the Queen next visited him in Oxfordshire September 1592.

[Sept 19] Sunday morning at 9 o'clock, Odiham, Sir Robert Cecil to Lord Chancellor Hatton (whom the Queen called her 'lids', and who had sent her a jewel for the Earl of Essex, who had received a harsh letter from her):

'I came to Odiham on Saturday night at 6 o'clock where I found the Queen... with the letters which Smith my Lord of Essex's man had newly brought: they contained matter of excuse, but by way of Apology of his own actions'...

'Mr [Henry] Killigrew describes the manner of his passion to be such as that he sounded [swooned] at the reading of the Queen's letter thrice, and that immediately being laid on his bed his body so swelled as his buttons broke from his doublet'...

'I didlet the Queen know that your Lordship...should esteem your life but a death until you came to her presence', and that 'since your journey to Spa you had not been from her Majesty so long' [June-September 1573]...

'She began...to speak of your Lordship's passion for being so long absent from her, and withal swore that never any man loved her trulier than you did and that if she should forget her sweet lids God must forget her'...

'The jewel then (with the best words of excusing the unworthiness of it) I did deliver, and withal the suit you made that to the distressed Earl it might be sent, affirming that your Lordship...did beseech her Majesty to show her gracious disposition in comforting of him...She fell into so great praise of your nature, your faith and constancy'. [UCL Ogden MS].

Sept 20, Odiham, Lord Burghley to Sir Henry Unton, in France:

'The offence that her Majesty taketh against my Lord of Essex for his fruitless journey moveth her to dislike you all there. I know no remedy but to have my Lord of Essex to return to make here satisfaction'. Taken to Unton by Sir Roger Williams, one of the English commanders. [Unton, 85].

Essex returned to England in October for a week.

September 20-23: *Elvetham entertainment*.

The Queen stayed at Elvetham, Hants, with Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, whose main residences were at Westminster and in Wiltshire.

A description of the entertainment was entered by the Stationers on Oct 1, published as *The Honourable Entertainment...at Elvetham*. There was also an edition described as 'newly corrected and amended'.

The first edition is followed here, much abridged, but incorporating corrections from the 'amended' edition, which appears to include the Earl's own revisions.

The full text, with variants between editions, and an engraving of the Queen watching the entertainment, is edited, Nichols, *Progresses* (2014), iii. 563-595.

A letter from James Orange, Aug 7 (no year given), lists preparations to be made for the Queen, but this refers to a visit by Queen Anne to the Earl in Wiltshire in 1613. It reminds the cooks 'to bake some red deer with some nutmegs and a little muscadine Queen Elizabeth's fashion; she also used to have red deer hot'. [Bath, iv.238-9, assigned to 1591].

Sept 20, Mon **ELVETHAM**, Hants; Earl of Hertford.

Elvetham manor-house, Elvetham House; owned by Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford (1537-1621), son of the Duke of Somerset (executed in 1552).

The Earl's secret first marriage in 1560 to Lady Catherine Grey caused them both to be imprisoned for some years; she died in 1568.

2nd wife (1585): Frances (Howard) (c.1544-1598), a Lady of the Privy Chamber, daughter of William 1st Lord Howard of Effingham, formerly Lord Chamberlain.

Simon Bowyer, Gentleman Usher, made ready 'the Lord of Hertford's house at Elverton' and 'a dining house' there.<sup>T</sup>

The description of the entertainment opens with the Earl's preparations:

*'Elvetham House being situate in a park but of two miles in compass or thereabouts...being none of the Earl's chief mansion houses...his Honour with all expedition set artificers a-work, to the number of 200 or thereabout, many days before her Majesty's arrival, to enlarge his house with new rooms and offices. Whereof I omit to speak how many were destined to the offices of the Queen's Household, and will only make mention of other such buildings as were raised on the sudden...on a hillside within the said park, for entertainment of nobles, gentlemen, and others whatsoever'.*

*'First there was made a room of state for the nobles, and at the end thereof a withdrawing place for her Majesty. The outsides of the walls were all covered with boughs, and clusters of ripe hazel-nuts, the insides with arras [tapestry], the roof of the place with works of ivy leaves, the floor with sweet herbs and green rushes'.*

*'Near adjoining unto this were many offices new converted, as namely Spicery, Larder, Chandlery, Wine-cellar, Ewery and Pantry, all which were tiled. Not far off was erected a large hall for the entertainment of knights, ladies, and gentlemen and gentlewomen of chief account. There was also a several [separate] place for her Majesty's Footmen, and their friends'.*

*'Then was there a long Bower for her Majesty's Guard, another for other Officers of her Majesty's house, another to entertain all comers, suitors and such like, another for my Lord's Steward to keep his table in, another for his gentlemen that waited. Most of these foresaid rooms were furnished with tables, and the tables carried three and twenty yards in length'.*

*'Moreover on the same hill there was raised a great common Buttery; a Pitcher-house; a large Pastry, with five ovens new built, some of them 14 foot deep; a great Kitchen with four ranges, and a boiling-place for small boiled meats; another Kitchen with a very long range for the waste, to serve all comers; a Boiling-house for the great boiler; a room for the Scullery; another room for the Cooks' lodgings. Some of these were covered with canvas, and other some with boards'.*

*'Between the Earl's house and the foresaid hill where these rooms were raised there had been made...a goodly Pond, cut to the perfect figure of a half-moon. In this Pond were three notable grounds, where hence to present her Majesty with sports and pastimes'.*

*'The first was a Ship Isle, of 100 foot in length and 40 foot broad, bearing three trees orderly set for three masts. The second was a Fort 20 foot square every way, and overgrown with willows. The third and last was a Snail Mount, rising to four circles of green privet hedges, the whole in height 20 foot, and 40 foot broad at the bottom...In the said water were divers boats prepared for music, but especially there was a Pinnace, full furnished with masts, yards, sails, anchors, cables...flags, streamers, and pendants...all painted with divers colours, and sundry devices'.*

'My Lord of Hertford, joyfully expecting her Majesty's coming to Elvetham to supper as she had promised...after dinner, with his train well mounted, to the number of 200 and upwards, and most of them wearing chains of gold about their necks, and in their hats yellow and black feathers, rode toward Odiham, and leaving his train and company orderly placed to attend her Majesty's coming out of Odiham Park, three miles distant from Elvetham, himself waiting on her Majesty from Odiham House'...

'Between 5 and 6 o'clock, when her Highness, being most honourably attended, entered into Elvetham Park, where (to her Majesty's great liking) were by estimate near ten thousand people from sundry places, and was more than halfway between the Park gate and the house, a poet saluted her with a Latin oration in heroic verse...This Poet was clad in green...a laurel garland on his head... an olive branch in his hand...and lastly booted'...

[*The kneeling Poet made a Latin verse oration praising and welcoming the Queen, and introducing the Graces and the Hours*].

'While the Poet was pronouncing this oration, six Virgins were behind him, busily removing blocks out of her Majesty's way, which blocks were supposed to be laid there by the person of Envy...Three of these Virgins represented the three Graces, and the other three the Hours...They were all attired in gowns of taffeta sarcenet of divers colours, with flowery garlands on their heads, and baskets full of sweet herbs and flowers upon their arms'.

'When the Poet's speech was happily ended, and in a scroll delivered to her Majesty (for such was her gracious acceptance that she deigned to receive it with her own hand), then these six Virgins...walked on before her towards the house, strewing the way with flowers and singing a sweet song of six parts to this ditty, which followeth:

'The Song by the Graces and the Hours at her Majesty's first arrival'.

'With fragrant flowers we strew the way,  
And make this our chief holiday.  
Although this clime was blest of yore,  
Yet never was it proud before.  
O beauteous Queen of second Troy,  
Accept of our unfeigned joy'. [3 stanzas].

'This Song ended with her Majesty's entrance into the house and when her Majesty alighted from horseback at the hall-door, the Countess of Hertford, accompanied with divers honourable ladies and gentlewomen, most humbly on her knees welcomed her Highness to that place, who most graciously embracing her took her up and kissed her, using many comfortable and princely speeches as well to her as to the Earl of Hertford standing hard by, to the great rejoicing of many beholders. And after her Majesty's entrance into the house, where she had not rested her a quarter of an hour, but from the Snail Mount and the Ship Isle in the Pond (both being near under the prospect of her Gallery window) there was a long volley of chambers and two brass pieces discharged'.

'After this supper was served in, first to her Majesty, and then to the nobles and others'...

'After supper was ended, her Majesty graciously admitted unto her presence a notable consort of six Musicians, which the Earl of Hertford had provided to entertain her Majesty withal at her will and pleasure, and when it should seem good to her Highness. Their music so highly pleased her that in grace and favour thereof she gave a new name unto one of their Pavaues, made long since by Master Thomas Morley, then organist of Paul's Church'.

Sept 21, Tues Elvetham entertainment: second day.

'There was in the morning presented to her Majesty a fair and rich gift from the Countess of Hertford, which greatly pleased and contented her Highness'.

'The forenoon was so wet and stormy that nothing of pleasure could be presented her Majesty. Yet it held up a little before dinner-time, and all the day after...This day her Majesty dined with her nobles about her in the room of state new builded on the hillside, above the Pond's head. There sat below her many lords, ladies, and knights. And as her Majesty sat at dinner there was a door set wide open for air, whereby the people might (to their great comfort) behold her Majesty's presence in open view'. There were 'ordnance discharged in the beginning of dinner, and variety of consorted music at dinner-time'.

'Presently after dinner the Earl of Hertford caused a large canopy of state to be set at the Pond's head for her Majesty to sit under and to view some sports prepared in the water. The canopy was of green satin...supported with four silvered pillars movable, and decked above head with four white plumes spangled with silver. This canopy being upheld by four worthy knights, and tapestry spread all about the Pond's head, her Majesty about 4 o'clock came and sat under it, to expect the issue of some device'...

'At the further end of the Pond there was a Bower, close built to the brink thereof, out of which there went a pompous array of sea-persons, which waded breast-high or swam till they approached near the seat of her Majesty'.

'Nereus, the prophet of the sea, attired in red silk and having a four cornered cap upon his curled head...did swim before the rest as their pastor and guide. After him came five Tritons...cheerfully sounding their trumpets. After them went two other Gods of the Sea, Neptune and Oceanus...leading between them that Pinnace whereof I spoke'...

'In the Pinnace were three Virgins, which with their cornets played Scottish jigs...There was also in the said Pinnace another Nymph of the Sea named Neaera, the old supposed love of Sylvanus, a God of the Woods. Near to her were placed three excellent voices, to sing to one lute, and in two other boats hard by, other lutes and voices, to answer by manner of echo'.

'After the Pinnace and two other boats which were drawn after it by other Sea-gods, the rest of the train followed breast-high in the water, all attired in ugly marine suits and every one armed with a huge wooden squirt in his hand ...In their marching towards the Pond, all along the middle of the current, the Tritons sounded one half of the way, and then they ceasing the cornets played their Scottish jigs. The melody was sweet and the show stately'.

'By the way it is needful to touch here many things abruptly, for the better understanding of that which followeth. First, that in the Pinnace are two jewels to be presented to her Majesty, the one by Nereus, the other by Neaera. Secondly, that the Fort in the Pond is round environed with armed men. Thirdly, that the Snail Mount now resembleth a monster, having horns of bullrushes full of wild-fire, continually burning. And lastly, that the God Sylvanus lieth with his train not far off in the woods, and will shortly salute her Majesty and present her with a holy escutcheon, wherein Apollo had long since written her praises'...

'The Sea-gods...having, under the conduct of Nereus, brought the Pinnace near before her Majesty, Nereus made his oration...but before he began he made a privy sign unto one of his train, which was gotten up into the Ship Isle directly before her Majesty; and he presently did cast himself down, doing a somersault from the Isle into the water, and then swam to his company'.

'The Oration of Nereus to her Majesty'. [*beginning*]:

'Fair Cynthia the wide Ocean's Empress,  
I watery Nereus hovered on the coast  
To greet your Majesty with this my train  
Of dancing Tritons and shrill singing Nymphs...'

'India' had come with Nereus and 'left me this jewel to present your Grace'.

'This oration being delivered, and withal the present whereof he spoke, which was hidden in a purse of green rushes cunningly woven together, immediately the three voices in the Pinnacle sung a song to the lute...and the end of every verse was replied by lutes and voices in the other boat somewhat afar off, as if they had been echoes'.

'The Song presented by Nereus on the water, sung dialogue wise, every fourth verse answered with two Echoes'. [Five stanzas, beginning]:

'How haps it now, when prime [Spring] is done,  
Another Spring-time is begun?  
Our happy soil is overrun  
With beauty of a second Sun.

Echo:                   A second sun'...

'This song being ended, Nereus commanded the five Tritons to sound. Then came Sylvanus with his attendants from the wood...bearing in his right hand an olive tree and in his left an escutcheon...His followers were all covered with ivy leaves, and bore in their hands bows made like darts. At their approach near her Majesty Sylvanus...delivered up his escutcheon, engraven with golden characters.

'The Oration of Sylvanus'.

'Sylvanus comes from out the leafy groves,  
To honour her whom all the world adores...

[A short verse dialogue with Nereus, ending]:

Sylvanus:       Here, take my hand, and therewithal I vow

Nereus:         That water will extinguish wanton fire'.

'Nereus, in pronouncing this last line, did pluck Sylvanus over head and ears into the water, where all the Sea-gods laughing did insult over him. In the meanwhile her Majesty perused the verses written in the escutcheon'.

[Four lines of Latin, and a posy 'Detur dignissimae', i.e. 'Let it be given to the worthiest lady'].

'After that the Sea-gods had sufficiently ducked Sylvanus they suffered him to creep to the land, where he no sooner set footing, but crying Revenge, Revenge, he and his began a skirmish with those of the water, the one side throwing their darts and the other using their squirts...At the last Nereus parted the fray with a line or two, grounded on the excellence of her Majesty's presence, as always being a friend to peace and enemy to war'.

'Then Sylvanus being so ugly, and running toward the Bower at the end of the Pond, affrighted a number of the country people, that they ran from him for fear, and thereby moved great laughter. His followers retired to the woods, and Neaera, his fair love, in the Pinnacle, presenting her Majesty a sea jewel bearing the form of a fan, spoke unto her'...

'The Oration of fair Neaera'.

[Neaera, in her verse oration, invited the Queen to name the boat 'with a blissful word' and to 'give some prosperous name'].

'Here her Majesty named the Pinnacle *The Bonadventure*, and Neaera went on with her speech...Now Neaera's bark is fortunate...

'O live in endless joy, with glorious fame,  
Sound, trumpets, sound, in honour of her name'.

'Then did Nereus retire back to his Bower with all his train following him in the selfsame order as they came forth before, the Tritons sounding their trumpets one half of the way, and the cornets playing the other half'.

'And here ended the second day's pastime, to the so great liking of her Majesty that her gracious approbation thereof was to the actors more than a double reward; and yet withal her Highness bestowed a largesse upon them the next day after, before she departed'.

Sept 22, Wed Elvetham entertainment: third day.

'About 9 o'clock, as her Majesty opened a casement of her Gallery window, there were three excellent Musicians, who being disguised in ancient country attire did greet her with a pleasant song of Corydon and Phyllida, made in three parts of purpose...It pleased her Highness, after it had been once sung, to command it again, and highly to grace it with her cheerful acceptance and commendation'.

'The Three Men's Song sung the third morning under her Majesty's Gallery window'.

'In the merry month of May,  
In a morn by break of day,  
Forth I walked to the wood side,  
Whereas May was in his pride.  
There I spied, all alone,  
Phyllida and Corydon.  
Much good sport there was, God wot,  
He would love, and she would not.  
She said, never man was true,  
He said, none was false to you.  
He said, he had loved her long,  
She said, love should have no wrong.  
Corydon would kiss her then.  
She said, maids must kiss no men,  
Till they did for good and all.  
Then she made the shepherd call  
All the heavens to witness truth,  
Never loved a truer youth.  
Thus with many a pretty oath,  
Yea and nay, and faith and troth,  
Such as silly shepherds use,  
When they will not love abuse,  
Love, which had been long deluded,  
Was with kisses sweet concluded.  
And Phyllida, with garments gay,  
Was made the Lady of the May'.

'After dinner, about 3 o'clock, ten of the Earl of Hertford's servants, all Somersetshire men, in a square green court before her Majesty's window did lay lines on the ground, squaring out the form of a tennis-court, and making a cross line in the middle. In this square they (being stripped out of their doublets) played five to five with the hand-ball at board and cord (as they term it), to so great liking of her Highness, that she graciously deigned to behold their pastime more than an hour and a half'.

'After supper there were two delights presented unto her Majesty: curious fireworks, and a sumptuous banquet. The first from the three Islands in the Pond, the second in a low Gallery in her Majesty's Privy Garden'.

Fireworks: 'First there was a peal of a hundred chambers discharged from the Snail Mount; in counter whereof a like peal was discharged from the Ship Isle, and some great ordnance withal. Then was there a castle of fireworks of all sorts, which played in the Fort. Answerable to that there was in the Snail Mount a globe of all manner of fireworks, as big as a barrel. When these were spent on either side, there were many running rockets upon lines which passed between the Snail Mount and the castle in the Fort. On either side were many fire wheels...and balls of wildfire, which burned in the water'.

'During the time of these fireworks in the water there was a banquet served all in silver and glass, into the low Gallery in the garden from a hillside... by two hundred of my Lord of Hertford's gentlemen, every one carrying so many dishes that the whole number amounted to a thousand, and there were to light them in their way a hundred torch-bearers'.

'To satisfy the curious I will here set down some particulars in the banquet: her Majesty's Arms in sugar-work; the several Arms of all our nobility in sugar-work; many men and women in sugar-work; castles, forts, ordnance, drummers, trumpeters, and soldiers of all sorts, in sugar-work; lions, unicorns, bears, horses, camels, bulls, rams, dogs, tigers, elephants, antelopes, dromedaries, apes, and all other beasts, in sugar-work; eagles, falcons, cranes, buzzards, heronshaws, bitterns, pheasants, partridges, quails, larks, sparrows, pigeons, cocks, owls, and all that fly, in sugar-work; snakes, adders, vipers, frogs, toads, and all kind of worms, in sugar-work; mermaids, whales, dolphins, congers, sturgeons, pikes, carps, breams, and all sorts of fishes, in sugar-work. All these were standing dishes of sugar-work. The self-same devices were also there all in flat-work'.

Also 'in flat sugar-work and cinnamon': marchpanes [marzipan], grapes, oysters, mussels, cockles, periwinkles, crabs, lobsters; apples, pears, and plums, of all sorts; preserves...jellies...marmalades, comfits of all sorts'.

Sept 23, Thur Elvetham entertainment: final day.

'Her Majesty was no sooner ready, and at her Gallery window looking into the Garden, but there began three cornets to play certain fantastic dances, at the measure whereof the Fairy Queen came into the garden, dancing with her maids about her. She brought with her a garland made in form of an imperial crown; which in the sight of her Majesty she fixed upon a silvered staff, and sticking the staff into the ground, spoke'...

'The Speech of the Fairy Queen to her Majesty'.

'I that abide in places underground,  
Aureola, the Queen of Fairy land,  
That every night in rings of painted flowers  
Turn round, and carol out Eliza's name...  
Opened the earth with this enchanting wand,  
To do my duty to your Majesty,  
And humbly to salute you with this chaplet  
Given me by Auberon the Fairy King.  
Bright shining Phoebe, that in human shape  
Hidest Heaven's perfection, vouchsafe to accept it  
And I Aureola, beloved in Heaven...  
Will cause that Heavens enlarge thy golden days,  
And cut them short that envy at thy praise'.

'After this speech the Fairy Queen and her maids danced about the garland, singing a song of six parts, with the music of an exquisite consort, wherein was the lute, bandora, base-viol, cittern, treble-viol, and flute, and this was:

'The Queen of Fairies song, danced and sung before her Majesty the morning before she went': 'Eliza is the fairest Queen

That ever trod upon this green.  
Eliza's eyes are blessed stars,  
Inducing peace, subduing wars.  
Eliza's hand is crystal bright,  
Her words are balm, her looks are light.  
Eliza's breast is that fair hill  
Where virtue dwells, and sacred skill.  
O blessed be each day and hour,  
Where sweet Eliza builds her bower'.

'This spectacle and music so delighted her Majesty that she commanded to hear it sung and to be danced three times over, and called for divers lords and ladies to behold it and then dismissed the actors with thanks, and with a gracious largesse, which of her exceeding goodness she bestowed upon them'.

'Within an hour after, her Majesty departed with her nobles from Elvetham. It was a most extreme rain, and yet it pleased her Majesty to behold and hear the whole action. On the one side of her way as she passed through the Park there was placed, sitting on the Pond side, Nereus and all the Sea-gods in their former attire, on her left hand Sylvanus and all his company; in the way before her the three Graces and the three Hours. All of them on every side wringing their hands and showing sign of sorrow for her departure'.

'While she beheld this dumb-show, the Poet made her a short oration. The Poet's Speech at her Majesty's departure, he being attired as at the first, saving that his cloak was now black, and his garland mixed with yew branches to signify sorrow':

'O see sweet Cynthia, how the watery gods,  
Which joyed of late to view thy glorious beams,  
At this retire do wail and wring their hands...  
Distilling from their eyes salt showers of tears  
To bring in Winter with their wet lament,  
For how can Summer stay, when Sun departs?...  
O either stay, or soon return again,  
For Summer's parting is the Country's gain'.

'Then Nereus, approaching from the end of the Pond to her Majesty's coach, on his knees thanked her Highness for her late largesse'...

'After this, as her Majesty passed through the Park gate, there was a consort of Musicians hidden in a bower, to whose playing this ditty of 'Come again' was sung...by two that were cunning. The Song sung at the gate when her Majesty departed':

'Come again fair Nature's Treasure,  
Whose looks yield joys exceeding measure.  
Come again world's Star-bright eye,  
Whose presence beautifies the sky.  
Come again world's chief Delight,  
Whose absence makes eternal Night.  
Come again sweet lively Sun,  
When thou art gone our joys are done'.

'As this Song was sung, her Majesty, notwithstanding the great rain, stayed her coach, and pulled off her mask, giving great thanks'.

'Her Majesty was so highly pleased with this and the rest that she openly said to the Earl of Hertford that the beginning, process and end of this his entertainment was so honourable that she would not forget the same'.

'And many and most happy years may her gracious Majesty continue to favour and foster him, and all others which do truly love and honour her'.

Sept 23, Thur **FARNHAM CASTLE**, Surrey; Bishop of Winchester.

Thomas Cooper (c.1517-1594). The Queen had stayed at Farnham August 10-14. She changed her route to make a second visit. Richard Coningsby with 10 men went 'from Elverton to Oatlands to have made ready there and being in their service were sent for back to Farnham in all haste'. They made ready 'Farnham Castle for her Majesty in her return from the progress'.<sup>T</sup>

*Sept 23: Will of Henry Whittell, Yeoman of her Highness' Chamber, referring to one Frank who 'is to pay me 20 shillings at Porter's Lodge in the Queen's house wheresoever her Majesty lieth on New Year's Day next'. Whittell made three bequests out of this 20s, and also left 40s 'to my watch-fellows'.*

*He wishes to be buried at Basingstoke, Hants.  
His will was proved on October 1.*

Sept 23: News of a Maid of Honour's secret marriage had become known at court whilst the Queen was at Elvetham.

Frances Vavasour married Sir Thomas Sherley (1564-c.1630), of Sussex, son of Sir Thomas Sherley the elder, Treasurer at War; without the knowledge or consent of the Queen, as was required. Earlier in 1591 Frances had been contracted to Robert Dudley; the Queen had consented to their marriage if they waited awhile. Sir Thomas had himself been courting Frances (Brooke), Lady Stourton, widowed twin sister of Sir Robert Cecil's wife.

Sir Robert Cecil to Sir Thomas Sherley the elder, Sept 21:

'I could not be so simple as not to see the injury your son offered me... and to the last hour even at Cowdray to abuse a lady and her friends'...

'This day her Majesty called me to her...The Queen did command me to signify that her pleasure is that you shall forthwith directly make it known by public act that for this act of such contempt to her court, as well as for his wilful perjuries, and unnatural disobedience to yourself, you cannot digest it, to do for a son, that so highly hath offended her, who graciously hath always furthered...any honest and honourable purposes of marriage or preferment to any of hers, when without scandal and infamy they have been orderly broken unto her...If you come to Oatlands her Majesty will tell you (she saith) her mind herein'.

Sir Thomas Sherley the elder to Sir Robert Cecil, Sept 22, London:

'I moved you...to break to her Majesty my dislike of the match of my unfortunate son...inveigled...and in a sort stolen from me...I am most willing to obey her Majesty's pleasure by public act to declare my dislike of the great offence done to her Highness, and so I have continually done, but I know not by what other open act I can show my dislike, having forbidden him my house and abandoned him from me and out of my sight...Neither do I know her to be with child nor do care whether she be or not'. [SP12/240/17; HT.iv.137-138].

Sir Thomas Sherley the younger was in the Marshalsea Prison, September 1591-Spring 1592. Lady Stourton married (2) Edward More, of Odiham, Hants.

Robert Dudley married Margaret Cavendish, a Maid of Honour.

Sept 24: 'A Declaration of the causes moving her Majesty to revoke her forces in Normandy and under the charge of the Earl of Essex'. [Unton, 88-93].

Sept 25, Sat dinner; \*Seale, Surrey.

'A dining house for her Majesty betwixt Farnham and Sir Henry Weston's'.<sup>T</sup>

Midway on the Queen's route was Poyle manor-house, Seale; owned by Sir Nicholas Woodroffe, haberdasher, Lord Mayor 1579-1580; he died in 1598; wife: Grissel, daughter of Stephen Kirton, London Alderman; she died 1607.

Sept 25, Sat **SUTTON**, Woking, Surrey; Sir Henry Weston.

Sutton manor-house, Sutton Place, Woking; owned by Sir Henry Weston, whom the Queen had also visited at West Clandon on August 4.

\*Sept 27, Mon dinner, Bagshot, Surrey.<sup>T</sup> [At an inn].

Sept 27, Mon **OATLANDS PALACE**, Weybridge, Surrey.<sup>B</sup>

Sept 28: Seditious words at Deal, Kent. William Green, of Deal, yeoman, was indicted for saying of the Queen on Sept 13: 'She is a maintainer of starched ruffs and pride, which when she was dead, it would be laid aside'.

Verdict: Guilty; to be pilloried. [Assizes, Kent, 335-6].

Oct 1, Oatlands, Sir George Carew to Lord Deputy Fitzwilliam:

'My return into Ireland is every day promised. My purse is too weak to tarry very long in court'. [Carew, iii.61].

Oct 1, London, Thomas Lake (Clerk of the Signet) to Sir Robert Sidney, of Lord Burghley: 'Old Saturnus is a melancholy and wayward planet, but yet predominant here...Our French matters go very waywardly, the Queen is fallen out with the King, for misbehaving of himself towards her people, as she conceiveth it. And both the Lord [Essex] and his troops are peremptorily sent for'.<sup>SD</sup>

c.Oct 2: Robert Carey at Oatlands from France.  
Gournay, besieged for ten days, had yielded to the Earl of Essex on Sept 26.  
Carey recalled: 'My Lord sent me to court with the news of the yielding of the town, and the manner of it. I made what haste I could to get over from Dieppe, and within four days after I left my Lord I arrived at Oatlands betimes in the morning. [Carey found that the Queen had already sent Sir Francis Darcy with her command for Essex to return]...I spoke with most of the Council before the Queen was stirring, who assured me that there was no removing of her Majesty from her resolution...About ten of the clock she sent for me. I delivered her my Lord's letter. She presently burst out into a great rage against my Lord, and vowed she would make him an example to all the world, if he presently left not his charge, and returned upon Sir Francis Darcy's coming to him. I said nothing to her till she had read his letter. She seemed to be meanly well contented with the success at Gournay'. [Carey pleaded for Essex not to have to leave France].

The Queen 'seemed to be something offended at my discourse, and bade me go to dinner...I had scarce made an end of my dinner but I was sent for to come to her again. She delivered me a letter, written with her own hand to my Lord, and bade me tell him that "if there were anything in it that did please him, he should give me thanks for it". I humbly kissed her hand...That afternoon I took post-horse, and made for France'. Carey reached Dieppe two hours after Essex sailed for England, obeying the Queen's previous command. [Memoirs, 15-17].

Court news. Oct 4, London, Sir Christopher Hatton (just returned from Oatlands) to Sir Henry Unton (who had been journeying back and forth with the Earl of Essex in France):

'Her Majesty doth resemble this going of the Lord General and your Lordship and of Sir Thomas Leighton's to the Swenckes Dance, three on a row forward and backward, as a journey taken to very small purpose'. [Unton, 104].

Oct 4, Oatlands, Richard Brackenbury (the Gentleman Usher who had made Basing and Oatlands ready) to the Earl of Essex: 'Love here is almost banished, and some flieth over the seas, as from Mistress Cavendish's mind into my brother Darcy's good liking; and my cousin Lee sighs if Mistress Acton be once named. Mistress Ansley hath not yet found the way to love, though there be good schoolmasters. What good sports we had in the progress my brother Darcy can report, for he saw the best. The best sight he saw was two such stars at Basing, called Kingsmill, as will make twenty actors die for love. Assuredly they be very fair, full of favour and of good behaviour. Some think they shall come hither; if they do, they must learn to abide shot of all sorts, for at the return of so many soldiers the wars will grow dangerous'. [HT.iv.142].

*October 4: The Queen left Oatlands. John Dethick, Keeper of the Standing Wardrobe at Oatlands, his man and six labourers 'to take down, air and brush all the same Wardrobe stuff since her Majesty's coming from thence'.<sup>T</sup>*

\*Oct 4, Mon dinner, Hampton Court, Middlesex.  
Crown property. Richard Brackenbury made ready Hampton Court in September 'for a dining house for her Majesty'.<sup>T</sup>

Oct 4, Mon **RICHMOND PALACE**, Surrey.

Oct 4, Mon Jerome Horsey at Richmond for audience.

Jerome Horsey (c.1550-1626) had left in March 1590 as special Ambassador to Russia, his second and last such mission; he waited a year but was never granted audience with Tsar Boris Godunov. He wrote a description of his 'employment', and of his return. 'I had a speedy passage into England, and came to the court at Richmond the 4th of October..where it pleased her most excellent Majesty to vouchsafe me her royal presence and princely ear unto this relation of my most dangerous and last employment'. Horsey brought a letter from the Tsar to the Queen complaining about him, calling him 'a villain', and forbidding him from returning to Russia. [Horsey, *Travels*, 309].

Oct 6, Lord Buckhurst to Sir Robert Sidney: 'Her Majesty is now pleased to continue my Lord of Essex, and the forces in France, for one month longer'.<sup>SD</sup>

Oct 8, court, Sir Robert Cecil to Lord Chancellor Hatton:

'The Queen hath taken a great cold which doth much trouble her, and with it she seemeth to us at any time she vouchsafeth to speak withal very melancholy and indisposed'. [UCL Ogden MS].

*Oct 8: Richmond, St Mary: Funeral: Robert Cotton. Memorial: 'Mr Robert Cotton gentleman sometime an Officer of the Removing Wardrobe of Beds unto Queen Mary who by her Majesty's special choice was taken from the Wardrobe to serve her Majesty as a Groom in her Privy Chamber all her life-time, and after her decease again he became an Officer of the Wardrobe where he served her Majesty that now is Queen Elizabeth many years and died Yeoman of the same Office'.*

*Oct 8: near Rouen: Earl of Essex, prior to returning to England, 'commanded all the gentlemen to alight, and said he was very sorry that no opportunity was offered him to have led them into a place where they might have gained honour; but the fault was not his, neither yet in them'. He 'was determined to give notes of honour to some, and there made 24 knights'. That night he sailed from Dieppe, not expecting to return. [Thomas Coningsby was knighted; Coningsby, 27].*

Oct 10: 'My Lord of Essex came out of France to the court'.<sup>TH</sup>

Oct 10-15: Earl of Essex at Richmond, summoned from France.

Court news. Oct 15, in much haste, Lord Burghley to Sir Henry Unton:

'The French Ambassador had audience of her Majesty in company of a servant of the French King, being one of his Chamber, where he showed unto her Majesty a letter that had been deciphered, sent to him from the French King, by which ...he sought by many reasons to move the Queen to remove the offence which he understood by Monsieur de Reau that she had conceived against him for not coming to Normandy according to his promise; whereas her Majesty in performing her promise, and sending her forces in the very beginning of August, had not only been at great charges therewith without any kind of profit to her or to the King, but had also sustained some dishonour in the reputation of the world... But after her Majesty had perused the whole letter, she hath found no kind of satisfaction by any reason therein used'. [Unton, 110-111].

Court news. Oct 16: Katherine Legh, a Maid of Honour, had given birth to a daughter at court, the father being Sir Francis Darcy.

Oct 16: Katherine was committed to the Tower of London as a close prisoner.

Oct 17: Sir Francis Darcy and Mrs Elizabeth Jones (Mother of the Maids of Honour) were also committed. Oct 18: The child, Frances Darcy, was christened at Richmond Church; she was buried at Richmond in Spring 1592.

Katherine Legh married Sir Francis Darcy at St Peter ad Vincula Chapel in the Tower on 1 August 1592, the Register noting 'both prisoners'.

Oct 17, Sun Earl of Essex returned to Dieppe, and knighted Robert Carey.

Robert Carey recalled: 'At my Lord's coming to court, whereas he expected nothing but her Majesty's heavy displeasure, he found it clean contrary, for she used him with that grace and favour that he stayed a week with her, passing the time in jollity and feasting; and then with tears in her eyes she showed her affection to him, and for the repair of his honour gave him leave to return to his charge again'.

'He made all the haste he could to Dieppe. I met him there. As soon as he saw me he drew his rapier and came running to me, and laid it on my shoulder... and said to me, when he had need of one to plead for him, he would never use any other orator than myself'. [Carey, *Memoirs*, 18].

[Oct 18], Noyon, Sir Henry Unton to the Queen, after audiences with the King of France, who said 'he had sufficient experience of your Majesty's goodness and extraordinary favours, and that without them he neither had been or ever should be able to wear and keep his crown upon his head'...

"All I can offer", said he, "is to fight for her and become her captain, hoping she will be my best counsellor". [Unton, 121].

Oct 18, Richmond. Proclamations:

'Establishing Commissions against Seminary Priests and Jesuits'. (738)

'Specifying Questions to be asked of Seminary Priests'. (739)

Oct 19,20, in France: 'We passed in making good cheer, coursing in the fields, riding of horses, playing at ballon, and the like'; Oct 22: 'We passed with playing at tennis in the forenoon, and at playing at ballon in the afternoon with the Lieutenant-Governor of Dieppe'. [Coningsby, 29,30].

Oct 21, court, Sir Robert Cecil to Lord Chancellor Hatton: 'The Earl [Essex] plies the Queen with much kind writing, but...his favour is much in the wane. Here is an Earl of N well used'. [Earl of Northumberland]. [UCL Ogden MS].

Oct 22, Westminster, Burghley to Essex: 'Your Lordship's so liberal bestowing of knighthoods is here commonly evil censured, and when her Majesty shall know it, which yet she doth not, I fear she will be highly offended, considering she would have had that authority left out of your commission'. [Murdin, 648].

Oct 24, from lodgings at St James, William Fowke to Edward Reynolds, in France: 'The talk in London is all of the Queen's Maids that were. It is said that Mr Vavasour is committed for Mistress Southwell's lameness in her leg, and that Mr Dudley is commanded from court for kissing Mistress Cavendish'.

Oct 27, St James, William Fowke to Anthony - , in France: 'The Queen's Maids have had a good year of this. Mr Dudley is forbidden the court for kissing Mistress Cavendish in the Presence [Chamber], being his wife as is said. Mrs Wingfield is Mother of the Maids that are, and it is said that Mr Vavasour is in for Mistress Southwell's lame leg, but fie! burn the letter'. [HT.iv.153].

*Robert Dudley (1574-1649), of Kenilworth, 'base son' of the deceased Robert Dudley Earl of Leicester and Lady Sheffield, had recently married Margaret Cavendish, a Maid of Honour; she died of plague in 1595.*

*Elizabeth Southwell, a Maid of Honour, gave birth to a son in late 1591. The father was not Thomas Vavasour (who was briefly imprisoned for his supposed misconduct), but the Earl of Essex. The child was Walter Devereux (1591-1641).*

*The Queen learnt his true father in May 1595. [Hammer, 96,320].*

*In January 1592 the Countess of Essex had a son, also named Walter (the name of Essex's father and his recently deceased brother); he died a month later.*

Oct 27, court, Sir Robert Cecil to Lord Chancellor Hatton, of Essex and the Queen: 'The making of knights hath ministered her just cause to speak her pleasure of the Earl. It was told her the last day in the afternoon by Sir W.Raleigh after your Lordship had taken your leave, since which time her Highness hath not forgotten it I can assure your Lordship'. [UCL Ogden MS].

*Camden*: The Earl of Essex 'to win the love of military men, and increase their courage, knighted many, not without offence of many others which flourished with that dignity at home, as if he had prostituted that title, which had hitherto been of glorious esteem amongst the English, and which the Queen had bestowed sparingly, and not but upon men of great note'.

*Francis Bacon*: 'My Lord of Essex, at the succour of Rouen, made 24 knights, which at that time was a great matter. Divers of those gentlemen were of weak and small means, which when Queen Elizabeth heard, she said: My Lord might have done well to have built his Alms-House before he made his knights'.

[*Apophtegms New and Old* (1625)]. The Queen maintained at Windsor a number of Poor Knights; also called Alms-Knights, later Military Knights.

*Oct 28: Trial, at Westminster: Brian O'Rourke, of Ireland.*

*O'Rourke, who had been sent down from Scotland to the Tower of London in May, was tried for high treason in seeking to depose the Queen, stirring up rebellion in Ireland, aiding Spaniards, murdering, burning towns and villages, stirring up rebellion in Scotland.*

*Among 32 charges which Sir Richard Bingham brought against him was that he 'most traitorously and wickedly caused a woman's picture to be drawn and dragged after a horse tail through his own town...in the very puddle and mire ...and did publish and declare to the vulgar people that the same was her Highness's picture...terming her Highness the mother and nurse of all heresies and heretics'. It was added that he 'afterwards caused his gallowglasses with their axes to hew, cut and mangle the same, uttering traitorous, rebellious and most wicked speeches against her Majesty'. [Egerton Papers, 148; HT.iv.171].*

*O'Rourke refused to be tried by a jury unless he had counsel to defend him, and unless the Queen was one of the jurors. Nevertheless he was found guilty, was sentenced to death, and was executed at Tyburn, November 3.*

*Court news. Oct 29, Dieppe, Henry Killigrew to Earl of Essex, of travellers who arrived from England that day. 'News they bring that Sir Francis Darcy is committed to the Tower, and Mrs Jones about Mistress Legh who was brought abed in the court, and Sir Francis saith she is his wife'. [HT.iv.155].*

*Oct 29, Fri, in London: new Lord Mayor's ceremonial procession, for William Webb, of the Salters' Company.*

*George Peele wrote: 'Descensus Astraeae. The Device of a Pageant, borne before Mr William Webb, Lord Mayor of the City of London, on the day he took his oath'.*

*In verse, opening with the Presenter's Speech, which praises the Queen as:*

*'Astraea daughter of the immortal Jove...*

*Celestial sacred Nymph...*

*Long may she live, long may she govern us*

*In peace triumphant, fortunate in wars,*

*Our fair Astraea, our Pandora fair,*

*Our fair Eliza, or Zabeta fair'.*

*There follows a speech by 'Astraea with her sheephook on the top of the pageant', whom one of the Graces describes as 'this gracious nymph' sent by Jove, and 'shadowing the person of a peerless Queen'.*

*After Charity, Hope, Faith, and Honour have spoken, a Champion declares:*

*'Sit safe sweet Nymph among thy harmless sheep,*

*Thy sacred person angels have in keep'.*

[*Life and Works of George Peele*, ed. C.T.Prouty (1952), 156, 214-219].

Court news. Oct 31, Thomas Phillips, draft, referring to: 'The quarrel and offer of combat between the Lord Admiral [Lord Howard] and Sir Walter Raleigh'... 'Essex has obtained leave to remain [in France] until he has done something to revenge his brother's death, who was slain by a shot, in a foolish bravado [Sept 8]. Great mockery made of my Lord of Essex's 24 knights making'... 'The Lord Chancellor very sick and not likely to recover'. [SP12/240/53].

*November 1/10: christening. Queen was godmother to 'Lord Wentworth's son'.<sup>T</sup> Parents: Henry 3rd Lord Wentworth, of Stepney, Middlesex; wife: Anne (Hopton). Anthony Wingfield made ready at Stepney, November. Stephen Fulwell, Jewel-house Officer, went from Richmond 'to London to fetch out one cup for the christening of my Lord Wentworth's son'.<sup>T</sup> Queen's gift: bowl with a cover of silver gilt.<sup>PS</sup> Thomas Wentworth (1591-1647) became 4th Lord Wentworth, and was created (1626) Earl of Cleveland. He married (1) Anne Crofts; (2) Lucy Wentworth.*

Nov 3, Wed Sir Roger Williams arrived at Richmond from France. The first serious assault beginning the Siege of Rouen was on October 29.

Nov 6, Richard Broughton to Richard Bagot: He 'came to the court three days past...My Lord [Essex] hath sent Sir Roger Williams to request to have some English soldiers, for most that went over either sick or whole are returned into England'. No Councillor 'was willing to move her Majesty to choler, and it was thought that if her Majesty knew that to be Sir Roger Williams' errand her Majesty would not speak with him'. [Bagot, 335].

Nov 9, court, Sir Robert Cecil to Sir Henry Unton: 'Sir Roger Williams hath satisfied the Queen very well, and hath done the cause good by plain dealing. My Lord of Essex I think will come home, but to return. He is highly in the Queen's favour'. Taken to France by Williams. [Unton, 143].

*Nov 9: Scandalous words at Minster, Isle of Sheppey, Kent. John Massey, of Minster, tailor, said 'That there never be a merry world before there were a new alteration...And by God's wounds, the Queen is a whore'. Verdict: Guilty; to be pilloried and well whipped. [Assizes, Kent, 336].*

*November 11: The Queen left Richmond. During November Richard Kellefet, Keeper of the Standing Wardrobe at Richmond, with 2 men and 6 labourers for 4 days, took down 'all such hangings, state carpets and window piers as were hanged up in the Great Chamber, Presence Chamber and other rushy chambers there, whereby the said chambers might be made clean and sweet after her Majesty went from Richmond to the Lord Chancellor's at Ely House, her Majesty meaning to have returned to Richmond again'.<sup>T</sup>*

Nov 11, Thur **ELY HOUSE**, Holborn, Middlesex; Sir Christopher Hatton. Ely House was leased by Hatton (c.1540-20 Nov 1591), Lord Chancellor. The Queen came to stay with Hatton in what proved to be his last illness.

St Margaret Westminster: 'For ringing for the Queen's Majesty when she came from Richmond to the Lord Chancellor, 6d'. St Lawrence Pountney, London: 'For ringing when the Queen went to the Lord Chancellor's, 1s'.

Verses by John Phillips.

'Our gracious Queen...  
From Richmond came, this Lord for to relieve,  
Whose Princely sight great comfort did him give.  
All means she sought to work her Hatton's ease,  
Most loving words she gave the sick and weak...  
Five days our Queen remained with the distressed,  
Who thought himself through her for to be blessed'.

[John Phillips 'A Commemoration on the life and death of...Sir Christopher Hatton' (1591), in *A Lamport Garland*, Roxburghe Club (1881), 8-9].

Court news. Nov 12, Richard Broughton to Richard Bagot:

'My Lord Chancellor is very sick of some disease...The Queen came on Thursday night from Richmond to Holborn to see his Lordship and there lodged all night, and if that will not make him well I know no better remedy'...

'Upon the coming over of Sir Roger Williams her Majesty sendeth presently 500 pioneers out of London and Middlesex...and 300 out of bands in the Low Countries ..Her Majesty hath written over to my Lord [Essex] to come over'. [Bagot, 335-6].

[c.Nov 13], Horsley, Surrey, Countess of Lincoln to Sir William More, of Loseley, Surrey: 'I do hear no certain time for the Queen's return from Holborn to Richmond, but hitherto it is appointed that she will keep her Christmas at Richmond'. [HMC 7th Report, 644].

Nov 13, from Emden, Count Edzard of East Friesland sent six of his best Friesian horses to the Queen, and one to Lord Burghley. [SPF List 3, 463].

Nov 13 [from France], Sir Henry Unton to Lord Burghley: 'The King hath made three gentlemen knights that have accompanied me this journey...which he said he would do to show his love to me, and for want of profit to bestow honour. It was his pleasure to have it, which neither I nor they could well refuse'.

Thomas Chaloner; Christopher Lidcott; Devereux Poole. [Unton, 148].

\*Nov 15, Mon **WHITEHALL PALACE.**

Nov 16: At Colchester, Essex: A number of men of Trinity parish 'quarrelled and fought in the church of All Saints on the Coronation Eve at night insomuch that there was bloodshed'. [Emmison, Morals, 114].

Nov 17, Wed: **Accession Day** celebrations, e.g.

St Alban Wood Street: 'To the ringers on the Queen's night, and for candles for the sermon that afternoon, 3s2d'.

St Botolph Aldgate: 'Beer and bread for the ringers on the Queen's night, 2s'.

St Margaret Patten, 1591: 'Two prayer books of prayers for the Queen, 10d'.

St Mary Magdalen Milk Street: 'For ringing of the bells on the 17th day of November 1591 and for bread, beer, cheese, and candles, 10d'.

St Mary Woolchurch Haw: 'To Edward Willan [Sexton] on the Queen's holiday to buy drink for the ringers, 1s'.

St Mary Woolnoth: 'For four pound of candles for the whole year to look to the clock and chimes and to serve the two ringing nights for the Queen's Majesty, 14d; paid the 16th and 17th of November 1591 to the ringers, 2s6d'.

Grocers' Company: 'For one gallon of Malmsey for the Company and for bread spent on the Queen's holiday, 2s10d'.

Bristol Chamberlains: 'Paid unto six boys which made Orations before Mr Mayor on the Queen's holiday, 5s; to four Trumpeters, 10s; for wood for a bonfire and for a labourer to attend it, 3s4d'. Cambridge, Holy Trinity: 'For nails and soap and dressing of bells against the Queen's day, 18d; given to the ringers on the Queen's day, 12d; for a bell-rope against the Queen's day, 16d'.

Market Deeping Church, Lincs: 'To nine men to ring on the Queen's day, 4s6d; for bread and drink and grease, 15d'.

Oxford Chamberlains: 'For a Proclamation on the Queen's day, 3s4d; the Communion on the Queen's day, 22d; to Becket for a bonfire then, 6d'.

Prescot Church, Lancs, 1591: 'Paid the painter for the Queen's Arms, 3s1d; paid upon the Queen's holiday for ringing, 3s6d'.

Seale Church, Surrey: 'Expenses upon the Coronation day in drink to the ringers, 8d'. Stradbroke Church, Suffolk: 'For the ringers' breakfast and beer on the Coronation day, 3s6d'.

In France: 'We English hoped to have done some feat worthy the honour due by us to that solemn day...a day memorable unto the ages to come'. [Coningsby, 45].

*Accession Day Tilt preparations. Simon Bowyer made ready 'the Gallery and the standing in the Tilt-yard against the running'.<sup>T</sup>*

*Works: 'New posts and rails for the Tilt-yard; framing and setting up a new scaffold under the Queen's Majesty's window; setting up the Judge-house'.*

*Tilt-list: College of Arms MS M.4, f.40.*

Nov 17, Wed **Accession Day Tilt**, Whitehall, 1591. 9 pairs.

Earl of Cumberland	v	Earl of Southampton
Lord Strange	v	Sir Charles Blount
Sir William Knollys	v	Fulke Greville
Sir Edward Denny	v	Robert Dudley
Sir Edward Wingfield	v	Everard Digby
Henry Noel	v	Thomas Vavasour
Robert Knollys	v	Ralph Bowes
Henry Brouncker	v	Robert Alexander
Earl of Cumberland [again]	v	William Gresham.

Judges: Lord North, Lord Norris. Earl of Ormond was Earl Marshal for the day.

Speech by Merlin to the Queen, on behalf of the Earl of Cumberland, 'taking upon him the name of the Knight of Pendragon Castle', beginning: 'This Castle, most happy Princess, not by enchantment but by miracle is in one night removed from Westmorland to Westminster'.

Merlin, a prophet, tells of the foundation of the castle, and that 'Out of this Castle came King Arthur, and by him all his Knights'. 'So did he tell that till a red Dragon did fly into the sea, to encounter the black Eagle, the castle should not be fortunate'.

The Knight was 'discontented, but not dismayed...as on the seas his crosses have been many, so on the land his love hath been thwarted: insomuch that his affections were grown as desperate as his fortunes, receiving neither for his loyalty regard, nor for his labour profit. At the last...between two stones of the castle he found these verses wrapped:

When a Virgin hath reigned thirty-three years,  
 When a Vine on ye Walls in one night shall grow,  
 When Castor and Pollux on the Land appears,  
 and the red dragon shall seem like Snow;  
 Then shall ye Cormorant, that now the Eagle hight,  
 have his feathers moulted, by a Virgin's might'.

'This hath pulled up the heart of this Knight, which misfortunes had almost pulled out...if your Highness's eyes (his two stars) vouchsafe a gracious aspect. He once resolved humbly to entreat your Highness to enter the Castle, but, being too homely, he durst not presume, for there is nothing to be seen, but that which this world hath worn out of fashion'.

Merlin lists supposed relics of King Arthur's Knights. There is 'Only this engraven in a stone. That this is his heart's Holy day, which yearly he hath vowed so religious, that his devotion shall be equal with his desires, his desires with his loyalty, and all infinite'.

*Pendragon Castle, Westmorland: one of the Earl of Cumberland's castles. His crest was a red dragon (also a Tudor badge), and one of his ships was The Red Dragon. The black eagle: emblem of the ruling House of Austria.*

*The Earl had mixed fortunes with recent privateering voyages, hence his discontentment. Merlin's speech is printed by G.C. Williamson, George Third Earl of Cumberland, 108-109, dated 1592, but there was no Accession Day Tilt in 1592 because of plague. The reference to the Queen having reigned 33 years dates the speech as in 1591.*

Nov 17: Arthur Throckmorton noted in his Diary:  
'The Queen spoke to me and made me to kiss her hand'.

Nov 19: Throckmorton noted, in French, that he learnt of his sister's marriage; Nov 30, also in French: I spoke with 'Sir Water Rawley'.  
[Bess Throckmorton had secretly married Raleigh. Sequel: 28 Feb 1592].

Nov 20: in France: Earl of Essex knighted Henry Killigrew, before riding to Dieppe and sailing for England, summoned by the Queen.

Nov 20: death. Sir Christopher Hatton (c.1540-1591), K.G., died at Ely House. He was Lord Chancellor, Captain of the Guard, a Privy Councillor, Chancellor of Oxford University; Gentleman Pensioner since 1564; Vice-Chamberlain 1577-1587.

Camden: Hatton died partly of 'grief of mind, for that the Queen had somewhat more bitterly exacted a great sum of money collected of tenths and first fruits, whereof he had the charge, which he had hoped in regard of the favour he was in with her she would have forgiven him; neither could she, having once cast him down with a word, raise him up again, though she visited and comforted him'.

Funeral: December 16, St Paul's Cathedral. His spectacular monument was destroyed in the Great Fire of London, 1666; an engraved view of it is in Nigel Llewellyn's Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England (2000).

Nov 21, Sun Great Seal delivered to the Queen, Whitehall.

The Queen sent Lord Buckhurst and Lord Cobham to Ely House for the Seal, which they found locked up in an iron chest. They returned to her with it.

Two sets of Commissioners carried out the duties of a Lord Chancellor until a new appointment was made in May 1592. [Campbell, ii.297].

Nov 23, Tues Earl of Essex at Whitehall from France.

Burghley noted: 'Earl of Essex came to Westminster unlooked for'.<sup>B</sup>  
Essex was in England for two weeks.

25 November 1591-July 1592: 'Bess of Hardwick' at Chelsea and at court. Elizabeth, Dowager Countess of Shrewsbury (c.1520-1608), widow of George Talbot 6th Earl of Shrewsbury. She travelled from Hardwick in Derbyshire with 40 servants and relatives, including her young grand-daughter Lady Arbella Stuart. At towns along the way alms were given to the poor, and payments made for the kitchen, for stabling, and to bell-ringers, town waits, and musicians.

They arrived at Shrewsbury House, Chelsea, Middlesex, on November 25.

The Countess came primarily to take legal action against her stepson Gilbert Talbot, 7th Earl of Shrewsbury, but she made visits to court, and at once spent over £50 on new clothes.

See New Year 1592, and her stays at court: 1592 May 2-21; June 11-July 19. Accounts: Journal of the Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, 30 (1908), 246-251. Shown here as <sup>SH</sup>.

Nov 29, Sir Robert Cecil to Sir Henry Unton: 'The debts of my Lord Chancellor under his own hand are found to be £56,000 to the Queen, and to the subject £14,000; a huge sum'. [Unton, 174]. Sir Christopher Hatton was Unton's friend and patron. Repayment of his debts was the responsibility of Sir William Hatton, his nephew and heir. No will was found.

Sir Walter Raleigh succeeded Hatton as Captain of the Guard. The exact date of his appointment is not known, but the Queen's warrant for his livery as Captain is dated 7 April 1592.

Edmund Spenser, in Ireland, dedicated 'Colin Clout's Come Home Again' to Raleigh on December 27, entitling him Captain of the Guard, but as this was not published until 1595 the Dedication was no doubt revised.

*December, at Richmond: Richard Kellefet, Keeper of the Standing Wardrobe at Richmond, with 2 men and 8 labourers for 8 days, took down 'all the hangings, carpets, window piers and other wardrobe stuff throughout all her Majesty's lodgings there, and other lodgings, after her Majesty was removed from Richmond and fully determined to stay at Whitehall and not to come back again, which... he caused to be aired, shaken and brushed, carried and recarried, and laid up again, otherwise the stuff would not be in case to serve her Majesty again'.<sup>T</sup>*

*Dec 5: 'The Earl of Essex returned to Normandy'.<sup>B</sup>*

Dec 5, Westminster, Lord Burghley to Sir Henry Unton (after his letter of November 13): 'Her Majesty renewed her former misliking that the French King had made some of your company knights, and willeth you that in no wise you shall suffer any to be made knights that are her natural subjects, and in like manner she hath strictly charged my Lord of Essex to make no more, for that he hath broken her express commandment in his instructions for making such a number as he did, whom she holds not lawful until she shall make choice of the worthiest, and them to make knights herself'.

Dec 6, court, Sir Robert Cecil to Sir Henry Unton: 'Your dealing the Queen liketh and very well alloweth, only your knights she is offended with; wherein you are no more unfortunate than he whom she highest favoureth...Assuring you that my love shall never have end...Your loving friend'. [Unton, 192-3,197].

*Dec 9: death: Robert Balthrop, Serjeant-Surgeon to the Queen 1562-1591. Bequests included:*

*'To my fellow Gooderus one of my lancets that is set in gold and enamelled'.*

*'To my fellow Baker, her Majesty's Surgeon, my syringe of silver gilted and three pipes of silver gilted belonging to the same'.*

*'To Mr Bennett, one of her Majesty's Footmen, my brooch of gold compassed about with rag rubies'. To John Deighton, a servant, bequests of surgical instruments and books, and 'my English Bible which is at the court'.*

*To John Edwards, a servant, 'my least Chirurgery chest which is at the court for the daily use of my servants'. Funeral: Dec 15, St Bartholomew the Less, where his monument remains. William Gooderus succeeded Balthrop as Serjeant-Surgeon; George Baker became Serjeant-Surgeon in 1597.*

Court news. Dec 12, newsletter concerning Sir Christopher Hatton: 'The Queen was with the Chancellor daily for four days before his death, and I think that she did not love any man in the whole kingdom as much as him'. [Verstegan, 35].

Dec 12, Whitehall: Passport for 'certain Barons of Germany and other strangers here at this present desirous to repair into France unto the French King to the Siege of Rouen with their armour and other necessary furniture'.

The Baron of Dona, and five others.<sup>APC</sup> Dec 14: At Rouen 'Our worthy and long looked for general arrived with those he went with'. [Coningsby, 61].

*Dec 17, at Oxford: New Chancellor of Oxford University elected. Thomas Sackville, 1st Lord Buckhurst, was elected; the Queen had written in his favour. His defeated opponent was the Earl of Essex.*

Dec 20, The Camp, Sir Henry Unton to the Queen: 'Monsieur Du Plessis is sent in embassy to your Highness, with full and ample commission from the King to inform you of the state of France, and of his former actions and further intents...without demand of more aid, as the King pretendeth'.

The King 'hath need sometimes of a spur to quicken him, and I know he only feareth you, and none else'. [Unton, 223].

21 December 1591-January 1592: *French special Ambassador in England*.  
Philippe Duplessis-Mornay (1549-1623) arrived on December 21 from the  
Siege of Rouen. He had been on previous embassies to England.

Dec 23, Whitehall, Lord Burghley to Sir Henry Unton and Sir Thomas Leighton:  
'The Queen's Majesty misliketh that Du Plessis doth come hither, and I wish  
he had not come, for he cannot profit, but offend'. [Unton, 231].

Dec 24, Queen to Earl of Essex: We have heard from the King 'the unlikelihood  
of any good success, unless we should increase our charge...We therefore, both  
in regard of our own honour, and your particular reputation, do require you upon  
the sight hereof to make your speedy return, and to bring with you the best sort  
of the gentlemen there'. PS. 'Although we have understood of Monsieur de  
Plessis' purpose to come hither, yet do not deceive yourself to think that any  
motion whatsoever shall from us procure any manner of further charge, being of  
full opinion that this we do is merely spent in vain'. [Murdin, 651].

Dec 24: Arthur Throckmorton paid: 'To Mrs Robinson for a waistcoat  
for the Queen, £9'; Dec 30: he paid 'For two ruffs for the Queen'.<sup>TH</sup>

Christmas: Works made ready 'the Great Chamber with degrees and halpaces  
for plays and dancing at Christmas'.

Dec 26, Sun play, by the Queen's Men.  
Dec 27, Mon play, by Lord Strange's Men.<sup>T</sup>

Dec 27: marriage: Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford (1550-1604) married  
(2nd wife) Elizabeth Trentham, a Maid of Honour (1570-1612).

Queen's gift: 'one gilt bowl with a cover'.<sup>PS</sup> Also: 'A carcanet of gold  
containing 15 pieces set with small diamonds, emeralds, and pearls'. Also:  
'A carcanet of gold containing 13 pieces garnished with small diamonds, rubies,  
and 4 pearls in each piece'. These were New Year gifts to the Queen in 1591.  
[BL Add MS 5751A, f.225,225v].

Dec 27, Edmund Spenser, from his house of Kilcolman in Ireland, dedicated  
'Colin Clout's Come Home Again' to Sir Walter Raleigh 'Captain of her Majesty's  
Guard, Lord Warden of the Stanneries, and Lieutenant of the County of Cornwall'.

Published London (1595). Spenser lists some of the court ladies, the 'nymphs'  
of Cynthia's retinue. Those identifiable are:

Urania: Mary (Sidney), Countess of Pembroke (sister of Sir Philip Sidney):

'In whose brave mind, as in a golden coffer,  
All heavenly gifts and riches lockéd are'.

Theana: Anne (Russell), the widowed Countess of Warwick:

'She is the ornament of womankind, And Court's chief garland...  
Therefore great Cynthia her in chiefest grace  
Doth hold, and next unto herself advance'.

Marian: her sister, Margaret (Russell), Countess of Cumberland:

'No less praiseworthy...the Muses' only darling'.

Mansilia: Helena (Snakenborg), Lady Marquis of Northampton:

'Best known by bearing up great Cynthia's train...  
Worthy next after Cynthia to tread,  
As she is next her in nobility'.

Stella: Penelope (Devereux), Lady Rich, the Stella of Sidney's sonnets.

Phyllis: eldest of three sisters with whom Spenser claims kinship:

Elizabeth (Spencer), Lady Carey: 'the flower of rare perfection'.

Charillis: second sister: Anne (Spencer), the widowed Lady Compton:

'the Paragon of peerless price'.

Amaryllis: Alice (Spencer), Lady Strange (later Countess of Derby):

'The youngest is the highest in degree'.

Dec 28, Whitehall, Privy Council to Mr [Ralph] Rokeby (Master of Requests), and Mr [Thomas] Wilkes (Clerk of the Council), and Mr Poyntz (Clerk of the Kitchen): 'Whereas by the lewd and sinister practices of certain persons yet undiscovered one Richard Goodman, a Yeoman of her Majesty's Buttery, hath been endangered as charged with matter importing treason against her Majesty's person, who now upon some endeavour used hath found by very great presumption that some of her Majesty's Household have been the workers of that practice'.

You are to call before you suspected persons of the Household and other parties 'to examine and bolt out the truth of the said practice'.<sup>APC</sup>

Dec 28, Tues play, by Lord Strange's Men.<sup>T</sup>

December: Duplessis-Mornay, special Ambassador, at Whitehall for audiences. Memoir by the Ambassador's wife:

'During the siege of Rouen in 1591 M. du Plessis was sent over to England' as King Henri IV determined to beg the Queen for further assistance.

'He was well received and had the great pleasure of meeting his old friends once again. But the negotiation proved inconceivably difficult...No arguments could move the Queen from her determination that no more soldiers should go to France for she feared that their dispatch would furnish the Earl of Essex, Commander of the English troops, with an excuse for staying longer abroad'.

'She, on the contrary, was trying at any cost to get him back, by bribes, by persuasion, by threats of disgrace, all because he was the person she loved best in the whole world and for whom she most dreaded danger. This was the true reason of her refusals and delays, although she gave others such as the small regard in which her advice and her troops had been held because Rouen had not been besieged earlier in the year'...

'M. du Plessis found the only possible cure for he knew what the true malady was. He replied to all the Queen's avowed reasons for her refusal while at the same time he persuaded the King to apply the only possible remedy, to wit, pacifying her by sending the Earl home to England [in January 1592]. Once this was done reinforcements were at once embarked'...

'This journey took six weeks, three of which were spent at Dover waiting for a favourable wind'. [Memoirs of Charlotte d'Arbaleste, translated by Lucy Crump as *A Huguenot Family in the Sixteenth Century* (1924), 271-2].

*c.1591: William Alabaster (1568-1640), of Trinity College, Cambridge, wrote the first book of 'Elisaeis', a Poetic Apotheosis of the Queen.*

*Dedicated to the Queen in Latin prose. Planned as a Latin poem in 12 Books. The first Book traces the Queen's life in her sister Queen Mary's reign, ending with her committal to the Tower in 1554. No more was written.*

*Alabaster's poem had circulated in manuscript, was presented to the Queen, and was known to Edmund Spenser.*

*In 'Colin Clout's Come Home Again', dedicated to Raleigh, 27 Dec 1591, Spenser alludes to a number of poets who 'do their Cynthia immortal make', and writes:*

*'There is Alabaster...known yet to few:  
Yet were he known to Cynthia as he ought,  
His Elisaeis would be read anew.  
Who lives that can match that heroic song,  
Which he hath of that mighty Princess made?...  
When he finished hath as it should be,  
No braver poem can be under sun'.*

*Alabaster's poem was first published in The Elisaeis of William Alabaster, edited and translated by Michael O'Connell.*

*Studies in Philology, Texts and Studies (1979).*

1591: G.B. wrote: 'A Fig for the Spaniard, or Spanish Spirits. Wherein are lively portrayed the damnable deeds, miserable murders, and monstrous massacres of the cursed Spaniards. With a true rehearsal of the late troubles, and troublesome estate of Aragon, Catalonia, Valencia, and Portingall'. Dedication: 'To the Courteous Gentlemen Readers, Health'. By G.B. Frontispiece portrait of the Queen, above a Latin verse. Also four stanzas in English in praise of the Queen. 21p. (London, 1591).

1591: William Byrd (c.1540-1623), organist and composer, Gentleman of the Chapel Royal 1572-1623: John Baldwin, a lay clerk of St George's Chapel, Windsor, copied 42 pieces of keyboard music by Byrd. This was owned initially by a Neville or Nevell family, and became known as 'My Lady Nevell's Book'. There are pieces named after or dedicated to 'Lady Nevell', and the book includes the coat of arms of Sir Henry Neville (c.1518-1593), of Billingbear, Waltham St Lawrence, Berks; Keeper of Sunninghill Park, which the Queen often visited. His 3rd wife, to whom the book belonged, was Elizabeth (Bacon) (c.1541-1621), daughter of Sir Nicholas Bacon and half-sister of Francis Bacon. The identity of 'Lady Nevell' had apparently been forgotten by 1668, when a note was added by Mary Nevill, Lady Abergavenny, beginning: 'This book was presented to Queen Elizabeth by my Lord Edward Abergavenny called the Deaf, the Queen ordered one Sir or Mr North one of her servants to keep it'. Lord Edward died in 1589; there is no corroboration that the book was presented to the Queen. The copy was completed on 11 September 1591. [John Harley 'My Ladye Nevell' Revealed; Music and Letters 86 (2005), 1-15].

1591: Giles Clayton dedicated to the Queen: 'The Approved Order of Martial Discipline, with every particular Officer his office and duty: with many other strategems adjoining to the same. Whereunto is adjoined a second book, for the true order and embattling of any number so ever, with the proportions of every Battle, which best serveth in these our days of service. Newly written'.

Frontispiece portrait of the Queen, above Latin verses in her praise.

Epistle Dedicatory: 'To the most high and mighty' Queen. 'Having had opportunity (most gracious and mighty Princess) since my last service in the Low Countries, I thought it good to betake me to my pen, in setting forth this approved order of Martial Discipline. And for that your princely love and goodwill hath always been great and favourable to all true and faithful Soldiers and Servitors, it hath the more emboldened me to present to your most gracious view this little labour, best befitting to come from a Martial mind'...

'Your Highness, having most sufficiently furnished every part of your Realm with all manner of warlike provision, in such sort as never any of your Predecessors hath heretofore come near, even so could I wish in heart that England were as well furnished with Servitors of experience and knowledge, in this most honourable exercise of Martial discipline'.

I have 'served your Majesty in Ireland and in the Low Countries these 16 years'. I crave pardon 'for this my presumptuous enterprise, most humbly beseeching your Highness so to accept my labour herein as the first fruits of a poor Servitor's study'.

Also an Epistle: 'To the friendly Readers in general, and specially to all young Gentlemen of England, which most honourably attempteth to get renown and honour, in this most famous and renowned exercise'.

The second part on 'Forms of Battles' is dedicated to Lord Hunsdon, Lord Chamberlain, Governor of Berwick. By Clayton 'servitor and late lieutenant' to Lord North, Lord Lieutenant of Cambridgeshire. Total: 83p. (London, 1591).

Parts of Clayton's dedication to the Queen are from the dedication in Peter Whitehorne's Art of War, 1562; both parts of the book itself are taken from Barnaby Rich's Pathway to Military Practice, dedicated to the Queen in 1587.

1591: Giles Fletcher (1546-1611), Ambassador to Emperor Feodor, 1588-1589, dedicated to the Queen:

*'Of the Russe Commonwealth. Or manner of government by the Russe Emperor, with the manners of the people'*.

Epistle Dedicatory to the Queen: 'Being employed in your Majesty's service to the Emperor of Russia, I observed the state and manners of that country' and 'reduced the same into some order by the way as I returned...My meaning was to note things...of more importance than delight, and rather true than strange. In their manner of government, your Highness may see both a true and strange face of a tyrannical state (most unlike to your own), without true knowledge of God, without written laws, without common justice'...

'It may give just cause to myself, and other your Majesty's faithful subjects, to acknowledge our happiness...and to give God thanks for your Majesty's most prince-like and gracious government; as also to your Highness more joy and contentment in your royal estate, in that you are a prince of subjects, not of slaves, that are kept within duty by love, not by fear'.

Dr Fletcher describes everything in Russia from 'The breadth and length of the country' to 'The private behaviour and manners of the Russe people'.

His book at once prompted a letter to Lord Burghley from the Company of Merchants trading to Muscovy, who 'greatly fear that a book lately set out by Mr Dr Fletcher...will turn the Company to some great displeasure with the Russe Emperor, and endanger their people and goods now remaining there, except some good order be taken...for the calling in of all the books that are printed', and 'signifying her Majesty's dislike of the publishing of the same'.

The Company doubt that it will 'utterly overthrow the trade for ever'. A list is given of 'certain places offensive, whereof the whole discourse is full', from the Epistle onwards. Despite this attempt to suppress the book, numerous copies survive, and Hakluyt and Purchas published expurgated versions. Book and letter: E.A.Bond, Russia at the Close of the Sixteenth Century (1856).

1591: John Norden dedicated to the Queen: 'A Progress of Piety, whose Jesses lead into the Harbour of Heavenly Heart's ease, to recreate the afflicted Souls of all such as are shut up in any inward or outward affliction'.

Norden uniquely divides his book into stages similar to the 'jesses' (jests, gestes, or resting-places) of one of the Queen's progresses, but here leading to 'that heavenly city, new Jerusalem'.

Epistle Dedicatory: 'To the most famous, Christian Queen Elizabeth' who most graciously accepted his Mirror of the Multitude. [1586]. Norden asks her 'favourably to accept this my poor Progress. Your Majesty's most happy subject in seeing your gracious days, whose end God grant I never see'.

'A Preparation to this Progress' precedes 'Recogitation', and 'A Prayer for Queen Elizabeth, who as the servant of the great King, protecteth this Progress'. 'Our gracious Queen, chosen of the Lord himself, and miraculously preserved, and lovingly given us for our most especial good; by whom we have the freedom and liberty of the Gospel, which is the path to our heavenly heart's ease; which before her days we know was stopped up with the briars and thorns of persecution and death, and now laid open again, as a most evident token that the Lord, by her sacred government, will lead his people through the wilderness of all the divisions, hurlyburlies, and tumults in this world'.

'A Praise for her Majesty's most gracious government': six stanzas, ending:

'All praises let us sing  
To King of Kings above!  
Who sent Elizabeth to bring  
So sweet a taste of love'.

'The First resting-place or Jess in this Progress': 'A Confession of our filthiness, and the corrupt affections that dwell in us'.

Second Jess: 'A Prayer for the forgiveness of our sins'.

Third Jess: 'A Prayer tending to the obtaining of true mortification of our sinful affections, without which we cannot please God: a sweet place of rest in this Progress'. 'The Fourth Jess, and a necessary lodging for the soul in this Progress': 'A Prayer tending to the obtaining of the Kingdom of God'.

'Fifth Jess, wherein the soul must exercise itself in this Progress':

'A Prayer tending to the comfort and preservation of the Church of Christ'.

'Sixth Jess, wherein the soul must arm itself against dangers of the time, in regard of false doctrine, wherewith else it may be miscarried'.

'Seventh Jess, meet to be daily frequented, that we err not in our Progress': 'A Prayer that all estates may govern themselves according to their duties'.

Eighth Jess: 'He that rightly walketh in this Progress must arm himself to suffer crosses, and therefore it is necessary to call to mind what is to be done when affliction cometh, which is a certain companion in this Progress'.

There follow: 'A Song of Praise for God's present help in trouble, a sweet ditty to be used in our Progress'; 'A Thanksgiving in the Morning';

'The Prayer for the Evening'; and verses 'Before we go to Bed'.

'Having thus far proceeded in our Progress, we must be forced to take up our standing house, and for a time abide in the earthly mansions of our bodies, before we can attain unto the end of our journey, and be fully possessed of that absolute heavenly heart's ease. In which standing house we must consider how we ought to carry ourselves towards our Queen, the head and governor of this household'.

'It is a common matter and necessary for princes and great estates, upon their repair unto any house wherein they purpose to make any small abode, to take order that the same be cleansed, swept, garnished, perfumed, and set in decent and pleasing order, as well for health's sake, as for comeliness, pleasure, and delight...We must therefore, like unto good surveyors and overseers of our own buildings, carefully endeavour that all the noisome places within our building be cleansed, and the contagious sinks and unseemly filth and rubble which disgrace or annoy the same, be cast out and swept'...

'We must...sweeten and perfume our hearts with love, with joy, with inward peace, with long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance, and all godly conversation...that being dead to sin, and living to God, we may declare the same in this our standing house by an innocent and sanctified life'.

'We may sing unto our Queen Elizabeth the Queen of Sheba's song, which she made of the happy government of Solomon..."Happy are these thy servants, which stand here before thee, and hear thy wisdom. Blessed be the Lord thy God, which loved thee, to set thee in the throne of England, because the Lord loved England for ever, and made thee Queen to do equity and righteousness"...

'No nation hath tasted the like benefits, by peace, by plenty, by health, and especially (which is most sweet) by the continual use of the word of God'.

After Prayers follows: 'The Conclusion, wherein is exhorted unto watchfulness for the appearance of our Lord Jesus Christ, in whom, and by whom, we shall enter, after this progress ended, into our everlasting heart's ease'.

Finally: 'The Author to the Book', beginning: 'Step forth, and stagger not, my silly book: dread not to draw near unto the palace of thy princely patroness, whose sacred sceptre shall be thy sufficient safety'.

*A Progress of Piety* was entered by the Stationers August 30, in the middle of the Queen's own summer progress. John Norden (c.1547-1625), who wrote numerous devotional and topographical works, published a second edition in 1596; this omits most of the references to 'Jesses', but includes extra prayers, including a prayer by the Queen in 1596 for the preservation of her forces then at sea.

[*Progress*, 1591, with variants, 1596: Parker Society, 29, 1847].

1591: Henry Savile dedicated to the Queen his translations from Tacitus: 'The End of Nero and Beginning of Galba. Four Books of the Histories of Cornelius Tacitus. The Life of Agricola'.

'To her most Sacred Majesty'. 'I present here to your Majesty's view my imperfections in their own colours, and the excellencies of another man with much loss of their lustre, as being transported from their natural light of the Latin by an unskilful hand into a strange language'...

'The cause of undertaking a work of this kind was a good will in this scribbling age not to do nothing...The cause that I published it under your Majesty's name and protection...was the great account your Highness most worthily holdeth this History in...But the principal cause was to incite your Majesty by this...to communicate to the world, if not those admirable compositions of your own, yet at the least those most rare and excellent translations of Histories (if I may call them translations, which have so infinitely exceeded the originals)...And so, wishing your Majesty either so much leisure yourself, or a Tacitus to describe your most glorious reign, I commit this work (whereof I claim nothing to myself but the faults) to your most gracious patronage, and the courtesy of the reader'.

Savile's four Books total 267p. Also 'Annotations', 80p. (Oxford, 1591). Henry Savile (1549-1622), classical scholar, astronomer and mathematician, was Warden of Merton College, Oxford, and later Provost of Eton.

John Clapham (one of Sir Robert Cecil's clerks) wrote in 1603 of the Queen: 'She took pleasure in reading of the best and wisest histories, and some part of Tacitus' Annals she herself turned into English for her private exercise'. [Clapham, 89]. The translations from Tacitus have not survived.

1591: Robert Southwell (1561-1595), Jesuit priest, poet, addressed to the Queen an answer to one of the Proclamations of 18 October 1591: Establishing Commissions against Seminary Priests and Jesuits, and Specifying Questions to be asked of Seminary Priests.

Father Southwell wrote: 'An Humble Supplication to her Majesty in Answer to the late Proclamation'. This begins: 'Most mighty and most merciful, most feared and best beloved Princess'. Southwell made a detailed response to the Proclamation, insisting that it was possible to be both patriotic and Catholic.

The Supplication (45p) circulated in manuscript. Southwell was imprisoned in the Tower from July 1592 until he was tried and executed (see 20 February 1595). The Supplication was printed by a group of priests in 1600, falsely dated 1595; it was at once suppressed.

1591: Edmund Spenser (1554-1599) published: Complaints. Containing sundry small Poems of the World's Vanity. Including The Tears of the Muses. Dedicated to Lady Strange; with a tribute to the Queen, patron and poet.

'One only lives, her age's ornament,  
And mirror of her Maker's majesty;  
That with rich bounty and rich cherishment  
Supports the praise of noble Poesie.  
Nor only favours them which it profess,  
But is herself a peerless Poetess.  
Most peerless Prince, most peerless Poetess,  
The true Pandora of all heavenly graces,  
Divine Elisa, sacred Empress.

Live she forever, and her royal Palaces  
 Be filled with praises of divinest wits,  
 That her eternize with their heavenly writs.  
 Some few beside, this sacred skill esteem,  
 Admirers of her glorious excellence,  
 Which being lightened with her beauty's beam,  
 Are thereby filled with happy influence,  
 And lifted up above the world's gaze,  
 To sing with Angels her immortal praise'.

*Spenser's Complaints* also includes *Mother Hubbard's Tale*.  
 Dedicated to 'Lady Compton and Munteagle'.

The Tale describes an Ape and a Fox, and their travels, which eventually bring them to the court. They make themselves into 'good Courtiers', the Ape as a gentleman, the Fox as his groom.

The satire of court life describes the woes of being a Suitor at court:

'So pitiful a thing is Suitor's state.  
 Most miserable man, whom wicked fate  
 Hath brought to court...  
 Full little knowest thou that hast not tried,  
 What hell it is, in suing long to bide;  
 To lose good days, that might be better spent;  
 To waste long nights in pensive discontent;  
 To speed today, to be put back tomorrow;  
 To feed on hope, to pine with fear and sorrow;  
 To have thy Prince's grace, yet want her Peers;  
 To have thy asking, yet wait many years'.

(London, 1591).

1591: *Petrucchio Ubaldini* dedicated to the Queen: *Le Vite delle Donne Illustri del Regno D'Inghilterra, & del Regno de Scotia*. [*Lives of Illustrious Ladies of the Kingdom of England, and the Kingdom of Scotland*].

In Italian, with dedication in Italian.

Comprising many short biographies, ranging from legendary figures, e.g. 'Cordilla', daughter of King 'Lyro', to c.1500. Text: 117p. (London, 1591).

Entered by Stationers on 23 July 1590, to be printed in Italian and English. Ubaldini dedicated numerous works to the Queen, often presented at New Year.