

1599

At **WHITEHALL PALACE.**

Jan 1, Mon New Year gifts.

Among 195 gifts to the Queen:

by Francis Bacon: 'Two pendants of gold garnished with sparks of opals and each having three opals pendant';

by George Bishop, stationer: 'Two books of Pliny's Works in French';

by William Cordell, Master Cook:

'One marchpane [marzipan] with the Queen's Arms in the midst';

by William Dethick, Garter King of Arms:

'One Book of Arms covered with crimson velvet';

by Petruccio Ubaldini: 'A table with a picture and a book in Italian'.^{NYG}

Also Jan 1: play, by Lord Chamberlain's Men.^T

Court news. Jan 3, London, John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton 'attending on the Lord Governor of Ostend' (Sir Edward Norris): 'The wind is come about again for Ireland' and the Earl of Essex 'prepares with all diligence and hath £12,000 delivered him to raise five or six hundred horse'.^{CHA}

Jan 6, Sat Danish Ambassador at Whitehall with the Queen.

Dr Nicolas Krag, who related in his Diary that the Queen apologised, unnecessarily, for her conversational Latin. The Earl of Essex invited her to dance; she at first declined, but later laughingly accepted, saying that she was doing in honour of the Ambassador what she had given up for many years, and told him to report to his King that she was not decrepit. [HMC 45th Report].

Also Jan 6: play, by Admiral's Men.^T (See note, 27 Dec 1598).

Jan 8, Mon visit, St James's Park, Westminster; Lady Burgh.

St James's Park house. Crown property; occupied by Frances (Vaughan), Lady Burgh (died 1647); widow of Thomas 5th Lord Burgh, Lord Deputy of Ireland (died 1597).

Lady Burgh lived from mid-1598 in 'my lodgings in St James's Park'.

She wrote to Sir Robert Cecil, Jan 6, suing for a grant of lands from the Queen for the relief of herself and her five young children, ending 'if I die before the Queen grant my suit they all may be stage players or beg'. [HT.ix.12].

Lady Burgh had been granted an annuity of £400 for life in 1598.

During the Queen's visit the St James's Park house was burgled.

A London yeoman was charged at Middlesex Sessions that on January 8, between 6-7 p.m., he broke into the dwelling-house of the Queen at St James's Park, she being at the time in the said house, and stole therefrom 9 linen sheets worth £4, 3 linen tablecloths worth 20s, a linen pillowbere worth 12d, and divers other pieces of linen cloth worth 4s, of the goods and chattels of Lady Burgh at St James's Park. [Jeaffreson, i.251; MS: Verdict: Not guilty].

Jan 9: Stationers entered to Mr Wolfe to print:

'The first part of the Life and Reign of King Henry the Fourth extending to the end of the first year of his Reign'.

The book, by Dr John Hayward, included the deposition and death of King Richard II, and had a Latin dedication to the Earl of Essex. (Sequel: March 1).

Court news. [Jan 12], anon newsletter: 'The preparations for Ireland are still being pushed forward...All the noble youth of England will go with the Earl'...

'On the day of Epiphany [Jan 6] the Queen held a great feast, in which the head of the Church of England and Ireland was to be seen in her old age dancing three or four galliards'. [Span.iv.649-650].

Jan 12, Fri Thomas Ferrers at Whitehall for audience.

Ferrers, of the Merchant Adventurers' Company, had given the Queen at New Year 'one gilt cup with a cover stained with sundry colours and some silver leaves'.^{NYG} He wrote to his brother Humphrey Ferrers that at his audience the Queen remarked that "I do esteem it greatly, and do keep it for my own use... But I esteem the giver much more". [Folger Library L.e.514].

Thomas Ferrers became special Ambassador to Denmark in April.

Jan 13, Sat: death. *Edmund Spenser* (1554-1599) died in Westminster. Spenser had returned from Ireland in December 1598.

Funeral: January 16, Westminster Abbey.

Spenser 'was interred at Westminster, near to Chaucer, at the charges of the Earl of Essex, his hearse being attended by poets, and mournful elegies and poems, with the pens that wrote them, thrown into the tomb'. [Camden].

The Queen is alleged to have ordered a memorial, but nothing was done until 1620, when Anne (Clifford), Countess of Dorset, set up a memorial to 'the Prince of Poets in his time whose Divine Spirit needs no other witness than the works which he left behind him'. A copy of the memorial is in the South Transept.

Court news. Jan 17, London, John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, at Ostend: 'The Queen on Twelfth Day to close up the holidays, and do the Danish Ambassador honour, danced with the Earl of Essex very richly and freshly attired'...

'The Earl's journey for Ireland is somewhat prolonged, for his victuallers that had order to make their provisions for February are now put over till March. He shall carry a great troop of gallants with him, if all go that are spoken of, as the Earls of Derby, Rutland and Southampton, the Lords Windsor, Grey, Audley and Cromwell...besides knights sans number'...

'Sir Dru Drury is in his old remitter and commanded to wait in his place of Gentleman Usher of the Privy Chamber...Spenser our principal poet coming lately out of Ireland died at Westminster on Saturday last'.^{CHA}

Court news. Jan 25, London, Lord Cromwell to the Earl of Shrewsbury, of 'this Irish journey: 'I was especially commanded to attend the same by her Majesty, who graciously offered me the place of Lord Marshal of the field'.

As to Essex: 'This day his Lordship sent unto me, that on Monday next, being the 29th of this month, he should have his commission'. [Lodge, ii.517].

Jan 26: Stationers entered a book published as: '*A Woman's Worth, defended against all the men in the world. Proving them to be more perfect, excellent, and absolute in all virtuous actions than any man of what quality whatsoever. Written by one that hath heard much, seen much, but knows a great deal more*'.

By *Anthony Gibson*. Dedications: To Elizabeth Countess of Southampton; 'To the worthy Ladies, and virtuous Maids of Honour, to her royal Majesty: Mistress Anne Russell, Mistress Margaret Radcliffe, Mistress Mary Fitton and the rest'; 'To all the Honourable Ladies and Gentlewomen of England'; and 'To the Reader'. Translated from French. 70 folios. (London, 1599).

Jan 26: Seditious words at Midhurst, Sussex.

Thomas Cholcroft, of Fernhurst, husbandman, said: 'They that hated not the Queen, I would they were hanged'. Verdict: Not guilty. [Assizes, Sussex, 367].

Jan 28, Sun Cardinal's Agent at Whitehall for audience.

Jerome Cooman, an Antwerp merchant, was sent by Cardinal Andreas, interim Governor of the Spanish Netherlands, to open tentative and secret negotiations for peace. He arrived in London with his brother Jasper Cooman on January 13, his audience being delayed because the Queen was unwell.

He stayed a month, negotiating mainly with Sir Robert Cecil, and returned to England in March, August, and September.

His four missions in 1599 are summarised by W.Schrickx, *Foreign Envoys and Travelling Players in the Age of Shakespeare and Jonson* (Ghent, 1986), 21-26.

By Jan 30: Private marriage 'published'. Sir William Harvey (c.1566-1642) married Mary (Browne), Dowager Countess of Southampton (c.1554-1607), widow of (1) Henry Wriothesley, 2nd Earl of Southampton; (2) Sir Thomas Heneage. Rowland Whyte had reported in February 1598, and John Chamberlain in May 1598, that the marriage had already taken place, but later in 1598 the 3rd Earl of Southampton raised objections to his mother marrying Harvey.

Lord Henry Howard wrote to Essex (a friend of Southampton, whose own secret marriage became known in August 1598), that he questioned the Countess as to 'the mystery' of 'whether she were married, as many thought, or at the very point of marriage, as some gave out; she did assure me on her honour that the knot of marriage was yet to tie', and she would 'ever reserve her own liberty to dispose of herself where and when it pleased her'. I advised her 'not to give any scandal to the world by matching during her son's disgrace'.

[c.autumn 1598: HT.viii.371-3].

By his marriage Sir William Harvey became stepfather of Henry Wriothesley, 3rd Earl of Southampton, to whom Shakespeare had dedicated Venus and Adonis and The Rape of Lucrece. Harvey is consequently one of the candidates proposed as Mr W.H., to whom Shakespeare's sonnets were dedicated when published in 1609. Sir William married (1608) Cordelia Ansley; he was created (1628) Baron Hervey.

Court news. Jan 31, London, John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, at Ostend: 'The Earl of Essex's commission for Ireland is at length after many difficulties agreed on, though not yet signed. He hath the name of Lieutenant, may return at pleasure, make barons...and many other such points are spoken of'...

'The press of his followers will be much abated by reason the Queen countermands many, as namely and first all her own servants, the Earl of Rutland and the Lord Grey...and divers other'...

'Here is a great and curious present going to the Great Turk which no doubt will be much talked of, and be very scandalous among other nations'...

'Sir William Harvey's marriage with the old Countess of Southampton that hath lain smothering so long comes now to be published'.^{CHA}

Jan 31: News of a present for the Sultan of Turkey (also known as the Great Turk, or Grand Signor), which the Queen inspected at Whitehall.

Sultan Mehmed III had succeeded his father in January 1595, but had not yet received the customary presents from the English Ambassador on accreditation to a new Sultan. When the previous Ambassador to Turkey, Edward Barton, died in 1597 his Secretary Henry Lello became Agent; he was accredited as English Ambassador in September 1599. The most remarkable of the numerous presents was an organ made by Thomas Dallam, which the Queen saw in the Banqueting-house.

This was Dallam's first commission; he later built organs for King's College, Cambridge, and Norwich, Worcester and Bristol Cathedrals.

Dallam's expenses included 'For one suit of sackcloth to wear at sea, £1.2s'. He left London on February 9, taking with him an engineer, a joiner, and a painter. In March they sailed from Plymouth in The Hector (Richard Parsons, Captain); other passengers included John Sanderson, Consul in Constantinople.

When Thomas Dallam arrived in Turkey in August with an organ for the Sultan it was found to have been so damaged during the long voyage that Henry Lello, (Agent), declared 'that it was not worth 2d', but Dallam repaired the organ at Lello's residence until it was even 'better than it was when her Majesty saw it in the Banqueting-house at Whitehall'.

The organ was set up in the Seraglio, where on September 25 the Sultan or Grand Signor came for its presentation. In attendance were 200 Pages, 100 Mutes, 100 Dwarfs, all in cloth of gold.

'The Grand Signor...commanded silence. All being quiet, and no noise at all, the present began to salute the Grand Signor...First the clock struck 22; then the chime of 6 bells went off, and played a song of 4 parts. That being done, two personages which stood upon two corners of the second storey holding two silver trumpets in their hands did lift them to their heads, and sounded a tantarra. Then the music went off, and the organ played a song of 5 parts twice over'.

'In the top of the organ, being 16 foot high, did stand a holly-bush full of blackbirds and thrushes, which at the end of the music did sing and shake their wings. Divers other motions there was which the Grand Signor wondered at'.

The Sultan heard a repeat performance an hour later, then commanded Dallam to play for him on the organ, and rewarded him with 45 pieces of gold.

The Sultan's mother, Sultana Safiye, received a coach costing £600. Stanley Mayes, *An Organ for the Sultan* (1956). Sultana's gifts: 9 May 1600.

Feb 10, Sat dinner, Chelsea, Middlesex; Earl of Shrewsbury.

'For her Majesty's dinner house removing from Whitehall to Richmond'.^T Shrewsbury House; owned by Gilbert Talbot 7th Earl of Shrewsbury (1552-1615); wife: Mary (Cavendish), daughter of 'Bess of Hardwick'; she died in 1632.

Feb 10, Sat **RICHMOND PALACE**, Surrey.^C

Work at Richmond by Leonard Fryer, Serjeant Painter, in 1598-1599 included: 'painting and working of a great dial in the outer court...the hours and letters gilded with fine gold with her Majesty's letters and the date of our lord god... the whole dial containing 12 foot wide and 14 foot deep', 53s4d.

Feb 12: *marriage*, at St Peter le Poer, London:

Thomas Tyringham, son of Anthony Tyringham, married Frances Gorges (1580-1649), daughter of Helena Lady Marquis of Northampton and her second husband Sir Thomas Gorges, a Groom of the Privy Chamber.

Queen's gifts to Frances Gorges, Feb 4: 'One pair of bracelets containing 6 rows of small pearl threaded, 4 pieces of gold like knots garnished with sparks of rubies, and 4 little pieces enamelled white set with sparks of rubies'; 'two pendants of gold garnished with sparks of rubies, two small emeralds, and two small pearls pendant'.

These were New Year gifts to the Queen in 1595 and 1596.

The Queen also gave on an unknown date to Frances, or one of her sisters: 'A bodkin of gold, with a pendant like a hunter's horn, garnished with sparks of diamonds. Given to the Marquis of Northampton's daughter'. This was a New Year gift to the Queen in 1592. [BL Add MS 5751A, f.228v,238v,240].

Court news. Feb 15, London, John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, at Ostend:

'Our provisions for Ireland go forward with leaden feet, and the Earl of Essex's commission is no nearer signing...Many things pass which may not be written...there is fault on all sides...The Queen removed to Richmond on Saturday last, and on Monday we had a great marriage in town of young Tyringham with a daughter of Sir Thomas Gorges by the Lady Marquis'.^{CHA}

Feb 18, Shrove Sunday play, by Admiral's Men.^T

Feb 19, Shrove Monday: marriage, West-Darcy.

Shrove Tuesday, Robert Kidman to [Mary] Countess of Shrewsbury: 'Yesterday, being Shrove Monday, young Mr West was married to Mr Darcy's daughter of the Privy Chamber, where being earnestly entreated I was a poor guest...My Lord of Essex and my Lord of Southampton were at the marriage. His Lordship gave the bride two fair gilt cans and a gilt bowl, and most of all the Ladies and Grooms of the Privy Chamber sent her plate. My Lady Scudamore sent a fair bowl'...

'Young West the bride-groom had bestowed £10 of a pretty jewel which he wore in his hat that day he was married, and my Lord of Essex's page waiting on his Lord and seeing the hat lying in the parlour window, cut out the jewel and carried it to a goldsmith, who by chance had notice of the loss thereof, and so he brought the jewel to Mr Darcy and a note of the page's name that brought it to his shop, and let the page go because he served my Lord of Essex'. [LPL 3199/929].

Edward Darcy was a Groom of the Privy Chamber; 'young Mr West' probably a kinsman of Thomas West, 2nd Lord De La Warr.

Feb 20, Shrove Tuesday play, by Lord Chamberlain's Men.^T

There is a verse addressed 'To the Queen by the players 1598' at a Shrovetide entertainment [1599], in a commonplace book kept by Henry Stanford, one of Lord Chamberlain Hunsdon's household:

'As the dial hand tells ore
The same hours it had before,
Still beginning in the ending,
Circular account still lending,
So most mighty Queen we pray,
Like the Dial day by day,
You may lead the seasons on,
Making new when old are gone.
That the babe which now is young
And hath yet no use of tongue,
Many a Shrovetide here may bow
To that Empress I do now,
That the children of these lords
Sitting at your Council Boards
May be grave and aged seen
Of her that was their fathers' Queen.
Once I wish this wish again,
Heaven subscribe it with amen'.

Steven W. May, ed. *Henry Stanford's Anthology* (1988), 162.

A case for this being the Epilogue at court for *As You Like It* is made by Juliet Dusinberre, ed. *As You Like It* (Arden Shakespeare, 2006).

It has also been attributed to Thomas Dekker, who wrote for the Admiral's Men: Helen Hackett, '"As the Diall Hand Tells Ore": The Case for Dekker, not Shakespeare, as Author', *Review of English Studies*, 63 (2012), 34-57.

Feb 21, Ash Wednesday sermon, Richmond: Dr Lancelot Andrewes.

Text: Deuteronomy 23:9: 'When thou goest out with the host against thine enemies, keep thee then from all wickedness'.

Andrewes declared: 'This when is now. There be enemies; and we have a host. It is going forth...Our hearts' desire and prayer unto God is that they may happily go, and thrice happily come again; with joy and triumph, to her sacred Majesty; honour to themselves; and general contentment to the whole land'.

Printed, 1629, as preached 'At what time the Earl of Essex was going forth upon the Expedition for Ireland'.

Feb 22: Request for a knighthood. Feb 22, Elizabeth Lady Russell to her nephew Sir Robert Cecil: 'It is said your favour and credit with her Majesty is more than any others, and I hear Mr Moone is made a knight. I pray you for my credit's sake make my neighbour Mr Rogers a knight, here by me dwelling this winter time. He is husband to Lady Mary, the Duke of Somerset's daughter. He is a very honest gentleman'. From 'your loving aunt, poor and proud'.

[HT.ix.77-8]. Reginald Mohun ('Moone') was knighted at Richmond on 25 March 1599. Mr Andrew Rogers, of Dorset, died 1599/1600; the widowed Lady Mary married (2) Sir Henry Peyton; she died in 1620.

Feb 24, Thomas Arundell to Sir Robert Cecil, of his father Sir Matthew Arundell's oral bequests to the Queen, December 1598; he seeks Cecil's mediation with her to accept the whole legacy [a Chinese carpet, and Thomas himself]:

'I have here sent your Honour part of the legacy which my father bequeathed her Majesty, that, by the view thereof, the remembrance of him might be ennobled in so excellent a mind, and his name perhaps sweetened by the breath of so gracious a princess. His most humble, most earnest and last desire was that the whole legacy might be offered up at the feet of her whom living he did solely serve, and dying did only honour. The other part, being my most unworthy self, I do as yet detain, not presuming to carry such a fortune-stricken wight not so much as to view those walls where so great a Majesty is shrined'.

My spirit is 'dead with disgraces'; if restored to favour 'so shall those gracious eyes, which have been often glorious by comforting the living, become now miraculous by reviving the dead'. I would acknowledge you 'for my mediator, though ever adore my Sovereign as my worldly saviour'. [HT.ix.80].

'Imperial Count' Arundell failed to recover the Queen's favour.

Feb 25: Treasonable words at Chiddingstone, Kent.

Joan Botting, wife of Stephen Botting, of Chiddingstone, collier, said

'It would never be better until there were a change that rich men's throats were cut and then poor men should be rich. And said that she did pray uprising and down lying to God to take away the Queen's Majesty, and that she would be one that should help to cut the rich men's throats and she hoped that this informer [Elizabeth Harris] would do the like, and help the Queen's enemies'.

Verdict: Guilty of treason; to be hanged. [Assizes, Kent, 437].

Feb 28, Lambeth, Lord Dunsany (Patrick Plunkett, 7th Lord) to Sir Robert Cecil: 'Being at this present oppressed with such extremity of sickness, as in my lifetime I was never the like, and not knowing what may become of me, wanting wherewith to pay for physic stuff or physicians' fees, and moreover being deeply indebted for needful sustenance for myself and my people. Am bold to entreat your honourable favour to be a mean unto her Majesty for some present relief for me'. [HT.MS 60/8]. (See March 20).

March 1, London, John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, of the Earl of Essex: 'Things do not succeed as he would wish them, but new difficulties arise daily about his commission, as touching the time of his abode...and touching the disposing of places and offices, upon which points and some others he is so little satisfied that many times he makes it a question whether he go or not'...

'For lack of better matter I send you three or four toys to pass away the time...The treatise of Henry the Fourth is reasonably well written. The author is a young man of Cambridge [John Hayward]...Here hath been much descanting about it, why such a story should come out at this time, and many exceptions taken, especially to the Epistle, which was a short thing in Latin dedicated to the Earl of Essex, and objected to him in good earnest, whereupon there was commandment it should be cut out of the book'.^{CHA} Sequel: June 1 and 4.

March 6: *St Ethelburga Bishopsgate*: 'Paid to a painter...for limning the Queen's Arms in the parchment register book, 4s'.

1599: *St Mary Woolnoth* bought parchment books, and 'paid for writing into the same parchment books all the christenings, weddings and burials from anno 1538 until this year 1599, £3'. All parishes had been commanded to replace paper register books with parchment, and to copy into them previous entries, at least from the beginning of the Queen's reign. Registers had begun in 1538, ordered by Thomas Cromwell in the reign of King Henry VIII.

c.March 10-April: *Cardinal's Agent's second 1599 mission to England*. Jerome Cooman was sent again by Cardinal Andreas concerning peace negotiations with the Spanish Netherlands, finding the Queen and Council well disposed to peace. On his return to Brussels the Cardinal dispatched him to Spain to attempt to prevail upon King Philip III to open peace negotiations.

The King sent a fleet against England during the summer.

Mar 12, Mon new appointment: Commission to Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, to be Lieutenant and Governor General of Ireland. [SPD].

Court news. March 15, London, John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, at Ostend: 'This great commission for Ireland is dispatched, and the Earl hath all his demands, the Queen showing herself very gracious and willing to content him... He gives out that he will be gone the 19th of this month and all things are hastened accordingly. There be fourscore horse laid at every post twixt this and Chester, and so to Holyhead, for him and his followers, and as many by the way of Bristol. The Earls of Southampton and Rutland (who hath lately married the Countess of Essex's daughter), the Lords Grey, Audley, and Cromwell do accompany him...His whole forces are said to be 16,000 foot and 1400 horse, but...I fear they will fall short'.^{CHA} Essex left London on March 27.

Post stages to Ireland: Court [Richmond]; London; Barnet; St Albans; Brickhill; Towcester; Daventry; Coventry; Coleshill; Lichfield [and by Chester to Holyhead]. Also: London; Hounslow; Maidenhead; Reading; Newbury; Marlborough; Chippenham; Marshfield; Bristol.^{APC} (Feb 24).

Roger Manners 5th Earl of Rutland (1576-1612) married Elizabeth Sidney (1585-1612), daughter of Frances Countess of Essex by her first husband Sir Philip Sidney. By going to Ireland the Earl disobeyed the Queen.

Court news. c.March 16: Robert Markham to John Harington (who had been much away from court since his *Metamorphosis of Ajax* was published in 1596):

'You yet stand well in her Highness's love, and I hear you are to go to Ireland with the Lieutenant, Essex...You are to take account of all that passes in your expedition, and keep journal thereof, unknown to any in the company'...

'If my Lord Treasurer had lived longer, matters would go on surer. He was our great pilot, on whom all cast their eyes, and sought their safety. The Queen's Highness doth often speak of him in tears, and turn aside when he is discoursed of; nay, even forbiddeth any mention to be made of his name in the Council'.

[*Nugae Antiquae*, i.240-244]. Lord Burghley died 4 August 1598. Harington's Journal in Ireland was read by the Queen after he returned in November 1599.

Court news. March 20, Lord Dunsany to Sir Robert Cecil: 'It pleased her Majesty of late, hearing of my sickness, to send Mr Skipwith the Equerry to visit me, with her many comfortable and gracious words. Afterwards her Highness sent me a pot of fine jelly, which did not a little comfort me'. [HT.MS 60/53].

Dunsany, an Irish peer, returned to Ireland to fight the rebels; he died there in 1602.

March 23: Francis Cherry returned to London from Russia. Cherry had been abroad since April 1598 as messenger to the Tsar (Boris Godunov).

March 23, Cherry to Sir Robert Cecil: 'I arrived here in London this 23rd of March with answer of such letters as her Majesty gave me in charge to present to the great Duke of Moscow...Direct me for my repair to the court to present unto her Highness the great Duke's letters and the course of my proceeding in Russia'. A translation of the 'Emperor of Moskovia his letter' begins with a paragraph listing his many titles, and ends 'Written in our princely Palace of Mosko, from the Creation of the World 7101 years, the month of December'.
[HT.MS 60/56; Egerton Papers, 288-292].

Mar 25, Sun Queen's Instructions for the Earl of Essex.

Amongst the 10 pages of instructions are that the Earl should 'confer knight-hood upon none who do not deserve it by some notorious service, or who have not in possession or reversion sufficient living'. [The Earl disobeyed this order].

Irish noblemen going over to Ireland included the Earl of Kildare, and Lord Dunkellin, who was stated on March 25 to have 'given his attendance here on her Majesty with her favour and good pleasure'.^{APC}

Mar 27, Tues At his request the Queen gave the Earl licence 'to return to her Majesty's presence at such times as he shall find cause'. [Carew, iii.295].

This licence was revoked on July 30. Again the Earl disobeyed.

March 27: Earl of Essex's departure from London for Ireland.

The Earl 'took horse in Seething Lane, and from thence, being accompanied with divers noblemen and many others, himself very plainly attired, rode through Grace-street, Cornhill, Cheapside, and other high streets, in all which places and in the fields the people pressed exceedingly to behold him, especially in the highways, for more than four miles space, crying and saying God bless your Lordship, God preserve your Honour, etc; and some followed him until the evening, only to behold him'. [Stow, Annals, 1615 ed].

Sir James Perrott: The Earl 'being accompanied with most of the nobility and gentlemen of worth that then were at Court or near London, as they passed through Islington riding that night to St Albans in great troops, and the people pressed on all parts to see the Earl and his train, there suddenly and unexpected in a fair sunshine day, about two of the clock in the afternoon, arose a shower of hail and rain...But the gallants that attended the Earl for gain or for glory made no account of this matter'. [James Perrott, Chronicle of Ireland 1584-1608, ed. Herbert Wood. (Dublin, 1933), 160].

1599: Shakespeare: King Henry V:

'Were now the General of our gracious Empress,
As in good time he may, from Ireland coming,
Bringing rebellion broached on his sword,
How many would the peaceful city quit,
To welcome him!'

[Chorus to Act V; a rare topical allusion in the plays].

March 27, Edinburgh: Esther Inglis, under the name 'Esther Anglois' dedicated to the Queen: 'Le Livre des Pseaumes escrites en diverses sortes de lettres... A Lislebourg en Escosse 1599'.

Prefaced by Latin verses to the Queen, and a self-portrait. Psalms, in French, in different writing styles. 156p. [MS at Christ Church, Oxford].

Esther Inglis (c.1570-1624), calligrapher and miniaturist; her Huguenot family, surnamed Langlois, fled France for London c.1569, and later settled in Scotland. She married Bartholomew Kello, a Minister at Leith. For his letters after Esther's manuscript was presented to the Queen see July 14.

April: St Margaret New Fish Street churchwardens paid: 'For prayers appointed by her Majesty to be read for her Army with the Earl of Essex, 4d'.

1599. St Botolph Aldgate: 'Paid for a book of prayers newly set forth by the Bishop of London [Bancroft] for the good success of the Queen's Majesty's forces in Ireland, being of the money taken forth of the poor's box, 2d'.

St Dunstan in the West: 'For a prayer for her Majesty's forces in Ireland, 2d'. also: 'To Joseph Elstrick for the Queen's picture in the vestry window, 15s'.

St Mary Woolnoth: 'For three books touching Ireland, 3d'.

St Matthew Friday Street: 'For a prayer book for good success in Ireland, 2d'.

Queen's Printer, Christopher Barker, had printed 'A Prayer for the good success of her Majesty's Forces in Ireland'. [Liturgy, 473].

Apr 3, Tues dinner, Lambeth Palace, Surrey; Archbishop of Canterbury. John Whitgift; unmarried. 'For her Highness's dinner house when her Majesty removed from Richmond to Greenwich'.^T

Lambeth Church: 'Paid to the ringers the 3rd day of April when the Queen came from Richmond to my Lord of Canterbury's and from my Lord's to Greenwich, 6s; paid to Holloway for to go to and fro to Westminster the same time to provide the ringers, 4d; paid for a pint of oil the same time, 6d'.

During 1599 Whitgift completed the building of almshouses at Croydon, called the College of the Holy Trinity, later Whitgift's Hospital.

Description by Izaak Walton: 'He built a large Almshouse near to his own Palace at Croydon in Surrey, and endowed it with maintenance for a Master and 28 poor men and women, which he visited so often that he knew their names and dispositions, and was so truly humble that he called them brothers and sisters. And whensoever the Queen descended to that lowliness to dine with him at his Palace in Lambeth - which was very often - he would usually the next day show the like lowliness to his poor brothers and sisters at Croydon and dine with them at his Hospital; at which time, you may believe, there was joy at his table'. [Walton, Life of Richard Hooker (1666)].

Apr 3, Tues **GREENWICH PALACE**, Kent.^C

St Martin in the Fields: 'For ringing the 3rd of April at her Majesty's remove from Richmond to the Lord of Canterbury and so to Greenwich, 12d'.

Apr 5, Maundy Thursday ceremonies and alms-giving, Greenwich (parish church). By Anthony Watson, Bishop of Chichester, the Queen's Almoner; to 61 poor women, 20s and 65d each.^T

Apr 7, Sat: Philip Henslowe lent Richard Alleyn and Thomas Towne of the Admiral's Men 10s 'to go to the court upon Easter Even'. [Henslowe, 106].

Apr 9, Easter Monday knighting: Henry Neville, 'in the Privy Chamber at Greenwich'.^{MK} Prior to leaving for France as Ambassador.

1599-1601 July 31: Sir Henry Neville was **Ambassador to France**.

Neville was Keeper of two royal Parks, and the Queen commanded him to give orders for restraint of killing game and deer in Mote and Sunninghill Parks in Windsor Forest during his absence abroad. [SPD 1598-1601, 157].

April 11: *Andreas Spinola, Italian traveller, landed at Dover.*

April 12, *Blackfriars, Lord Cobham to Sir Robert Cecil, sending information of April 11 from the Commissioners for Restraint of Passage at Dover:*

Here arrived today from Dieppe Andreas Spinola, a Genoese, with his servant; he has letters to the French Ambassador. 'He is a person of good quality and of rare parts, and his coming over is but to observe the fashions of England'.

April 13: *Spinola has been with me this morning. He pretends he has only come to see her Majesty and the country. He is of the Marquis of Spinola's house. It were requisite to have an eye to this man. He is of as good a discourse as I have ever heard, tall, handsome, and a soldier.* [SP12/270/80,81].

April 12/13: *death. William FitzGerald, 13th Earl of Kildare, was shipwrecked and drowned on his way from England to Ireland. He was unmarried; his cousin Gerald FitzGerald became 14th Earl of Kildare; he died in 1612.*

April 13: *Earl of Essex reached the Irish coast in The Popinjay.*

April 13: Preparations for the Danish Ambassador's audience at Greenwich.

Dr Krag had numerous meetings with four Commissioners appointed to confer with him, and dined on April 9 with the Lord Mayor, next day with a Sheriff.

April 13, Privy Council to Robert Beale, Clerk of the Council: 'Where the Denmark Ambassador is appointed to have audience of her Majesty on Sunday next [April 15] and therefore it were necessary that things were so understood and digested beforehand as he might not say he is unanswered when he comes to her Majesty's presence, we send you his writing and do desire to confer with you tomorrow about it...for if he come on Sunday (as the Queen will have him) and that no answer be agreed on beforehand, her Majesty will be offended'.^{APC}

April 14: *Stationers entered a book by John Davies, in verse, published as: 'Nosce Teipsum. This Oracle expounded in two Elegies. 1. Of Humane Knowledge. 2. Of the Soul of Man, and the immortality thereof'.*

Dedication: 'To my most gracious dread Sovereign'. 9 stanzas, including:

'To that clear majesty which in the North

*Doth like another Sun in glory rise,
Which standeth fixed, yet spreads her heavenly worth;
Lodestone to hearts, and lodestar to all eyes...*

*O! many, many years may you remain,
A happy angel to this happy Land;*

*Long, long may you on Earth our empress reign,
Ere you in Heaven a glorious angel stand.*

*Stay long (sweet spirit) ere thou to Heaven depart,
Which makes each place a heaven wherein thou art'.*

'Her Majesty's least and unworthiest Subject, John Davies'.

Nosce Teipsum [Know thyself], by John Davies (1569-1626), lawyer and poet; the most successful philosophical poem of the reign, admired by King James.

Apr 15, Sun Danish Ambassador at Greenwich for audience.

Dr Nicolas Krag described this audience in detail in his Latin Diary. I asked for all English fishing to be prohibited off Iceland and Norway. The Queen treated the matter lightly, said I had not mentioned it before, quoted an English proverb that telling a person something unexpected was equivalent to wishing their death, and declared that the fishermen had already sailed. She sent a special Ambassador to Denmark: April 19.

April 15, in Dublin: *Earl of Essex 'took the Sword' as Lord Lieutenant. Against the Queen's orders he appointed the Earl of Southampton as General of the Horse in Ireland. Southampton had angered the Queen in 1598 by his seduction of and secret marriage to Elizabeth Vernon, a Maid of Honour.*

April 18: marriage. William 2nd Lord Compton (1568-1630), married Elizabeth Spencer at St Katherine Colman Church, London 'being thrice asked in the church' [after banns were read on three Sundays].

Elizabeth was the only child and heiress of Alderman Sir John Spencer of Crosby Place, Bishopsgate. Spencer, of the Clothworkers' Company, Lord Mayor of London 1594-95, was known from his great wealth as 'rich Spencer'.

John Chamberlain reported, Jan 31, that Compton made it a condition that he should have a total of £28,000 with Spencer's daughter. Spencer then violently opposed the marriage, and Chamberlain further reported, March 15, that Spencer 'was the last week committed to the Fleet for a contempt, and hiding away his daughter...but now he is out again and by all means seeks to hinder the match, alleging a pre-contract'; as he had been 'beating and misusing' her she was removed from his house; he protested that he would give her nothing.^{CHA}

The Queen was drawn into attempts at reconciliation. In July 1600 Compton was hoping that she would send for Spencer, according to her promise, without which he would be in despair. [HT.x.242]. Sequel: son's christening: 28 May 1601.

Court news. April 19, Sir John Holles to Lord Sheffield: 'Upon Tuesday I went to the court...I never saw the court at so low an ebb as it is presently, for if the Gentlemen Ushers should not let in a flood of serving men the channel would be empty, notwithstanding the holidays, which in times past have been accounted the high spring tides, and therefore if ever you purpose your being there, a privater time you can never choose, none in effect but the withered leaves hanging upon the tree, the beautiful, attractive Spring being as it were raced over into Ireland, greyheads and gravity only left'. [HMC Portman, ix.71-2].

April 19-August 30: Thomas Ferrers was special Ambassador to Denmark. A Merchant Adventurer, sent to ask for regulations for fishing in the North. April 19: He 'is sent to the King of Denmark and had 30s a day for his diet'.^{MK}

April 20-August 21: Sir William Bowes was **Ambassador** to Scotland.

April 20, Richard Douglas to his uncle Archibald Douglas (in London), of a change of envoy to come to England: 'Too late the King perceives how this while past his service has been evil handled in the country by the employing of foolish persons', that David Foulis is 'nothing but a vain fool, and therefore minds not to employ him again...It was concluded that a young gentleman, who begins to be a favourite with his Majesty, called Mr James Sempill, should be sent', and that then the King 'should direct a new commission to you as Ambassador resident'. [HT.ix.135]. Sempill arrived in August.

c. April 21, Sun Dr Krag, Danish Ambassador, at Greenwich to take leave. April 21: Council's pass for Nicolas Cragius 'having now ended his negotiations with her Highness...to pass first from hence into Holland and so into Denmark, and to carry with him trunks, hampers and other necessaries of his and his followers'. Pass for 2 servants with 3 chests, 3 little tuns with books and other necessaries, a little pack of woollen cloths, a small rundlet of wine.^{APC}

Queen's gift delivered to Nicolas Cragius, 'gentleman sent from the King of Denmark, one chain of gold', April 24.^{NYG}

By April 22-May: Ambassadors from Sweden in England. James Hill and John Nicolai, Ambassadors from Duke Charles of Sweden.

James Hill, of Ipswich, Suffolk, formerly a law student, had a desire to travel, and left England c.1593 with £20. He went first to Germany, then entered the service of Duke Charles, who showed him much favour.

His first year abroad is described in his letters. [SPF List 4, 391-3].

Apr 22, Sun Swedish Ambassador at Greenwich for first audience.^{MK}
 John Nicolai. The Queen apparently would not recognise the English-born
 James Hill as an Ambassador. [Hill's letters: Sept 25, 26].

Edward Roberts, waterman, was paid on an undated occasion for 'carrying Mr [Christopher] Parkins from the court at Greenwich to London and there attending with the barge the whole afternoon to have brought the Ambassador of Swethland to the court'.^T Dr Parkins was several times a special Ambassador to Denmark.

Also April 22: Eve of Garter ceremonies, Greenwich.
 At a Chapter of the Knights the Queen appointed a Lieutenant, as customary.

Apr 23, Mon St George's Day Garter ceremonies, Greenwich.
 Queen's Lieutenant: Charles Howard, 1st Earl of Nottingham, the Lord Admiral.
 The Queen was in processions and at the service.

A Herald noted in Latin that the ceremonies were less splendid than usual because of 'sedition and flames of rebellion in Ireland'. [BL Add MS 6298].

French Ambassador, Boissise, to Henri IV [April 27]: 'I was invited to watch...I saw the whole ceremony from a place outside the chapel...I dined with the Lord Chamberlain [Lord Hunsdon]'.^{BT}

Cofferer of the Household paid £315.2s1d for St George's Eve and Day.^C

*April 23: François Perrot transcribed his 'Salmi de David'.
 The Psalms of David, translated from French into Italian.*

*Dedicated to the Queen, in a prose Epistle, and in two sonnets.
 Half had been published in Geneva, 1581, with music to the lyrics.*

*Published in its complete form in 1603, soon after the Queen's death.
 Perrot, born c.1530 in Paris, died c.1612. ['Sir Philip Sidney and François Perrot de Messieres: Their Verse Versions of the Psalms', by Martha England, in Bulletin of the New York Public Library, January 1971, 31-37].*

Apr 24, Tues Final 1599 Garter ceremonies, Greenwich.
 New Knights of the Garter elected: Robert Radcliffe, 5th Earl of Sussex;
 Henry Brooke 11th Lord Cobham; Thomas 10th Lord Scrope. Installed: June 6.

In Ireland: 'At Saint George's tide' the Earl of Essex 'kept that feast in Dublin...with great solemnity and magnificence, attended and waited on by the chief knights and captains in that kingdom...It was conceived there was not greater state, plenty, and attendance used at that time in the Court of England on the Queen and all her Knights of the Order'. [Perrott, 161-2].

*April 27, Dublin, Sir Anthony Standen to Edward Reynolds:
 'These ceremonies are passed with exceeding magnificence, and now my Lord bends to the field...The service on St George's Day passed all the service that I ever saw done to any prince in Christendom'. [HT.ix.144].*

Court news. April 27, Lord Henry Howard to Earl of Southampton, in Ireland:
 'The Queen begins to storm exceedingly at my Lord of Rutland's incorporation into Jason's fleet, and means, she says, to make him an example...to all that shall come after him. God send him a good share in the golden fleece of honour which our worthy Lord shall compass by his valour'. [HT.ix.160].

Apr 29, Sun knightings, Greenwich: Lord Mayor, Stephen Soame, grocer;
 Richard Champernown. [College of Arms Partition Book II].

May 1, Tues visit, Lambeth Palace, Surrey; Archbishop of Canterbury.
 John Whitgift. Lambeth Church: 'Paid to the ringers upon May Day when the Queen came to my Lord of Canterbury's, 4s4d'.

May 3: Lord Home arrived in London from Scotland.

Alexander 6th Lord Home (c.1566-1619), en route to France and Italy.

George Nicholson to Sir Robert Cecil, April 4, Edinburgh: Lord Home and George Douglas are going to travel in foreign parts and pass through England.

James Hudson to Cecil, April 17, London: 'Discontentments at home' are the causes of Lord Home's travel. [Scot.xiii.447-9].

Lord Willoughby to Sir William Knollys, April 21, Berwick: Lord Home is 'disposing of himself to travel..He desireth only to see her Majesty, the court, and so with licences for his horses to take his leave'.

May 3, Andrew Hunter to Cecil: 'Tonight are come to London Lord Hume and three others...This year of Jubilee draws our nobility to Rome'. [HT.ix.137-8,151].

By Papal decree, 1470, a Jubilee or Holy Year was celebrated every 25 years.

May 4: Scandalous words at Hucking, Kent.

Mary Bunton, wife of William Bunton, of Hucking, husbandman, said 'I care not a turd for the Queen nor her precepts'. Verdict: Guilty; to be put in the stocks with a paper above her head, and whipped. [Assizes, Kent, 445].

May 5, London, Lord Home to Sir Robert Cecil: I was 'desirous to have kissed her Majesty's hands', but 'I am for the present rendered unable to do so, being come on my own hackneys accompanied only with a couple of gentlemen without other apparel or train fit for a man of my private rank and quality, much less to present so high and mighty a princess as her Majesty'...

'Which oversight...myself shall redress to her Majesty's contentment at my return'. [Scot.xiii.462]. Lord Home had audience on his return in March 1600.

May 8, Dublin, Earl of Rutland to Sir Robert Cecil:

'I am very glad her Majesty takes no notice of my being here'. [HT.ix.438].

[The Queen had forbidden the Earl to go to Ireland. See May 13, Council].

May 12-June: Deputies from Hamburg in England.

May 12, Dover Castle, 4 a.m, Sir Thomas Fane (Lieutenant of Dover Castle), to Lord Cobham (Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports): 'There arrived this last night from Calais in The Tramontana, her Majesty's ship, an ambassador from Hamburg, whose name is Elperte Esiche, with his son, a gentleman of 15 or 16 years of age, and one other gentleman of great sort...and 9 or 10 servants'. [HT.ix.164].

The 'other gentleman' was Sebastian à Bergen, already known in England.

May 13, Sun new appointments: Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, became Lord Treasurer; Sir John Popham, Lord Chief Justice, was sworn a Privy Councillor.^{APC}

St Dunstan in the West churchwardens paid 'For ringing when the Lord Buckhurst, Lord Treasurer, went first to Westminster, 12d'.

May 13, Privy Council to the Earl of Essex: The Queen had expressly commanded the Earl of Rutland not to go to Ireland. He is now with Essex.

'Her Majesty taketh it for a great offence and contempt on his part'. Essex should forthwith send back the Earl of Rutland. [SP Ireland].

May 14: Privy Council 'to the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of London to invite the Ambassadors of Charles Duke of Sweden to dinner'.^{APC}

May 18, Queen's gifts delivered: To John Nicolai, 'gentleman sent from Duke Charles of Swethland: one chain of gold'. To James Hill, 'gentleman sent from the said Duke Charles: one chain of gold'.^{NYG}

May 18, Dowager Countess of Southampton to her son the Earl of Southampton, in Ireland: 'My Lord of Rutland is sent for in great bitterness; it is feared the Tower will be his lodging for the time'. [HT.ix.173].

May 19-June: *Thomas Tasburgh and his knighthood.*

Tasburgh (c.1554-1603), of Buckinghamshire, was a Teller of the Exchequer.

Lady Rich, Essex's sister, had written to Cecil in 1595 on Tasburgh's behalf, that he 'hath long had cause to expect that the Queen would lay the grace of a knighthood upon him'. Tasburgh had offended the Queen on some occasion in the past and was not knighted. In March 1599 he accompanied Essex to Ireland, and on May 9 in Dublin was knighted by Essex. He returned at once to England.

May 19, Tasburgh to Sir Robert Cecil: I, 'understanding that her Majesty was displeased with my going into Ireland without her leave, durst not come to be seen in court'. I 'meant not to have gone as far as West Cheshire (much less into Ireland)' but went 'to see the country...May it please her Majesty to remember my faithful service done to her almost these 30 years'.

Tasburgh to Cecil, May 26, of the Queen's displeasure: 'I hope though her Majesty doth imprison me, yet she will show me justice with mercy... The degree my Lord gave me at my coming away, I sought not for it, and when I told him I thought her Majesty would be offended, he said he hoped not'.

[After five weeks in the Fleet], June 26: 'It is no small heart's grief to me here thus to dwell in her Majesty's displeasure, therefore I beseech you... to be a happy suitor to her Majesty for my liberty'. [HT.v.236; ix.173,180,216].

May 20, Sun new appointment: Sir Robert Cecil was made Master of the Court of Wards and Liveries.^{MK} In succession to his father, 1st Lord Burghley.

Cecil to Sir Henry Neville, May 23: I am 'so restrained by new orders, as in the Office I am a ward myself...I have resigned a better place of the Duchy [of Lancaster] for it'. [Winwood, i.41].

May 22, Thomas Lake (Clerk of the Signet) to Sir Robert Cecil:

'Her Majesty, having been immediately after dinner made acquainted by Sir John Stanhope with your letter for Sweden and the cause of new signing, caused me to be called, and the excuse made of letting it fall into the Thames we had much ado to make good, for she said it was so great a negligence, especially of a subject of her own, as it were a good deed that the Duke [Charles] should see it, and sometimes that the Ambassador was worthy to be laid by the heels, and she would have sent to him to let him know his fault'.

'Whereupon she was told that seeing such a chance had happened, you had thought good upon perusing of it that a word or two be left out which might have been misconstrued by him, wherewith she seemed to be satisfied a whit. Afterwards mistrusted that it was some fault of yours or ours which we would colour, but in the end she saith she will sign it anon'. [HT.ix.177].

May 26, London, the two recently arrived Deputies from Hamburg wrote to Sir Robert Cecil, in Latin, entreating to be accorded an interview at court at the earliest opportunity. [HT.ix.182].

May 29, Whit Tues bear-baiting, for Queen and French Ambassador, Greenwich. Richard Coningsby made ready 'a standing in the Tilt-yard for her Highness against the bear-baiting at Whitsuntide'.^T

Boissise to Henri IV [May 31]: 'The Queen came out of her chamber to see the fighting bears and bulls, an ordinary pastime in this country, where I accompanied her, as she invited me, and she came down into the garden'.^{BT}

May, Harwich, James Hill (Ambassador from Sweden) to the Privy Council: 'Being this day to embark myself, I am to entreat you to thank Sir Thomas Lucas [of Colchester] and the whole town of Ipswich for our friendly and royal entertainment'. [HT.ix.178].

May: 'Lewd speeches' of the Queen aboard ship in France.

Viscount Howard of Bindon, with the Mayor of Weymouth and others, examined Edward Saunders, a sailor, about lewd speeches by Henry Carey aboard their ship *The Tobacco Pipe* at Bordeaux. 'One William Larkin, showing to Henry Carey a Spanish sixpence, demanded him how he liked it. His answer was it was the King of Spain's coin, and he did honour it with his heart. After that the said Larkin showed him a piece of her Majesty's coin, affirming it was the best coin in the world, saying withal that the picture in it was her Majesty's picture'.

Carey answered 'that if he had her there, he could find in his heart to be her hangman, and to hang her at the yardarm'. [HT.ix.155].

June 1: at Croydon the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, official licensors of books, delivered the Stationers' Company a list of satirical books, ordering: 'That no Satires or Epigrams be printed hereafter. That no English histories be printed except they be allowed by some of her Majesty's Privy Council. That no plays be printed except they be allowed by such as have authority. That all Nashe's books and Dr Harvey's books be taken wheresoever they may be found and that none of their books be ever printed hereafter'. Davies' Epigrams were also listed. [Arber, *Stationers*, iii.677].

June 4: Most books on the list were burnt at Stationers' Hall, together with John Hayward's book on King Henry IV. John Wolfe, printer of Hayward's book, testified in July 1600 that 'no book ever sold better'. A second edition was called for about Easter 1599; Hayward made an 'Epistle Apologetical' for it. In the Whitsun holidays the Warden of the Stationers took all 1500 and delivered them to the Bishop of London, Bancroft, who had them burnt. [SP12/275/28]. A Second Part of the book, and the Epistle, were published in 1991 (Camden Soc).

June 5, Tues: Cavalcade from London to Windsor of Garter Knights-elect. Robert 5th Earl of Sussex; Thomas 10th Lord Scrope; Henry 11th Lord Cobham.

Herald: 'First the Earl of Sussex came riding over the bridge from Colnbrookward very well accompanied and well horsed, his men in blue coats faced with sanguine colour taffeta, and feathers of the same colour, with many chains of gold. About half a quarter of an hour after him came the same way also the Lord Scrope, his men well horsed, in blue coats faced with orange colour taffeta and orange colour feathers in their hats, with sundry chains of gold'.

'About a quarter of an hour after him came the Lord Cobham, although last yet most bravest. His gentlemen in purple velvet breeches and white satin doublets and chains of gold, and his yeomen in purple cloth breeches and white fustian doublets, all in blue coats faced with white taffeta, and feathers of white and blue'. [BL Stowe MS 595, f.46].

June 6, Wed: at Windsor: Installation of new Knights of the Garter.

By the Queen's Commissioners: Charles Howard 1st Earl of Nottingham; Henry Percy 9th Earl of Northumberland; Lord Thomas Howard.

The customary offering of hatchments (tablets with coats of arms) of recently deceased Knights was made, including that of Philip II of Spain.

Court news. June 6, Earl of Nottingham to Sir Robert Cecil, of King Philip's hatchment: 'Many times heretofore I wished that it should have been taken down, for that the King of Spain had sent her back the Order, but she said he never sent it back, but I know how it was'.

'I pray let her Majesty understand that the Count Hainault was here with Monsieur Caron [Dutch Agent] and hath been honourably used, and that he is much worthy of it, for he is the most properest and the best brought up gentleman that I have ever seen of that country or of any other. I know her Majesty will like him well, for he hath been brought up in Italy...I am now in the Great Park to make sport to the Count'. [Also called Earl of Hainault]. [HT.ix.194-5].

June 8 [marriage gift]: Lady Bridget Vere (1584-1631), 2nd daughter of Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford, married Francis Norris (1579-1622).

The Queen's gifts to Lady Bridget: 'One pair of bracelets containing four bigger and four lesser pieces of gold garnished with sparks of rubies and three rows of small pearl threaded between; one short carcanet containing seven pieces like half-moons garnished with sparks of rubies and small diamonds pendant'.

These were New Year gifts to the Queen in 1599. [BL Add MS 5751A, f.250,250v].

The gifts are dated as in 'anno 42'; but Lady Bridget is known to have married in May or June 1599 (anno 41); the list of gifts was drawn up by Mary Radcliffe in 1603; she mis-dated by a year Bridget's sister Lady Elizabeth Vere's marriage to the Earl of Derby. Francis Norris became (1601) 2nd Lord Norris; (1621) Earl of Berkshire; in 1622 he killed himself by shooting himself with a cross-bow.

Court news. June 10, London, Sir Charles Danvers to the Earl of Southampton, of the Earl of Rutland's return from Ireland: 'My Lord of Rutland is come over, and from the Bath, where he remains to cure himself of a swelling fallen down into his legs, hath written to the Council to know their pleasure whether he shall come up or be dismissed. The Tower and the Star Chamber have been spoken of, but the Fleet we fear will be his punishment'...

'The Earl of Hainault, who married one of the Prince of Orange's daughters, is come over privately to see England, and was this day very graciously entertained by the Queen...A progress is appointed to begin the 12th of July to Wimbledon, and so through part of Surrey and Hampshire to Windsor'. [HT.ix.197-8].

June 10, Greenwich, Privy Council to the Earl of Essex:

'Her Majesty having of late received certain knowledge that your Lordship hath constituted the Earl of Southampton General of the Horse in her Majesty's Army under your charge, with which she is much displeased, hath given us commandment to signify her mind in that behalf, and to let your Lordship understand that she thinketh it strange and taketh it offensively that you would appoint his Lordship to that place and office, considering that her Majesty did not only deny it, when he was here moved by your Lordship to that purpose, but gave you an express prohibition to the contrary that he should not be appointed thereunto. This commandment being as her Majesty saith so precisely delivered unto you and the same being now so publicly manifested to the world to be broken, hath moved her Majesty to great offence in that respect'.

'And therefore her Majesty's pleasure is that you do not longer continue him in that place and charge of the General of the Horse, but to dispose of it to some other, as you shall think good. Her Majesty esteemeth it a very unseasonable time to confer upon him any so great place, having so lately given her cause of offence towards him. This being her Majesty's direction and commandment unto us we do deliver it by this our letter as from herself, wherein having discharged our duties we are sorry for the occasion'.

Essex on July 11 wrote a long letter of protest to the Council about this order, asking 'Was it treason in my Lord of Southampton to marry my poor kinswoman?' [Elizabeth Vernon]. [SP63/205/79; Devereux, ii.43-45].

Southampton had secretly married Essex's cousin, a Maid of Honour, in 1598; he was replaced as General; he returned with Essex in September.

June 13: Seditious words, reported in Star Chamber.

One Mison had uttered seditious words in contempt of Justices of the Peace and their authority on orders as to Corn and poor people in the time of the great dearth, and against the Council and the Queen: 'They are knaves, I will keep none of their bastards, my goods are my own, they, nor the Queen, nor the Council have to do with my goods, I will do what I list with them', etc.

Fined £100, imprisoned, required to confess his fault. [Hawarde, 104].

June 18, Mon: death in a duel. Henry Macwilliam, killed by Thomas Compton, Lord Compton's brother. Macwilliam was the son of Lady Cheke, a Lady of the Privy Chamber, by her second husband Henry Macwilliam the elder, deceased. Burial: June 23, St Martin in the Fields. (See June 28, John Chamberlain).

June 22: death: Sir William Fitzwilliam (1526-1599), several times Lord Deputy of Ireland, and Lord Justice of Ireland, died at Milton, Northants.

Will: At Milton 'I have little dwelled or remained there by the space of many years past by reason that by her Majesty I have been employed in sundry of her Highness services, most of all in her realm of Ireland, from my youth until within these few years that it pleased her goodness after I had passed the age of threescore and ten years to employ others therein and to suffer me in my native soil to enjoy some fruit of her most godly and peaceable government, since which time it hath pleased God to take away from me the sight of all things in this world, and to afflict my body with sundry infirmities'.

Funeral: Marholm Church, Northants, where his monument remains, with his wife. The widowed Anne (Sidney), Lady Fitzwilliam, died in 1602; she also has a monument in Theydon Garnon Church, Essex.

June 23: Commission for Francis Joy, Serjeant of the Buckhounds.

To take up hounds and greyhounds for her Majesty's disport; also horses and mares for the carriage of the hounds from place to place. [SPD].

June 24, Sun Deputies of Hamburg at Greenwich.

The two Deputies received answer to their propositions.

Newsletter, Amsterdam, July 24: 'The Hamburg emissaries have left with an unfavourable answer and have achieved nothing'. [Winwood, i.57; Fugger, 318].

June 24: knightings: Richard Houghton, of Lancs; John Savage, of Cheshire. John Chamberlain to Carleton, June 28: 'There were two knights made at court on Sunday, Sir John Savage and Sir Richard Houghton...Booth that married the Lord Anderson's daughter was appointed to stand with them, but on the sudden was countermanded', supposedly because an official of the Common Pleas 'dying two nights before, the Lord Anderson had given the place and sworn an officer before eight o'clock the next morning, and within an hour after came the Queen's letters for another which by that means were frustrate'.^{CHA}

Lord Anderson: Sir Edmund Anderson, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, whose son-in-law George Booth was knighted later in 1599 in Ireland.

June 24: marriage, at St Margaret Westminster:

James Pitt married Mary Heveningham, daughter of Arthur Heveningham and Catherine (Calthorpe), of Norfolk.

Arthur Heveningham's grandmother Mary Shelton was a cousin of the Queen's mother, Queen Anne Boleyn. Register names the couple in error as William Pits and Mary Hiningham; marriage licence, June 22, from the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, names the bridegroom as James Pitt, of the Inner Temple.

Queen's gift, June 24 'at the marriage of Mistress Mary Hemingham, one gilt bowl with a cover bought of Richard Martin, goldsmith'.^{NYG}

June 25, Mon dinner, Russell House, London; Dowager Countess of Derby. Alice (Spencer) (1559-1637), widow of Ferdinando Stanley, 5th Earl of Derby; she had leased Russell House from the Earl of Bedford.

William Stoner waterman 'for service by him and others done being commanded to make ready a barge to carry the Ladies of her Majesty's most honourable Privy Chamber from the court at Greenwich in company with her Highness to Russell House and for attending and carrying them back again the same night', June, 16s.^T

Court news. June 28, London, John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, at Ostend:

'The Earl of Rutland is returned out of Ireland upon commandment, and they say the Earl of Southampton is either come or coming, having his place of General of the Horse taken from him by order from hence. The Queen is nothing satisfied with the Earl of Essex's manner of proceeding, nor likes anything that is done, but says she allows him £1000 a day to go in progress'...

'On Monday was sevensnight [June 18] Tom Compton and Mackwilliam went into the field upon an old quarrel, where Mackwilliam was left dead in the place and Compton came away sore hurt. The Lady Cheke [Mackwilliam's mother] and her friends follow the matter with great extremity'...

'On Monday last [June 25] the Queen dined here in town at the Countess of Derby's the widow, and we have speech of a progress intended this summer into Warwick and Oxfordshire'.^{CHA}

June 28,Thur: Star Chamber: Lord Keeper's oration on the Queen's behalf. In the presence of all the Judges, Sir Thomas Egerton delivered a speech given him in charge by 'the sacred Majesty of the Queen, who in her princely regard of the peace and good of all her people, and in her royal care of the general justice of all her lands, hath now, as many other times, given special charge for all gentlemen that now lodge in London or Westminster to repair to their country dwellings, to maintain hospitality, to people the realm, to set the poor to work. And for Justices of Peace to remember their names, they are Conservators and Justices, and their oath; not to domineer and countenance causes, and condemn those which do good, and call them busybodies and deprave them: some do nothing, or evil'...

'The Judges to examine the service of each Justice...and to remove from the Bench those that are drones and not bees, with disgrace and punishment; and the diligent and industrious to notify to the Queen to encourage them'...

'As to the taxing of the Subsidy granted for the preservation of the realm, the Queen abhors all unjust taxations, and requires just and equal proportions from rich and poor'. [Hawarde, 106].

June 28: Earl of Rutland's Steward's account: 'Given to Mr Gooderus, her Majesty's Serjeant-Surgeon, whom she sent to my Lord, £5'.^{RT(4)}

June 29, Earl of Rutland to Sir Robert Cecil, 'from my house':
'It hath pleased her most excellent Majesty to show her most gracious care of me in sending Serjeant Gooderus to me, which brought me more joy and comfort than all the world without her could afford me'. [HT.ix.217].

June 29,Fri new appointment: Thomas Edmondes 'was by her Majesty's commandment sworn one of the Clerks of the Council Extraordinary'.^{APC}

Court news. June 30 (I), London, George Fenner to a Venetian:

'A messenger is come from the agents who were here for the Archduke, bringing letters for her Majesty and Mr Secretary about further parley'...

'It is forbidden, on pain of death, to write or speak of Irish affairs; what is brought by the Post is known only to the Council; but it is very sure that Tyrone's party has prevailed most. It is thought that the Earl of Essex is much discontented, and it is muttered at court that he and the Queen have each threatened the other's head; undoubtedly all kindness is forgotten between them...All the money is gone for Ireland, and yet does not suffice'...

'The Earl of Rutland has returned, but dares not go to court without leave, for fear of being committed'.

'Sir Thomas Tasburgh is yet in the Fleet'. [SP12/271/33].

June 30 (II), George Fenner to a second Venetian:

'Sir Walter Raleigh and Sir John Stanhope have not yet got their suits of being of the Council, the one as Vice-Chamberlain, the other as Chancellor of the Duchy [of Lancaster], but it is thought they will'.

'The Earl of Derby is busy penning comedies for the common players'. [SP12/271/35]. Derby had his own company of players, the Earl of Derby's Men. Nothing is known of his comedies. Stanhope became Vice-Chamberlain in 1601.

June 30, Dover, Mayor of Dover to Lord Cobham:

'Here arrived this day from Calais the bearer hereof, Sir Michael Balfour of Burley, a Scottish knight', after travels in Denmark, Germany, Italy and France, now intending to go 'with all expedition to the court, to procure a passport from her Majesty for him to go into Scotland'. [HT.ix.219].

Sir Michael Balfour, Laird of Burley, had been sent by King James as a secret envoy to the Grand Duke Ferdinand of Tuscany, but posed as a mere traveller.

July: dinner and hunting, Eltham, Kent.

Eltham Palace and Parks: Crown property. Richard Coningsby made ready 'a dinner house at Eltham Park and a standing for her Highness'.^T

Work at Eltham Palace, 1599-1600, included: 'mending the roof which was broken down with the fall of two chimneys by force of the last great winds'.

July 2, Greenwich, Queen to the Earl of Pembroke, in commendation of his son Lord Herbert, who had left court to visit his parents: 'He shall be right welcome back to us again: but how much the more for her sake that bore him leave rather to herself to judge than to our pen to describe'.

In the Queen's hand: 'Your most loving Sovereign'. [Pepys, 182].

The Earl of Pembroke had married Mary Sidney at court in 1577.

July 2, The Wardrobe, Sir John Fortescue (Master of the Great Wardrobe) to Sir Robert Cecil, to further the request made on behalf of his nephew Withipoll, son of his sister, for a knighthood. [HT.ix.223].

Edmund Withipoll was knighted at Cecil's brother's house, July 30.

July 4: Seditious words at Esher, Surrey.

Matthew Freeland, of Esher, yeoman, said 'That the King of Scots was right heir apparent to the Crown of England'. Not guilty. [Assizes, Surrey, 496].

Court news. July 7, London, Noel Caron to Johan van Oldenbarnevelt, in Dutch: 'Her Majesty...still means to come to Clapham, which was to be on the 13th of this month, and then it was postponed to the 17th, Tuesday...I shall prepare to the best of my ability'. [Oldenbarnevelt, i.541]. Visit to Clapham: July 27.

July 8: Philip Henslowe, owner of The Rose Theatre, 'lent unto John Palmer... when he played at shove-groat at the court ready money, 5s'. [Henslowe, 65].

Henslowe and Palmer were both Grooms of the Chamber.

July 14, Sat Warrant to deliver to Robert Seale, Clerk of the Cheque of the Guard, £194.1s for red cloth for liveries for the Yeomen Ushers, Yeomen of the Chamber, Warders of the Tower, Yeomen of the Robes and Beds; £6.8s for the Yeomen of the Cross-bows, 5 Messengers of the Chamber, Keeper of the Wardrobe at Richmond; £16.4s for Grooms and Pages of the Chamber, of the Robes, and of the Wardrobe of Beds, and Grooms of the Cross-bows; £6.6s for the Gardener at Greenwich, Matmaker, Gardener at Westminster, Locksmith, Keeper of the Still-house, Westminster, and Clock-keeper.

Also a Warrant for £8.2s6d for embroidering coats for the Grooms, Pages, etc. of the Chamber with the letters E.R. with Venice gold. [SPD].

July 14,18: News of the Book of Psalms dedicated to the Queen (March 27) by Esther Inglis. Her husband, Bartholomew Kello, came to England from Scotland and the book was presented to the Queen.

July 14, London, Bartholomew Kello to Anthony Bacon: Before sailing for Scotland I am staying in London to await money from the Queen, from whom I have already received a reward.

July 18, London, Kello to the Queen: 'It may please your Majesty, the Book of Psalms written by my wife in French and in divers sorts of characters, adorned every way so far as was possible to a simple woman, being presented to your Majesty together with a letter of my Sovereign Lord's the King's Majesty of Scotland in my recommendation, I did understand by report of certain your Majesty's servitors the work was very acceptable to your Majesty, whereof indeed I could not but greatly rejoice, and so will the writer thereof when she shall hear your Majesty to have taken any small pleasure or delight in her handiwork. Likewise your Majesty's most princely will thereanent a long time since was declared to me, but I am sorry that there is no Maecenas *in regia Augusti* [in the kingdom of Augustus], but I am constrained to my great hurt here to stay (which I am sure is unknown to your Majesty) in respect of your Majesty's deliberation passed therein. It may therefore be your Majesty's princely pleasure to give order for my speedy dispatch, and the Lord preserve and continue your Majesty's most royal person and state'. [BL Add MS 4125, f.354-7].

Kello sailed on July 26. A number of his wife's manuscripts are extant.

July 18: Treasonable words at Strood, Kent. Edward Tedder, of Strood, labourer, intending to compass the Queen's death, said 'I scorn to be called rogue for I come of too high a blood to be a rogue, for I am King of the Realm. I was born in Whitehall and that is my house and I will have it if I live'.

Verdict: Guilty of treason; to be hanged. [Assizes, Kent, 449].

July 19, Greenwich, Queen to the Earl of Essex: 'We have perceived by your letters to our Council brought by Henry Carey that you are arrived at Dublin after your journey into Munster...We that have the eyes of foreign princes upon our actions and have the hearts of people to comfort and cherish...can little please ourself hitherto with anything that hath been effected'...

'We will add this one thing that doth more displease us than any charge or expense that happens: which is that it must be the Queen of England's fortune (who hath held down the greatest enemy she had) to make a base bush kern [the Earl of Tyrone] to be accounted so famous a rebel as to be a person against whom so many thousands of foot and horse, besides the force of all the nobility of that kingdom, must be thought too little to be employed'.

As to the Earl of Southampton, he is 'one whose counsel can be of so little and experience of less use'. [Elizabeth, Works, 391-4].

July 20: Scottish travellers arrived in London from France.

John Colville, well-known at court, arrived with ten other Scots, staying about ten days. July 21, Colville to Sir Robert Cecil: 'I am yesternight arrived...I shall be this night at Greenwich attending'.

Colville to Cecil [July]: 'Yesternight did arrive from France the Master of Montrose, a nobleman well affected, for of all our noblemen that has been abroad these two or three years only the Earls of Argyll, Gowrie and he kept their religion'. [HT.ix.240,252].

John Graham, Master of Montrose, later 4th Earl of Montrose (1573-1626) was previously in London in December 1597 on his way to France, when he hoped to have audience on his return; he now came with some 20 others, Scots and English.

Court news. July 21, London, Francis Cordale to a Venetian:

'I can send no news of the Irish wars...I fear our part has had little success...The Earl of Essex is now preparing to go against Tyrone...He has little grace at court. The Queen is wholly averted from him, and is wholly directed by Mr Secretary, who now rules all as his father did; though he pretends friendship to the Earl, he is thought at heart his greatest enemy'...

'A messenger came from Brussels, 16 days ago, with letters about peace. He had speedy audience and quick return, and one of the Queen's ships conveyed him to Calais'. To the Council 'intelligence was given of a fleet preparing in the south against England'...

'Her Majesty hath appointed a progress into Surrey, Hampshire, Wiltshire, Gloucester, and Berkshire, and many days set for her first remove from Greenwich, as among many others this present day, but still it hath been deferred, and so again it is thought it will'.

'Some suppose it is by occasion of the news of this fleet, but rather as I have heard some courtiers relate, it is an indisposition of her Majesty's body, now grown in years, and unable to endure travel, insomuch as they have affirmed that when she rideth to take air, a mile or two in the park (which now she seldom doth), always she complaineth of the uneasy going of her horse, and when she is taken down, her legs are so benumbed that she is unable to stand, till the footmen falling down have a long time by earnest rubbing brought them to a better temper'.

'Dr Smith, one of her physicians, has died lately, and now the Countess of Warwick is very sick. I have known five or six of her physicians to die. She is in health, though more than usually subject to fretting and melancholy'.

July 21, Francis Cordale, writing to Antwerp: a shorter version of the above letter, alleging that the Queen 'is unable to endure travel as heretofore, though she will not seem to acknowledge it'.

Cordale wrote a similar letter on July 22 to Venice. [SP12/271/106-8]. These letters were intercepted, and led the Queen to change her travel plans.

July 22, Sun Warrant to deliver to the Master of the Great Wardrobe [Sir John Fortescue] £761.7s4d to be employed for fine linen for her Majesty's own person.

Also warrant to deliver to Fortescue £1200 paid by him to two goldsmiths for a great diamond with a pendant for her Majesty's use. [SPD].

Court news. [July 22], London, Boissise to Henri IV: 'The Queen will leave Greenwich on Thursday [July 26], and should dine in the house of the Agent of the States [Noel Caron, at Clapham], which is on her way. Her progress will not be as long as was thought, she will only visit the houses of some of her officials, and will very soon return here to await news of the Archduke'.^{BT}

July 23, Clapham, Caron to Sir Robert Cecil, in French: 'I forgot yesterday to remind you of the venison...I hope also you will remember to arrange for some music, for otherwise I could scarcely get it fit to please her Majesty'.

PS. (in English): 'I have already received two deer of my Lord Admiral, but not fallow deer'. [HT.ix.245]. The Queen dined at Clapham on July 27.

[c.July 24] July, Sir Charles Danvers to the Earl of Southampton:

'The progress was first appointed to Wimbledon, to my Lord Keeper's at Pyrford, to my Lord Treasurer's at Horsley, to Oatlands, and so to Windsor, but by reason of an intercepted letter, wherein the giving over of long voyages was noted to be sign of age, it had been resolved to extend the progress to Basing and so to Wilton, and unto Wimbledon the Queen goes on Tuesday next'...

'The Presidentship of York is promised to my Lord Burghley'...

'My Lord of Rutland hath so well satisfied all parties here as we hope he will escape the Fleet and all other punishment save the punishment of being kept at home'...

'The treaty with Spain is still entertained underhand, and to that effect there hath one been secretly here of late from the Cardinal Andreas, only to keep on foot the motion made by one Cooman, who was sent in the same sort to the same effect this last winter. This Cooman was sent on his return from hence by the Cardinal into Spain' [Cooman came to England again in August]...
'Your Lordship shall do me a favour to burn these letters'. [HT.ix.246-7].

Locations for proposed progress:

Basing, Hampshire: William Paulet, 4th Marquis of Winchester.

Oatlands Palace, Weybridge, Surrey.

Pyrford, Surrey: Sir Thomas Egerton, Lord Keeper.

West Horsley, Surrey: Thomas Sackville, 1st Lord Buckhurst, Lord Treasurer.

Wilton, Wiltshire: Henry Herbert, 2nd Earl of Pembroke.

Wimbledon, Surrey: Thomas Cecil, 2nd Lord Burghley.

Of these the Queen visited only Wimbledon in 1599.

For a verse Dialogue at the Countess of Pembroke's house see 26 Aug 1592.

July 25, Queen's gift: To Edward Pierce, Gentleman of the Chapel Royal, 60s 'to be distributed amongst the rest of the Gentlemen of her Highness's Chapel being money voluntarily given unto them by her Majesty towards their Feast as heretofore hath been also accustomed'.^T An annual summer gift; Edward Pierce or Pearce was of the Chapel Royal 1589-1600.

July 27, Fri via Vauxhall and Wandsworth, Surrey.

Lambeth Church: 'Paid to the ringers the 26th day and 27th day of July when the Queen came from Greenwich by water to Vauxhall, the ringers gave their attendance the first day, and her Majesty came not till the next day, 5s6d'.

Wandsworth Church: 'Paid to ringers when the Queen came by, July 27, 6d'.

July 27, Fri dinner, Clapham, Surrey; Noel Caron.

'Her Majesty deferred her going thither for a few days'.^T

At the Clapham house leased by Noel Caron, resident Dutch Agent in England from 1591 until he died in 1624; unmarried. A visit several times postponed.

A church official noted that a short oration was made to the Queen by Geleyn van Beste, an Elder of the Dutch Reformed Church in London, Austin Friars.

By July 27: Venison for the Queen's often postponed visit to Wimbledon.

In early July Thomas Cecil, 2nd Lord Burghley, Master of the royal Forest of Rockingham, Northamptonshire, ordered Edward Montagu of Boughton to have 9 bucks and 3 does 'fair killed and well dressed' to be ready on July 10 and 11 to be sent to Wimbledon. Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, his half-brother, July 6:

'This morning by chance I had word from London that the Queen's coming was deferred until Tuesday come fortnight'.

Edward Montagu was told on July 9 that the Queen 'comes not before Tuesday, being the 17th of July, so that you must countermand all again to new days'.

Lord Burghley to Edward Montagu, July 13: 'I am sorry you had no word in time of her Majesty's alteration of her day, which makes the bucks you sent, according to the first appointment, to come unseasonable for that time... Now the day is appointed upon Saturday the 21st...I pray you let your under-officer signify to every officer for a brace of bucks that is under my government, so as half of them be here upon Saturday morning, the other upon Sunday morning, not to fail. I pray you give them warning to send better bucks than these were, for they were neither thorough fat nor sweetly brought, and they sent up a doe fit to be given to dogs, it was so carrion lean. So, since her Majesty hath altered her day, it must cost her double pay of her bucks'.

Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, July 17: 'Her Majesty's so often coming and not coming so distempers all things with me as upon every change of coming I do nothing but give directions into the country for new provisions: most of the old thrown away by reason of the heat of the time'.

Burghley to Cecil, July 19: 'I mean God willing to come upon Saturday at night to the court, and there will tarry all Sunday, and upon Monday [July 23] I hope I shall know whether her Majesty will hold or no. This is the fourth time of her alteration, and I have thrice lost my provisions out of the country, for two days' alteration destroyeth all that is provided against the time'.

[HT.ix.225,236,239; HMC Buccleuch, i.59,234-5; HMC Montagu, 27].

Porter's speech: Marion Colthorpe, 'An entertainment for Queen Elizabeth I at Wimbledon in 1599', *REED Newsletter* vol.10, no.1 (1985), 1-2.

July 27, Fri **WIMBLEDON**, Surrey.^c Lord Burghley.
Wimbledon manor-house; owned by Thomas Cecil, 2nd Lord Burghley (1542-1623), half-brother of Sir Robert Cecil; 1st wife: Dorothy (Nevill)(1546-1609), daughter of John Nevill 4th Lord Latimer. Burghley was created Earl of Exeter in 1605; his monument, with Dorothy, is in Westminster Abbey.

Porter's speech of welcome, presenting keys:

'Most noble prince I am Porter.
Each man must be known in his office
My wit is weak and needs supporter
To speak to your Majesty by some advice.
But what skills so I think well
And speak as I think,
Twixt the thought and the word
Can be no better link.
My name is John Joye,
To see your Grace here
A feast of a true heart
Shall be your best cheer.
The bunch of keys that commands every gate
Duty, love, loyalty, constancy to the state.
If any will ask who wrought these keys,
The virtues of your mind, the fair power of your eyes,
It is the finest and the fittest smith
To bolt and lock in men's hearts therewith.
But that your Highness may not stay to knock
Take this double key and open every lock,
Even the lock of his heart to whose house you are come,
Where of faith you shall find a sound built room'.

July 30, Mon knightings, at Wimbledon, before departure.^{CHA}
Thomas Lascelles, of Yorkshire; Edmund Withipoll, of Ipswich, Suffolk.

July 30, Mon dinner, Wimbledon Lodge, Surrey.
Richard Brackenbury made ready 'the Lodge at Wimbledon for her Highness's dinner house at her going to Nonsuch'.^T Crown property.

Kingston-upon-Thames Chamberlains: 'Paid for mending the ways when the Queen went from Wimbledon unto Nonsuch, 21d; paid to Goodman Griffin that he laid out to them that made the ways when the Queen went to Nonsuch, 5s'.

July 30, Mon **NONSUCH PALACE**, Cheam, Surrey.^c
Works: 'mending many decayed places upon her Highness's coming thither in progress time in summer 1599'; building new stables.

July 30, Queen to the Earl of Essex, ordering him not to return from Ireland without her warrant 'without which we do charge you, as you tender our pleasure, that you adventure not to come out of that kingdom by virtue of any former licence whatever'. [Devereux, ii.49]. [Essex disobeyed this order].

Also July 30, in Ireland: Essex's 9 new knights included John Harington.

July 31, Plymouth, Captain Matthew Bredgate to Lord Cobham:

'The King of Spain [Philip III] has a mind to be here in a few days, with 70 galleys and 100 ships, in which come 30,000 soldiers'...

'Of late he has cut off two of his noblemen's heads, because they counselled him not to attempt this enterprise, and he says he will make his finger heavier to England than his father's whole body was. I trust however the same success his father had in 88, he will now have in 99'. [SP12/271/140].

Court news. Aug 1, London, John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, at Ostend (besieged by the Spanish): The alarm of war 'begins to ring in our ears here at home as shrill as in your besieged town: for upon what ground or good intelligence I know not but we are all here in a hurle [hurly-burly] as though the enemy were at our doors'.

'The Queen's ships are all making ready, but this town is commanded to furnish out 16 of their best ships to defend the river, and 10,000 men, whereof 6000 to be trained presently and every man else to have his arms ready'.

'Letters are likewise going out to the Bishops and their clergy and all the noblemen and gentlemen hereabout to prepare horses and all other furniture, as if the enemy were expected within fifteen days. Here is likewise speech of a camp to be raised at Tilbury, the Lord Admiral to be General and the Lord Thomas Howard to have charge of the Navy...Sir Francis Vere is certainly sent for out of the Low Countries with 2000 of his best soldiers'.

'All this noise riseth upon report that the Adelantado [commander in Castile] hath an Armada ready at the Groyne [Corunna] of 30 galleys and 70 ships'...

'We have almost nothing out of Ireland, and many men marvel that my Lord [Essex] hath spent so much time and done so little'...

'My Lord hath lately made 16 new knights, for what service I know not, but belike it be...in hope they will deserve it hereafter'...

'The Queen removed from Greenwich the 27th of the last month and dined the same day at Monsieur Caron's, and so to the Lord Burghley's at Wimbledon, where she tarried three days, and is now at Nonsuch'.

'The young Lord Herbert, Sir Henry Carey, and Sir William Woodhouse are all in election at court who shall set the best leg foremost'.^{CHA}

Lord Herbert: William Lord Herbert of Cardiff (1580-1630), the Earl of Pembroke's son and heir, Sir Robert Sidney's nephew, the Queen's godson.

Henry Carey (1576-1633), Lord Hunsdon's nephew, son of Sir Edward Carey, knighted in Ireland by Essex on July 12, came to court with letters July 19.

Sir William Woodhouse (c.1570-1639) was of a prominent Norfolk family.

Aug 2, Croydon, Archbishop of Canterbury (Whitgift) to Sir Robert Cecil:

'I heartily pray you to know if her Majesty will be pleased to have some special form of prayers to be used in this time of expected troubles. I do think that the same which were used in the year 1588 are also fit for this present occasion and cannot be bettered'. [HT.ix.262].

Aug 4: Sir Robert Sidney, Governor of Flushing, embarked in Kent to return there after 16 months' leave in England. Rowland Whyte, now Post of the Court, recommenced his newsletters, writing to Sidney on August 5: 'Direct your letters to The Black Boy in the Strand, for I leave order there to send them me'.^{SD}

Aug 4, Nonsuch, Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sidney, of 'this intended preparation to withstand the Spanish invasion':

'The most part of all the forces of England must make their rendezvous within six miles of London. Letters are sent...to my Lord Pembroke and the other great lords to provide presently 100 horse apiece, well furnished, and to send them up for her Majesty's guard; who is, God be thanked, in very good health and at this present a-hunting in this park. She will not believe that the Spaniards will assail her land, yet doth give special order that all things shall be in a readiness to repulse them if they attempt it'.^{SD}

Aug 5, Nonsuch, Sunday noon, Whyte to Sidney:

'All the noblemen of England are sent for to be here by the 20th of this month, to attend her Majesty's person with horse and foot. It is truly advertised that the Adelantado is ready to put to sea as this day'...

'Here the dispatches are made and sent every way, and all the Clerks of Council, Signet and Privy Seal even wearied and tired with writing'...

'My Lord of Worcester helping the Queen from her horse, her horse trod on his foot, and this morning she went to see him'.

PS: 'Orders are given to draw Commissions', including:
 Lord Admiral (Earl of Nottingham) to be General of the Army.
 Charles Blount, 8th Lord Mountjoy: Lieutenant General.
 Henry Percy, 9th Earl of Northumberland: General of the Horsemen.
 Robert Radcliffe, 5th Earl of Sussex: General of Footmen.
 Sir Francis Vere: Marshal.^{SD}

Aug 5, in Ireland: After being ambushed in the Curlew Mountains, Sir Conyers Clifford, Governor of Connaught, and Sir Alexander Radcliffe, were killed, with about 250 of their men. The news reached the Queen on August 16 at Beddington.

Aug 6, Mon, in London: By the Queen's command 'chains were drawn athwart the streets and lanes of the city, and lanterns with lights of candles...hanged out at every man's door, there to burn all the night, and so from night to night, upon pain of death, and great watches kept in the streets'. [Stow, *Annals*].

Court news. Aug 9, London, John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, at Ostend:
 'The news increasing daily of the Spaniards coming and...of their design for London...order was given for a camp to be raised'...

'Twelve or thirteen of the Queen's ships are preparing in all haste, whereof the Lord Thomas Howard to be Admiral, Sir Walter Raleigh Vice-Admiral, Fulke Greville Rear-Admiral'...

'Upon Monday toward evening [Aug 6] came news (yet false) that the Spaniards were landed in the Isle of Wight, which bred such a fear and consternation in this town as I would little have looked for, with such a cry of women, chaining of streets and shutting of the gates as though the enemy had been at Blackwall [near Greenwich]'...

'Great provision is made for horse, as being the best advantage we are like to have if the enemy come; and the noblemen about court have rated themselves at round proportions, as the Lord Admiral a 100, the Earl of Shrewsbury 100, the Earl of Pembroke 200, the Earl of Worcester 100, the Earl of Northumberland 100, Mr Secretary 100, the Archbishop 100, Sir William Russell 50, and all the rest both court and country according to their ability'.

'But now after all this noise and blustering...our preparations begin to slack and go not on so headlong as they did'...

'Lord Burghley is made President of York and makes provision to go thither shortly; the Queen at her being at Wimbledon made two knights, Withipoll of Suffolk and one Lascelles, of Yorkshire. The court continues at Nonsuch where I wish it may tarry long'.^{CHA}

Aug 9, Strand, George Coppin to Sir Robert Cecil: 'I thought it my duty to advertise you of the strange rumours and abundance of news spread abroad in the city, and so flying into the country...as that the Spaniard's fleet is 150 sail of ships and 70 galleys; that they bring 30,000 soldiers with them and shall have 20,000 from the Cardinal; that the King of Denmark sends to aid him 100 sail of ships; that the King of Scots is in arms with 40,000 men to invade England...A preacher, in his prayer before his sermon, prayed to be delivered from the mighty forces of the Spaniard, the Scots and the Danes'...

'Upon Tuesday at night last it went for certain the Spaniards were landed at Southampton, and that the Queen came at 10 o'clock at night to St James's in all post; and upon Wednesday it was said the Spanish army was broken, and no purpose of their coming hither: with 100 other strange and fearful rumours, as much amazing the people as if the invasion were made'. [HT.ix.282-3].

Aug 10, Fri News brought to Nonsuch of a Spanish fleet approaching.

Aug 11, Nonsuch, Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sidney:

'Yesterday morning came letters from Sir Thomas Leighton [in Guernsey] that the Spanish fleet was come to Brest as upon Tuesday last [Aug 7] to the number of 160 sail and 45 galleys. And since we have not heard anything of them, but do hourly expect to have them discovered upon our coast'.

'Upon this advice, my Lord Nottingham, Lord Mountjoy, and all the men for the land service took their leave of the Queen, and are at Somerset House to consult upon the ordering and marching of the army'...

'The Commissions for the Commanders by sea and land are out...Lord Cumberland to command the forces of London and the City...Lord Cobham commands the army in Kent, which shall be of 12,000, till the Royal army march, which shall be quartered about London, within 6 miles, to march, if necessity require it, upon the landing of the Spaniards'.

'Her Majesty, God be thanked, is very well and nothing dismayed at these rumours. It is thought she will remove to Richmond the next week. All the lords do attend here...It is like I shall be hourly set a-work with posting away of letters...My Lord Herbert is to have 200 horse sent up by his father to attend her Majesty's person'.^{SD} Lord Herbert of Cardiff, Earl of Pembroke's son.

Aug 12: *christening*. Queen was godmother to 'Mr Coke's child, her Majesty's Attorney-General'.^T Parents: Edward Coke and his 2nd wife Lady Hatton; she was Elizabeth (Cecil), widow of Sir William Hatton. 'At Mr Coke's house'.

[Hatton House, Holborn]. Queen's Deputy: Countess of Oxford.^T

Queen's gift, August 12: one gilt bowl with a cover.^{NYG}

Aug 12: St Andrew Holborn register: baptised: 'Elizabeth Coke, daughter of Mr Edward Coke esquire and to my Lady Hatton'. 1st child.

John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, Aug 23: 'The Lady Hatton is brought abed of a daughter, which stops the mouth of the old slander...It was christened with great solemnity, the Queen (by her deputy the Lady of Oxford) and the Countess Dowager of Derby being godmothers, and the Lord Treasurer [Lord Buckhurst] godfather'.^{CHA} The slander: she was pregnant before marriage.

Elizabeth Coke married (1622) Maurice Berkeley; she died in 1623.

Court news. Aug 14, Baynard's Castle, Whyte to Sidney:

'The Queen is still at Nonsuch, and means not to remove this month, unless the Spaniards land, whereof there is small appearance. Here is a list of the Army and the great officers set down, with their pay, as it was in '88. A Camp of 10,000 foot and 3000 horse shall...be billeted within six mile of London round about...Order is taken to make a bridge over the Thames at Blackwall'...

'Our fleet is ready, and will be at sea this week. Here is nothing but alarums and arming for defence'.^{SD}

Aug 14, Thomas Windebank (Clerk of the Signet) to Sir Robert Cecil: 'Yester evening, at her Majesty's going to horse, she called me to her and willed me to write unto you these few words: that there should not be too much taken out of an emptied purse, for therein was no charity. A short text', and I know myself 'how careful your Honour is for not emptying her purse'. [HT.ix.295-6].

Aug 15, Kyme [Lincs], Sir Edward Dymoke to the Privy Council, asking to be employed, being both 'her Majesty's sworn servant, and born Champion'.

August, Sir George Carew to Sir Robert Cecil, asking for a warrant for the delivery to him of one of her Majesty's tents, like those used in the progress for the cooks or musicians, to protect powder and match. [HT.ix.299,337].

Aug 16, in Ireland: death: Sir Thomas Norris (1556-1599), President of Munster, 5th son of Henry 1st Lord Norris, of Rycote, Oxon.

Aug 16, Thur **BEDDINGTON**, Surrey.^c Sir Francis Carew.
Beddington manor-house; owned by Carew (c.1530-1611), unmarried.
Carew's gardens were celebrated.

Baron Waldstein visited Nonsuch in 1600 and made a four mile detour to Beddington 'to see a most lovely garden belonging to a nobleman called Francis Carew'. 'A little river runs through the middle of this garden, so crystal-clear that you can see the water-plants beneath the surface'. There is an 'oval fish-pond enclosed by trim hedges', and a beautiful square rock through which the stream flows. In the stream are a number of 'representations' [statues or fountains], including Pan playing on his pipe, surrounded by animals, and 'a Hydra out of whose many heads the water gushes'.

*[The Diary of Baron Waldstein, translated by G.W.Groos (1981), 163-5].
For Waldstein and his travels see 1600 June 20.*

Aug 16 [Beddington], Lord Hunsdon to Sir Robert Cecil, after receiving news of the ambush and deaths in the Curlew Mountains:

'I have acquainted her Majesty with the unfortunate news of the accursed kingdom of Ireland. It seemeth that she expected no good success could accompany him [Essex] there that would follow no good direction here, yet, like a prince, will show no sorrow where it shall be too late and remediless'.

'Her Majesty hath commanded me to write to you that if you have made no appointment with the Ambassador of France to come tomorrow, that you put his coming off until Saturday, but if he be appointed to come tomorrow, then that you direct him to be here by two in the afternoon, in respect hither is a shorter journey than to Nonsuch, and that he shall find her retired for her disport a-hunting; she wishes he may be accompanied with some that may conduct him hither'. [HT.ix.302].

Aug 16, Henry Wake (of Northants) to Cecil 'of a report secretly spread and whispered that her Majesty should be either dead or very dangerously sick...The first beginners of these speeches are some dwelling within the county of Bucks'.

Aug 17, Sir John Stanhope to Cecil: 'The Queen...thinks it fit that Mr Wake be sent for, and if he produce not his author, she thinks him very worthy of severe punishment'. After reading the letter 'she was never quiet since'. (See Aug 20).

Aug 17, Fri French Ambassador at Beddington for audience.
Boissise to Henri IV [Aug 22]: 'I saw the Queen at a gentleman's house, where she came the previous day to hunt, and stayed to sleep there, having continued the hunt until night, for she takes great pleasure in it and is so adroit that with a cross-bow she kills as many deer as pass in front of her'.^{BT}

Aug 17, Fri **NONSUCH PALACE**, Cheam, Surrey.^c

Aug 17: *Muster at St James's. Simon Forman, astrologer (1552-1611) noted: 'This year was the great muster in August at St James's. I bought much harness and weapons for war, swords, daggers, muskets, corslet and furniture, staves, halberds, gauntlets, mails, etc'.* [Rowse, Forman, 301].

Aug 18, Nonsuch, Sir Robert Cecil to John Manners:

'The voluntary horses which gentlemen brought up upon their own charges amounting to above a thousand was both an honourable and a comfortable sight. I take it they shall be brought to Nonsuch for her Majesty's view upon the Downs, who, thanks be to God, was never better nor lustier this seven years'.^{RT}

Aug 18, Nonsuch, Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sidney:

'Our great preparations, by little and little, are dismissed...Our fleet goes to sea, and Sir Walter Raleigh took his leave at court of all the ladies and his friends...It may be they shall hover up and down in the Narrow Seas to prevent the coming of any ships or galleys to the Low Countries'...

'The Lords [of the Council] have been these four or five days in London consulting of the war, and it seems find no cause to proceed, or to fear the Spaniard; so that such forces as were to come to attend her Majesty's person are stayed for a time longer'.

'Her Majesty hath been at Benington [Beddington] Thursday and Friday, and returned yesternight hither. The French Ambassador came unto her and stayed with her well near two hours. Then was he brought to see all the singularities of the gardens, which pleased him infinitely'.

'News came thither from Ireland of the lamentable defeat our forces had... where we lost Sir Conyers Clifford, Sir Alexander Radcliffe and many gallant men'. As to Mistress Radcliffe: 'As yet she hears nothing of her brother's death, and by the Queen's command it is kept from her, who is determined to break it unto her herself'.

In Ireland 'my Lord of Essex hath yet done little or nothing'.^{SD}

[Sir Alexander Radcliffe's sister, Margaret Radcliffe, was a Maid of Honour; she pined away, and died at Richmond on November 10].

Aug 20, The Wardrobe, Sir John Fortescue (Master of the Great Wardrobe) to Sir Robert Cecil, of suspicions of one of his servants spreading rumours of the Queen's death or sickness: 'I presume he would not make any such slanderous report, having seen her Majesty walk in the garden and hunt in the park'.

Mr Wake 'seems to me to be author'. [HT.ix.302-3,306,314].

Aug 20-29: Cardinal's Agent Jerome Cooman's third 1599 mission from the Spanish Netherlands, with his brother Marcus. Aug 20: Cooman 'returned to London from the Cardinal Andreas, with power to treat of peace'.^{MK}

Aug 21, Lord Admiral Nottingham [to Sir Robert Cecil]: 'Your message from her Majesty...is to know in what state the army stands, and at what charge she is; also to ask me what advice I would give her either for holding it together or dissolving it. For the first, you shall have in writing the state of the army, as also the charge up to August 21st. For my advice, I think it strange that so heavy a task should be laid on me, it having been argued before her Majesty by all the Lords of the Council, and all their opinions, save Mr Controller's [Sir William Knollys] being that the army should be dissolved'. [SP12/272/57].

The Lord Admiral disagrees, but will obey instructions to dissolve it.

Aug 21: *in Ireland: death: Sir Henry Norris (c.1554-1599), 4th son of Henry 1st Lord Norris, of Rycote, Oxon. His brother Thomas had died a week earlier, also in Ireland. The Queen's condolences: Sept 6.*

Court news. Aug 23, London, John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, at Ostend:
 'Our Navy is gone to sea prettily strong and in good plight, for so short warning, containing 23 ships and pinnaces of the Queen's, 12 good merchant ships provided by the city and six more hired by her Majesty with 14 hoys well furnished with ordnance and made for fight. Our land forces are daily discharged little and little, and this day I think will be quite dissolved'...
 'On Friday [August 17] there mustered 1600 horse by St James's, and the next day 400 for the Clergy in St George's Field [Surrey]. Yet none of the noblemen have showed their troops which together with other voluntaries are thought would double that number'...

'The Lord General [Nottingham] with all the great officers of the field came in great bravery to Paul's Cross on Sunday was sevensnight [August 12] and dined with the Lord Mayor, and then was the alarm at hottest that the Spaniards were at Brest, which was as likely and fell out as true as all the rest'...

'And now in the midst of all this hurly-burly is a sudden sound of peace and that certain fellows are come from Brussels with commission from Spain'.

In Ireland 'The Earl of Essex hath made many new knights...to the number of 59 in the whole since his first arrival. It is much marvelled that this humour should so possess him, that not content with his first dozens and scores, he should thus fall to huddle them up by half hundreds; and it is noted as a strange thing that a subject in the space of seven or eight years...should upon so little service and small desert make more knights than are in all the realm besides, and it is doubted that if he continue this course he will shortly bring in tag and rag, cut and long tail, and so draw the order into contempt'.^{CHA}

Aug 23: Monsieur de la Motte arrived in England.

The Governor of Brest sent Guille de la Motte with news of a Spanish fleet of 140 sail headed for Cornwall or Devon. He landed at Dartmouth Aug 23, fell ill at Salisbury, his letters were sent up to court. [See Aug 29]. [SP12/272/72,76].

Aug 24, Baynard's Castle, Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sidney: 'Sir Francis Vere embarked at Brill...and came to London last night; but our army of horse and foot was dismissed in the morning...My Lord Cromwell is come over from my Lord of Essex to make known the miserable state of that country [Ireland]'.^{SD}

Aug 25, Sat Sir Francis Vere and Lord Cromwell at Nonsuch.
 Vere (c.1560-1609), Governor of Brill; Edward 3rd Lord Cromwell (c.1559-1607).

Aug 25, Nonsuch, Whyte to Sidney: 'Sir Francis Vere is here, and hath spoken with her Majesty...The great army is dismissed, but to be in readiness at a very reasonable and short warning...My Lord Cromwell is here, and is a humble suitor to her Majesty for the Presidentship of Munster'...

'Her Majesty, God be thanked, is in exceeding good health, and upon Tuesday [Aug 28] means to go to Hampton Court, and so to Pyrford, my Lord Keeper's'.^{SD}

Whyte on September 12 gave Sidney further details of Vere's arrival: 'You are desirous to be advertised of Sir Francis Vere's welcome here...At his arrival he came to Mr Secretary, who brought him to the Queen, with whom he was long and very graciously used...My Lord Admiral also brought him to the Presence, where all there saluted him, only my Lord Mountjoy refrains speaking to him'.^{SD}

Aug 26 (o.s.), in *Brussels*: Archduke Albert and his wife the Infanta Isabella (1566-1633; half-sister of King Philip III of Spain) made their ceremonial entry as joint Governors of the Spanish Netherlands (the Infanta's dowry); Cardinal Andreas had been acting as interim Governor.

Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia was painted with her female dwarf, c.1599. Archduke Albert was also painted with his own dwarf. The portraits were presented to James I in 1603. [Reproduced in *Dynasties*, ed. Karen Hearn, 182].

Court news. Aug 28, Sir Robert Cecil to Sir Henry Neville:
 'Cooman bringeth this only news by letter from the Cardinal Andreas: that the King of Spain hath given the Archduke commission to treat with the Queen, and he and the Infanta will arrive before this day at Brussels'. [Winwood, i.96].

By Aug 28: Baptista Boazio published a *Map of Ireland*, one page, coloured. Dedicated 'To the most sacred and renowned my Gracious Sovereign Elizabeth'.

'Most sacred Queen, on knees of humble heart
 Your loyal subject humbly doth beseech
 Your Majesty to take in gracious part
 A ragged labour in so rude a speech.
 Wherein your Highness may distinctly see
 What Havens, Rocks, Sands, or Towns in Ireland be'.

Aug 29: Jerome and Marcus Cooman were at Dover, with a pass from the Lord Admiral and Cecil for 'speedy transportation'. [HT.ix.332].

Court news. Aug 29, Strand, Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sidney: 'The new map of Ireland, the author will suffer no copies to be had till he presented her Majesty with one, and the Lords of the Council. I offered 4 shillings for one to send you out of hand; I am promised to have one tomorrow morning'.

'Upon Saturday last [Aug 25] at 9 o'clock at night letters came to Mr Secretary from the Governor of Brest, by La Motte, a French gentleman, that at Conquet were arrived six galleys, and a great fleet in sight. It gave us a very hot alarm; but by Sunday in the evening news came that the fleet was the Hollanders, and that 30 sail were put into Plymouth, which stayed all the former directions of arming and preparing. Sir Francis Vere is at court and shall be stayed'...

'The Deputies [Jerome and Marcus Cooman] sent from the Cardinal were at Mr Saunders' house in Ewell upon Sunday in the evening [Aug 26], where my Lord Treasurer, my Lord Admiral and Mr Secretary went unto them. A Peace is generally desired here...for our country is not able to endure the charges of war... Surely Sir Francis Vere is kept till some end be seen of this Peace'...

'Her Majesty, God be thanked, is in very good health, and likes well of Nonsuch air. Long may she continue Sovereign Lady over this poor land'.

'Here hath many rumours been bruited of her, very strange, without any reason, which troubled her Majesty a little, for she would say *Mortua sed non sepulta* [dead but not buried]'.

'Sir, the news of Ireland is so desperate that it grieves my soul to write of them...The Irish run to [the Earl of] Tyrone in great numbers'.^{SD}

Whyte sent Sidney on September 8 'a new map of Ireland coloured'.

La Motte in December was in The Counter in London, a debtors' prison; from prison he wrote to Sir Robert Cecil, Dec 1, that he had been well received by the Queen and rewarded by Cecil, but a Dutch merchant had him arrested for an old debt (arising out of a visit to England in 1597 to purchase cannon).

On December 14 Dr Julius Caesar, Admiralty Judge, gave his opinion that *La Motte* should be released. [HT.ix.404-5,412].

By 30 Aug 1599-Feb 1600: Scottish special Ambassador, James Sempill, in England. James Hudson to Sir Robert Cecil, March 13, Edinburgh: The King 'might employ a young gentleman, one Sempill of Beltreis...He is a raw piece to employ and one unskilful, only a scholar. He is son to John Sempill and Mary Livingston, the King's mother's servants both'. Aug 26, Hudson to Cecil: 'This young gentleman is a good youth but of small experience'. [Scot.xiii.425,535].

His mother was one of the 'four Maries' who had attended Mary Queen of Scots.

Aug 30, Thur Scottish Ambassador at Nonsuch for first audience.
James Sempill of Beltreis (c.1566-1626).

King James sent Sempill for the next instalment of his gratuity, and to complain strongly that Edmund Ashfield, an Englishman whom the King had sent secretly to Spain and Rome, had been carried off from Scotland to Berwick by Sir William Bowes, the English Ambassador. The Queen had recalled Bowes; Edmund Ashfield, committed to the Tower on July 29, was still there in 1603.

Also Aug 30: Thomas Ferrers at court after special embassy to Denmark.^{MK}
Ferrers was abroad for four months.

Aug 31, past midnight, Nonsuch, Lord Chamberlain Hunsdon to Sir Robert Cecil:
'Her Majesty standeth stiffly to her determined removing...and will not be persuaded but to go more privately than is fitting...and yet in state she will ride through Kingston, proportioning very unsuitably her lodging at Hampton Court unto it, making the Lady Scudamore's lodging her Presence, Mistress Radcliffe's her Privy Chamber, and appointing me to lodge in the chamber I had appointed for you'.

'This being the resolution, which will die in the weak foundation of itself, make your choice whether you will retain your father's lodging, or that which the Lord Chamberlain hath always held, until time shall alter the purposes now conceived, and that it shall be seen whether she will be like herself in her own house'. [SP12/272/94]. Lady Scudamore: a Lady of the Privy Chamber; Mary Radcliffe: a Gentlewoman of the Privy Chamber.

Court news. Sept 1, Strand Bridge, Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sidney:
'Her Majesty, God be thanked in perfect good health, removes upon Tuesday to Hampton Court for four days only; leaves behind the fair Maids and the Household at Nonsuch, with a purpose to return'...

'Upon Thursday the King of Scotland's Ambassador had audience, when he made known to her Majesty the dislike his master conceived at Sir William Bowes' manner of taking Ashfield away. Her Majesty was very loud and sharp in her answer...saying that his departure was not forcible but voluntary'...

'Cooman and his colleague are gone hence...What success they have had in their business I cannot learn, for it is very private, as it is fit it should, being a matter of such moment. Peace, Peace, is heartily desired here of all the world, and blessed be the peace-makers, if we may have a safe honourable Peace'.^{SD}

September: Francis Bacon at Nonsuch with the Queen.

Bacon spoke with the Queen shortly before Henry Cuffe arrived from Ireland, about September 7th, with letters from the Earl of Essex.

Bacon: 'The Queen one day at Nonsuch, a little...before Cuffe's coming over, I attending her, showed a passionate distaste of my Lord's proceedings in Ireland, as if they were unfortunate, without judgement, contemptuous, and not without some private end of his own, whereupon I said: Madam...if you had my Lord of Essex here with a white staff in his hand, as my Lord of Leicester had, and continued him still about you for society to yourself, and for an honour and ornament to your attendance and court in the eyes of your people, and in the eyes of foreign Ambassadors, then were he in his right element, for to discontent him as you do and yet put arms and power into his hands, may be a kind of temptation to make him prove cumbersome and unruly'.

'And therefore if you would...send for him and satisfy him with honour here near you...I think were the best way'...

'Well, the next news that I heard was that my Lord was come over and that he was committed to his chamber for leaving Ireland without the Queen's licence' (after he suddenly arrived at Nonsuch, September 28). [Bacon, *Apology*, 147].

Sept 3, Mon via Kingston-upon-Thames, Surrey.
 Queen rode 'in state' through Kingston. Kingston Chamberlains' payments:
 'To Thomas Howard for to pay for the Queen's gloves, 40s; to Mr Cox for the gift
 to the Queen, £4.6d; paid unto the Queen's officers their ordinary fees at the
 time of our Majesty's coming through the town in her state: Serjeants of the
 Arms, 20s; Trumpeters, 20s; Yeoman Usher, 6s8d; Gentlemen Ushers [blank];
 Footmen, 20s; Porters, 10s; Litter-men, 6s8d; Yeomen of the Bottles, 6s8d'.

Sept 3, Mon **HAMPTON COURT**, Middlesex.^c

Sept 5: Sempill told King James that someone 'told me that he saw the Queen
 through a window, on Wednesday the 5th...dance the Spanish Panic to a whistle
 and taborer, none being with her but my Lady Warwick'. [*Strickland*, iv.710].

Sept 6: Sir Thomas Norris and Sir Henry Norris, sons of Henry 1st Lord Norris,
 of Rycote, Oxon, had died in Ireland on Aug 16 and Aug 21. The Queen wrote to
 Lord and Lady Norris, Sept 6, with condolences on the deaths of two sons, 'this
 bitter accident', 'our loss being no less than yours', promising to recall the
 last survivor of 6 sons, Sir Edward Norris, Governor of Ostend. [SP12/272/106].

Lady Norris died in December 1599. In May 1600 her sons' bodies were shipped
 back from Cork to Bristol for burial in England. [*HT*.x.158].

Sept 6, Thur **NONSUCH PALACE**, Cheam, Surrey.^c

Kingston Church: 'To the ringers when the Queen was at Nonsuch, 16d'.

James Sempill to King James, Sept 15, London: 'At her Majesty's returning from
 Hampton Court, the day being passing foul, she would (as her custom is) go on
 horseback, although she is scarce able to sit upright, and my Lord Hunsdon said,
 "It was not meet for one of her Majesty's years to ride in such a storm".
 She answered, in great anger, "My years! Maids, to your horses quickly"; and so
 rode all the way, not vouchsafing any gracious countenance to him for two days'.
 'As she passed by Kingston, one old man fell on his knees, praying God that
 she might live a hundred years, which pleased her so as it might come to pass;
 which I take to be the cause that some preachers pray she may last as the sun
 and the moon'. [*Strickland*, iv.709].

Sept 7, Fri: *Queen's birthday celebrations, e.g.*
 Allhallows London Wall: 'To the ringers upon the birthday of her Majesty, 12d'.

c.Sept 7-14: Henry Cuffe at Nonsuch, from Ireland.

Henry Cuffe (1563-1601), one of Essex's secretaries since 1594, formerly
 Regius Professor of Greek at Oxford; executed for high treason, 1601.

Court news. Sept 8, Baynard's Castle, Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sidney:
 'Her Majesty is very well, stayed three nights at Hampton Court, and is
 now returned again to Nonsuch, which of all other places she likes best'...

'My Lord of Essex is gone towards the north with a small force. Mr Cuffe,
 his Secretary, is come over with letters of importance, and to signify in
 what state things stand there'...

'It is muttered that young Sir Henry Carey stands to be a favourite;
 that his lady mother and my Lady Hunsdon do further it, and grace it'...

'My Lord Herbert is a continual courtier'.^{SD}
 Lord Herbert of Cardiff: Earl of Pembroke's son, Sir Robert Sidney's nephew.

September 8: Thomas Platter and other Swiss travellers arrived in London. Thomas Platter (1574-1628), a Swiss physician, and five friends, 'with a desire to see her Majesty and the country', arrived at Dover from France on Sept 6, staying at The Greyhound. They reached London on Sept 8, staying at The Fleur-de-Lis, Mark Lane, an inn 'kept by a Frenchman, Monsieur Briard'; this 'was visited by players almost daily'.

Platter's party went to the French Church, Westminster Abbey, Whitehall Palace, and Christ's Hospital, a school for 700 boys and girls. They went to a cockpit, watched bear-baiting, saw a comedy at a theatre near Bishopsgate. On Sept 11 after visiting St Paul's Cathedral they crossed the river to another theatre [The Globe], 'and there in the house with the thatched roof witnessed an excellent performance of the tragedy of the first Emperor Julius Caesar with a cast of some 15 people; when the play was over they danced very marvellously and gracefully together as is their wont, two dressed as men and two as women'.

Platter was ferried to a boathouse in which was the Queen's barge 'quite closed up and very prettily designed with gangways', with a boat beside it 'in which the oarsmen had to sit to steer the Queen's barge in and out, and so that it might glide more smoothly it was lashed on to this steerage boat, for none was allowed to row in it'.

During their 5 week visit the Swiss first saw the Queen at Nonsuch, Sept 16. Platter kept a diary, translated by Clare Williams as Thomas Platter's Travels in England, 1599 (1937); details of his visit are taken from this, but new style dates are altered here to old style, to accord with English custom.

Court news. Sept 12, Nonsuch, Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sidney: The Earl of Pembroke 'is very ill...and my Lord Herbert gone in post to see him'...

'The unkindness between my Lord of Essex and Mr Secretary [Cecil] is grown to extremity. I hear my Lord is infinitely discontented, and in his discontentments uses speeches that may be dangerous and hurtful to his safety. Mr Cuffe hath had access to the Queen, who came of purpose, marvellous well instructed to answer such objections as her Majesty could lay to his charge; and I hear that Cuffe hath very wisely behaved himself, to her Majesty's better satisfaction'.

'Now that my Lord Herbert is gone he is much blamed for his cold and weak manner of pursuing her Majesty's favour...Young Carey follows it with more care and boldness. I protest unto you that I did...advise his Lordship...that this young competitor might purposely start up, to try what he would do. It is not yet too late...Surely it would be to your good to see him a favourite'.

'My Lady Katherine Howard is come to court, and this day sworn of the Privy Chamber, which greatly strengthens that party, she being very gracious in her Majesty's eye...I am credibly made believe by a very wise and a grave man, that at this instant the Lord Admiral is able to do with the Queen as much as my Lord Leicester was, if he list to use his credit with her'...

'An offer is made to the Queen of 4000 crowns, to buy a pearl chain, for Clarendon Park [Wiltshire], and 1000 crowns to a lady to move it'.

Sept 13, Nonsuch: 'Her Majesty will remove to Richmond in 12 days' time, and is in perfect health'.^{SD}

Sept 14, Fri The Queen sent Henry Cuffe back to Ireland with a letter to Essex, critical of how little he had accomplished in six months, asking:

'If lack of numbers, if sickness of the armies be the reasons, why was not the action undertaken when the army was in better state? If winter's approach, why were the summer months of July and August lost? If the spring was too soon and the summer that followed otherwise spent, if the harvest that succeeded was so neglected as nothing hath been done, then surely we must conclude that none of the four quarters in the year will be in season for you and that Council to agree of Tyrone's prosecution, for which all our charge was intended'.

[Elizabeth, Works, 396].

Sept 16, Sun-17, Mon Captain Thomas Lawson at Nonsuch, from Ireland.

Lawson brought a 'Journal of the Lord Lieutenant's proceedings', describing a parley between the Earl of Essex and the Earl of Tyrone on September 6, their agreement made on September 7 for a cessation of arms, to continue for six weeks at a time, and the news that on September 8 Essex 'dispersed his army'.

Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sidney, Sept 19, Baynard's Castle:

'Upon Sunday last the 16th September, Captain Lawson came to the court with my Lord of Essex's letter, only to her Majesty'...

'Her Majesty dispatched back again Captain Lawson with all speed upon Monday last with her letters under her signature, and a private letter from herself. I know not how it is liked here, but it should seem not well'.^{SD}

The Queen gave Essex her opinion 'of your interview with the rebels', writing that 'To trust this traitor upon oath is to trust a devil upon his religion'.

[Illustrated: *Pryor*, No.53]. Essex left Ireland and this did not reach him.

Sept 16, Sun Swiss travellers at Nonsuch Palace.

Thomas Platter and his friends went by coach via Tooting to Nonsuch 'a fine royal residence...On arrival we saw a broad green meadow before the palace on which were pitched a number of tents, round in shape or elongated like a church, where many of the noble lords in the train of the royal court had their quarters. For the palace stands isolated, having neither township, village nor a single house in its vicinity, so that whoever is not accommodated in the royal residence must manage under the tents'.

Platter had a letter of introduction from the Mayor of Dover to Lord Cobham, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, who arranged for them to be escorted to the Presence Chamber 'where we were placed well to the fore, so as better to behold the Queen'. It was hung with tapestries, the floor strewn with rushes, with carpets laid only up to the Queen's seat.

After a number of men with white staffs, and noblemen, came the Queen alone 'very straight and erect still, who sat down in the Presence Chamber upon a seat covered with red damask and cushions embroidered in gold thread, and so low was the chair that the cushions almost lay on the ground, and there was a canopy above, fixed very ornately to the ceiling'.

'She was most lavishly attired in a gown of pure white satin, gold-embroidered, with a whole bird of paradise for panache, set forward on her head studded with costly jewels, wore a string of huge round pearls about her neck and elegant gloves over which were drawn costly rings. In short she was most gorgeously appparelled and...very youthful still in appearance, seeming no more than twenty years of age. She had a dignified and regal bearing, and...rules her kingdom with great wisdom in peace and prosperity and the fear of God'...

'As soon as the Queen had seated herself, her lady-in-waiting, very splendidly arrayed, also entered the room, while her Secretary stood on her right; those with the white staffs and several other knights on her left; and one of the knights handed her some books, kneeling when he approached her, as did likewise the Admiral and my Lord Cobham, who were also present. I am told that they even play cards with the Queen in kneeling posture'.

'On receiving the books, she read in them a little, and a preacher in a white surplice delivered a sermon, merely standing on the floor, facing the Queen. And two Bishops stood beside him in black satin cassocks, assisting the preacher at the beginning and end with the responses'...

'Having read a while she listened, not for long however, for since it was very warm and late, and many people were assembled, she called one of the knights to come to her and commanded him while he knelt before her to sign to the preacher to draw to a close...which straightway happened'.

'When the prayer was ended she withdrew to the apartment from which she had come, accompanied by her lady and the gentlemen'.

Platter named the preacher as the Archbishop of Canterbury (Whitgift).

Platter and his party were invited to watch the ceremonial serving of the Queen's dinner, performed in her absence but as elaborately as if she was present, with the dishes then taken to her to choose from in private.

After the dessert had been served 'the Queen's musicians appeared in the Presence Chamber with their trumpets and shawms, and after they had performed their music everyone withdrew'.

Thomas Platter and his friends dined in a tent, and were then shown the palace gardens, including Diana's Grove, and an arbour 'where the Queen sits during the chase in the park. Here she can see the game run past'. Finally they obtained from the Lord Admiral a letter of introduction permitting them to view any of the royal residences. They stayed overnight at Kingston.

Sept 17: Thomas Platter and his friends visited Hampton Court.

It is 'the finest and most magnificent royal edifice to be found', with a park 'which has a wall round of one and a half miles in length, is full of game and has a lodge in its midst from which the Queen can watch the chase...Since the Queen recently progressed from Hampton Court to Nonsuch with some three hundred carts of bag and baggage as is her custom, the tapestries and all the other ornaments still hung in the apartments'. There were tapestries of the histories of Abraham; Julius Caesar; Lot; Pompey; Tobias.

After viewing the gardens and Maze they were shown round the Palace, including the 'Paradise Chamber' with a painted ceiling and a bejewelled canopy or throne beneath which 'the Queen is accustomed to sit in her magnificence'.

From Hampton Court they moved on to Windsor, to St George's Chapel, and the Castle, leaving next day for Oxford, staying at The Bear, and Woodstock Palace, where they heard much about the Queen's imprisonment there before her Accession.

They returned to London on Sept 21. They were shown around the Tower of London, seeing the armoury, the Mint, and the menagerie, comprising six lions and lionesses (one called Elizabeth), a tiger, a wolf, and a porcupine. The same day they sailed to Greenwich Palace and were shown around.

Also visited in London was Walter Cope's private museum; a long list of exhibits includes 'the bauble and bells of Henry VIII's fool', a unicorn's tail, a thunderbolt, porcelain from China, heathen idols, an Indian canoe.

Platter quotes a proverb: 'England is a woman's paradise, a servant's prison ...and a horse's hell or purgatory'.

The Swiss saw the Queen again at Richmond Palace on October 7.

Sept 18, Nonsuch, Sir Robert Cecil to Sir Henry Neville, of the Earl of Essex: 'I conceive my Lord will not be long in Ireland, for if there follow Peace he need not, and for a winter war, which must be only by Garrisons, so great a general need not'. 'Your loving kinsman and assured friend'. [Winwood, i.105].

Sept 20, Reigate Church, Surrey: burial: Katherine Howard, sister of Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham; she was appointed a Maid of Honour c.1572.

Whyte to Sidney, Sept 24, Strand: The Lord Admiral is away from court mourning 'the loss of his sister, the only old Maid of court, Mistress Katherine Howard'.

Sept 24-Oct 14: Jerome Cooman in London on 4th 1599 mission from the Spanish Netherlands. Sept 29, Nonsuch, Whyte to Sidney: 'The peace-makers are come to London; Mr Secretary hath been with them. Tis said that they show a good sufficient commission to treat and conclude a peace...They have written to the Queen. We hear that the Infanta desires it greatly of her Majesty...It is credibly believed here that we shall conclude a peace, if any honourable and reasonable conditions be offered. The States, if it go forward, must have warning of it, and I believe Sir Francis Vere will be sent unto them about it'.

Sept 25: News from James Hill, one of two Ambassadors from Sweden in England in April-May. 'General Hill' was now fighting the Finns, and wrote to Lord Buckhurst on Sept 25 from his tent in Finland that Duke Charles 'had hoped of both better entertainment to his Ambassadors, as also a better answer'...

'My Lord, move her Majesty to call me home with her letters, for I find honour may be never so great, yet home is home...I am able to bring 1000 brave soldiers to serve her Majesty if need required, so soon as the best pensioner her Majesty has in Germany. Here I am so disgraced of the courtiers, for that I was denied to be Ambassador to her Majesty, that since my coming I have been forced often to draw my sword and defend my reputation...To Sir Walter Raleigh great thanks from the Duke for our entertainment'. Sept 26, Hill to the Earl of Essex: 'The Duke's Grace thinks himself not contented...with that poor entertainment his Ambassadors found at London. I have excused it in the best manner in regard of your absence...Here, through the disgrace I received in England, the court is too hot for me'. [HT.viii.364-5; ix.357-8]. Hill remained abroad.

Sept 28: Earl of Essex returned to court from Ireland without licence. Essex, against orders, had held a parley and agreed a truce with the rebel Earl of Tyrone. He abruptly left for England, also against orders, on Sept 24, with many of his followers, including the Earl of Southampton.

Early on Friday September 28 he rode to Westminster, and on to Nonsuch.

[Sept 29] Nonsuch, Michaelmas Day at noon, Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sidney: 'Upon Michaelmas Eve, about 10 o'clock in the morning, my Lord of Essex lighted at Court Gate in post, and made all haste up to the Presence, and so to the Privy Chamber, and stayed not till he came to the Queen's Bedchamber, where he found the Queen newly up, the hair about her face; he kneeled unto her, kissed her hands, and her fair neck, and had some private speech with her, which seemed to give him great contentment; for coming from her Majesty to go shift himself in his chamber he was very pleasant, and thanked God though he had suffered much trouble and storms abroad he found a sweet calm at home. 'Tis much wondered at here that he went so boldly to her Majesty's presence, she not being ready and he so full of dirt and mire that his very face was full of it'.

'About 11 he was ready, and went up again to the Queen and conferred with her till half an hour after 12. As yet all was well, and her usage very gracious towards him. He went to dinner, and during all that time discoursed merely of his travels and journeys in Ireland...He was visited frankly by all sorts here, of lords and ladies and gentlemen. Only strangeness is observed between him and Mr Secretary [Cecil], and that party'...

'Then he went up to the Queen, but found her much changed in that small time, for she began to call him to question for his return, and was not satisfied in the manner of his coming away and leaving all things at so great hazard'.

'She appointed the Lords to hear him, and so they went to Council in the afternoon, Lord Chamberlain, Lord North, Mr Secretary and Mr Controller, and he went with them, where they sat an hour. But nothing was determined or yet known; belike it is referred to a full Council, for all the Lords are sent for to be here this day. It is mistrusted that for his disobedience he shall be committed'...

'The manner of his departure was thus. An hour before he came away he called the Council at Dublin before him, and acquainted them with his resolution, committed the Sword to the Lord Chancellor and the Treasurer, and the command of the Army to the Earl of Ormond'.

'There are come over with him the most part of his Household, and a great number of Captains and gentlemen. My Lord Southampton, Lord Dunkellin, and others, are at London'...

'One thing is much spoken of here, that my Lord of Essex coming in post to Westminster Bridge, he took oars and went to Lambeth, and there took such horses as he found staying for their owners. Sir Thomas Gerard's horses were in the ferry boat coming over, ready to land. But my Lord went away, and Sir Thomas overtook him, and understanding my Lord Grey was a little before, rode somewhat hard till he overtook him also, and told him that my Lord of Essex was a little behind, if he would speak with him. "No", said the Lord Grey "I have some business at court". "Then I pray you" said Sir Thomas Gerard "let my Lord of Essex ride before, that he may bring the first news of his return himself".

"Doth he desire it?" said my Lord Grey. "No", said Sir Thomas, "nor I think will desire nothing at your hands". "Then" said he "I have business", and made greater haste than before. And indeed came to the court a quarter of an hour before the Earl, and went to Mr Secretary; but the Earl was come ere any tidings was brought upstairs'...

'As God help me, it is a very dangerous time here; for the heads of both factions being here, a man cannot tell how to govern himself towards them'.^{SD}

Court news. Sept 30, Strand, Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sidney:

'The 28th September at night, between 10 and 11 o'clock, a commandment came from the Queen to my Lord of Essex, that he should keep his chamber'.

'The 29th, being Michaelmas Day, the Lords sat in Council in the forenoon, but the Earl was not there. Before 2 in the afternoon all the Lords were assembled... When he came all the Lords rose and saluted him; but when they sat again my Lord stood at the upper end of the board, his head bare, to answer all that was objected against him. Mr Secretary, at the other end...delivered the offences her Majesty conceived he had done against her. From 2 till 5 they were in Council very private, for the Clerks were commanded out'.

'I heard that never man answered with more temper, more gravity or discretion to these matters laid to his charge: his contemptuous disobedience of her Majesty's letters and will, in returning; his presumptuous letters written from time to time; his proceedings in Ireland, contrary to the points resolved upon here ere he went; his rash manner of coming away from Ireland; his overbold going yesterday to her Majesty's presence to her Bedchamber; his making of so many idle knights'.

'After the Earl's coming from the Lords he went again to his chamber, where as yet he continues captive. The Lords sat a quarter of an hour after, and then went all to the Queen and delivered unto her what had passed. But her answer was that she would pause and consider of his answers'.

'Now if you were here should you see the two factions flourish, and who are of the faction. Yesterday Mr Secretary went to dinner accompanied with the Earls of Shrewsbury and Nottingham, the Lords Thomas Howard and Cobham, the Lord Grey and Sir Walter Raleigh and Sir George Carew. And these accompany the Earl: the Earls of Worcester, Rutland, Mountjoy, Rich, Lord Harry [Howard] but he is held a neuter...[Sir Edward] Dyer, Lord Lumley, Mr Controller [Sir William Knollys], with many knights. My Lord of Effingham is very often with him'...

'It is a world to be here, to see the humours of the time. Blessed are they that can be away, and live contented...I must beseech your Lordship to burn my letters, else shall I be afraid to write, the time is now so full of danger'.^{SD}

Sept 30, at Walsingham House, London: Frances, Countess of Essex, gave birth to a daughter, Lady Frances Devereux (1599-1674).

Also Sept 30: Essex wrote a paper endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil 'A relation of the manner of government of the Kingdom of Ireland, as the Earl of Essex left it, and hath now delivered it under his own hand'. [Devereux, ii.84-5]. Answering Articles 'whereto his Lordship's opinion was desired' he wrote, Oct 3: 'I came over resolved upon the very knees of my heart to beseech her Majesty to accept of this opportunity to reduce that miserable kingdom'. [Carew, iii.337].

Oct 1, Mon: The Earl of Essex was moved to York House, Charing Cross, the official residence of Sir Thomas Egerton, Lord Keeper.

Court news. Oct 2, Strand, Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sidney, of Essex: 'Upon Monday he was commanded from court, and committed to my Lord Keeper's, with whom now he is in York House. At his going from court few or none of his friends accompanied him...It seems that his offences towards her Majesty are great...He is a most unfortunate man, to give so gracious a Queen cause to disfavour or disgrace him...Tomorrow the Queen removes to Richmond'... 'Give me leave to beseech your Lordship to take heed what you write and to whom you write'. Sir Robert Cecil 'is one that her Majesty exceedingly loves, and most trusted by her in all the great affairs and business of her Kingdom'.^{SD}

Oct 3, Wed dinner, Kingston-upon-Thames, Surrey; Mr Evelyn.
 'For her Highness's dinner house at her remove from Nonsuch to Richmond'.^T
 Kingston Church: 'To the ringers when the Queen was at Mr Evelyn's, 18d'.
 Kingston Chamberlains: 'Paid for mending the ways when the Queen came to Mr Evelyn's, for bread and drink the first day, 3s4d; paid to Mr Bailiff Yates towards the Queen's officers' fees, £6.10s; for bread and beer the second day, 3s5d'.
 For John Evelyn see 12 October 1598.

Oct 3, Wed **RICHMOND PALACE**, Surrey.
 Work at Richmond, 1599-1600, included: Leonard Fryer, Serjeant Painter, 'working four Arbours in the Privy Garden...with oil colours'.

October: visit, Hampton Court. Crown property.
 Kingston Church: 'For ringers when the Queen came to Hampton Court, 9d'.

Oct 3, Strand, going to court, Whyte to Sidney, of the Earl of Essex: 'His Lordship's sudden return out of Ireland brings all sorts of knights, Captains, officers, and soldiers away from thence, that this town is full of them, to the great discontentment of her Majesty that they are suffered to leave their charge. But the most part of the gallants have quitted their commands, places, and companies, not willing to stay there after him'.

Oct 4, London, Whyte to Sidney: 'Upon Monday last in the forenoon [Oct 1] the Queen called for my Lord Keeper, Lord Treasurer, Lord Nottingham, and Mr Secretary; they stayed a pretty while with her Majesty, then they consulted together, and went in to the Queen again. From her Majesty they came to my Lord Keeper's chamber and sent for my Lord of Essex unto them...In the afternoon my Lord of Worcester's coach was made ready in the Stable Yard in Nonsuch, where my Lord of Essex, committed to my Lord Keeper, was brought to London'.^{SD}

Oct 6, Richmond, Queen to the Lords Justices, Lord Lieutenant, and Council of Ireland, describing Essex's relation of the state of affairs there, her dislike of his sudden return, directions for dealing with Tyrone. [Carew, iii.339-341].

Oct 6, Strand, Whyte to Sidney: 'In this place all men's eyes and ears are open to what it will please her Majesty to determine with the Earl of Essex... Her displeasure and indignation towards him is very great...Upon Thursday [Oct 4] I saw the Queen's Attorney-General [Edward Coke] at court. It is said her Majesty conferred with him...Her Majesty knows what by the laws of her realm and by her own prerogative she may do with my Lord of Essex. What she will do, time will make known...No man goes to him, nor he desirous to see any'...

'Tomorrow 29 [Sir Francis Vere], will be at court, some think there is purpose to send him over [to Ireland]. Sir Harry Docwra and Sir William Constable were both sent for to the court, and commanded that they should not quarrel with Sir Francis Vere. It was thought that they had an intent to have sent him a Challenge, but this commandment hindered it'.^{SD} Both had come from Ireland.

Oct 7, Sun Swiss travellers at Richmond Palace.

Thomas Platter's description: 'The Queen walked alone out of her Presence Chamber, followed by all her lords, Councillors, bodyguard and retinue, and passed quite close to us and most of the onlookers knelt. As she looked down from a window in the gallery on her people in the courtyard they all knelt and she spoke in English "God bless my people", and they all cried in unison "God save the Queen", and they remained kneeling until she made them a sign with her hand to rise, which they did with the greatest possible reverence. For this is certain, the English esteem her not only as their Queen, but as their God, for which reason three things are prohibited on pain of death'...

'None may enquire whether she be still a virgin, for they hold her too holy to admit of doubt. Secondly no one may question her government...so completely is she trusted. And lastly, it was forbidden on pain of death to make enquiries as to who is to succeed her on her decease, for fear that if it were known this person in his lust for government might plot against the Queen's life'.

From the gallery the Queen entered the chapel for a short sermon, then returned to the Presence Chamber, with the French Ambassador following her.

Platter and his friends played a game or two of tennis, then took dinner at an inn in the village of Richmond, and returned by coach to London.

Oct 10: Thomas Platter went to Lord Cobham's Blackfriars house for a passport addressed to the Mayor of Dover, which described his party as High Germans, 'gentlemen and scholars'. They left Dover for Calais on October 13.

Platter took home to Basle a souvenir piece of timber from The Golden Hind, Sir Francis Drake's decaying ship in dry dock at Deptford, Kent.

Court news. Oct 11, Strand, Whyte to Sidney (Governor of Flushing), of Essex's 'disgrace', 'now that you have assured me to burn my letters':

'At the court, my Lady Scrope is only noted to stand firm to him; for she endures much at her Majesty's hands, because she doth daily do all the kind offices of love to the Queen in his behalf. She wears all black; she mourns and is pensive...Tis thought she says much that few would venture to say but herself. What the Queen will determine with him is not known, but I see little hope appearing of any sudden liberty'.

'Sir William Browne has been at court...to solicit your leave'...

'My Lord Southampton and Lord Rutland come not to the court; the one doth, but very seldom; they pass away the time in London merely in going to plays every day'. [Rutland's accounts have several payments at plays, Oct 1-Nov 18].

Lady Scrope: Philadelphia (Carey); Browne: Deputy-Governor of Flushing.

Oct 13, Whyte, of Essex: 'My Lord continues close in the very same place he was...The Lords [Council] have been every day this week at court one part of the day, where one day he should have liberty, the next proved not so'.^{SD}

c.Oct 15: Dutch Agent at Richmond to take leave.

Noel Caron, resident Agent, whom the Queen was sending to Holland.

Oct 15, Queen's gift: 'To Monsieur Caron, Agent for Flanders, at his departure out of England, part of one chain of gold bought of Hugh Keal...and part of one other chain bought of Richard Martin'.^{NYG} [The Queen's goldsmiths].

Court news. Oct 16, London, Whyte to Sidney: 'This day I spoke with Monsieur Caron, being ready to depart for Holland, her Majesty sending him to the States with her resolution to have a Peace [with Spain] for the good of her kingdom and the satisfaction of her people. He was of opinion that it will assuredly go forward, her Majesty's own discourses bending him to believe it'...

'Sir Francis Vere is much graced at court'.^{SD}

Court news. Oct 17, Strand, Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sidney, of Jerome Cooman, who was sent in September from the Spanish Netherlands:

'Cooman is returned, well satisfied with her Majesty's answer unto him, that after she had signified her pleasure to the States (to which she was tied by contract) and received their answer, her Majesty would send a gentleman to the Infanta and her husband to agree upon a place of meeting, and appoint Commissioners to treat of the peace and conclude it'...

Lord Herbert (nephew)'is at court, and very discreetly follows his course of making love to 1500 [the Queen]; he exceedingly wishes you here, because he is alone for that matter, not trusting anybody with the favours he receives'.

'Caron is gone, and his speedy return with the Deputies of States is looked for, so hot we are upon this peace'.^{SD}

Noel Caron returned in December, alone.

Oct 18: christening, St Margaret Westminster: Mary Fortescue, daughter of Francis Fortescue, of Bucks, and Grace (Manners), 'born in Sir Thomas Parry knight his house within the King's palace at Westminster' on Oct 4. Godparents included Lady Elizabeth Manners. Parry became Ambassador to France in 1602.

Sir Francis Fortescue (son of Sir John Fortescue) died in 1624; his monument with his wife Grace and 10 children is in Mursley Church, Bucks.

Oct 19, Fri dinner, East Molesey, Surrey; Lady Edmondess. East Molesey manor-house; the manor was leased from the Crown by Lady Edmondess. She was Dorothy (Lidcott) (1545-1615), widow of Sir Christopher Edmondess; she was a Lady of the Privy Chamber 1559-1603.

Kingston Church: 'To the ringers when the Queen was at Molesey, 10d'. George Child, a royal waterman, with others, 'carrying her Highness's royal person from Richmond to Molesey and back again'.^T

Oct 20, Richmond, Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sidney:

'The Lord of Dunkellin, Sir Christopher St Lawrence, with others that are come out of Ireland, were at court, and presented themselves before her Majesty; she used them very graciously, but told them they had made a scornful journey'.

The Earl of Essex 'is fallen very sick'...

'Upon Thursday last [Oct 18] her Majesty made known to my Lord Mountjoy her intent to send him into Ireland. He was with her Majesty a very great while, as I hear, excusing it, with his not being able to undergo so great a service, that his health would not serve him, for he found the state of his body unable to abide the climate of Ireland'...

'Her Majesty went yesterday to dinner to Molesey, my Lady Edmondess, and returned again at night'. Mountjoy left for Ireland in February 1600.

Court news. Oct 25, Strand, Whyte to Sidney: 'Upon Sunday last [Oct 21] the Lords were at court and with the Queen in Council about my Lord of Essex's matters; the Lords were all desirous her Majesty would enlarge him...But she very angrily told them that such a contempt ought to be publicly punished'.

His contempts towards her were 'that he had knighted many, contrary to her pleasure; that he had made Lord Southampton General of the Horse, contrary to her will; that he returned, being expressly commanded not to do it'...

'All the Lords [the Council] by her Majesty's command are gone this evening to court; some resolution will surely be taken about him ere they return'.

'He is grown very ill and weak by grief, and craves nothing more than that he may quickly know what her Majesty will do with him'...

'Sir Francis Vere [Governor of Brill] hath taken his leave of the Queen, and is ready to go to his government; he hath been here much graced by her Majesty'.

Court news. Oct 26, Strand, Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sidney:

'This day all the Lords were at court by her Majesty's command, all hoping that my Lord of Essex should have been put at liberty. But they are all returned and nothing done'...

'The voice continues still that my Lord Mountjoy shall go to Ireland'.

'Sir Melchior Leven is at court, and came of purpose to save his reputation lost here. Sir Charles Blount on his way coming to London died, and there is an end of the quarrel' [on Christmas Day 1597 Leven had challenged Blount]...

'Two days ago, The Overthrow of Turnholt was acted upon a stage, and all your names used that were at it; especially Sir Francis Vere's, and he that played that part got a beard resembling his, and a watchet satin doublet, with hose trimmed with silver lace. It was full of quips; I saw it not, but I heard it was so'.^{SD} Overthrow of Turnholt: a Spanish defeat in January 1597.

Court news. Oct 27, Strand, Whyte to Sidney:

'Touching the Earl of Essex I find nothing done, notwithstanding the Lords often meeting about it. It is very like that to satisfy her Majesty and the world he will be called to public question...A rumour is that the Queen should say she meant to correct him, not to destroy him; but as yet the Earl tastes no fruit of her heavenly favour'.

'My Lord Mountjoy must and is appointed to make himself ready for Ireland... Tomorrow all such as are in England, and have commands of horse or foot in Ireland, are warned to be at court; whence they shall be sent to their charge, or their places bestowed on others, as the Earl of Southampton, Lord Dunkellin ...and divers others'.

Sir Francis Vere 'did expect a Councillor's place, and marvels he goes without it...He had an opinion that he should have grown great in court, and looked to have had a lodging appointed for him...He was much respected here'.

PS: 'This afternoon I saw The Overthrow of Turnholt played, and saw Sir Robert Sidney and Sir Francis Vere upon the stage, killing, slaying, and overthrowing the Spaniard. There is most honourable mention made of your service in seconding Sir Francis Vere, being engaged'.^{SD}

Oct 28, Sun Sir William Browne at Whitehall for audience.
Deputy-Governor of Flushing.

Oct 31, Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sidney (Governor of Flushing):

'Sir William Browne kissed the Queen's hands on Sunday; he is commanded to stay till she have further speech with him'; Nov 10: 'He hath received here very special kind usage'.^{SD} He left to return to Flushing, Nov 13.

October: Proclamation to degrade knights made by the Earl of Essex. Stating the offence which the Queen had taken at the indiscriminate bestowal of knighthood in Ireland; that she had instructed Essex 'to forbear knighting any person that was not of ancient blood, good livelihood, or had done some special service'; that, notwithstanding, within two months and less after his arrival in Ireland, he had bestowed the dignity 'beyond all moderation'; that, thereupon, she had sent him 'an express letter, all written with her own hand,' absolutely commanding him not to knight any man more, but to leave that reward to her; that nevertheless Essex had made a great number of knights in the months of August and September [38 names], and declaring that their titles are null and void.

This Proclamation was not published, but the Queen again ordered the titles to be annulled: see 25 June 1600 (again the Proclamation was not published).

From Dublin Sir Robert Napper wrote to Sir Robert Cecil, Nov 18, that the Irish say of Essex 'that he never drew sword but to make knights', and that 'he came like a hasty messenger, that went away before he had done his errand'. [SP Ireland].

*November, start: proposed dinner, Twickenham, Middx; Francis Bacon. Twickenham Lodge; owned by Bacon (1561-1626), lawyer, author; not yet married.

Bacon recalled: While my Lord of Essex 'was committed to my Lord Keeper's, I came divers times to the Queen, as I had used to do, about cause of her revenue and law business...by reason of which accesses...it was given out that I was one of them that incensed the Queen against my Lord of Essex'...

'About the middle of Michaelmas Term her Majesty had a purpose to dine at my lodge at Twickenham Park, at which time I had (though I profess not to be a poet), prepared a sonnet directly tending and alluding to draw on her Majesty's reconciliation to my Lord, which I remember also I showed to a great person, and one of my Lord's nearest friends, who commended it'. [Bacon, *Apology*, 149].

Michaelmas law term 1599: October 9-November 28.

Bacon also recalled, referring to Dr John Hayward's book on King Henry IV: 'Her Majesty being mightily incensed with that book which was dedicated to my Lord of Essex, being a story of the first year of King Henry the Fourth, thinking it a seditious prelude to put into the people's heads boldness and faction, said she had good opinion that there was treason in it, and asked me if I could not find any places in it that might be drawn within case of treason: whereto I answered: for treason surely I found none, but for felony very many. And when her Majesty hastily asked me wherein, I told her the author had committed very apparent theft, for he had taken most of the sentences of Cornelius Tacitus, and translated them into English, and put them into his text'.

'And another time, when the Queen would not be persuaded that it was his writing whose name was to it, but that it had some more mischievous author, and said with great indignation that she would have him racked to produce his author, I replied, Nay Madam, he is a Doctor, never rack his person, but rack his style; let him have pen, ink, and paper, and help of books, and be enjoined to continue the story where it breaketh off, and I will undertake by collecting [collating] the styles to judge whether he were the author or no'.

[*Apology*, 149-150]. Dr Hayward was sent to the Tower on 13 July 1600.

Nov 6, Tues Sir John Harington arrived at Richmond on return from Ireland. Harington (1560-1612), of Somerset, author, wit, one of the Queen's godsons, knighted by Essex in Ireland; in October he had met the rebel Earl of Tyrone, and had given his two young sons his translation of *Orlando Furioso*.

On November 6 he arrived with a packet for Sir Robert Cecil. [*SP Ireland*]. Whyte to Sidney, Nov 10: 'Sir John Harington is newly arrived out of Ireland, and the Queen is offended with him for going for his knighthood'.^{SD}

Sir John Harington to Sir Anthony Standen, 20 February [1600], from Kelston, near Bath: 'I came to court in the very heat and height of all displeasures; after I had been there but an hour I was threatened with the Fleet'...

'After three days every man wondered to see me at liberty...though, in conscience, there was neither rhyme nor reason to punish me for going to see Tyrone...But I had this good fortune, that after four or five days the Queen had talked of me, and twice talked to me, though very briefly'.

Harington to Dr John Still, Bishop of Bath and Wells [c.October 1603]: I 'did return with the Lord Lieutenant to meet ill will...I shall never put out of remembrance her Majesty's displeasure - I entered her chamber, but she frowned and said "What, did the fool bring you too? Go back to your business".

But 'in a day or two after her Majesty did please to ask me concerning our northern journeys'. Harington noted: 'I had nearly been wrecked on the Essex coast in my last venture, as I told the Queen, had it not been for the sweet calm of her special forgiveness'. [*Nugae Antiquae*, i.176, 309-310, 340-341].

For Harington's audience at Whitehall see below, end November.

Nov 9: Preparations in London for the Queen's coming to Whitehall.
Lord Mayor of London sent a Precept to the Livery Companies, e.g.

Nov 9, To the Master and Wardens of the Company of Barber-Surgeons:

'By the Mayor. Where her Majesty's most gracious pleasure and commandment is this present day signified unto me the Lord Mayor from the right honourable the Lord Chamberlain of her Majesty's most honourable Household, that myself and my brethren the Aldermen with a convenient number of the best and most gravest citizens of this City should upon Tuesday next in the afternoon [November 13] wait and attend upon her Highness's royal person from the town of Chelsea unto her Highness's princely palace at Westminster in as honourable and stately sort as conveniently may be performed'.

'In accomplishment of which her Highness's said commandment, these shall be to charge and command you in her Majesty's name to prepare not only yourselves, but also provide and have in a readiness the full number of eight persons of the most gravest, tallest and comeliest personages of your said Company, every of them to be well horsed and apparelled in velvet coats and chains of gold. And that not only yourselves but also every of the said eight persons may have one footman with two staff-torches to wait and attend upon him, and to be all in a readiness well and substantially horsed, apparelled, and appointed as aforesaid, in Cheapside by two o'clock of the said afternoon to attend upon me and my brethren the Aldermen to wait upon her most excellent Majesty from Chelsea aforesaid to her Highness's said palace of Whitehall'.

'Whereof see you fail not at your peril and as you will answer the contrary if through your negligence any part of this service shall not be thoroughly performed. Guildhall this 9 of November 1599'.

Lord Mayor, Nicholas Mosley, clothworker, sent a second Precept: November 12.

Nov 10, Sat dinner and hunting, Putney Park, Surrey; Sir William Cornwallis. Hunting-lodge. Cornwallis (c.1549-1611) was also of Highgate, Middlesex; wife: Lucy (Nevill), daughter of John Nevill 4th Lord Latimer; she died 1608.

Nov 10, Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sidney: 'The Queen dines this day at Putney Park, at Sir William Cornwallis's lodge. Upon Tuesday God willing she will be in London, but will dine at Chelsea'.^{SD}

The French Ambassador was at Putney Park.

Boissise to Henri IV [Nov 11]: 'I found the Queen yesterday in the house of a gentleman near Richmond, where she was hunting...She was not sorry that I should see her dressed for hunting, for in truth she was no less graceful than in her palace, and besides she was in a very good humour'.^{BT}

Nov 10: Lady Sidney at London, from Penshurst, Kent. Barbara (Gamage), wife of Sir Robert Sidney; he desired to have a grant of Otford Park, Kent.

Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert, Oct 31: The Queen is 'shortly coming to London by way of Chelsea, where she thinks to lie three days'. I will persuade my Lady to be at Chelsea with your children to present the Queen with a very short petition concerning Otford. I have obtained the Queen's litter from the Earl of Worcester. Nov 3, Strand: 'I had much ado to persuade my Lady to come up, she being so far in love with sweet Penshurst...The Queen's litter is at Penshurst and upon Monday or Tuesday [Nov 5 or 6] she [Lady Sidney] will be in London...

'The Queen will be at London four days before the Coronation; how long her Majesty will stay here is not known'. November 10: 'My Lady is come up'.^{SD}

The Queen dined at Chelsea on November 13; Lady Sidney gave birth to a daughter Barbara on November 28.

Nov 10, Sat: death. Margaret Radcliffe (1575-1599), Maid of Honour, died at Richmond, having pined away after her brother Sir Alexander Radcliffe's death in Ireland in August. Funeral: November 23.

Nov 12: Lord Mayor's second Precept to the Livery Companies:

'These are in her Majesty's name to charge and command you that for the better satisfaction of her Highness concerning your attendance, and the attendance of those others which are appointed to attend her most excellent Majesty tomorrow in the afternoon, you take great care that neither yourselves nor any of the number appointed do in any wise depart homeward before her Highness shall be entered her palace at Westminster, unless they have especial commandment so to do. And further that you and they after her Majesty shall be entered do attend with lights, and keep such like good order homeward in quiet manner in the several degrees and places as they are to pass forth of the City. And hereof fail you not as you tender her Majesty's good pleasure, and will answer the contrary at your peril'. [Precepts: Barber-Surgeons' Minutes].

Nov 12: Richmond Church register: 'Mrs Elizabeth Ratcliff, one of the Maids of Honour, died and her bowels buried in the chancel at Richmond'.

Nov 13, Whyte to Sidney: She died 'at Mr Kircom's house in Richmond...She is much lamented...Now that Mistress Radcliffe is dead the Lady Kildare hopes that my Lord Cobham will proceed on his suit to her'.^{SD} Essex wrote in jest to Robert Cecil, Feb 1598, to tell Alex Radcliffe that 'his sister is married to Sir John Falstaff'. [Hotson, *Dated*, 154. Falstaff in *Henry IV* was originally called Sir John Oldcastle, an ancestor of Lord Cobham, who married Lady Kildare in 1601].

Nov 13, Tues visit, Putney, Surrey; Mr [John] Lacy. Richard Coningsby made ready 'Mr Lacy's house at Putney for her Highness to warm herself at when her Majesty removed from Richmond to Whitehall'.^T

Nov 13: at Chelsea, gift to the Queen by Sir Arthur Gorges. The Queen's barge passed the newly built riverside house of Sir Arthur Gorges (1557-1625), a Gentleman Pensioner and poet; 2nd wife: Elizabeth (Clinton), daughter of Henry Clinton 2nd Earl of Lincoln, also of Chelsea. Their brass memorial is in Chelsea Old Church.

Whyte to Sidney, Nov 15: 'As the Queen passed by the fair new house in Chelsea, Sir Arthur Gorges presented her with a fair jewel'.

[Nov 1599] Gorges wrote 'Verses sung to Queen Elizabeth by a Mermaid as she passed upon the Thames to Sir Arthur Gorges house at Chelsea'.

'O blessed eyes, the life of sights ye see
 Temper divine of grace and Majesty,
 O graceful Majesty, O blissful eyes
 See the strong proofs that there are deities.
 But tis a vision, Beauty's rapturing fire
 Hath cast me in a trance.
 What sense cannot obtain it must admire
 In humble ignorance.
 Beauty and Majesty and grace enthroned:
 Not found in millions are in one attoned.
 See how to follow her the billow hastes
 And in her love the leafless season wastes
 Whose Beauty's Circle Heavens do so empale
 That wanting naught it sees the wants of all.
 Seas, years, and beauties ever ebb and flow
 But she still fixed doth shine.
 When all things died her Reign began to grow
 To prove she is divine.
 See those in whose chaste hearts virtue survives
 Finish their fading years, but not their lives'.

[H.E.Sandison, ed. *The Poems of Sir Arthur Gorges* (1953), 131-2].

Nov 13, Tues dinner, Chelsea, Middlesex; Earl of Nottingham.
Chelsea manor-house; Charles Howard, 1st Earl of Nottingham (c.1536-1624),
Lord Admiral; 1st wife: Katherine (Carey), died 1603.

The French Ambassador, Boissise, was present.

The Earl wrote to Sir George More (of Loseley, Surrey), Nov 12, thanking
More for his 'kind and bountiful presents especially as such times as her
Majesty is pleased to visit me'. [HMC 7th Report, 658].

Court news. Nov 13, Baynard's Castle, Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sidney:
'My Lord Nottingham hath a suit of his own for £200 a year land, which I believe
will this day be effected, at the Queen's being at his house at Chelsea'...

'My Lord Derby hath put up the plays of the Children in Paul's to his great
pains and charge'...

'Tyrone hath given warning he will not continue the truce any longer.
The Lord Mountjoy is now commanded to prepare [for Ireland]'...

'The Deputies of the States are daily expected, and it is wondered at
they stay so long' [they failed to arrive]...The Queen will be anon at
Whitehall. All the city are gone to meet her Majesty'.^{SD}

Nov 13, Tues **WHITEHALL PALACE.**

Boissise to Henri IV [Nov 15]: 'I went to find the Queen at Chelsea, where she
had come to dine. The Lord Admiral had invited me and he received me and treated
me with all possible courtesy...I accompanied the Queen as far as Westminster,
where she arrived at night. She travelled in great state. She was in a richly
adorned litter, followed by a great number of Earls, Barons, gentlemen, ladies
and Maids of Honour, all well dressed and mounted. The officers appointed by the
Crown, such as the Lord Admiral, Lord Treasurer, Lord Chamberlain, were around
her; the Earl of Derby...carried the Sword; the Earl of Worcester, as Master of
the Horse in place of the Earl of Essex, led her horse. All the lords were
bare-headed. The Lord Mayor, who has great authority, went before the Queen,
with 700 or 800 citizens, each with a gold chain round his neck'.

'All the people were spread out beside the fields and made the air ring with
good wishes and cheering, which the Queen received with a very sweet and kind
expression on her face, and often stopped to speak to them and to thank them,
so it did one good to see the affection between the Queen and her people'.^{BT}

*Cutlers' Company spent 'that day the Master and Wardens went to meet the
Queen, 45s6d'. Vintners' Company: 'Paid for 4 dozen of staff-torches, 40s;
paid for a link and a pottle of sack when we came from meeting her Majesty, 2s'.*

A Fishmonger was fined for failure to attend: details: November 26.

Nov 14 or 15: Duel between Lord Dunkellin and Sir Calisthenes Brooke.
Richard Bourke, Lord Dunkellin (1572-1635), later 4th Earl of Clanricarde, and
Sir Calisthenes Brooke (1573-1611), Lord Cobham's nephew, a godson of the Queen.
Both had returned from Ireland. Whyte had informed Sir Robert Sidney, Oct 27:
'Between the Lord Dunkellin and Sir Calisthenes Brooke is grown unkindness, and
a commandment laid upon them not to quarrel'.

Court news. Nov 15, Baynard's Castle, Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sidney:
'Her Majesty only dined at my Lord Admiral's [Nov 13], where she found all
things to her liking. His suit is granted'...

'The Lord Dunkellin and Sir Calisthenes Brooke fought this day; the rumour
goes that Brooke is hurt in five places, and that the Lord Dunkellin hath but
slight scratches'...

'In Mistress Radcliffe's place [as Maid of Honour], the fair young Mistress
Southwell is to be admitted, she is sworn the Queen's servant, but not yet in
that place...London is now full of lords and ladies'.^{SD}

Court news. Nov 16 [London], Philip Gawdy to his brother:

'My Lord of Dunkellin fought in the field with Sir Calisthenes Brooke upon Wednesday last [Nov 14] and only had one thrust at him, and so the fray ended, for my Lord thrust him quite through the hand up into the arm. The cause briefly was Sir Calisthenes had promised his sister marriage and got her with child, and then refusing her, my Lord her brother undertook her just quarrel, which God justly revenged'.

'There is news besides of the tragical death of Mistress Radcliffe the Maid of Honour, who ever since the death of Sir Alexander her brother hath pined in such strange manner as voluntarily she hath gone about to starve herself and by the two days together hath received no sustenance, which meeting with extreme grief hath made an end of her maiden modest days at Richmond upon Saturday last, her Majesty...commanded her body to be opened and found it all well and sound, saving certain strings striped all over her heart. All the Maids ever since have gone in black. I saw it myself at court, where I saw the Queen's Majesty talk very long with my Lord Henry Howard and your uncle Francis Bacon'.

'Great running at tilt, whereof my Lord Grey, a great man at court, is thought to be the chief'.^{GY}

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

Stationers entered a book published as *Hymns of Astraea in Acrostic Verse*. By John Davies. Poems celebrating the Queen, the first letters of each line of the 26 'hymns' spelling 'ELISA BETHA REGINA'. The poems are entitled:

Of Astraea, To Astraea, To the Spring, To the month of May, To the Lark, To the Nightingale, To the Rose, To all the Princes of Europe.

To Flora:

'Empress of flowers, tell where a way
Lies your sweet Court this merry May,
In Greenwich garden alleys:
Since there the heavenly powers do play,
And haunt no other Valleys'.

To the month of September:

'Renowned art thou (sweet month) for this,
Emong thy days her birthday is'.

To the Sun, To her Picture, Of her Mind, Of the Sunbeams of her Mind,
Of her Wit, her Will, her Memory, her Fantasy, Of the Organs of her Mind.
Of the Passions of her Heart, Of the innumerable Virtues of her Mind,
Of her Wisdom, her Justice, her Magnanimity, her Moderation; To Envy.

[Astraea was traditionally the last of the gods to abandon the earth during the Bronze or Iron Age, and symbolised the Golden Age].

St Paul's Cathedral: sermon by Dr Thomas Holland, Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, comparing the Queen to Solomon and the Queen of Sheba.

Text: Matthew 12:42:

'The Queen of the South shall rise in judgement with this generation, and shall condemn it; for she came from the utmost parts of the earth to hear the wisdom of Solomon; and behold, a greater than Solomon is here'.

Dr Holland declared: 'How rare a Phoenix the Queen of England hath been, and how bright a star in these days...For in the fruits of her peace she will shine as a star in the catalogue of her honourable predecessors, and for her learning and wisdom will be as a Phoenix renowned by many famous writers to the people of that age which shall succeed her'.

Dr Holland published his sermon (Oxford, 1600) as:

'A Sermon preached in Paul's Church' 17 November 1599, 'the 42nd year of the most flourishing Reign of Queen Elizabeth'.

'Whereunto is adjoined a modest answer to a slanderous accusation, whereby this flourishing Realm hath been shamefully traduced at home, and in foreign nations, concerning the solemnisation that is on the 17th of November yearly celebrated, and hath been for the space of these 30 last years festively and triumphantly accomplished through all this Realm to God's glory, her Majesty's honour, and to the comfort of all faithful Subjects, and true English hearts'.

Dr Holland's 'modest answer', defending the Church of England for celebrating Accession Day and the Queen's birthday, is entitled: 'An Apologetical Discourse, whereby all such slanderous accusations are fully and faithfully confuted, whereby the Honour of this Realm hath been uncharitably traduced by some of our adversaries in foreign nations, and at home, for observing the 17th of November yearly in the form of a Holy-day, and for the joyful exercises and courtly triumphs on that day in the honour of her Majesty exhibited'.

Dr Holland alleges that 'About the 12th year of the reign of her Excellency [November 1569] was the first practice of the public solemnisation of this day, and...the first public celebrity of it was instituted in Oxford (by Dr Cooper, being then there Vice-Chancellor)...from whence this institution flowed by a voluntary current over all this realm...to the great comfort of all true English hearts'. [November 17 was already celebrated in Oxford and elsewhere pre-1569].

St Bartholomew by the Exchange: 'To Preston for ringing the bells on the Queen's day, 4s6d; for candles for the sermon, 16d'.

St Mary Woolchurch Haw payments, Sept-Nov 17: Two painters 'for painting of the Church and for the Queen's Arms, £15.14s; more unto Daniell the painter for painting Jehovah over the Queen's Arms, 2s6d; unto the carver for carving of two cartoons for the Queen's Arms [with other carving and cartoons], 16s'.

St Mary Woolnoth: 'Paid the 16th and 17th of November 1599 for ringing on those days, 3s; for rosemary and bays spent on the Queen's day at night, 3d'.

St Michael Cornhill: 'Paid the 17th of November for white wax candles for the branch [candelabra] and three roses, 6s10d; paid the same day to the ringers and for six pound of candles and for oil for the bells, 4s8d'.

St Stephen Coleman Street: 'Paid to the ringers of the day of her Highness Coronation being the beginning of the 42nd year of her Majesty's most happy reign, 3s4d'.

Bristol Chamberlains: 'To the trumpeters upon the Queen's holiday, 6s8d; for a draught [load] of wood for the bonfire, and for attending of him, 3s5d'.

Cambridge University: 'John Wade the carpenter for setting up the stage in St Mary's for the musicians on the Queen's day, 4s; Masters of the Choristers of King's and Trinity College for their pains in St Mary's on the Queen's day according to the order of the Vice-Chancellor and heads of colleges, 40s'.

Canterbury Chamberlains: 'For the dinners of the five Waits, the Sergeants and the Crier they waiting on Master Mayor and the Aldermen at The Lion, they with Master Archdeacon and the Prebendary dining there on the Queen's day, 6s8d; for a pottle of claret wine and a quart of sack for their dinners, 2s4d; to the Waits in reward for their music that dinner, 5s'.

Heckington Church, Lincs: 'Bestowed of the ringers of the Queen's day, 9s'.

Heydon Church, Essex: 'For work about the bells and for seats in the church against the Coronation day, 4s'.

Ipswich Chamberlains: 'Twenty shillings given to Mr Downing the Schoolmaster, for making a speech on the Coronation day'.

Leverton Church, Lincs: 'Paid for bread, drink, and cheese for the ringers on St Hugh's Day, 5s; paid for soap and candle spent then, 5d'.

Prescot Church: 'Paid to the ringers upon the Coronation day, 8s; spent by the churchwardens the same day, 12d; for the use of a borrowed rope that day, 8d'.

Woodbridge Church, Suffolk: 'Paid the ringers besides the money then gathered upon Crownation day, 2s9d'.

Accession Day Tilt preparations.

Richard Coningsby, Gentleman Usher, made ready Whitehall 'against the Coronation Day', and 'the galleries at Whitehall for her Majesty against the running at tilt', and 'the standing for the Judges in the Tilt-yard two several times against the running'.^T Tilt-lists and Heralds' Proclamations: College of Arms MS M.4, f.54,55,56].

Nov 17, Sat Accession Day Tilt deferred to November 18.

Herald's Proclamation: 'A Proclamation pronounced by Clarenceux Camden on horseback at the upper end of Tilt-yard at Whitehall. The Earl of Worcester (deputy for the Earl Marshal) and Sir Thomas Gerard, Knight Marshal, being present. And when he had done there, they all rode to the Court Gate and there did the like, both to this effect: Where this day hath usually been held with solemn and royal Jousts for the honour of her Majesty's reign, it is now her Majesty's will and pleasure (by reason of the unseasonableness of the weather) to defer the said Jousts until tomorrow in the afternoon. And therefore all that are here now present may depart until then. God save the Queen'.

Nov 18, Sun Accession Day Tilt deferred to November 19.

'The next day also (the weather falling out badly) Clarenceux was sent for (by my Lord of Worcester) to make the like Proclamation for deferring the said Jousts till Monday, which was done by him accordingly'.

Nov 19, Mon **Accession Day Tilt**, Whitehall, 1599. 9 pairs.

Earl of Cumberland	v	Robert Knollys
Earl of Sussex	v	Sir Thomas Gerard
Earl of Bedford	v	John Needham
Lord Howard of Effingham	v	Robert Knollys [again]
Lord Grey	v	Sir Henry Carey
Lord Mountjoy	v	Charles Howard
Lord Compton	v	Edward Howard
Sir James Scudamore	v	Edward Bellingham
Henry Alexander	v	Sigismund Alexander [brothers].

Judges: Lord Thomas Howard, Lord Henry Seymour, Lord Sandys, Sir William Knollys. Same Judges again on November 21.

Herald: 'The Earl of Cumberland...in his speech delivered to her Majesty made a Challenge against all comers to run for a jewel'.

'The day appointed for the same to be on Wednesday following'.

Nov 20: *James Colville, Laird of Wemyss, in London from Scotland.*

Nov 20, James Hudson to Sir Robert Cecil: The Laird of Wemyss being bound for France is a suitor by your Honour to kiss her Majesty's hands, and for a passport for himself, servants, and horses, eight in number.

The Queen has used James Sempill, special Ambassador, 'with great honour'. He says 'that the wisest princes in the world may with honour learn of her to govern the great and guard the small...He says that whoever has the theory of good government, he is sure she has the practice thereof'. [Scot.xiii.573-4].

Nov 21, Wed Tournament: Tilt. 8 pairs.
 Same pairs as on November 19, but without Earl of Cumberland v Robert Knollys, the Earl being unwell; his Challenge was deferred to November 25 (not held).
 'All the said runners came in readiness to the Tilt, and her Majesty was also in the Gallery, but the Earl of Cumberland, being not well, came not that day and therefore, after the running was done, these words following were pronounced by Thomas Lant, Windsor Herald, on horseback standing between the upper end of the Tilt and the stair-foot going up to her Majesty:

The Proclamation: "Whereas the right honourable Earl of Cumberland, true, loyal and devoted knight to her Majesty, proclaimed a Challenge (with a prize) to be held this day for her Majesty's honour, which the indisposition of his body will not permit him to perform, the same is deferred until Sunday next, at which time he will be ready (if God permit) in this place at one o'clock, according to his former Challenge. God save the Queen". At the lower end of the Tilt he made the like Proclamation and at Charing Cross the like also'.

Nov 22: Stationers entered a translation by Edward Fairfax, published as: Godfrey of Bulloigne, or The Recovery of Jerusalem. 'Done into English'.

Dedicated 'To her High Majesty', with verses in her praise, including:

'Her hand, her lap, her vesture's hem,
 Muse touch not for polluting them...
 O Fame, say all the good thou may'st,
 Too little is that all thou say'st'.

Followed by 'The Allegory of the Poem', and 20 books in verse.

A translation of Torquato Tasso's popular epic Gerusalemme Liberata (1581).

Nov 23: Funeral: St Margaret Westminster: Margaret Radcliffe, who had died at Richmond (Nov 10) after grieving for her brother's death. Register, Nov 23: 'Mrs Mary Ratcliffe, Maid of Honour'. Funeral Certificate: 'Her Majesty's will and pleasure was that this gentlewoman should be buried as a lady'.

Ben Jonson wrote an acrostic epigram: 'On Margaret Ratcliffe'.

'M arble, weep, for thou dost cover	A nd like nectar ever flowing;
A dead beauty underneath thee,	T ill time, strong by her bestowing,
R ich as Nature could bequeath thee.	C onquered hath both life and it.
G rant, then, no rude hand remove her.	L ife, whose grief was out of fashion
A ll the gazers on the skies	I n these times: few so hath rued
R ead not in fair heaven's story,	F ate, in a brother. To conclude,
E xpresser truth or truer glory	F or wit, feature, and true passion,
T han they might in her bright eyes.	E arth, thou hast not such another'.
R are as wonder was her wit,	[Epigrams, in Jonson's <u>Works</u> , 1616].

Court news. Nov 23, Baynard's Castle, Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sidney:

'The 17th and 18th were so foul, as the tilting was put off till the 19th'.

Whyte lists the tilters, including Lord Mountjoy 'to whom the Queen gave her glove', and Sir Thomas 'Garrett'.

'What was most memorable was my Lord Compton's coming in like a fisherman, with six men clad in motley, his caparisons all of net, having caught a frog. They ran again the 21st, every man his 6 courses. And upon Sunday they run for the prize, my Lord Cumberland as chief challenger'.

'Mistress Radcliffe was buried this day at Westminster, all the Maids mourning, but Mistress Anne Russell was Chief; she was buried as a nobleman's daughter, by the Queen's command. Many of the nobility were at it, as the Lords Worcester, Sussex, Rutland, Herbert, Grey, Cobham, Lord Thomas [Howard]; and 24 poor women had gowns, for so old it was said she was'...

'My Lady of Essex is a most sorrowful creature for her husband's captivity, she wears all black of the meanest price...Her Majesty's anger continues, and an opinion is held that he shall have no liberty in haste'.

'Upon Sunday last [November 18] a Chaplain of her Majesty's in open pulpit [Mr Barrett] spoke much of the misgovernment in Ireland, and used many words of the duty of subjects to their Princes'...

'The Scottish Ambassador is ready to be gone, not effecting what he came for in the behalf of Ashfield, who is held to be a very lewd fellow'.^{SD}

James Sempill, Ambassador, left for Scotland in February 1600.

Court news. Nov 23 [London], Philip Gawdy to his brother:

'The tilting is past and many runners, and the Queen thanked them after the old fashion as she was wont to do Mr Ralph Bowes'.^{GY}

Bowes took part in Tilts for 20 years; he died in 1598.

Nov 24, London, Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sidney:

Lady Essex sent the Queen 'a fair jewel, but it would not be accepted'...

'The Deputies of the States are hourly expected' [they failed to arrive]...

'My Lord Herbert is exceedingly beloved at court of all men; he is careful for your leave'.^{SD}

Sidney obtained leave in October 1600.

Nov 24, Sat Earl of Cumberland's Challenge deferred to Shrovetide 1600. Windsor Herald made a Proclamation. 'It was her Majesty's pleasure that this Challenge should be deferred until Shrovetide following. So that Proclamation was made by the said Windsor to that effect, both at the Court Gate and at Charing Cross, accompanied with a Trumpet, who sounded thrice before the Proclamation'. This Challenge did not take place.

Nov 26: *Fishmongers' Company*: 'Mr Barthew Mathewson being here is charged that he very obstinately and contemptuously being of late warned by Mr Wardens to ride with them to attend on the Lord Mayor to go meet the Queen's Majesty coming to the city [Nov 13], and his name being presented to the Lord Mayor for that purpose, came not, but disobeyed, whereby he hath forfeited by the orders of this house the sum of 20s which he is sworn to pay and Mr Wardens sworn to receive, and therefore is willed to lay it down, but having not so much money laid down a ring of gold for a pawn [pledge]'. 28 April 1600: 'It is agreed that he shall pay his fine of 20s, which he did presently, and did redeem Mr Bennett's ring that he laid down for a pawn for him'. [Court Minutes].

Nov 26, Mon: marriage, at St Margaret Lothbury: Sir Thomas Jermyn married Katherine Killigrew, daughter of William Killigrew, Groom of the Privy Chamber.

Queen's gifts to Mr Killigrew's daughter: 'One jewel of gold like a pyramid set with sapphires, one ruby, one small diamond triangled and three small pearls; one short carcanet of gold containing nine pieces like knots and mullets garnished with sparks of rubies and coarse pearls pendant'.

New Year gifts to the Queen in 1595. [BL Add MS 5751A, f.238v,239]. The Queen was godmother to Sir Thomas Jermyn's 1st child, October 1600.

Nov 27: A prophecy at Dulwich, Surrey. George Barrett, of Dulwich, labourer, said that 'the Queen would be taken away'. Asked how he knew this, he said

'By a prophecy made 300 years ago, and all things are come to pass that are contained in that prophecy, saving that. By that prophecy the Queen should live but three years, and that this was the White Summer wherein should be rumours of wars and no wars come to pass, which was spoken of in the prophecy. After which Summer all these things are prophesied to come to pass'.

Verdict: Not guilty of pronouncing prophecies. [Assizes, Surrey, 487].

c. Nov 27: Francis Bacon at Whitehall with the Queen.

Bacon wrote in 1604 to Lord Mountjoy, Lord Deputy of Ireland:

'After your Lordship was named for the place in Ireland, and not long before your going, it pleased her Majesty at Whitehall to speak to me of that nomination; at which time I said to her: Surely, Madam, if you mean not to employ my Lord of Essex thither again, your Majesty cannot make a better choice'...

'Her Majesty interrupted me with great passion: Essex! (said she); whensoever I send Essex back again into Ireland, I will marry you, claim it of me; whereunto I said: Well Madam, I will release that contract, if his going be for the good of your State'.

'Immediately after, the Queen had thought of a course (which was also executed) to have somewhat published in the Star Chamber [November 29], for the satisfaction of the world touching my Lord of Essex his restraint...which when her Majesty propounded unto me I was utterly against it'...

'And certainly I offended her at that time...for I call to mind that both the Christmas, Lent, and Easter Term following, though I came divers times to her on law business, yet methought her face and manner was not so clear and open to me as it was at the first'. [Bacon, *Apology*, 151].

Court news. [Nov 28], Baynard's Castle, Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sidney, of Sidney's nephew Lord Herbert of Cardiff, who took leave on November 27.

He is 'highly favoured by 1500 [the Queen] for at his departure he had access unto her, and was private an hour'...

'Upon Sunday last [Nov 25] the Archbishop of Cashel, an Irishman, complained at Council Board against Mr Barrett, her Majesty's Chaplain, who had that day sennight [Nov 18] preached against him in pulpit, and thrust him out of the Closet [a chapel] by the name of a traitor. Barrett is committed to the Dean of Westminster. It is he that found fault with the misorders in Ireland, glancing at the Earl of Essex's proceedings'...

Lady Essex 'upon Sunday in the afternoon...came to the court all in black, and all she wore was not valued at £5' to ask for leave to go to see the Earl.

'Answer was returned that she must attend her Majesty's pleasure by the Lords of her Council, and come no more to court...Upon Monday at night it was verily believed that the Earl should have been sent to the Tower, twelve of the Guard were appointed to be in a readiness and it was imagined for that purpose; but it fell out otherwise, and one of the Guard that gave it out had his coat taken from him, and he is committed to prison'.

'A letter was found in court by my Lady Walsingham's woman directed to her most sacred Majesty, to be delivered by the Lady Marquis [of Northampton] or [the Countess of] Warwick with all speed. It is said to be an invective against such as are most in her Majesty's favour'...

'Out of Ireland tis advertised that the rebel hath presumed by Proclamation to make known that they are all free from owing any duty or obedience to her Majesty, being by the Pope excommunicated, and now resolve to defend the liberties of their country and conscience. Your Lordship sees to what fury and madness this wild nation are grown unto. To cut off his wicked and insolent courses her Majesty is resolved to send over the Lord Mountjoy, who is commanded to be ready within 20 days'...

'Much fault is laid to the Earl of Essex's sudden return thence after the truce. The Kingdom is in great danger, the rebel and his confederates being in arms, putting all they find to fire and sword'...

'Her Majesty is in good health; speech is she will remove to Richmond seven days hence'.^{SD}

Nov 28, Wed visit, York House; Lord Keeper Egerton's residence.
The Queen went privately to visit Essex (their last known meeting).

Court news. [Nov 29, Essex House] St Andrew's Even, William Trew to his wife, at Chartley, Staffs: 'We have lived here in doubtful expectation, having a good day and a bad. Upon Monday and Tuesday last the rumour was all over that my Lord was gone to the Tower, amongst those which ken [knew] not; and amongst us that he should go that day. It was so lamented generally, as I never saw the like'.

'Upon Tuesday at night there was a letter found upon a pair of stairs in the court, directed to her Majesty, for the safety of her Majesty and her estate; this letter she had and read, being two sheets of paper, and not acquainting any with the contents in it, locked it up in her closet. Thereupon there was a great stir in the court that night, and some of the Guard that gave out they must wait upon my Lord to the Tower had their coats plucked off'.

'Yesterday, being Wednesday, all went well on our side: at 4 o'clock the Queen, my Lady Warwick, and the Earl of Worcester went privately to York House to my Lord. What is done this night I know not, but we hope well'...

'Upon Saturday the Ladies [Essex's sisters] came to Essex House to lie there; they are weary of the country'. [Devereux, ii.92].

Nov 29, Thur, in Star Chamber: A public Declaration by the Privy Council of Essex's mis-government in Ireland and the reasons for his restraint.

First Lord Keeper Egerton 'exhorted all Justices and gentlemen to repair into the country for hospitality, and said that it had been often commanded from her Majesty, but not obeyed...He had further in charge from her Majesty to admonish them to have care of the service of God and religion in their countries, which now was grown cold, by default whereof her Majesty's subjects grown in many places disobedient, and in Ireland especially disloyal and rebellious, whereby they spared not there and here at home to speak seditiously and traitorously of the Council and magistrates, yea of their Prince...Nay very seditiously they have cast abroad libels in divers places of the city, and also in the court'...

'But to come to the matter in hand. It is not unknown unto you what a princely care her Majesty hath always had to quiet and settle the government of that same torn Kingdom of Ireland, and at what infinite charges her Majesty hath been to reduce them to her obedience, insomuch that lately she employed great forces for the effecting thereof'...

'Upon the first undertaking of these Irish services divers Councils were held and all that had experience of these countries were consulted withal, and her most gracious Majesty pleased to grace our Councils with her presence, where it was provided both what force would serve for the purpose and what service was first to be undertaken'.

After Egerton each Councillor in turn spoke, criticising Essex's conduct.

[Dr Farmer Chetham MS. Part 1. *Chetham Society*, 89 (1873), 30-39; mis-dated].

Nov 30, *Baynard's Castle*, Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sidney: 'A public declaration was made by the Lords, for the satisfaction of the world, of the Earl of Essex's imprisonment'. Lord Keeper Egerton said that her Majesty sent the Earl 'with a royal army to subdue the rebellion; that in full Council here, before his departure, where her Majesty often vouchsafed to be, it was concluded he should first war against Tyrone; that he had taken a contrary course, by going to Munster...that he concluded a truce with the rebel, dishonourable to the State; that he returned without her Majesty's leave, being expressly commanded to stay; that her Majesty had spent from April to September £300,000'.

'All the Lords of the Council spoke to this effect, much blaming his courses. My Lord of Nottingham said that an army of 16,000 foot and 1300 horse was able and sufficient to conquer Spain'.^{SD}

Whyte enclosed an eye-witness description by Francis Woodward, viz:

Nov 30, London, Francis Woodward to Sir Robert Sidney:

There was 'a very great assembly of Privy Councillors and Judges in the Star Chamber', and courtiers, and 'many others of account'.

'There was public Declaration by every one of the Council, both of her Majesty's pleasure, and their opinions concerning...the matters of Ireland, and for the reformation of divers abuses offered to her Majesty and her Council...as well by many dangerous libels cast abroad in court, city, and country, as also by table and ale-house talk abroad, both in city and country, to the great scandal of her Majesty and her Council'.^{SD}

Court news. [Nov 30, London], Friday, Philip Gawdy to his brother, of Dunkellin and Brooke, who had fought a duel on November 14 or 15:

'My Lord of Dunkellin was committed to the Fleet upon Wednesday last about the quarrel betwixt Sir Calisthenes Brooke and himself, because they were forbidden both to meddle in this matter by her Majesty's Council'.

'Sir Thomas Jermyn was married upon Monday last [Nov 26] to Killigrew's daughter of the Privy Chamber, where (as I heard) was very great company'.^{GY}

Brooke and Dunkellin were both sent to the Fleet Prison. Brooke complained to Sir Robert Cecil on December 31 that Lord Dunkellin, who sent the challenge to a duel, was already released]. [HT.ix.421].

November: Sir John Harington at Whitehall with the Queen.

After his return to court from Ireland on November 6 Harington had brief meetings with the Queen, who had now read his Journal of Essex's Irish journeys.

Harington, from Kelston, Somerset, to Sir Anthony Standen, 20 February [1600]:

'At last she gave me a full and gracious audience in the Withdrawing Chamber at Whitehall, where herself being accuser, judge, and witness, I was cleared, and graciously dismissed...Until I come to heaven I shall never come before a statelier judge again, nor one that can temper majesty, wisdom, learning, choler, and favour, better than her Highness did at that time'...

'In December I came hither'.

Harington to Robert Markham [1606]:

'Herewith you will have my Journal with our History, during our march against the Irish rebels. I did not intend any eyes should have seen this discourse but my own children's; yet, alas! it happened otherwise: for the Queen did so ask and I may say demand my account, that I could not withhold showing it; and I, even now, almost tremble to rehearse her Highness's displeasure hereat'.

'She swore "By God's Son, we were all idle knaves, and the Lord Deputy worse, for wasting our time and her commands, in such wise as my Journal doth write of"...Her choler did outrun all reason, though I did meet it at a second hand. For what show she gave at first to my Lord Deputy at his return was far more grievous'...

'I bless her memory, for all her goodness to me and my family; and now will I show you what strange temperament she did sometime put forth'.

'Her mind was oft-time like the gentle air that cometh from the westerly point in a summer's morn; 'twas sweet and refreshing to all around her. Her speech did win all affections, and her subjects did try to show all love to her commands; for she would say "her state did require her to command what she knew her people would willingly do from their own love to her"...

'She could put forth such alterations, when obedience was lacking, as left no doubtings whose daughter she was...This was plain on the Lord Deputy's coming home, when I did come into her presence; she chafed much, walked fast to and fro, looked with discomposure in her visage; and I remember she caught my girdle when I kneeled to her, and swore "By God's Son, I am no Queen; that man is above me - Who gave him command to come here so soon? I did send him on other business". It was long before more gracious discourse did fall to my hearing; but I was then put out of my trouble, and bid "Go home". I did not stay to be bidden twice'. [Nugae Antiquae, i.310, 354-6. Harington's Journal of Essex's Journeys in Ireland, May 10-July 3, is printed in this, 268-293].

Court news. Dec 1, Baynard's Castle, Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sidney:

'The declaration the Lords made in Star Chamber in open court of the Earl's misgovernment in Ireland, where indeed all the errors and faults he committed, either in the war or towards her sacred Majesty, was plainly and truly set down by them, hath given all the world great satisfaction of the just cause her Majesty had to proceed against him in the manner she doth. What shall become of him in time will appear'...

'Tomorrow the Earl's Household, being 160, are dispersed, and every man to seek a new fortune; some few are retained to attend him where it will be her Majesty's will to send him. This is the greatest downfall I have seen in my days, which makes me see the vanity of the world'...

'Her Majesty, God be thanked, is in perfect good health, which all good men have cause to rejoice in'.^{SD}

An anonymous 'Minute of the most gross error, long since committed and still continued, in the wars of Ireland', 1599: 'There hath been idly spent near about a million of her Majesty's treasure from time to time by the Deputies here, only in making roads and journeys into the north part of Ireland, not judicially to advance the service, but ambitiously to get themselves a name, forsooth, for having penetrated the rebels' country...They have produced no other effect than a ship doth in the wide sea...It is strange that Deputies are not restrained from running still this wild goose chase'...

'While the remote parts of this land have been thus improvidently sought for and hunted after, the rebels have made war and waste in the heart of the English Pale...We see by manifold experience what madness it is for a Deputy or General to lead royal forces against naked rogues in woods and bogs, whom hounds can scarce follow, and much less men'. [SP Ireland, 1599-1600, 362-3].

Court news. Dec 4: Roger Wilbraham: 'The Bishop of Cashel, a great Irish politician and of great experience, being now employed by the Queen to treat with all the rebels save Tyrone and to report thereon to her; and having had several conferences with...the Queen at divers times, told me on his departure that he had licence to return at his pleasure, and that his opinion expressed to the Queen, to Lord Mountjoy and to the Secretary, as regards the pacification of Ireland, is as follows, that English soldiers never can bring that to pass; experience has proved this. But the way is, by means of cunning instruments, to put variance and sedition between the Irish themselves'. [Wilbraham, 32-33].

Meiler Magrath (c.1523-1622), Archbishop of Cashel, had written to Sir Robert Cecil on November 15 from his chamber 'next to *The Falcon* in Tothill Street in Westminster', offering his services to the Queen in Ireland; on December 4 she wrote to the Earl of Ormond in his favour. He left London on December 9, and was in Ireland January-August 1600. [SP Ireland].

Court news. [Dec 4], Baynard's Castle, Whyte to Sidney, of the Earl of Nottingham: 'A speech of his the last Star Chamber day [Nov 29] that with such an army as the Earl [of Essex] had the French King might be driven out of France and Spain subdued occasioned the French Ambassador to come to court, and as it is thought he complained to her Majesty of it. It should also seem that he had instructions to deal with her Majesty for the Earl's liberty, but found her very short and bitter in that point'.

She 'is pleased he shall have the liberty of the garden; but 24 [Raleigh] is fallen sick upon it, and her Majesty very graciously sent to see him'.

'All the Earl's friends do constantly believe that he shall be removed to his own house, and in time shall come to court, but shall no more be employed'...

'What is wrought for his good is done by the ladies that have access to the Queen...Leave I hear is granted to the two Ladies Northumberland and Rich [Essex's sisters] to come to court and be suitors for him'...

'Her Majesty is well and removes not to Richmond till Friday [Dec 7]. My Lord Herbert will be here next week'.

'Monsieur Caron [returned from Holland] hath been at court, and hath made an unpleasing excuse for the States. I hear her Majesty resolves to go on with the Peace for all their not sending [Deputies]'.^{SD}

Dec 4, London, Bishop of London (Richard Bancroft), to Sir Robert Cecil, concerning Dr John Richardson, who had preached a sermon at Paul's Cross, a report of which had displeased the Queen: 'When I write unto them that are to supply that place, I charge them in my letters to intermeddle with nothing but with matters of faith, reformation of manners, or with the common adversary'.

I entreat you 'to procure unto me her Majesty's good opinion...desiring to live no longer than her Highness shall think me worthy of that her most princely favour'.

Dec 6, Bancroft to Cecil: 'Dr Richardson is now come, whom I send unto you, together with those words (set down by him) that were disliked...Certainly the man hath much more learning than discretion'.

Dr Richardson's sermon was on the nature of subjection to government. Text: 'Give unto Caesar that which is Caesar's'. [HT.ix.407,409].

Court news. Dec 6, Whitehall, Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sidney, of the resident Dutch Agent: 'Monsieur Caron had access to her Majesty, who would not suffer him to kneel, caused him to sit down very near her, and read certain Articles he brought from the States'.

'It is verily believed that her Majesty will assure 400 [Lord Cobham] to the Lady Kildare upon the remove from this house, which will be tomorrow'...

'Lord Mountjoy's going will not be till after Christmas'.

'My Lord Willoughby is at court now and then'.^{SD}

Lord Cobham and Lady Kildare were 'contracted' before the Queen: 22 Feb 1600. Lord Willoughby de Eresby, Governor of Berwick, had written to Essex, Jan 21:

If I come up to court 'I shall seldom see the Queen go to Chapel, and for other saints, I am already too crooked to creep to them'. [HT.ix.34].

[The Catholic custom of 'creeping to the cross' had been discontinued since the beginning of the Queen's reign].

Robert Naunton wrote of Lord Willoughby: He 'was one of the Queen's first swordsmen...Had he not slighted the court he might have enjoyed a plentiful portion of her grace, and it was his saying (and it did him no good) that he was none of the reptilia, intimating that he could not creep and crouch'.

[Fragmenta Regalia].

Dec 7, Fri visit, Chelsea, Middx; Earl of Nottingham.
Chelsea manor-house. (As on November 13).

Dec 7, Fri dinner, Putney, Surrey; John Lacy.
'For her Highness's dinner house at her remove from Whitehall to Richmond'.^T

Dec 7, Fri **RICHMOND PALACE**, Surrey.
Battersea Church, Surrey: 'Laid out the 7th day of December to four ringers when the Queen did remove, 6d'.

Court news. Dec 8, London, Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sidney: 'Yesterday her Majesty, God be thanked in very good health, removed to Richmond, but dined by the way at Putney. I hear she visited my Lord Nottingham at Chelsea'.
'The two Ladies Northumberland and Rich [Essex's sisters], all in black, were at court before the remove'...
'The Lord Mountjoy presently after the holidays must be gone [to Ireland]'.
Endorsed 'Pay the Post'.

Court news. [Dec 12], Baynard's Castle, Whyte to Sidney:
The Earl of Essex 'sent unto her Majesty his two Patents of the Horse and the Ordnance, which her Majesty sent back again; that of the Marshal he keeps and will during his life. My Lady Essex had leave yesterday to go to him... Little hope there is of his recovery'.
Endorsed 'Pay the skipper'.

Dec 15, Whyte to Sidney: 'Upon Tuesday last [Dec 11], by her Majesty's command, hearing that the Earl of Essex was desperately sick, eight physicians of the best experience assembled and consulted what might speedily recover him to health; who sent in writing their opinion to her Majesty'...
'That these three things were required: to have his mind quieted; that he might take rest; that he might have recreation; that he might change the air'...
'Her Majesty...was very pensive and grieved, and sent Dr James unto him with some broth. Her message was that he should comfort himself and that she would, if she might with her honour, go to visit him; and it was noted that she had water in her eyes when she spoke it. Some comfort it brought to the Earl'.
Dec 16: 'The voice of my Lord of Essex being extreme ill continues, and a bruit that her Majesty will come, or hath a desire to come to see him'.^{SD}

Court news. Dec 20, John Daniell [to Sir Robert Cecil]: 'The wicked minds of some are not yet ceased, as appears by their writing upon walls, and it is to be feared they will attempt further mischief; I beseech the Omnipotent to preserve her Majesty, and to confound all such as mean harm towards her or you'.
'To prevent their wicked attempts for poisoning, it is meet that command be given to the Master Cook, the Yeoman for the Mouth and for the Bottles, the Grooms of the Privy Bake-house, and the other officers of the Pantry, Pastry, etc...that no one may touch anything but themselves'. [SP12/273/49].

Court news. Dec 22, Baynard's Castle, Whyte to Sidney: This afternoon the Earl of Worcester 'waited on the Queen, who rode abroad to take the air'.
As to Essex 'upon Wednesday [Dec 19] it was said he was dead, the bell tolled for him. He was prayed for in London churches; Divines watch with him, and in their pulpits pray for him...At court it is said he is ill, but not believed that he is in any danger. My Lady Rich [his sister] was at court upon Thursday; her Majesty spoke with her, and used her very graciously'...
'At court upon the very white walls much villainy hath been written against 200 [Sir Robert Cecil]'.
The Queen 'doth not send to 1000 [Essex], but thinks all to be cunning'.^{SD}

23 Dec 1599-17 Feb 1600: *Thomas Edmondes was the first special Ambassador to the Spanish Netherlands, to Archduke Albert and the Infanta Isabella.*

Court news. Dec 23, 'from the Council Chamber at Richmond', Thomas Smith to -:
 'This time of the year affords no other news than of dancing and plays and Christmas pies. The court is the only school of wisdom in the world; it taketh not thought for any thing or any person. You may not therefore expect news from me, unless I shall tell you who hath the best grace or showeth the best tricks in dancing (this very place where I now write giving me thus commodity, because it serveth at this time for the use of a dancing school); otherwise I have nothing to say, for of other tricks in the court a man may not write'.

'I can only advertise you that Mr Edmondes, a messenger of peace, is at this instant upon his dispatch hence, toward the Archduke'.

[From Thomas Smith (c.1556-1609), a Clerk of the Privy Council. SP12/273/51].

Christmas: Richard Coningsby, Gentleman Usher, made ready 'the New Year's Gift chamber, and for the plays against Christmas', December.^T

Dec 25, London, Bishop of London (Richard Bancroft) to Sir John Stanhope, Treasurer of the Chamber: 'I perceive...that her Majesty is greatly offended with me about certain printing, preaching and prayers, used lately in London'. For mitigation of her great displeasure 'next my prayers and most faithful service to her, I must rely upon the favour of my good friends at court'.

[SP12/273/55].

Dec 26, Wed play, by Lord Chamberlain's Men.^T

Dec 27, Thur play, Thomas Dekker's *Old Fortunatus*, by Admiral's Men. Dekker wrote a special Prologue and Epilogue for performance at court.

'The Prologue at court' opens: Enter two Old Men.

1. 'Are you then travelling to the temple of Eliza?
2. Even to her temple are my feeble limbs travelling. Some call her Pandora, some Gloriana, some Cynthia, some Belpheobe, some Astraea...
1. I am one of her own country, and we adore her by the name of Eliza.
2. Blessed name, happy country: your Eliza makes your land Elysium...
The tapers of the night...stand brightly burning in their starry candlesticks. See how gloriously the Moon shines upon us.
1. Peace fool: tremble, and kneel: The Moon sayest thou?
Our eyes are dazzled by Eliza's beams, [Both kneel].
See (if at least thou dare see) where she sits:
This is the great Pantheon of our Goddess,
And all those faces which thine eyes thought stars,
Are Nymphs attending on her deity'.

In 'The Epilogue at court' the Old Men kneel to the 'dear Goddess'.
 The Epilogue ends: 'Good night (dear mistress) those that wish thee harm,
 Thus let them stoop under destruction's arm.
 All: Amen, Amen, Amen'.

Philip Henslowe, on behalf of the Admiral's Men, had paid for Dekker's play:
 Nov 9: To 'Thomas Dekker in earnest of a book called the whole history of *Fortunatus*', 40s; Nov 24: 'Lent unto Thomas Dekker' for the same, £3;
 Nov 30: 'Mr Dekker in full payment of his book of *Fortunatus*', 20s;
 Dec 12: 'For the end of *Fortunatus* for the court', 40s.
 [Henslowe, 126-8].

Court news. Dec 28, Baynard's Castle, Whyte to Sidney: 'At court her Majesty hath graced the dancing and plays with her own presence; who I thank God is very well and merry; and played at cards in the Presence, a rest [a large stake] at primero with the Lord Treasurer, Mr Secretary and the Lord North. The court was great and full of lords and ladies, and her Majesty came to chapel'...

'Monsieur Caron [Dutch Agent] was at court yesterday, full of sorrow methought, for he finds by the resolutions here to a Peace for our own good the ruin of the States and the United Provinces...Upon the return of Mr Edmondés it will be known who shall be Commissioners for the Treaty'.^{SD}

Dec 28, Richmond, Sir Robert Cecil to Sir Henry Neville:

'Mr Edmondés...went away but on St Stephen's Day [Dec 26], and stays at Calais for a passport from Brussels for his safe coming'. [Winwood, i.139].

Edmondés reached Brussels on 6 Jan 1600 for preliminary peace negotiations.

Dec 29, Lambeth, Dr Edward Stanhope (Chancellor of the Diocese of London) to his brother Sir John Stanhope (at court): 'My Lord Grace [Archbishop of Canterbury] tells me that her Majesty has taken offence at my Lord of London [Bancroft], and is not well pleased with his Grace for the indiscretion of some ministers in and about London'. She has complained about sermons at Paul's Cross, and about prayers and tolling of bells for the Earl of Essex.

As for Dr Richardson's sermon, the Bishop of London was then attending her at court. Dr Stanhope hopes his brother will report his explanation to the Queen, 'to pacify her hard conceit' against the Bishop. [SP12/273/59].

c.December 1599 [Richmond], John Donne to - : 'I am no courtier, for without having lived there desirously I cannot have sinned enough to have deserved that reprobate name: I may sometimes come thither and be no courtier, as well as they may sometimes go to chapel and yet are no Christians. I am there now...because I will not be utterly out of fashion and unsociable'...

'The court is not great but full of jollity and revels and plays and as merry as if it were not sick. Her Majesty is well disposed and very gracious in public to my Lord Mountjoy. My Lord of Essex and his train are no more missed here than the angels which were cast down from heaven nor (for anything I see) liker to return. He withers still in his sickness and plods on to his end'.

[Donne (1572-1631), poet, was Secretary to Lord Keeper Egerton.

E.M.Simpson, *A Study of the Prose Works of John Donne* (1962), 310; undated].

December: Sir Walter Scott (1565-1611), in London from Scotland.

James Hudson had asked on April 17 for a passport from the Queen for Scott, who was intending to travel. It was November before he set off.

December, James Hudson to Sir Robert Cecil: The Laird is 'in his bed with a fit of an ague upon him' and cannot go to the Queen. He asks if you will tell him 'her Majesty's next time of leisure that he may wait thereupon according to his duty and earnest desire'. [Scot.xiii.488].

Sir Walter left for France at New Year 1600.

c.1599: 'Hardwick Portrait' of the Queen, at Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire.

Painted for Elizabeth Dowager Countess of Shrewsbury ('Bess of Hardwick'). In July 1599 she made a payment for carriage of a portrait of the Queen from London to Hardwick Hall.

The Queen wears a dress decorated with land and sea creatures; c.1598-1599. Reproduced in *Elizabeth I & her People*, ed. Tarnya Cooper, 68-69, which notes that an inventory of 1601 lists several portraits of the Queen at Hardwick.

1599: *Dr Oswald Gaebelkhover, Physician to the Duke of Wurttemberg (who as Count Mompelgart had visited England in August 1592), dedicated to the Queen: 'The Book of Physick...Through commandment of the most illustrious and renowned ...Duke of Wurttemberg and of Teck, Earl of Mompelgart...Selected and approved remedies, for all corporal diseases and sicknesses, which out of many high and common persons' written Physick books, are compacted and united together.*

Through his renowned Grace's most famous Physician Mr Doctor Oswaldus Gaebelkhover. Faithfully translated out of High Dutch by...Doctor Charles Battus, ordinary Physician of the City of Dort. And now newly translated out of Low Dutch into English by A.M'.

Dedicatory Epistle by the printer, Isaac Canin of Dort:

'To the most mighty, virtuous and renowned Princess, and our most benevolent and gracious Sovereign, Lady Elizabeth'.

In gratitude for the Queen's aid to 'these our United Provinces'.

Also an Epistle to 'Lady Mary, born Princess of Orange, Countess of Nassau... my most gracious Lady'. By Abraham Canin, 4 July 1598, Dort.

'Epistle of the Author to the benevolent Reader', preceding a full Index.

The Book of Physick has 5 parts: Sicknesses and Diseases; Diseases of Women, Accidents of Children; Agues, Plague, Poisons; Surgery; Precious Medicaments.

Hundreds of potions and remedies, e.g: 'A powder for melancholy; a precious remedy for the restitution of the sight; a certain remedy that the sun shall not burn your face; a medicine for corpulent people; a precious drink for the plague; an excellent wound salve; remedy to make an admirable, quick, and strong memory; Emperor Charles his stomach powder; an excellent bath if a woman getteth no children, and is called the bath of Queens; for frantic persons; for the departed appetite; for raging and furious pain; for tender and nice persons; for grey hairs; for the heart-worm of little children; for poisoned shots; if any person be bitten of a weasel; the Arch-Duchess her powder for teeth; to provoke sleep; the salve of the Queen of Hungary; to draw arrows out of a wound; to repel warts; to make a fair face'. Text: 393p. (Dort, 1599).

1599: *Captain Thomas Lee (c.1551-1601), who had returned with the Earl of Essex from soldiering in Ireland, wrote a tract entitled:*

'The Discovery and Recovery of Ireland with the Author's Apology'.

Dedicated to Sir Robert Cecil.

In this Lee refers to the 'bad success of my former labours bestowed by her Majesty's express commandment and delivered in a book to her Highness at my being in England'. In 1594 Lee had addressed to the Queen:

'A brief declaration of the Government of Ireland'. (See 1594, end).

The 'Apology' circulated in manuscript. [BL Add MS 33743, f.1-188].

1599: *Translations and poems by the Countess of Pembroke.*

In July the Queen had planned a summer progress to Wilton, the Wiltshire home of the Earl and Countess of Pembroke. It is possible that the Countess was proposing to make a presentation to the Queen at Wilton.

The Countess was Mary (Sidney) (1561-1621), sister of Sir Philip Sidney and Sir Robert Sidney; she was a poet, translator, and a literary patron.

The Countess made a translation of the Psalms of David, one manuscript of which (the 'Tixall Manuscript') has two dedicatory poems, dated 1599.

The first, to the Queen, begins:

*'Even now that Care which on thy Crown attends
And with thy happy greatness daily grows
Tells me thrice sacred Queen my Muse offends,
And of respect to thee the line out goes'.*

The second, 'To the Angel Spirit' eulogises Sir Philip Sidney.

[Margaret P.Hannay, Noel J.Kinnamon, Michael G.Brennan, Collected Works of Mary]