

At **WHITEHALL PALACE.**

Jan 1, Tues New Year gifts.

*New Year Gift roll not extant, but among gifts to the Queen:
by Sir Gilbert Dethick, Garter King of Arms: 'A Book of Arms of
the Knights of the Garter made in the reign of King Henry the Sixth';
by Sir Owen Hopton, Lieutenant of the Tower:
'A book of gold enamelled and glazed over, with two clasps';
by Robert Cooke, Clarenceux King of Arms: 'Armorial bearings of the
Kings and noble families of Great Britain from the reign of William the
Conqueror to that of James I'. [From 1066-James I of Scotland, died 1437].*

Also Jan 1: French Ambassador at Whitehall with the Queen.
La Mothe to King Charles IX, Jan 3: I went 'to give New Year greetings to the
Queen...As she was watching the dancing she spoke, very graciously and modestly,
of the pleasures and honest pastimes which would be given throughout the Kingdom
for the Duke of Anjou if he came here'...

'Then, showing great contentment, she went to her prayers'. [iv.328-331].

Also Jan 1: play, *Ajax and Ulysses*, by the Children of Windsor Chapel.^T

Jan 2, Wed Flanders Commissioners at Whitehall.

Thomas Fiesco, who returned to England a month earlier after seeking new
instructions, and the Sieur de Sweveghem, were negotiating on behalf of the
Duke of Alva over Spanish merchandise seized in 1568-1569.

Jan 3, La Mothe: 'The Deputies from Flanders returned to court as commanded,
in hope of a better response...They were offered their passports without asking
for them, in order to depart, but they did not accept them and are to wait for
an express command from the Queen or leave from the Duke of Alva'. [iv.333].

Jan 4: Lord Burghley received an anonymous warning letter.
Anon [Edmund Mather] to Burghley: 'My Lord, of late I have upon discontent
entered into conspiracy with some others to slay your Lordship. And the time
appointed, a man...attended you three several times in your garden to have slain
your Lordship. The which not falling out, the height of your study window is
taken towards the garden, minding...to slay you with a shot upon the terrace, or
else in coming late from the court with a pistolet. And being touched with some
remorse of so bloody a deed...I warn your Lordship...I require your Lordship in
God's name to have care of your safety'.

Endorsed 'A letter brought by the Post of London'. [HT.ii.1-2].

Jan 6, in France: Sir Thomas Smith and Henry Killigrew, the two English
Ambassadors, had audience with Catherine de Medici, the Queen Mother, who
told them that her son the Duke of Anjou was now such a devout Catholic that
if he 'yielded in religion' he thought he would be damned. In England he would
require 'free and open exercise of his religion', with high Mass.

Smith: 'Why, madame, then he may require also the four orders of friars,
monks, canons, pilgrimages, pardons, oils and creams, relics and all such
trumperies. That in no wise can be agreed'. Next day the Ambassadors were
told that the King and the Queen Mother proposed to offer to the Queen instead
of the Duke his less Catholic younger brother the Duke of Alençon, or to make
any league the Queen might require. [SPF.x.8-11].

Jan 6, Sun play, *Narcissus*, by the Children of the Chapel Royal.

Revels paid John Tryce 'for leashes and dog-hooks, with staves...for the hunters that made the cry after the fox (let loose in the court), with their hounds, horns, and hallowing, in the play of *Narcissus*, which cry was made of purpose even as the words then in utterance and the part then played did require', 20s8d. Paid John Izard 'for his device in counterfeiting thunder and lightning', being requested by the Master of the Revels, 22s. [Revels, 141-2].

Jan 7, in London: Lord Burghley and the Earl of Leicester called together the Merchant Adventurers, Merchants of the Staple trading to Spain, and Aldermen of the Steel-yard, to inform them of the state of negotiations with the Flanders Commissioners for restitution of goods belonging to the merchants of England and Spain. Sweveghem utterly refuses to have a reasonable Treaty drawn. The Queen has resolved to make sale of goods of Spanish subjects in England. [SPF.x.7].

Jan 7, De Spes, expelled Spanish Ambassador, to Philip II, from Canterbury: The Council sent to me on December 21 to say 'that I was to leave London on Monday, Christmas Eve'. I obeyed, 'coming to stay at Gravesend for nine or ten days, and ordering everything I had in the house to be sold to pay my most importunate creditors'. John Hawkins and George Fitzwilliams 'came to Gravesend by order of the Queen to take me in one of their ships to Calais'... 'I have been hurried on to Canterbury'. [Span.ii.370].

Jan 10, London, Arthur Golding dedicated to the Earl of Leicester his translation from Latin entitled: 'A Confutation of the Pope's Bull which was published more than two years ago against Elizabeth the most gracious Queen of England, France, and Ireland, and against the noble Realm of England: together with a defence of the said true Christian Queen, and of the whole Realm of England', by Henry Bullinger. Bishop of Ely (Richard Cox), to Bullinger: Feb 12, Ely: 'Your book...could not but be most acceptable to me and to all godly persons...The Queen herself has also read your book, and is much gratified'; June 6, London: 'She was exceedingly delighted with your book... and read it with the greatest eagerness'. [Zurich, 391,403-4].

Jan 13, Sun Flanders Commissioner at Whitehall for audience. Sweveghem to the Duke of Alva, Jan 16, London: I was assigned audience for Jan 11, but the Council told me that the Queen, finding herself in ill-health, had ordered them to hear me. I objected that I was charged to address her personally; Lord Chamberlain Howard brought word that she would give me audience on Sunday afternoon. I had audience in the Privy Chamber. [KL.vi.284,286].

Jan 13: Kenelm Berney confessed to Leicester and Burghley that Edmund Mather had disclosed to him his plans to rescue the Duke of Norfolk from the Tower, or on his way to trial. 'Divers other times, talking of the court, he said that it was a proper court, a term used in derision; for said he, if it were from the Town, I would undertake to take the Queen, and all her trim men, with 200 gentlemen, aye with half the number...He said the Guard, calling them the Queen's Beefs, might soon be dispatched'. They wrote a warning 'to persuade the Nobility' not to consent to the Duke's death, and set it up on Tower Hill and near St Paul's (on New Year's Eve), only William Herle apart from themselves knowing of this. Mather spoke of 'the noble fame' that other assassins had won, and detailed his plans to shoot Burghley at Charing Cross as he came from his house to the court, then to escape by boat and ride into Surrey and so overseas. [Murdin, 194-198]. Herle (secretly an agent of Burghley) revealed the plot. Mather implicated the Spanish Ambassador's Steward or Secretary, Borghese.

Jan 13: death. Sir William Petre (c.1505-1572), Privy Councillor, died at Ingatestone, Essex. Funeral: February 1, Ingatestone Church. The widowed Anne, Lady Petre, whom the Queen visited in 1579, died in 1582. Their monument is in St Edmund and St Mary Church, Ingatestone, with later Petre monuments.

Jan 15, Tues French Ambassador at Whitehall for audience.

La Mothe to Catherine de Medici, Queen Mother, Jan 18, about negotiations for marriage with Monseigneur the Duke of Anjou: 'I told the Queen I wished to speak to her in a lower voice...and she at once ordered a stool to be brought, and took me to sit near her in a corner of her Privy Chamber'.

'I spoke to her in these terms: that the Duke of Anjou had begged your Majesties to allow him to give the Queen information which he had recently had from a good source of something which greatly touched her person'...

'I told her that your Majesties were making me swear, on the faith and obedience of a loyal subject and servant, and on my life, to tell it to her alone secretly, and that it should be kept secret from everyone else, and that I should humbly beg her not to object if I took her word and her promise, and even her oath, on the faith of a royal princess, who is a Christian, full of honour and truth, that she would never tell anyone in the world that she had had the information from Monseigneur nor a command from your Majesties, nor that I your Ambassador had spoken to her of it'...

'The Queen, marvellously attentive and with an unbelievable desire to know what it was, at once promised that she would not reveal it to a living creature, nor communicate any of it to her most intimate Councillors, and having then with both hands raised and with her right hand on her stomach confirmed it by an oath, I told her that I would show her Monseigneur's own letter...which I read to her very distinctly'. [The contents are not revealed, but to her relief the letter gave the Queen 'contentment and pleasure']. [iv.346-8].

*Jan 16, Wed: **Trial.** Thomas Howard, 4th Duke of Norfolk, K.G., Earl Marshal, Privy Councillor, was brought from the Tower to Westminster Hall to be tried for high treason. Earl of Shrewsbury, made Lord Steward for the day, presided.*

La Mothe to Charles IX, Jan 18: He was taken 'for judgment before his peers, not without great fear of an insurrection in the town when they took him to Westminster, but they put many armed men along all the streets, and doubled the guards at the Palace, and then for more safety he was taken by water'. [iv.346].

Lord Burghley noted that the Duke was charged with:

'Imagination and device to deprive the Queen from her Crown, and royal style, name, and dignity, and consequently from her life'. 'Comforting and relieving of the English rebels that stirred the Rebellion in the North, since they have fled out of the realm'. 'Comforting and relieving of the Queen's enemies in Scotland, that have succoured and maintained the said English rebels'. [Murdin, 178].

Another accusation was that the Duke had a Latin prophecy, translated and interpreted as: 'At the exaltation of the moon (Percy of Northumberland) the lion (Elizabeth) shall be overthrown; then shall the lion (Norfolk) be joined with the lioness (Mary), and their whelps shall have the kingdom'.

The Duke was found guilty and sentenced to death. [State Trials]. His titles were forfeited (though he was still referred to as Duke of Norfolk). The date set for his execution was January 21.

Jan 16, at Canterbury: Henry Knollys, who was escorting De Spes, the expelled Ambassador, received Privy Council letters concerning the Ambassador's Steward, Borghese. Jan 16, Knollys to the Council: 'I did put Borghese in safe keeping of the Mayor' and took occasion to declare to De Spes 'the horrible enterprise against the Lord Burghley undertaken by Edmund Mather, urged and solicited, as it hath appeared by the same Mather's confession, by himself first and after by his servant Borghese'. [KL.vi.288-9].

Jan 17, Paris, Francis Walsingham to Lord Burghley:

The French King 'has desired Killigrew to be a means to broach a marriage with the other brother, and if he see no hope then to further what he may the league. As for the party himself [the Duke of Alençon], if his years and personage may be agreeable there is more surety to her Majesty in this than in the other'.

'As for eye contentment...there may be some device had for an interview before the matter be further opened...the conclusion of the League may give some just occasion therefor...some noble personage is to be sent for the ratifying of the same'. [SPF.x.18].

Henry Killigrew was the acting Ambassador.

Jan 20, Amboise, Sir Thomas Smith to Dr Wilson: 'The marriage I came for, neither will it be nor I think it fit, either for the Queen's Majesty or for us. The second offer, a thousand times better for all purposes if it may be so taken of the Queen's Majesty'. [SPF.xvii.447].

Jan 21: On the date set for his execution Thomas Howard, late Duke of Norfolk, who had 7 young children, wrote to the Queen praying forgiveness and beseeching her 'to extend your merciful goodness to my poor orphan children' and for Lord Burghley to father 'them who are otherwise destitute'. 'Written by the woeful hand of a dead man your Majesty's most unworthy subject, and yet your Majesty's in my humble prayer until the last breath. Thomas Howard'.

Later in the day the Queen countermanded the execution.

She received the letter on January 22. [Murdin, 166-7].

Jan 22, Tues French Ambassador at Whitehall with the Queen and Burghley.

La Mothe to Catherine de Medici, Jan 25: 'Last Tuesday after being with the Queen for a long time, and with the Earl of Leicester for a good space, Lord Burghley and I withdrew alone into a chamber aside, where after other talk I touched on the proposal which has been opened by the Duke of Alençon for Queen Elizabeth, and that your Majesty ordered me to communicate it to him alone and to no one else in this Kingdom, and to conduct myself according as he gave me his advice and counsel. I therefore prayed him to tell me how and where it seemed to him that I should begin'.

'He immediately asked if I had mentioned it to the Queen. I said I had not. "It is necessary therefore", he said to me, "that we swear to one another that it will not come to the knowledge of anyone in the world, until we are agreed on the means of revealing it".

'He said that Mr Smith [Sir Thomas Smith] had written to him of it in very good sort, and following that, not twenty-four hours before, talking with the Queen of the Duke of Anjou's declaration touching religion, he made mention of the Duke of Alençon, by way of asking how old he was, to which she had promptly replied that she would resemble rather a mother ruling over her son, not a husband and wife, to which he had not dared to say anything'.

'Then, to lay the foundations of this proposal, as he had been told that the Duke of Alençon was only a year and a half younger than the Duke of Anjou, it nevertheless seemed to him that I would do well to get the day and hour of his birth, and his height; and that he on his side would work at two things: one, to inform himself of the habits and fitness of Alençon...the other, to look at ways to transfer to him the proposal for the Duke of Anjou with honour and reputation, and even to make it appear that this would be for the advantage and commodity of the Queen and her Kingdom'.

'For he wanted to tell me that she had done violence to herself in resolving to marry, solely for the Duke of Anjou's reputation for worth, valour, and perfection, and there would therefore be great difficulty in now proposing another match'. [iv.354-6].

Jan 23, Lord Burghley to Francis Walsingham, of the Duke of Alençon:
 'In that matter of the third person newly offered, his age, and other qualities unknown, maketh one doubtful how to use speech thereof. The Ambassador hath dealt, as he saith, secretly with me. And I have showed no argument to one hand or other...but fear occupieth me more in this cause of her marriage, whom God hath suffered to lose so much time, than for my next fit [of a fever]'...
 'Mather hath...charged Borghese the Spanish Ambassador's secretary that his master and he both enticed Mather to murder me'. [Digges, 164].
 Borghese had been brought to London for questioning.

Jan 23, Thomas Howard, late Duke of Norfolk, to the Queen, of his inexpressible comfort at your 'most gracious message concerning your Highness's intended goodness towards my poor unfortunate brats' who are 'no orphans now, considering it hath pleased your Majesty to christen them with such an adopted father as my good Lord Burghley is'. Written by 'your Highness's sorrowful dead servant and subject'. [Murdin, 169-170].

Court news. Jan 25, La Mothe to Charles IX, of the Duke of Norfolk:
 'They say his execution will be next Friday [Feb 1]. As for his possessions, I understand that the movables are confiscated, and the estates remain with his son the Earl of Surrey, who is still the richest lord in England'...
 'On the Duke's condemnation suspicion and distrust is so much increased that they have sent to make a general visitation to see what foreigners there are in London; when did they come here? what weapons do they have? of which nation and religion are they, and which church do they go to?'...
 'The Queen has again ordered the Spanish Ambassador to leave, who was at Canterbury with 20 men guarding him at her expense'. [iv.352].

The expelled Ambassador, Guerau de Spes, reached Calais late in January. His Steward or Secretary, Borghese, was released late in February and also left England. There was no resident Spanish Ambassador in England from 1572-1578. In the interim a number of newsletters survive from a foreigner who was a long time resident of London: Antonio de Guaras, a Spanish merchant, who wrote to King Philip's Secretary, Zayas, or to the Duke of Alva. He was arrested in 1577, imprisoned 1578 until released in 1579. Letters quoted from translations in the Calendars of State Papers Simancas.

Jan 26, Queen to Sir Thomas Smith, who is 'to let the French King and the Queen Mother know that she considers herself not well or plainly dealt with in this matter of the marriage with Monsieur d'Anjou. Although she had no natural disposition to marriage, yet through the continual suits of her subjects she has been compelled to yield...to give ear to such requests'.
 The greatest difficulty is still religion.
 'She is no ways discontent in her own mind that the matter proceeds not, for now she may satisfy her subjects that she has dealt plainly therein; and will now determine with advice of her Councillors to enjoy her own natural desire to live unmarried, and yet provide remedies for the quietness of her realm, both in her own time and for her posterity'. [SPF.x.29].

Jan 26, Sat: Duke of Norfolk was degraded from the Order of the Garter. At St George's Chapel, Windsor, the Duke's hatchments were thrown down 'at nine o'clock in the morning before service began. And all the Officers being present, Garter only spurned out the hatchments, the other Officers of Arms following him but not spurning them. Portcullis Pursuivant took them down, and Windsor Herald threw them down into the middle of the Choir'. [BL Harl 6064, f.39v].

January 28-30: Further confessions of Kenelm Berney and Edmund Mather.

Jan 28: Mather gave details of his conferences with the Spanish Ambassador and Borghese in 1571. Jan 29: Berney confessed that Mather had said of the Queen 'that if she were not killed, or made away, there was no way but death with the Duke; and what pity were it, said he, that so noble a man as he should die now in so vile a woman her days, that desireth nothing but to feed her own lewd fantasy, and to cut off such of her nobility as were not perfumed and court-like, to please her delicate eye, and place such as were for her turn, meaning dancers, and meaning you my Lord of Leicester and one Mr [Christopher] Hatton, whom he said had more recourse unto her Majesty in her Privy Chamber than reason would suffer if she were...virtuous and well inclined'.

Mather had gone on to discuss 'ways and means' to have her killed and to change the State, or else 'our trim Mistress, meaning the Queen's Majesty, will keep all for herself and her carpet-knight'. He talked of 'taking the court', and that 'he should die famously that would enterprise the same act'.

Berney continued: After we supped with William Herle in The Three Tuns in Newgate Market, Mather said 'that he had a thing for me to write which should be lost in the Chamber of Presence, and so delivered to the Queen's Majesty'. But before this was done 'we were both taken short and apprehended'.

Mather wrote a Submission to the Queen on January 29 begging forgiveness. He confessed talking of 'how to surprise your court' and his 'mis-language in seeking to praise the Queen of Scots, and to slander your royal person'.

Next day Mather confessed he wrote the anonymous letter Burghley received on Jan 4, but 'had never any intent to have killed him, having warned him of the same, but saith he only did it to appal him for the time'. [Murdin, 202-209].

Jan 29, Cawood, Archbishop of York (Grindal) to Lord Burghley: 'My Lord, I am advertised from London that certain are apprehended which conspired your death. God be thanked for your delivery!' Her Majesty 'is the mark they shoot at, and at you and other of her Council, for her sake. The number of obdurate Papists and Italianate atheists is great at this time, both desperate and grown as it evidently appeareth to the nature of assassins. Wherefore I should wish that her Majesty should not be *tam facilis adita* [so easy of access] as she has been, especially to mean strangers, nor walk abroad so slenderly accompanied as she was wont, nor her Privy Gardens to be so common as they have been'.

I wish the Queen to be told of my letter. [Grindal, Remains, 332-3].

Jan 31, Paris, Francis Walsingham to Lord Burghley, who has 'escaped the danger of a most devilish Italian practice'.

'So long as that devilish woman lives [the Queen of Scots], neither her Majesty must make account to continue in quiet possession of her Crown, nor her faithful servants assure themselves of safety of their lives'. [SPF.x.32].

Jan 31, Thur Earl of Shrewsbury at Whitehall to take leave.

George Talbot, 6th Earl, had been replaced by Sir Ralph Sadler as Keeper of the Queen of Scots whilst the Earl was in London for Norfolk's trial.

Jan 31, La Mothe to Charles IX: 'The Queen does all the favour she can to the Earl of Shrewsbury to keep him at court'. [iv.363].

Feb 2, Sat Treaty with Portugal.

Between the Queen and Sebastian, King of Portugal and Algarve. Treaty of alliance and commerce. Signed in London by the Lords of the Council on behalf of the Queen and by Chevalier Giraldi, resident Portuguese Ambassador, on behalf of King Sebastian. [SPF.x.34].

Feb 2-June: Sir William Drury was special Ambassador to Scotland.

Feb 2-May: Thomas Randolph was also special Ambassador. Both went to endeavour to bring about an accord in Scotland.

Feb 2, Westminster, Lord Burghley to Francis Walsingham:

'This day the Marshal of Berwick and Mr Randolph are gone for Scotland matters...Mather and Berney, besides that they intended to kill me, have now plainly confessed their intention and desire to have been rid of the Queen's Majesty; but I think she may by justice be rid of them'. [Digges, 165].

Court news. Feb 5, La Mothe to Charles IX: Of the Queen of Scots some cry 'that she ought to be brought nearer London, and be committed to Sir Ralph Sadler. To which the Earl of Shrewsbury, not daring openly to contradict, said only that this would argue that he had not done his duty well until now'...

'They had so much respect for him that last Thursday the Queen, with many words showing confidence in him, confirmed him as guardian of the Queen of Scots. He immediately took leave, and for fear that the order would be changed left early next morning to return home, with commission to send Sir Ralph Sadler back here...Last Wednesday and again on Friday people from all parts of the town ran to the Tower expecting to see the Duke's execution'. [iv.364].

Feb 9: Queen signed a warrant for the Duke to be executed on February 11.

Feb 10, La Mothe to Catherine de Medici, of the latest marriage proposal:

'The proposal for the Duke of Alençon your son was communicated only to Lord Burghley, and yet when Lord Buckhurst came to visit me he told me that Mr Smith and Mr Killigrew had written of their great liking for it, and Mr Walsingham had sent word that it was very feasible...Lord Burghley told me he had ventured to speak to the Queen about it and she had promptly said to him "that even if everything else was suitable, yet nevertheless their ages and heights were too unequal". Burghley also told me 'that he considered two things made him more appropriate for England than the Duke of Anjou: one was that he was a step further away from the Crown of France, and the other that it was said that he would accommodate himself to the religion of the country'.

As to the proposed defensive league with France 'the Earl of Leicester has begged me to suggest to the Queen that he may have commission to go to conclude the league, and to witness the King's oath, as he is more French than anyone else in this Kingdom'. [iv.369-371].

Feb 11, Queen sent further instructions to Smith, Killigrew, and Walsingham, as to the lines which they are to follow in negotiating the Treaty with France; she is willing to make some concessions. [Dewar, *Sir Thomas Smith*, 137-8].

Feb 11, Mon, at Tower Hill: Kenelm Berney and Edmund Mather were executed for high treason (on the new date appointed for the Duke of Norfolk's execution).

Feb [12], Westminster, Lord Burghley to Francis Walsingham:

'I cannot write you what is the inward cause of the stay of the Duke of Norfolk's death, only I find her Majesty diversely disposed, sometime when she speaketh of her Majesty's danger she concludeth that justice should be done; another time when she speaketh of his nearness of blood, of his superiority of honour, etc. she stayeth'.

'As upon Saturday she signed a Warrant for the Writs to the Sheriffs of London for his execution on Monday, and so all preparations were made, with the expectation of all London, and concourse of many thousands yesterday in the morning, but their coming was answered with another, ordinary, execution'...

'The cause of this disappointment was this. Suddenly on Sunday late in the night the Queen's Majesty sent for me, and entered into a great misliking that the Duke should die the next day, and said she was and should be disquieted and said she would have a new Warrant made that night to the Sheriffs, to forbear until they should hear further; and so they did. God's will be fulfilled, and aid her Majesty to do herself good'. [Digges, 165-6].

c.Feb 14: *visit*, Bermondsey, Surrey; Earl of Sussex.
Bermondsey house owned by Thomas Radcliffe, 3rd Earl of Sussex (c.1525-1583);
wife: Frances (Sidney) (c.1530-1589).

The Queen visited the Earl of Sussex twice, at least one visit being in February during his illness.

Lambeth Church: 'For ringing the bells two times at the Queen's Majesty's going to my Lord of Sussex, 3s8d'. [Payment made before mid-April 1572].

Feb 17, Lincoln's Inn, Thomas Screven to Earl of Rutland: 'The Earl of Sussex is very sick still, and lieth at Bermondsey. The Queen hath visited him within these few days. He doubteth of himself, but yet the physicians fear him not'.^{RT}
Sussex attended Privy Council meetings at court on February 9,10,16-18.

Feb 17, Shrove Sun Flanders Commissioners at Whitehall for audience.
Fiesco (who left soon after) and Sweveghem presented new Articles. [KL.vi.317].

Also: play, *Cloridon and Radiamanta*, by Sir Robert Lane's Men.

Feb 19, Shrove Tuesday play, *Paris and Vienne*, by Westminster School.

Revels paid a Furrier for 10 dozen kids' skins for 'the hobby-horses that served the Children of Westminster in the triumph where Paris won the crystal shield for Vienna at the tourney and barriers'; armour was hired 'to furnish the triumph'; a crystal shield was bought. [Vienna: Vienne, Dauphin's daughter].

Feb 19: Lord Seton arrived at Edinburgh Castle. He had landed at Harwich, Essex, after shipwreck, and made a stealthy journey through England in the guise of a poor merchant asking alms. George 5th Lord Seton (1531-1586), formerly Master of the Household to Mary Queen of Scots, had been in Flanders to endeavour to obtain an army from the Duke of Alva to invade England in support of Mary. There were said to be plans to convey the boy King James into Spain or Flanders. Edinburgh Castle was still held by Mary's supporters. [SPF.x.49].

Feb 21: Queen's orders to William Count de la Marck, at Dover.

The Count, the Prince of Orange's Admiral, was regarded as a 'sea-rover', 'freebooter', or pirate. He and his crews, the Sea-Beggars ('*gueux de mer*') had for several years been using Dover as a base to attack Spanish shipping.

Feb 21, Queen to the Mayor of Dover:

'We are from time to time informed of the great disorders, outrages and spoils made by a certain fleet of ships, pretending to serve the Prince of Orange, in those our Narrow Seas, and specially upon the coast of Kent, and that the spoils and ships are brought commonly into that our Port of Dover and there sold, directly against our commandments expressed by several Proclamations, and to the slander of that town'.

'Beside this we also perceive that the Count de Marck, who also pretendeth to have authority over that fleet, doth lodge in that our town of Dover, to whom also a multitude of them which serve in that fleet do resort, being a principal port, and as an eye of our Realm...We will and charge you forthwith to give knowledge to the said Count La Marck that although at his being with us upon his request we were content to grant to him our Passport to pass out of our Realm with certain armour belonging to himself, yet we never meant that he should continue in that town and principal port...You shall, in our name, command him to give order that the fleet may depart from that town and port of Dover'.

Similar orders are to be sent to other ports. [Murdin, 210-211].

Feb 22: Privy Council answered Articles presented by Sweveghem.
 La Mothe, Feb 24: 'I have just heard that the Deputies from Flanders, after a new dispatch from the Duke of Alva...presented new Articles to the Queen, and that the Council has already met three times about them'. [iv.386; *SPF.x.42-44*].

Feb 26: Duke of Norfolk wrote 'my last confession...upon the which I mind to take my death'. 'By the woeful and repentant hand, but now too late, of Thomas Howard'. [Murdin, 173-5].

Feb 27, Wed Duke of Norfolk's new execution date.
 Two hours before the execution the Queen countermanded it.

Feb 27, Lincoln's Inn, Thomas Screven to the Earl of Rutland: 'It was thought certain yesternight that the Duke would have suffered this day. Watch and ward was kept throughout London until this morning, but it is again deferred'.^{RT}

Feb 28, Standon [Herts], Sir Ralph Sadler (Privy Councillor) to Burghley: 'The liberal speeches, the dangerous practices, and the great discredit of her Majesty and of all her Highness's faithful Councillors, which may grow by such inconstancy as is used at this time in a matter of such moment as concerneth the surety of her Majesty's royal person, and the universal quietness of the whole realm, cannot but move all her Highness's true servants and subjects to lament and mourn'. 'The Post tarrying for this letter I end'. [Murdin, 175-6].

Mar 1, Sat Proclamation (585): Expelling sea-rovers, and placing subjects aiding pirates under martial law. 'The Queen's Majesty doth straitly charge and command all the sea-rovers, commonly called freebooters, of what nation or country soever they be, to depart and avoid [vacate] all her Highness's ports, roads and towns with all speed, and hereafter not to return to any of the same again, upon pain of forfeiture of their ships and goods, and imprisonment of their bodies at her Majesty's pleasure'. (Sequel: April 1).

March 1-May: French special Ambassador to Scotland in London.
 Charles IX informed La Mothe that he is sending the Sieur du Croc, his Master of the Household, a Councillor, to procure a reconciliation and pacification of troubles and divisions in Scotland. He is to beg to visit the Queen of Scots. The King has asked for her to be put at liberty and sent to France. [vii.288-9].

Court news. March 4, Lord Burghley to the Earl of Shrewsbury, of 'the ciphered letters which your Lordship lately sent to me, being hidden under a stone. One was from that Queen [of Scots] to the Duke of Alva, wherein she makes plain mention of the practice [plot] of Ridolphi'...
 'The Lord Seton is indeed by stealth come through England, landed at Harwich, and so passed into Scotland by the Middle March, and is in the Castle of Edinburgh, where he hinders the accord. Le Croc is come hither, and shall tomorrow speak with her Majesty'. [Lodge, i.534].

March 5: death. Edward, 1st Lord Hastings of Loughborough (c.1520-1572), K.G., died at Stoke Poges, Bucks. Funeral: St George's Chapel, Windsor.
 Lord Hastings left no heir, and the title became extinct.

Mar 5, Wed French envoy, Du Croc, at Whitehall for first audience.
 La Mothe to Charles IX, March 8: 'The Queen said she supposed Monsieur du Croc had come about the affairs of the Queen of Scots...As for allowing him to go to that Queen, or to grant your Majesty's request that she could move to France, some information had fallen into her hands, which she would communicate to us... And upon that she took a paper out of her pocket and showed us that it was in cipher, which we recognised as being signed by the Queen of Scots'.

'Then she read us part of the decipher, addressed to the Duke of Alva, in which the Queen of Scots urged him to make haste to take ships to Scotland to seize the Prince her son, as a thing which would be easy for him; and she entrusted herself to the King of Spain; then made some discourse of the good support she had in this Kingdom and of the lords who favour her side... giving hope to the Duke that by this means this whole island would sometime be restored to the Catholic religion'.

'The Queen began to make some bitter speeches to us about this decipher... recalling the enterprises which the Queen of Scots had wished to undertake to deprive her of both her life and her state'...

'At the end we were very graciously dismissed by her, with in truth little hope that Monsieur du Croc could see the Queen of Scots on this occasion, nor that she would be sent back to France, but he can continue his journey to Scotland as soon as letters come from Marshal Drury'. [iv.392-5].

March 8, Berwick, Lord Hunsdon (Warden of the East Marches towards Scotland), to Lord Burghley: 'They seem to charge me and the other Wardens with negligence for the passing of Lord Seton and a boy...Lord Seton speaks very bravely of his landing and passing through England, and how he met Sir Ralph Sadler on the way, who gave him two shillings'. [SPF.x.56]. (Sadler's response: March 20).

March 10: death. William Paulet, 1st Marquis of Winchester (c.1485-1572), K.G., Lord Treasurer since 1550, a Privy Councillor since 1525, widower, died at Basing, Hampshire. Funeral: Basing.

His son John Paulet, Lord St John (c.1510-1576), became 2nd Marquis of Winchester. John's son William Paulet was summoned to Parliament as Lord St John on May 10.

Court news. March 13, La Mothe to Charles IX: The deciphered letter from the Queen of Scots to the Duke of Alva 'has renewed in the Queen's heart such a great hatred and such great indignation against this poor princess'. [iv.397].

Mar 15, Sat French Ambassadors summoned to Whitehall.
La Mothe to Charles IX, March 18: 'Last Saturday the Queen had us called to her Council...who told us that Marshal Drury and Mr Randolph...had sent news that an accord was about to be signed in Scotland, until Lord Seton arrived there, which had at once changed the minds of those in Edinburgh'...

'Letters, alphabets, ciphers, mémoires, and other things of importance had been taken in Seton's ship'. It was discovered 'that the plan was no longer to restore the Queen of Scots to her Crown, but to make her Queen of both Kingdoms, and to deprive their true Queen of both her life and her state'...

'The Queen left Monsieur du Croc the choice of going back to you or waiting here for your reply...We have hurriedly dispatched my secretary to you...to let us know your intentions promptly'. [iv.400-402].

March 17, Queen to Sir William Drury and Thomas Randolph, in Scotland:

'The Lord Seton is come thither through our realm. Though he escaped...yet the ship that brought him and some of his servants was taken, and such secret writings of his, and of our rebels, as were left in the ship to have been conveyed after him by sea into Scotland, are brought to such a light, as we have cause to thank God to have such dangerous practices against us discovered. And thereupon we have stayed Le Croc for coming thither at this time'...

'We cannot, as we think, conveniently stay him long here'.

Sir William Drury to Burghley, May 12, Berwick: Lord Seton, now returning from Scotland to Flanders, is: 'The greatest Papist, the most affectionate to the Scottish Queen, and the greatest enemy to the Queen's Majesty of any Scottish person'. [SPF.x.58,106].

March 18, La Mothe to Catherine de Medici, the Queen Mother: 'Lord Seton, wishing to cross from Flanders to Scotland, was thrown by a gale onto the Suffolk [Essex] coast, where after taking the risk of disembarking and going overland to Edinburgh in disguise, he thought that his ship would be able to sail with the first good wind and make for Aberdeen or some other port up there; so he left his own Page in it, with his papers and ciphers, which were seized soon after by the officers of the place, who recognised the ship. They also took the men, munitions, arms and other provisions which were in it, and brought the papers to court, by which it seems that the affairs and person of this poor princess [Queen of Scots] are in greater danger than ever'. [iv.404-5].

March 20, Standon, Sir Ralph Sadler to Burghley: 'If our Commissioners do no good in Scotland, cannon must be used; words seldom do more good than blows'... 'I doubt having met Lord Seton on the road, and did not give him two shillings, except he got it by chance as a beggar. If he brags of that which is untrue, he showeth himself to be a false lying Scot'. [SP15/21/24].

March 22, Blois, Sir Thomas Smith to Burghley, of the Queen Mother's talk with Walsingham and himself of a reason, apart from religion, for the Duke of Anjou breaking off his suit for marriage. She taxed her son 'that of all evil rumours and tales of naughty persons, such as would break the matter, and were spread abroad of the Queen, that those he did believe, and that made him so backward'.

She 'told him it is all the hurt that evil men can do to Noblewomen and Princes, to spread abroad lies and dishonourable tales of them, and that we of all Princes that be women, are subject to be slandered wrongfully of them that be our adversaries, other hurt they cannot do us. He said and swore to me he gave no credit to them; he knew she had so virtuously governed her Realm this long time, that she must needs be a good and virtuous Princess, and full of honour...but that his conscience and his religion did trouble him that he could not be in quiet, and nothing else'.

At Smith's further audience, after discussing the latest plots against his Queen, the Queen Mother burst out: 'Jesu!...doth not your Mistress see that she shall be always in danger until she marry? That once done, and in some good House, who dare attempt anything against her?...If she could have fancied my son D'Anjou...why not this of the same House, father and mother, and as vigorous and lusty as he...and now he beginneth to have a beard'. [Digges, 196-7].

March 24, Lord Mayor's Precept to the Wardens of the Livery Companies for a Muster on May Day before the Queen, e.g. to the Merchant Taylors' Company:

'We straitly charge you and command on our Sovereign Lady the Queen's Majesty's behalf that immediately upon the receipt hereof with all diligence and speed, all excuses set apart, you do appoint, nominate and assign 188 good, tall, cleanly and of the best picked persons of your said Company, which shall in their own persons, or by other meet and apt persons for them, at their costs and charges use and bear arms, only for a show to be made before the Queen's Majesty upon May Day next coming, whereof 58 to be with calivers and shot furnished with murrions and other necessaries, 94 to be armed in fair corslets with pikes, and 36 to be armed in fair corslets and bills with halberds, which persons with their several armourers ye shall cause to be in perfect readiness, and to come and show themselves upon Thursday next which shall be the 27th day of this March at 8 o'clock in the forenoon at the Artillery Yard without Bishopsgate of London, there to receive such further order as shall be to them prescribed, and that you have then and there names and surnames in a book fair written, every man as he is appointed to serve, and one or two discreet persons of your said Company to conduct them thither, and to receive and understand what shall be unto them further said. In that behalf fail ye not hereof as you will answer to the contrary at your uttermost peril'.

Postcript: 'You shall have upon Thursday next at the time and place appointed but only your calivers with their furniture, and the others you shall put and have in a readiness furnished according to the tenor of this Precept, ready to serve when they shall be called for at one hour's warning'.

Lord Mayor: Sir William Allen, mercer.

March 25-26: 'The citizens of London assembling at their several Halls, the Masters chose out the most lively and active persons of every their Companies, to the number of 3000, whom they appointed to be pikemen and shot, the pikemen were forthwith armed in fair corslets and other furniture according thereunto. The gunners had every one of them his caliver, with the furniture, and murrions [helmets] on their heads'.

'To these were appointed divers valiant Captains, who to train them up in warlike feats mustered them thrice every week, sometimes in the Artillery Yard, teaching their gunners to handle their pieces, sometimes at the Mile End and in St George's Field, teaching them to skirmish'. [Stow, Annals].

March 25: court news, of the Queen's illness.

March 25, La Mothe to Charles IX: I sent my last dispatch on March 18, 'hoping that I would have audience on the following day...but the night after the Queen was taken ill and had such a bad stomach-ache, because so they say of some fish she had eaten, that I had to be patient. Her suffering was so grievous and so violent that the whole court was astonished, and the Earl of Leicester and Lord Burghley watched by her bed for three whole nights. But I have just been told that, thanks be to God, she is much less ill, and they hope that in a few days she will be better'.

PS. 'Just now one of the Clerks of the Council came to tell me, on behalf of Lord Burghley, that the Queen wishes me to see her tomorrow, but without touching on any business negotiations'. [iv.411].

March 25, London, Sweveghem, Flanders Commissioner, to the Duke of Alva:

'On Friday of last week [March 21], a fever, following a severe attack of colic, came on the Queen so that she was almost given up for dead for many hours. On Saturday night the illness returned, but since then she has so far recovered as to promise audience to the French Ambassador'...

'They are getting 3000 footmen ready in London, under colour of showing some feats of arms on May Day, and are arming two ships'. [KL.vi.350].

Mar 26, Wed French Ambassador at Whitehall for audience.

La Mothe to Charles IX, March 30: 'As soon as the Queen, by her doctors' leave, was able to go as far as her Privy Chamber, she permitted me to see her, before any of the lords or ladies of the court, except those who tended to her in her bed. She told me of the extreme suffering which for five days had gripped her so strongly and made her heart race so that she had thought herself to be dying, and some had already thought she was as good as dead, but God had not found her to be in a good enough state to be worthy yet to go to him'.

'She believed that this suffering did not come from eating fish, as some thought, for she quite often ate it, but rather because for three or four years she had been so well that she had scorned what her doctors had previously been accustomed to do to her, purging her and drawing a little blood from time to time. Nevertheless the illness, thanks be to God, was now all over'...

'Because she was not yet strong enough to work on business negotiations she would appoint five of her Council to meet me'...

'As soon as I left her I entered into conference with them'.

They conferred on the proposed Treaty with France. [iv.412-413].

March 28, Westminster, Queen's warrant to the Keeper of Westminster Palace, to deliver to our tailor Walter Fish '12 yards of purple velvet frized on the back side with white and russet silk to make us a night-gown'. Also to deliver to 'Charles Smyth, Page of our Robes, 14 yards of murrey damask to be employed in making of a night-gown for the Earl of Leicester'. [BL Add MS 5751A, f.85].

Court news. March 31, London, Sweveghem to the Duke of Alva:
On March 29 a man came with letters from the King of Denmark to the Queen, 'having been only 16 days at sea'. [KL.vi.360].

April 1: Count de la Marck's fleet, which had been expelled from English ports, and needed a new base, captured Brill in the Low Countries from the Spaniards. Other towns also ejected their Spanish garrisons.

This success by the 'Sea-Beggars' was a victory in the Dutch War of Independence, the Eighty Years' War, 1568-1648.

There was a widespread revolt against the Spaniards, and in July William of Orange was proclaimed Stadholder of Holland, Friesland, Utrecht and Zeeland.

April 2, Queen to Francis Walsingham: We had a 'sudden sharp accident of sickness, which as it continued with us some time, so nevertheless in seven or eight days, by God's goodness, we were eased, and do now take ourselves to be very well recovered, both of the danger and trouble thereof, lacking nothing but some small time to recover the strength which we lost with the sharpness of the sickness. And so now we have...resolved upon...the rest of the Articles of the Treaty'. The Articles are described. [Digges, 185].

Apr 3, Maundy Thursday ceremonies and alms-giving.

By the Queen and Edmund Freake, new Bishop of Rochester, the Queen's new Almoner; to 38 poor women, each 20s in a red purse and 38d in a white purse.^T

April 3, La Mothe to Charles IX, of a noble to witness ratification of the Treaty of Blois: 'As for the Earl of Leicester, or failing him Lord Burghley, going to France' the Queen 'has prayed me to write to you that because of the suspicious times, and that at present these two Councillors are very necessary for a Parliament which she wishes to hold after Easter, and also for a progress which she is constrained to undertake towards the North immediately after Whitsun, and because the Earl would bring with him five or six hundred of her most trustworthy gentlemen, she begs you Sire to find it good that she sends you another of her men, and she named the Lord Admiral'. [iv.419].

Court news. April 7, La Mothe: 'I have just been told that after Lord Burghley took medicine last Friday [April 4] he was extremely ill'. [iv.424].

April 7, Antonio de Guaras (Spanish merchant resident in London) to the Duke of Alva: I waited at court on Easter Day [April 6] hoping to see Lord Burghley, but he was seriously ill. 'He was in great danger, and the Queen had been to visit him with most of the Councillors'.

April 8, Antonio de Guaras to the Duke of Alva:

'I have been at court all day today, in case Lord Burghley should be better able to speak to me...He did so...He was very weak and feverish'...

'When I had left his room and was going in a boat...to my house, I saw the Queen approaching the landing-place of the palace in her barge in which, the day being fine, she had been taking the air in company with Lord Leicester and many other gentlemen, and followed by a great number of boats filled with people who were anxious to see her Majesty'.

'We, being amongst the other people, stayed our boat to see her, and when I made my bow like all the rest, the Queen as usual saluted the people, and noticing me...called out to me in Italian...and asked me very gaily and graciously if I was coming from the court, and if I had seen Lord Burghley'.

'I knelt, as was my duty, and replied "Yes, my Lady, at your Majesty's service". She asked "When were you with Lord Burghley?"...and her barge then proceeded, she bidding me farewell with so many signs of favour and pleasure that people noticed it much'...

'She very often visits Lord Burghley'. [Span.ii.380-382].

Apr 9,Wed Queen to one of the Sheriffs of London, to proceed with the Duke of Norfolk's execution, at a time to be agreed with the Lieutenant of the Tower. [Murdin, 177-8]. This was countermanded by the Queen on April 11.

*April 9: Wardrobe account includes a payment to the Queen's hosier for 'a pair of canions' for 'Hoyden the Fool'. [Arnold, 207].
The only reference to Hoyden; canions: a type of hose for men.*

April 10: Whilst training to muster before the Queen, in a skirmish at Mile End 'one of the gunners of the Goldsmiths' Company was shot in the side with a piece of a scouring stick left in one of the calivers, whereof he died, and was buried the 12th of April in St Paul's Churchyard, all the gunners marching from the Mile End in battle array shot off their calivers at his grave'. [Stow].

Apr 10,Thur Flanders Commissioner at Whitehall for audience. Sweveghem to Alva, April 11: 'After dinner the Queen gave me audience in her Privy Chamber with much patience'. I noted that since her illness she showed more affection for Leicester than ever, and contemplated marrying him.

Sweveghem made various complaints, e.g. of the seizure of goods of Spanish subjects; he received an answer in writing. [KL.vi.370,377].

Apr 10,Thur **GREENWICH PALACE**, Kent.^c

In April: John Wynyard, of the Removing Wardrobe of Beds, paid for boat-hire, 'sent in the night with all speed from Greenwich to Whitehall unto Mr Brideman [Keeper of Whitehall] for a white satin bolster for the Queen's Majesty'.^T

*April-May 1572: Watermen at Greenwich were paid 'for rowing of her Highness two several times to Woolwich and to London, £4'.^T [Sept 1571-Sept 1572 a/c].

April 11,Fri Duke of Norfolk's new execution date. [April 11], Queen to Lord Burghley: 'My lord, methinks that I am more beholding to the hinder part of my head than well dare trust the forwards side of the same, and therefore send to the Lieutenant and the S [Sheriff]...the order to defer this execution till they hear further...The causes that move me to this are not now to be expressed, lest an irrevocable deed be in meanwhile committed. If they will needs a warrant, let this suffice, all written with my own hand.

Your most loving sovereign, Elizabeth R'.

Endorsed by Burghley: '11 April 1572. The Q. Majesty with her own hand for staying of the Execution of the D O [N]. R.at 2 in the morning'.

[Illustrated: Pryor, No.25].

April 11, Blois, Sir Thomas Smith to Dr Wilson: 'For the progress to York, I would believe if I saw not things there so inconstant and irresolute'.

'The Parliament is more certain, whereof I hear say the writs be out. I pray God it may do good'. [SPF.xvii.472].

Apr 13, Sun French Ambassadors at Greenwich with Queen and Council.
Sveveghem to the Duke of Alva, April 16: 'Last Sunday M.du Croc...was at Greenwich with the French Ambassador'. [KL.vi.386].

La Mothe to Charles IX, April 21: 'The Queen wished that her Council should assemble with M.du Croc and with me, in her own presence, to treat before her of the continuation of M.du Croc's journey to Scotland...and on the second Instruction which you sent me [concerning a disputed clause in the Treaty]'...

'She set about reading the Instruction aloud, from beginning to end, and translated it into English for those who did not understand French well'.

To ratify the Treaty the Duke of Montmorency is to come to England, the Lord Admiral to go to France. [iv.428,432]. The Duke came in June.

Court news. April 14, La Mothe to Charles IX:

On Thursday 'the Queen left Westminster to go to stay at Greenwich for all the rest of this month...Parliament is called for May 8th...The most common presumption is that it is to settle the succession to this Crown'...

'Lord Burghley has been in extremity, and on Easter Day it was not thought that he could escape, but now he is beginning to recover; his indisposition delays business every day'. [iv.424-7].

April 19, in France: **Treaty of Blois.**

Defensive League with France. Signed at Blois by Sir Thomas Smith and Francis Walsingham on behalf of Queen Elizabeth. Signed by the Duke of Montmorency and three others on behalf of King Charles IX.

April 19, Smith to Lord Burghley: 'With much difficulty at the last we have concluded the league...And as I hope and trust the best league that ever was made with France or any other nation for her Majesty's surety'.

April 22, Smith to the Queen: 'The league shall be as great an assurance and defence of your Majesty as ever was or can be'. [Digges, 180,200].

Apr 22, Tues Flanders Commissioner at Greenwich to take leave.

Sveveghem received an answer on April 19 to a Mémoire of complaints which he had delivered; the Queen left it to his own choice whether to send King Philip the answer, or to depart with it himself. He asked to depart.

Sveveghem to Alva, April 23: 'After dinner on April 22 I was suddenly summoned before the Council; Lord Burghley and Leicester then went to report to the Queen 'who soon after called for me'. 'I took my leave'. [KL.vi.387-9,394-5].

Sveveghem returned to England in 1574 for the conclusion of negotiations.

Also April 22: Eve of Garter ceremonies, Greenwich.

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

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

Queen's Lieutenant: Thomas Radcliffe, 3rd Earl of Sussex.

The Queen 'came not down to the Chapel but to the Closet' [another chapel]; she was not in the processions.

Cofferer of the Household paid £106.12s5d for St George's Eve and Day.^c

Apr 24, Thur Final 1572 Garter ceremonies, Greenwich.

New Knights of the Garter elected:

François, Duke of Montmorency;

Walter Devereux, 2nd Viscount Hereford;

William Cecil, 1st Lord Burghley;

Edmund Brydges, 2nd Lord Chandos;

Arthur, 14th Lord Grey of Wilton.

All were installed at Windsor on June 17.

[Bodleian Ashmolean MS 1116].

Also April 24: Two French Ambassadors at Greenwich.

La Mothe to Charles IX, April 27: 'Last Thursday seven of the Council and the two of us met at Greenwich'. After much discussion 'the Earl of Sussex and Lord Burghley, by appointment with the others, went to confer with the Queen, and soon after returned to tell us that she was content for M. du Croc to go [to Scotland]. We then went to her immediately... And with many good words and much favour she very graciously licensed him'...

'After this she told us that on St George's Day M. de Montmorency had been elected a Knight of her Order of the Garter... The Earl of Leicester is preparing his house in London to lodge him there; Admiral Clinton continues to make ready, and four lords have already been ordered to prepare to accompany him, together with many other gentlemen. I hear that the Earl of Leicester will be made Grand Master [Lord Steward], having declined to become Lord Treasurer, which is a still greater position, but because it requires learning and knowledge to carry it out the office is reserved for Lord Burghley, who for that reason has also been elected to the Order. It is said that the Earl of Sussex will be made Lord Privy Seal, and that Mr Smith will be the sole Secretary of State, and Chancellor of the Order of the Garter'. New appointments: July 13.

Court news. April 27, La Mothe to Catherine de Medici, Queen Mother: 'Having sounded out the Queen's two Councillors [Burghley and Leicester] on how willing she is to have the Duke of Alençon's proposal, both gave me to understand that she is expecting M. de Montmorency to speak to her about it, but that she wishes nothing to be known of her intention, nor that anyone should know what her reply will be until he is here'. Mr Killigrew tells me 'which has been confirmed to me elsewhere, that since her last illness she has given better hope to the Earl of Leicester than she had given him for the last six years'...

'Leicester regards Admiral Clinton as his great and special friend, and he and likewise his wife Madame l'Admiral are held to be very intimate with the Queen'.

'It seems that she is making Mr Middlemore of her Privy Chamber accompany the Admiral to France, in order that he can report better as to the truth of what she wishes to be informed of concerning the Duke's proposal'. [iv.436-430].

May 1, Thur Muster of soldiers before the Queen at Greenwich.

The men had been chosen and trained after the Lord Mayor's Precept, March 24.

La Mothe to Queen Mother, May 4: 'They had prepared a triumph at Greenwich on May Day, expressly to mark the news of the conclusion of the Treaty'...

'There were 3000 soldiers, of whom 2000 were in cuirasses and the rest arquebusiers, very well equipped, and many of the young courtiers. It was in the park at Greenwich, on a smooth field at the foot of a hill, where the company was divided into two, with six field-guns on each side. It began with a very brave skirmish by the arquebusiers which lasted a very long time, and then the two battalions came furiously against one another, while the arquebusiers and the artillery were so diligent in firing that nothing was lacking that could be shown in one day and in one feat of arms, and all was very well led by some captains who are held in good esteem here'. [iv.445].

Stow, *Annals*: 'On May Day they mustered at Greenwich before the Queen's Majesty, where they showed many warlike feats, but were hindered by the weather, which was all that day showering. They returned that night to London, and were discharged on the next morrow'.

Sir Roger Williams (c.1540-1595) recalled: 'There was a fair muster of Londoners before the Queen's Majesty at Greenwich. Amongst the Londoners were divers captains and soldiers who had served, some in Scotland, some in Ireland, others in France... Captain Thomas Morgan levied a fair company of three hundred strong; amongst whom were divers officers which had commanded before, with many gentlemen, at the least above one hundred, amongst which myself was one'. [Williams, *The Actions of the Low Countries* (1618), 56].

The Livery Companies made many payments. A selection:

Carpenters' Company paid for 'armour and other provision' for 24 men.

'In reward to the Sergeants which went with the soldiers to Greenwich, 7s4d; for mending and carriage of a tent from Aldermanbury to Bishopsgate, 10d; for a cart to have the tent in and out to Greenwich and for Toll at London Bridge, 5s2d; to William Nicholson and his son for 2 days' work in setting up the tent at London and at Greenwich, 4s8d; to the soldiers at their going to Greenwich and at their coming home, 32s; to the whifflers which they spent, 3s; to the Beadle in reward for his painstaking the same time, 10s'.

Drapers' Company: 'To the drums and fife going before our men at divers times on mustering days into the fields as also at Greenwich before the Queen', 25s4d. They were loaned 'a gilt morion and a plume of feathers for the ensign-bearer'.

Founders' Company's payments 'about the setting forth of ten men against May Day': 'For 2 calivers with flasks and touch-boxes, 32s; 4 pikes, 10s2d; 6lb of gunpowder, 6s; a quire of paper, 4d; 3 morions, 11s; 3 swords, 12s; drink for the men, 8d; ribbon for the morions, 8d; 5 new corslets, £6.13s4d; for a scabbard of a sword, 6d; red and white sarcenet for the morions, 3s9d; for a leg of mutton and 2 pieces of beef, 2s6d; for a kilderkin of beer, 2s3d; the armourer for mending the harness, 3s; a pound of matches and nails, 5d; bread at Greenwich, 11d; for 10 men's wages on May Eve and May Day, 16s8d'.

Grocers' Company's charges for 'the Show' 'in hiring of men and finding of arms, calivers and other necessaries for 190 men' included: 'Gunpowder and matches for the soldiers going out sundry times to practise their shooting, £14.10s; 7½ ells of white and red sarcenet to make a new ensign for the company at 5s the ell, 37s6d; painting the Grocers' Arms on the same, 2s; a new ensign staff, 2s6d; 2 ells of white and red sarcenet for the ensign-bearer, 9s4d'.

Vintners' Company paid 5 shillings 'for the loan of a fair velvet hat for the ensign-bearer on May Day which was in manner clean marred with rain'.

Court news, the Queen wishing to create more peers before Parliament began. May 2, court, Lady Mary Sidney (wife of Sir Henry Sidney, Lord President of Wales) to Lord Burghley 'humbly to crave your noble assistance concerning her Majesty's pleasure for my Lord my husband, who truly my Lord I do find greatly dismayed with his hard choice...either to be a baron, now called in the number of many far more able than himself to maintain it withal, either else in refusing it to incur her Highness's displeasure'...

'It may please you of your great goodness only to stay the motion of this new title to be any further offered him'. [SP12/86/33].

Sir Henry Sidney remained a knight, as he desired, to avoid expense.

May 4, Sun **Peerage creations: Earl of Essex, Earl of Lincoln;** at Greenwich. Walter Devereux, 2nd Viscount Hereford, was created Earl of Essex. Edward Clinton, 9th Baron Clinton (Lord Admiral), was created Earl of Lincoln.

Herald: 'Walter Devereux, Baron Ferrers of Chartley and Viscount Hereford, having on an inner gown of purple silk and covered with a robe of state, and a velvet mantle of the same colour, and going in the middle betwixt the Earl of Sussex on his right hand and the Earl of Huntingdon on his left, both of them in their robes, was conducted from the Queen's Chapel unto the Queen's presence. Next before him went the Earl of Leicester carrying a cap of state and a coronet of gold, and the Earl of Bedford on the left hand, bearing before him a sword with the hilt upward. Before these went also Garter with the Charter alone, and before him all the rest of the Heralds by two and two together'.

'When they were come to the Chamber of Presence, after their low obeisance thrice, with some little space betwixt, they drew near unto the Queen sitting in her Chair of State, where the aforesaid Walter knelt down, the rest standing by. There the Charter was first delivered unto the Queen, who gave it to William Cecil Baron of Burghley, and he to William Cordell, knight, Master of the Rolls, to read it aloud'.

At the appropriate Latin words the Queen 'put about his neck a sword, hanging overthwart towards his left hand, and...put upon his head a cap with a coronet. And afterwards, reading that which was left, pronounced him the said Walter, before Viscount Hereford, now Earl of Essex, for him and his heirs male'.

'These things being done, the same Master of the Rolls (instead of the Secretary, for the helping of whom he had read the Charter) delivered it to the Earl of Oxford, Great Chamberlain of England, but he delivered it unto the Queen who gave the same to the Earl of Essex to be kept. Who after great thanks with greatest humility given withdrew himself aside among the other noblemen standing thereby, expecting another coming to be created Earl'.

With the same ceremonial Lord Clinton was then created Earl of Lincoln.

'These things being finished, they departed in the same order they came in, with the Trumpets aloud sounding...And being so retired in their robes, were conducted to dinner in a room fitted for that purpose'.

In the customary manner 'at the coming in of the second course' the Heralds cried *largesse* and Garter proclaimed the Queen's style in Latin, French and English and each Earl's style in French and English. Garter King of Arms, 1550-1584: Sir Gilbert Dethick. [College of Arms Vincent 151, p.348-9].

May 6, Tues **ST JAMES'S PALACE.**^c

St Botolph Aldgate: 'For ringing the 6th day of May when the Queen passed to Westminster, 10d'.

May 7, Wed French Ambassador at St James's for audience.
La Mothe to Charles IX, May 13, of Guido Cavalcanti, sent by Catherine de Medici with a portrait of the Duke of Alençon:

'Signor Cavalcanti arrived at Greenwich on May 4, and waited all that day and the next hoping to be able to kiss the Queen's hand...My secretary arrived the same day with a copy of the Treaty and with letters...on which I at once sent to ask for audience; but because it was the moment when the Queen wanted to leave Greenwich to come to London for the beginning of Parliament, she prayed me to have a little patience for a day or two. So I did not speak to her until last Wednesday, when I found her at St James's, at the end of the park in Westminster...I offered congratulations on the conclusion of the Treaty'...

'I then persisted in asking...that she would send the Earl of Leicester to you'. She explained why she was sending the Lord Admiral instead.

'The Lord Admiral, having been made Earl of Lincoln, is now the first man in her Kingdom, and is so well affected to the Treaty between these two Crowns, and is so well informed of her most private intentions, that she felt in her heart that the Earl of Leicester would not be more suitable for this duty than he would, and his preparations were so advanced and he had been put to such expense that it would do him great wrong to revoke his commission. And Leicester and Burghley were very much needed for the Parliament which would begin next day'...

'The Lord Admiral will leave here the day after Whitsun, to cross on the last day of May to Calais or Boulogne'. [iv.447-453].

The portrait of the Duke of Alençon was dated 19 March 1572, age 18.
Reproduced and discussed by Elizabeth Goldring, *Robert Dudley*, 80-84.

For the Queen's response to the age difference see May 24.

May 7, Paris, Sir Thomas Smith to Burghley: 'Marshal Montmorency and De Foix, and all that should go with them, be ready, and attend only to hear when my Lord Admiral doth set forward. A man would marvel what a number of great persons both of the long and short robe do desire to go with the Marshal and to see England, and what shift he is fain to make to cut off his train, and shake them off that desire to go, lest he should have too many; he is surely a great Prince here, marvellous well beloved, and one that loves the Queen's Majesty and our nation as much as any nobleman in France. I hope the Queen's Majesty will give him the Order [of the Garter] at his being there, that he may follow his father therein, he will esteem it much...I am glad the Treaty is liked'. [Digges, 201].

May 8, Thur **Peerages** by Writ of Summons to Parliament.
Prior to the opening of Parliament three barons were called by Writ to the Upper House: Sir Henry Compton: Baron Compton.

Sir Henry Cheney: Baron Cheney, of Toddington.

Sir Henry Norris: Baron Norris, of Rycote.

'Each of them...having on his robes, was led into the Upper House by two other barons, and brought first to the Lord Keeper to make delivery of the Writ by which he was called, and after to the place where he should sit, and this was done before the Queen's coming'. [Parl.i.317].

Herald: 'Henry Compton, Henry Cheney and Henry Norris, knights, were by Writs called to Parliament...After that the nobles were set on their seats, these three attending without were by turns in this manner brought in and admitted to the Upper House: Garter King at Arms went before bare-headed, whom two of the last made barons in their whole robes followed, bringing in the knight...in the middle betwixt them'.

'Him at length they bring unto the Chancellor, unto whom the knight having made...obeisance delivereth his Writ of Summons to be read, wherein he declareth by what authority he is come thither. The Chancellor, after the Writ read, with great courtesy welcoming him, dismisseth the new Baron (in his robes) to take his place, which (Garter going before them) they show unto him, but the Writ is by the Chancellor delivered to the Clerk of the Parliament to be laid up'.

'In like manner were the other two admitted'.

[College of Arms Vincent 151, p.255].

Also **May 8: Queen at Opening of Parliament.**

Queen went from St James's to Whitehall Palace (where she dined), then by water to Westminster for ceremonial procession to Westminster Abbey and Parliament.

St Margaret Westminster churchwardens paid for: 'four load of gravel to lay in the churchyard at the Queen's Majesty's coming to the sermon at the Minster, 2s6d'. Piers Pennant made ready 'the Parliament House and the Abbey'.^T

Herald: 'The Queen's Majesty did take her coach at the garden door of St James and was conveyed through the park by her nobles, prelates and gentlemen and ladies etc. to Whitehall, where her Majesty stayed the space of one hour and there put on her robes and a diadem of gold with rich stones and jewels on her head. This done, she came from her Privy Chamber in Whitehall with her nobility through the chambers to the hall and so to the common bridge called the Water-gate where her Highness took her barge and was rowed to the King's Bridge at Westminster, whereas her coach was ready with all her nobles and bishops in their robes on horseback, all men in order placed'.

'And her Majesty being set in her coach, the Gentlemen Pensioners with their axes, the Serjeants were set on horseback, and the Esquires with others on foot on each side of her Highness's coach in good order'.

'Next to her Majesty rode the Earl of Kent with the Cap of Maintenance and the Earl of Rutland bearing the Sword next before. Then the Earl of Oxford, Lord Great Chamberlain of England, and with him the Earl of Worcester, being for that time appointed to be Earl Marshal, carried the Rod next before'.

'Then the Lord Admiral, being appointed to be Lord Steward for that Parliament. Then Mr Garter King of Arms with two Gentlemen Ushers, he riding in the midst between them. Then the two Archbishops, of Canterbury and York. And so every nobleman and the bishops and barons two and two in their degrees and places in order, with the Heralds on each side'.

'And so came her Majesty through the Palace into the King's Street and from thence to the north door of the Cathedral Church of St Peter in Westminster, where there was made ready a place with carpets, stool and cushions for her Majesty, where her Majesty alighted. And being placed therein the Dean of Westminster with divers other of the Canons, priests and choristers being ready at the said door to receive her Majesty, the Dean kneeled down and said a chapter, with certain prayers. Which done, he delivered unto her Highness the rod of silver and gilt with a dove in the top of it, which her Majesty took and carried in her hand'.

'And then there came six knights with a canopy under the which her Majesty was conveyed from the same little north door with the whole choir of Canons and choristers singing unto the west door of the quire, and so to the upper end of the same where was prepared a travers into the which her Highness was conveyed, where she continued during the sermon that was made by the Bishop of Lincoln'.

[Bishop: Thomas Cooper].

'The sermon being done, her Majesty was conveyed under the canopy again, and so with her nobles, prelates, barons and ladies etc., every man in order as before, brought her to the east door of the church and so to the west door of the Parliament House, where at the stair foot the canopy was taken away and delivered to the Footmen which were ready there to receive the same as a fee due unto them'.

'Then her Majesty was conveyed up to the Parliament House, where there is a place made ready to withdraw herself; stayed there a little space until the lords and bishops had taken their places. And then her Majesty came forth, the Hat of Maintenance, Sword, the Lord Marshal and Lord Chamberlain and Garter King of Heralds, and Gentlemen Ushers going before to make place. She was brought to the royal seat prepared...with carpets, chair, stool, cushions, under a rich cloth of state. The Lady Lennox carried the train all this time'.

'Thus her Majesty being set in her chair of state, the Earl of Kent with the Hat standing on the right hand and the Lord Chamberlain with him, the Earl of Rutland and the Earl of Worcester with the Sword and Rod on the left hand, all placed, the Lower House came into the same place'.

'The Lord Keeper [Sir Nicholas Bacon] stood up on the right hand of her Majesty's cloth of state, having a place there made for him, began an oration declaring the cause of her Majesty's summoning of this High Court of Parliament. Which done, the knights and burgesses being appointed to repair to the Lower House to choose their Speaker'.

'Then her Majesty came down from her seat to her Withdrawing Chamber where she put off her robes, and in the meantime the lords shifted them. Which done, her Majesty came forth, and the lords and gentlemen went on before with the Sword and Rod carried, and the Heralds on the sides of the noblemen'.

'And so came down the Privy Stairs on the east side of the Parliament House to the Queen's Bridge, where she took her barge, the Sword and Marshal's Rod delivered to the Gentlemen Ushers. Other lords departed, and her Majesty was rowed to Whitehall Stairs, whereas she before had taken barge. And so went through the house to the park, where her coach was ready, and with divers noblemen and ladies returned to St James again'. [Parl.i.267-8].

May 10, Sat Queen at Parliament for presentation of new Speaker of Commons.

Robert Bell, lawyer (who died after the Oxford 'Black Assize', 1577).

Herald: 'Her Majesty went again from St James to Whitehall in her coach to the hall door where she alighted, and with her nobles, ladies, etc. was conveyed to the common bridge called the Water-gate, where she entered her barge rowed by her watermen to the Queen's Bridge at Westminster, where her nobles, ladies and gentlemen, her Gentlemen Pensioners there with their axes, ready to receive her. And the Sword and Marshal's Rod borne before her from the waterside with the Lord Chamberlain, Gentlemen Ushers, Serjeants of Arms and Heralds before, her Grace came to her Withdrawing Chamber there made ready'.

'Then the Lords and Bishops went into the outer chamber to make them ready, to put on their robes, and came and sat in their places in the Parliament House, saving such noblemen as were appointed for the Hat, Sword and Rod of the Marshal, Chamberlain and such other, the Ushers and Garter, which all stayed for her Majesty, who came forth with a diadem on her head and in her robes proceeded in such order with the said Lords before her unto her seat royal'.

'And there being set and the Lower House called in, Mr Bell, the Speaker, being chosen by the assent of the knights and burgesses of the same House, who came in between Mr Treasurer on the right hand and Mr Comptroller on the left hand, after his duty obeisance made to her Majesty he began an oration in the disabling of himself, and prayed to be sent back again and that there might be a better choice made of a more fit man than he, or to this effect'.

'Then her Majesty called to the Lord Keeper and willed him to deliver her pleasure of the good opinion and her allowance of him; which done he began a new oration touching divers points, and of allowance as I take it from her Majesty in his access to her Majesty and of free speech to be had in the House. This ended her Majesty called the Lord Keeper and delivered to him her answer, which when he had done the Speaker and others were licensed to depart'.

'And her Majesty came down and withdrew herself to her chamber as before, where she put off her robes, and was conveyed by the back stairs to the said Queen's Bridge and there took her barge and came to the foresaid common stairs at the Whitehall and so to the door. There in the court she mounted into her coach, and many of the noblemen, gentlemen, and Pensioners with their axes waited on her through the park to St James'. [Parl.i.268-9].

Also May 10: **Peerage** by Writ of Summons to Parliament: Lord St John. William Paulet, Lord St John (later 3rd Marquis of Winchester).

Herald: 'Paulet received his Writ so late that he could not be at the Parliament the first day of session, and was therefore admitted the Saturday following, the day when as the Speaker was chosen'. [BL Harl 6064, f.42v].

May 10: Seditious words at Horsham, Sussex.

John a Wood, of Mayfield, trugmaker, said: 'That this year should be great wars in the north part of this Realm and the Scots should have the upper hand; then the Queen should send more men, thinking them to be her friends, but they will be her enemies; the cause why is this, the Earl of Leicester shall marry the Queen and shall be crowned King and shall reign three months and then shall be slain at London, and the Queen's Majesty put from her Crown and dignity; and a King shall conquer this land whose name shall be Ambrose'.

Guilty; to be imprisoned for a year and pilloried. [Assizes, Sussex, 88].

May 11, at Berwick: Monsieur du Croc joined Sir William Drury, Marshal of Berwick, to go together into Scotland to endeavour to bring about a pacification there. Du Croc sent his son-in-law, M.de l'Espinasse, from Scotland to France at the end of May for new instructions. [Scot.iv.297,316].

Court news. May 12, De Guaras to Duke of Alva: 'Montmorency is expected here, and lodgings have been prepared for him in the Earl of Leicester's house'...

'There are two young German gentlemen constantly at court busy in some negotiation, and yesterday they received a reply which seemed to please them, as...they left the court in great rejoicing'. [*Span.ii.390*: they are unnamed].

May 12, Mon, in Parliament: The Lords and Commons had been sent two Bills from the Queen, for them to choose which they preferred as the best way of dealing with the Queen of Scots after the plots in which she had been involved. They appointed a large joint Committee, led by the Archbishops of Canterbury and of York, to consider 'the great matter'.

May 19, Mon, in the Commons: The Committee on the Queen of Scots reported on their conference with the Lords. The Commons resolved 'for the better safety and preservation of the Queen's Majesty's person, and the present State, to make choice of proceeding against the Scottish Queen in the highest degree of treason, and therein to touch her as well in life as in title and dignity, and that of necessity with all possible speed, by the whole voice of the House'.

Court news. May 19, La Mothe to Charles IX: 'The Queen is now so busy, together with her Council, with their Parliament...There has already been put into their hands the fate of the Duke of Norfolk and the Queen of Scots'...

'The Queen has not dared to stay at Westminster because of some suspicion of plague, so she will return to Greenwich in five or six days to await Monsieur de Montmorency there, as St James's Palace, where she is at present, is too small to receive him there'. [*iv.459*].

May 21, St James, Lord Burghley to Francis Walsingham: In Parliament 'there can be found no more soundness than in the Commons House, and no lack appearing in the Higher House, but in the highest person such slowness in the offers of surety, and such stay in resolution, as it seemeth God is not pleased that the surety shall succeed. To lament that secretly I cannot forbear, and thereby with it and such like I am overthrown in heart, as I have no spark almost of good spirits left in me to nourish health in my body...so as now I am forced to be carried into the Parliament House, and to her Majesty's presence'...

'These are our miseries, and such as I see no end thereof, and amongst others, shame doth as much trouble me as the rest, that all persons shall behold our follies as they may think, imputing these lacks and errors to some of us that are accounted inward Councillors, where indeed the fault is not; and yet they must be so suffered and to be so imputed, for saving the honour of the highest'.

May 21, in haste, Earl of Leicester to Walsingham: 'Our news is, we are presently in hand to attain the Scottish Queen of treason, and yet we fear our Queen will scant agree to it'. [*Digges, 203*].

May 22, Thur, in the Commons: 'Declaration made unto this House by Mr Speaker from the Queen's Majesty that her Highness's pleasure is that from henceforth no Bills concerning Religion shall be preferred or received into this House unless the same should be first considered and liked by the Clergy. And further that her Majesty's pleasure is to see the two last Bills read in this House touching Rites and Ceremonies. It is ordered by the House that the same Bills shall be delivered unto her Majesty'. [*D'Ewes*].

May 23: in debate on the Queen of Scots Paul Wentworth 'wisheth it may be put to the question of the House whether we should call for an axe or an act'.

Thomas Hussey: Mary is 'an enemy to England, an adulterous woman, a homicide, a traitor to the Queen, a subvertor of the state...Let the Queen therefore, while she hath such an enemy in hand, execute her lest hereafter herself come to be executed by her'.

Court news. May 24, La Mothe to Charles IX: 'The Earl of Lincoln's suite began last Thursday May 22nd to set out for Dover to cross there; he will leave London the day after tomorrow the 26th, planning to land at Boulogne on May 31 without fail. His company is a little larger than expected, and there could be around 200 horses. It seems that the Queen has changed her mind about returning to Greenwich, and will go to Hampton Court to receive Monsieur de Montmorency and your Deputies more honourably. She will not permit the Earl of Leicester to be their host in London, and so has made ready one of her own houses called Somerset Place, which is very handsome and spacious, and she has fitted it out with her own furniture. Nevertheless he continues to prepare his own house to entertain the company, and the whole court shows itself to be very much disposed to receive the French well and to make much of them'.

To Catherine de Medici, of Alençon's portrait brought by Guido Cavalcanti: 'After Cavalcanti delivered the portrait to the Earl of Leicester, the Queen had it brought into her Privy Chamber, where she saw it at an opportune moment... When she came to read the inscription giving his age, she said that he was not half her age, 18 and 38; and that the things which she had feared of his elder brother in this respect were more to be feared of him'. [iv.461].

May 24, De Guaras to the Duke of Alva: Still in prison are the Bishop of Ross, the Earl of Southampton, the Earl of Derby's two sons, and Lord Lumley.

Earl of Arundel is 'under arrest in his own house, and Lord Cobham under guard at Burghley House. Thomas Cobham, brother of Lord Cobham, is in the Tower with over 30 other gentlemen of high position, all of them for being concerned with the Queen of Scots and the Duke of Norfolk'. [Span.ii.393].

May 25, St James: Queen's Passport for Philip Sidney to travel abroad.

'We...do license our trusty and well beloved Philip Sidney esquire to go out of this our Realm of England into the parts of beyond the seas and there for his attaining to the knowledge of foreign languages to remain the space of two years'. He is licensed to take 'three servants, four horses or geldings, and one hundred pounds in money or under, and other their bags, baggages and necessaries'. [Sidney, 17, son of Sir Henry Sidney, nephew of Earl of Leicester, accompanied the Earl of Lincoln to France, remaining abroad till May 1575].

May 26-July 5: Earl of Lincoln was Ambassador Extraordinary to France. Edward Clinton, newly created Earl of Lincoln, left London on May 26 to witness King Charles IX's ratification of the Treaty of Blois (on June 15, in Paris).

Canterbury Chamberlains paid 'for a present given to my Lord Clinton when he went over in embassy into France, which was one hundred of pippins, one gallon of sack, one gallon of claret wine, and a marchpane [marzipan], 18s8d'.

[There are two descriptions of this embassy. Modern edition: Nichols, Progresses (2014), ii.9-17].

May 26, Mon Petition by clergy to the Queen, St James's Palace.

'Reasons to move the Queen's Majesty's conscience to proceed with severity in this case of the late Queen of Scots'. Endorsed 'A writing exhibited by the clergy of the Higher House to the Queen's Majesty at St James to move her Majesty to assent to justice against the Scottish Queen'. [Parl.i.174].

May 28, Wed Parliamentary deputation at St James's with the Queen.

A joint Committee of Lords and Commons had requested access to the Queen for some of the Committee to report on their decision on the Queen of Scots.

On May 28 the Speaker informed the Commons that the Queen's pleasure was that those appointed 'shall all attend at the court this present day at 8 o'clock in the forenoon'. There many reasons were advanced for Mary's execution.

May 28, in the Commons: The Queen's answer was reported by Sir Francis Knollys on his return from the court: 'Her Majesty doth very thankfully accept the good will and zeal of this House in their carefulness for her Majesty's safety and preservation; and that as her Majesty thinketh the course chosen...to be the best and surest way for her Majesty's preservation and safety indeed. Yet her Highness for certain respects by herself conceived thinketh good for this time to defer but not to reject that course of proceeding as yet; and in the meantime with all convenient speed to go forward in the great matter against the Scottish Queen with a second Bill, being the other part of the said choice heretofore offered to this House. And that...the Bill be first drawn by her Learned Counsel, and by them penned before the same be treated of or dealt in in this House. And that in the meantime...this House enter not into any speeches or arguments of that matter'. [D'Ewes, 215,219].

Court news. May 28, La Mothe to Charles IX: 'On May 26 the Earl of Lincoln left, very honourably accompanied, intending to cross to Boulogne on the 31st, and for his ships to bring over here on June 1st M.de Montmorency and your Deputies and all their train. The Earl of Pembroke with four lords and a good number of gentlemen had already been ordered to go to welcome them at Dover, and seven officers from each department of the Queen's Household to entertain them as soon as they disembark. The nobility and officers of the country through which they will pass are ordered to accompany them, and the Earl of Worcester or the Earl of Huntingdon, who are kinsmen of the Queen, to go ahead with more of the nobility to Gravesend to escort them up the Thames to London'.

'There the Earls of Leicester and of Oxford will meet them when they land at Somerset Place, one of the Queen's houses, and will inform them when they can have audience of the Queen. However she is going to Hampton Court to receive them with more favour. I can assure you, Sire, that no one living has ever seen such an honourable reception prepared for any other lords who have come to this Kingdom as is now being prepared for your Deputies'. [iv.466-7].

Earl of Lincoln landed in Boulogne on May 30; Montmorency arrived on June 8. The Queen did not move to Hampton Court.

May 30, in the Commons: Nicholas St Leger, MP for Maidstone:

'Since the Queen's Majesty's will and pleasure is that we should not proceed nor deal with the first Bill against the monstrous huge dragon and mass of the earth the Queen of Scots, yet my conscience urgeth me and pricketh me to speak and move this House to be in hand with her Majesty with the execution of the roaring lion: I mean the Duke of Norfolk. And although her Majesty be lulled asleep and wrapped in the mantle of her own peril, yet for my part I cannot be silent in uttering of my conscience'. [D'Ewes].

June/October: marriage of Elizabeth Beck.

Queen's gift: one gilt cup with a cover.^{PS} [Bride-groom not named].

June 1, Sun Bishops' deputation at St James's Palace with the Queen. Grindal, Archbishop of York, to Burghley, June 2, from the Dean of Westminster's lodging: 'I and some other bishops, according to the order taken by the Higher House, were yesternight with the Queen's Majesty to move her Highness that the Bill for coming to divine service might by her assent be propounded. We had the articles of the Bill there ready to have read to her Majesty, but for want of time her commandment was that the Bill should be delivered to your Lordship, and that at your hands we should know further of her pleasure. I send therefore herewith to your Lordship the said Bill and the articles of the same'...

'The passing of this Bill will do very much good'. [SP12/88/5].

Also June 1, Sun Queen's visit to the Tower of London.
On the day before the execution of the Duke of Norfolk.

June 1, Harry Skipwith (Norfolk's attendant) to Lord Burghley:
'Mr Lieutenant [of the Tower] yesternight between 8 and 9 did come to the Duke, who told him that he had commandment to will him to prepare himself to receive justice against Monday in the morning, who answered him, God's will and her Majesty's be done'. PS. 'When I had written this much the Queen came'.
[SP12/88/2].

June 1? Watermen were paid 'for rowing her Majesty...from Westminster to London, 20s'.^T [Sept 1571-Sept 1572 a/c].

June 2, Mon, at the Tower: Execution of Thomas Howard, formerly Duke of Norfolk (1538-1572). The Duke made a long speech. An anonymous M.P. noted: 'He whispereth a message in the ear of Sir Henry Lee to be done to the Queen, the end whereof I heard, and it was that he would die as true a subject as any her Majesty had, and that he would pray for her to his end'. [Parl.i.333]. The Duke was buried in the Chapel in the Tower. The Duke's son Philip Howard continued to be known as Earl of Surrey. Philip's son Thomas Howard was created Earl of Norfolk in 1644. Thomas's grandson, also Thomas Howard, was restored as Duke of Norfolk in 1660.

June 5, Catherine de Medici to the Queen, sending ambassadors, and praying that the offer of her son the Duke of Alençon in marriage may be agreeable to her. 'If we had anything dearer to us than my son the Duke, we would offer it to you with the same good heart and goodwill, for I have always longed to have the happiness and honour (since I already love you as a mother does her daughter) to call myself such'. [Illustrated: Pryor, No.26].

June 5, Dover, Henry Cobham to Lord Burghley, of preparations to receive the Duke of Montmorency, listing the number of horses prepared for his arrival, to be ready at an hour's warning. In Dover, Canterbury, and Gravesend the lodgings will be as good and convenient as I could find between this and Paris. 'I lament that a few hangings have not been sent down to furnish the Duke's bedchamber'. The Sheriff will receive the Duke on Barham Down near Dover, with the country gentlemen. [SP15/21/52].

June 6, St James, Lord Burghley to Francis Walsingham, in France:
'As to your letters to her Majesty, forasmuch as the Duke of Norfolk had suffered upon Monday, and your letters came on Tuesday, I thought it not amiss to tell the Queen's Majesty that I had letters from you to her'...
'Whereupon she bade me open the letters, and so I did in her presence; and she being somewhat sad for the Duke of Norfolk's death, I took occasion to cut off the reading thereof, and so entered into speech of the Queen of Scots, which she did not mislike'.
Montmorency's 'delay proves an unreasonable charge to great numbers to the Queen's Majesty, having her offices of Household at Dover, and her provisions thereby lost. The Earl of Pembroke, Lord Windsor, and the Lord Buckhurst be at Dover with great and mighty trains. Besides, hither are come such levies of ladies to attend, as husbands curse the delay'. [Digges, 212].

By June 7: Revels prepared a Banqueting-house for Montmorency's visit.

A temporary banqueting-house was constructed on the Terrace overlooking the Preaching Place at Whitehall Palace. Payments included:

'For the covering thereof with canvas; the decking thereof with birch and ivy; garnishing thereof with flowers and compartments with pendants and arms painted and gilded...The floor thereof being all strewed with rose leaves picked and sweetened with sweet waters'.

There were 30 basket-makers, 17 plasterers 'that lathed the house all the inside to fasten the birch unto', 66 'labourers or rather deckers of the house with birch and ivy'. Many loads of birch and of ivy. Two men 'for their service day and night whilst the birch was brought in...and from keeping the birch from stealing'. Mrs Dane, linen draper, for canvas to cover the banqueting-house.

John Sepham 'for flowers...provided at Kingston and brought to Whitehall', including 'flowers 12 baskets full; 10 crown garlands of roses; roses 10 bushels; strewing herbs and sweet flowers; rewards by him paid to sundry workmen and women that wrought night and day'. John Robinson for 'flowers brought into the Cockpit at Whitehall...viz. flowers of all sorts taken up by commission and gathered in the fields...flaskets and baskets to carry the flowers; wages by him paid to 214 workfolks the most of them being women that gathered bound and sorted the flowers'. William Hunnis for bushels of roses, pinks, privet flowers, honeysuckle and 'strewing herbs'; rosewater.

'Henry Sackford esquire [Keeper of the Privy Purse] for rewards by him given upon the necessity of expedition amongst the men and women working all night upon the premises and for making clean the banqueting-house and keeping the doors'. Brian Dodmer 'for bread and cheese etc. to serve the plasterers that wrought all the night and might not be spared nor trusted to go abroad to supper; rewards unto messengers running between St John's and the court'.

William Lizard [son of Nicholas Lizard, Serjeant Painter, deceased]: painting and gilding pendants, roses, fleurs-de-lis. [Revels, 163-7].

William Hunnis was Keeper of the Orchard and Gardens at Greenwich.
St John's: the Revels Office, at Clerkenwell.

June 8: **Duke of Montmorency**, special Ambassador, arrived in England.

François Duke of Montmorency (1531-1579), a Marshal of France; previously in England in May 1559. With Paul de Foix, who was Ambassador to England 1562-1566, and a special Ambassador in 1571.

They came with a number of noblemen to witness the Queen's ratification of the Treaty of Blois, and for the Duke's Installation as a Knight of the Garter, and privately to negotiate for a marriage between the Queen and Charles IX's youngest brother the Duke of Alençon.

Richard Smyth, one of the Queen's Trumpeters, 'for himself and his horse, 16 days, in giving attendance and waiting upon the Earl of Pembroke for the receiving of Duke Montmorency and his train', 60s.

Stephen Fulwell, Jewel-house Officer, went to the Tower 'for plate to send to Dover. And also for gold and silver plate for the service at the court against the coming of the French Ambassador Monsieur Montmorency'.

Richard Brackenbury, Gentleman Usher, and his men 'riding from London to Dover and back again and from London to Windsor and back again attending for Duke Montmorency the French Ambassador and his train as well at Dover before his arrival as also there after his arrival, and likewise at Somerset House, at Windsor and at Hampton Court'.^T

Canterbury Chamberlains:

'For a present given to Monsieur Memorancie the French Ambassador, which was one hundred of pippins, 2 flagons containing 2 gallons half of wine, one marchpane [marzipan], and 3 pottles of strawberries, 23s4d'.

Court news, June 8-13, of the Duke of Montmorency's arrival:
 La Mothe to Charles IX, June 17: 'As soon as Monsieur de Montmorency, having arrived at Boulogne, saw that the wind would serve him, he crossed the sea, together with Monsieur de Foix and all the lords and gentlemen in their company, on June 8. On the same day he was by the Earl of Pembroke and Lords Windsor and Buckhurst, and a good number of the other nobility of this Kingdom, very well and honourably welcomed at Dover...and stayed there a whole day to recover from the voyage. Next day they made their way to Canterbury, Sittingbourne and Rochester, where they were similarly well received everywhere, and arrived on Friday June 13 at Gravesend, where I went to find them'. [v.14-15].

June 9: in France: death: Queen Jeanne of Navarre (1528-1572). Her son Henri (1553-1610) became King Henri III of Navarre. He married in Paris, August 18. In 1589 he became King Henri IV of France.

June 10, Tues **WHITEHALL PALACE.**^c

June 12, Thur: At the Queen's request Parliament adjourned until June 24 for 'receiving' the Duke of Montmorency.

June 12, Paris, Francis Walsingham to Earl of Leicester: I have been asked by the Ambassador of Florence to recommend these two gentlemen, Signors Piers Capponi and Gioan Figliuzzi, being of the two chief houses of Florence for honour and wealth, who desire to see the Queen and her court. [SPF.x.129]. Piero Capponi took refuge in England in 1576; he died in London in 1582.

June 13, Fri Duke of Montmorency arrived at Somerset House.

La Mothe: On June 13th the Duke and his train came to Gravesend, Kent. 'A little afterwards the Earl of Worcester, accompanied by Lords Grey, Stafford, Compton, Cheney, and a good number of other gentlemen, arrived there with the Queen's barges. After dinner he escorted us all to London, where when we arrived the Tower fired a salute with its cannon'.

'When we alighted at Somerset Place the Earl of Worcester presented Monsieur de Montmorency from the Queen with a little St George to wear at his neck, and gave him the Statutes of the Order of the Garter. Then a Herald fastened the Garter on him, which Monsieur de Montmorency received with many worthy and honourable words of thanks to the Queen, with express mention of the leave which he had from your Majesty to accept it, embracing the Earl and kissing him cordially on the cheek, like one of his company. A few hours afterwards the Earl of Essex, with another troop of noblemen, came to visit him to welcome him and Monsieur de Foix on behalf of the Queen'. [v.15].

Simon Bowyer, Gentleman Usher, with nine men, made ready Somerset House for the Duke and his train, 10 days, £10.16s8d. John Bridges, Yeoman of the Wardrobe of Beds, carried 'sundry loads of wardrobe stuff as well from the Tower and from other places to Somerset House to furnish the same', and was paid 'for washing of 20 pair of sheets of 3 breadths'.

Hugh Underhill, Keeper of the Standing Wardrobe at Greenwich, and his man, sent four times from St James's and Whitehall to Greenwich 'for wardrobe stuff to furnish Whitehall, Somerset House and Hampton Court' for receiving the Duke and his train, 46s8d. John West, Usher of the Queen's Chamber, and his men, 'for their attendance at Somerset House', 16 days, £55.9s4d.^T The Queen defrayed Montmorency's expenses, her Cofferer making numerous payments.

June 14: death. Thomas 2nd Lord Wharton (1520-1572), widower, died at Cannon Row, Westminster. Funeral: Westminster Abbey. His son Philip Wharton (1555-1625) became 3rd Lord Wharton. The Queen was at his marriage in 1577.

June 14, Sat French special Ambassadors at Whitehall to meet the Queen.
 La Mothe to Charles IX, June 17: In the morning 'the Earl of Sussex, even better accompanied than the others, came with many compliments, and to dine with the company [at Somerset House]. Then at four in the afternoon he escorted us to Westminster, in the same barges as on the day before'.

'There, in a very great assembly of the lords and ladies of this court, the Queen very favourably received first Monsieur de Montmorency, with a very great show of true and inner contentment, and afterwards Monsieur de Foix, with many gracious words of great familiarity and trust, and then all the French gentlemen one by one with much favour'.

Montmorency and De Foix to Charles IX, June 17: 'We presented the letters from your Majesty and the Queen your mother concerning the confirmation and ratification of the Treaty, which the Queen received, declaring her opinion of your virtues, and the great esteem which she makes of your friendship; so that all this first day passed in courteous and gracious talk'. [v.12,15].

June 15, Sun Queen's Oath to observe Treaty of Blois, Whitehall Chapel.
 dinner: Queen dined with the French Ambassadors.
 afternoon: baiting of bears and bulls (not attended by the Queen).
 evening: supper, in new banqueting-house. Barriers (combat on horseback).

La Mothe to Charles IX, June 17: 'The form of the oath was shown to Lord Burghley. Monsieur de Montmorency, accompanied by Monsieur de Foix and myself, were presented to the Queen at the end of her prayers...She said how happy she was this day on which she was to join in a perpetual alliance with your Majesty...She stood by the altar and placed her hand on the Gospels, with the book held in the hands of one of her Bishops, and very solemnly swore to keep the whole Treaty...which being written on parchment she signed on a gold pulpit held by four Earls, in the presence of a great number of French lords and all the principal lords and ladies of her court'...

'On leaving her Chapel she took all three of us into her Privy Chamber and a little afterwards to the Presence Chamber, where she wished us to dine at her table, and all the other Frenchmen in another Great Chamber nearby, with the lords of her court. After dinner, having talked aside for some time to M.de Montmorency, she took all three of us into her Privy Chamber alone, to hear the rest of their charge...She deferred her reply to another time, when she will have thought about it. Then, having favoured M.de Montmorency by leading him into her own Bedchamber, she dismissed us for a few hours, so that he could withdraw to his own chamber, which was prepared for him nearby'.

'The Duke was there for hardly any time before the Earls of Leicester and Sussex came to take him to see the baiting of bears, bulls, and the horse and the ape, and then sports in the gardens, until the Queen came out to await the time for the feast. This was set up very magnificently on a terrace of the palace, amid very beautiful foliage, well ornamented, with many compartments and with two of the most beautiful and rich cupboards of plate in Europe'.

'She made M.de Montmorency, M.de Foix and I eat at her table, and all the rest of the French and English lords mingled with the ladies of the court at another very long table near her own, and were very opulently entertained, and the feast went on until around midnight'.

'Then the Queen led us to another terrace which overlooked a large court in the palace. Almost at once came in an old man with two young maidens, and begged the court to help them. Suddenly twenty knights in rows appeared, ten white knights led by the Earl of Essex, and ten blue knights led by the Earl of Rutland, who for these maidens launched into a gallant fight with swords on horseback. This lasted almost until day-break, when the Queen, advised by the Judges, declared the maidens free. She withdrew to go to bed, and dismissed M.de Montmorency and all his company to go to rest themselves'. [v.16-18].

William Segar's description: The Queen invited the Duke to supper. 'This magnificent supper ended, it pleased her Highness (the weather being warm) to walk out of her chamber into the open Terrace; whither also (awaiting on her) went the said Duke, and all others of the French Nobility, with the Ambassadors, Lords and Ladies of the Court. At her Majesty's coming to the north side of the Terrace there were prepared and set rich chairs, cushions, and carpets'.

'In which place it pleased her to stay, entertaining most graciously the said Duke, and other Noble strangers. Next unto them were placed the Ladies, Lords, Councillors, and other persons of reputation, according to their degrees, and convenience of the room. So as the said Terrace was on all sides beset with Lords, Ladies, and persons of quality, sumptuously apparelled, and richly furnished; and among them (both above and under) stood many of the Guard in their rich coats, holding an infinite number of torches; and so in the Preaching Place. By which means, those that beheld the Terrace in this sort furnished deemed it rather a Theatre celestial, than a palace of earthly building'.

'The place with this royal presence replenished, suddenly entered Walter Earl of Essex, and with him twelve gentlemen, armed at all pieces, and well mounted. The Earl and his horse was furnished with white cloth of silver, and the rest in white satin, who after reverence done to her Majesty marched to the east side of the court, and there in troop stood firm. Forthwith entered Edward Earl of Rutland with a like number, in like sort armed and apparelled all in blue; and having presented his reverence stayed on the west end'.

'Before either of these bands one Chariot was drawn, and therein a fair Damsel, conducted by an armed Knight, who pronounced certain speeches in the French tongue unto her Majesty. These ceremonies passed, the Queen commanded the armed men to fall unto fight; which was performed with great courage and commendation, chiefly in the Earl of Essex, a noble personage, valorous in arms, and all other ways of great virtue'.

'Truly this action was marvellously magnificent and appeared a sight exceeding glorious to those that were below looking upward to the Terrace, where her Majesty, the Lords and Ladies, stood, so pompously apparelled, jewelled, and furnished, as hardly can be seen the like in any Christian Court, as myself saw, and other the actors (at occasions staying from fight) with great admiration did behold and think'. [Segar, *Honor, Military and Civil*, 195-6].

Tournament: Barriers on horseback, at Whitehall. 14 pairs.

White Knights.		Blue Knights.	
Earl of Essex	v	Earl of Rutland	
Henry Knollys	v	Lord Stafford	
Charles Howard	v	Edward Herbert	
Sir Henry Lee	v	George Day	
[Thomas] West	v	Mr St John	
William Knollys	v	Francis Harvey	
[Robert] Colshill	v	George Delves	
[Henry] Macwilliam	v	Henry Grey	
[Richard] Verney	v	Brian Ansley	
[Ralph] Lane	v	[William] Worthington	
[Richard] Bulkeley	v	[Thomas] Warcop	
Mr Hifelde	v	[Thomas] Bedingfield	
[Robert] Alexander	v	[Robert] Wiseman	
[Thomas] Cotton	v	[Lancelot] Bostock.	

[The list includes numerous Gentlemen Pensioners. BL Cotton Titus C.X.f.16].

Revels noted: Walter Rippon, wagon-maker, provided 'a chariot with all manner of necessaries thereto belonging which served at the Triumph in the night at Whitehall and there broke and spoiled'. [Revels, 162].

By June 16: Windsor preparations for Montmorency's Installation.

Charles Smyth, Keeper of the Standing Wardrobe at Windsor, 'making clean and ready the house at Windsor for the receiving of the French Ambassador'; Anthony Wingfield made ready for 'Duke Memorancie' at St George's Feast.^T

Wardrobe account: The Duke was given a mantle of the Order of the Garter, a kirtle, a hood, and a mantle for a helmet. [Arnold, 98].

June 17, Tues: **Installation** at Windsor of Garter Knights-Elect.

François Duke of Montmorency; Walter Devereux, 1st Earl of Essex (formerly Viscount Hereford); William Cecil, 1st Lord Burghley; Edmund Brydges, 2nd Lord Chandos; Arthur, 14th Lord Grey of Wilton.

Installed by the Queen's Lieutenant: Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester.

Four other Garter Knights attended: Francis Russell, 2nd Earl of Bedford; Henry Hastings, 3rd Earl of Huntingdon; William Somerset 3rd Earl of Worcester; Sir Henry Sidney.

Description by Lancaster Herald (John Cocke): 'The Lieutenant, accompanied with the other Knights...made his entry into Windsor Castle about 2 o'clock in the afternoon...he himself sitting in a wagon or chariot of the Queen's with the Duke Montmorency on his right hand, all the other Knights on horseback well attended with a goodly number of servants in their liveries and badges'.

'And about 5 o'clock the Lord Lieutenant and the other four Knights already installed rode from the Castle above down to the Chapel in their kirtles and robes of the Order and went presently into the Chapter House and sent out two of the old Knights already installed to bring into the same Chapter House the elected Knights, one after another; whereas he had a kirtle put on and a band laid on his right shoulder, and was from thence in like manner between two Knights led into the choir to the uttermost stall, right before the stall where the elected Knight's banner doth hang, and Garter goeth directly before him bearing the robe of the Order, and the Officers of Arms two and two before them ...At the arriving at the said nether stall, they having the oath given them by the Register of the Order, Garter putteth on the robe of the Order, and so is the new Knight brought out of the nether stall and is installed in his own stall above, under his hatchments [coat of arms]'.

'These five new Knights being all thus installed they proceeded orderly... into the Chapter House...whereas they put on the collars of the Order over their robes, and so did attend upon the said Lord Lieutenant into the choir to hear Evensong...Evensong being done, in the like manner they returned to the south door, where they mounted upon their horses with foot-cloths and proceeded in the like manner to supper'.

June 18, Wed, at Windsor: Procession on horseback to St George's Chapel for morning prayer; Garter Feast in the Great Hall of the Castle; Evensong in the Chapel; supper in the Great Chamber of the Castle.

June 19, Thur, at Windsor: Morning prayer in the Chapel, with presentation of hatchments of recently deceased Knights. 'Thus ended that St George's Feast'.

At Windsor each of the new English Knights paid the customary fees. Walter Devereux, 1st Earl of Essex, paid the Heralds: 'For a helmet of steel gilt with fine gold, £3.6s8d; a mantle of cloth of gold lined with satin, £4; two caps of burnished gold and two tassels of silk of his colours, 10s; his crest, carved and gilt, 26s8d; a large banner of his arms wrought with gold and silver, £4.13s4d; a staff painted for the banner of his colours, 2s6d; a sword, the sheath of cloth of gold, the hilt and pommel gilt, 30s; a plate of his arms with the beasts supporting, graven in copper and gilt, £4; a book of the Statutes of the Order, 40s; carrying of the said hatchments to Windsor, 10s'.

'The bill of rewards paid by the Earl of Essex at his Installation: To the college of Windsor, £6.13s4d; the Register, £3; to Mr Garter his gown, and 40s; the Usher, 40s; Officers of Arms, £6.13s4d; Vicars and Clerks, 20s; Verger, 6s8d; Sextons, 13s4d; Choristers, 5s; to the Poor Knights at his pleasure, the Earl 103s4d, the barons 40s apiece'.

[Herald's description, with expenses and rewards: SP12/88/20].

June 19: Montmorency returned to London via Hampton Court. Richard Todd, Keeper of the Standing Wardrobe at Hampton Court, made ready 'against the coming of Monsieur Montmorency and the rest of the ambassadors'. Simon Bowyer, Gentleman Usher, 'making ready and waiting upon the French Ambassador at Hampton Court'.^T

June 20, Fri French Ambassadors at Whitehall for private audience. Duke of Montmorency and Paul de Foix to Charles IX, June 22:

'On June 17 I, Montmorency, accompanied by many English lords and gentlemen went to Windsor, 20 miles from here, where the Chapel of the Order of the Garter is, to be installed...All along the route I and my train, as previously and as now, were defrayed and served with great abundance at the expense of the Queen by her officers. I saw at Windsor and Hampton Court, and principally at Hampton Court, the greatest quantity of rich and precious furnishings that I have ever seen, or that anyone could imagine'.

'I did not get back until the evening of the 19th, and during the journey I spoke about the marriage many times with the Earl of Leicester and Lord Burghley, who showed that they desired it and promised to do what they could. I made them understand that we wished to have a reply as soon as possible, and therefore we desired to speak to the Queen. This caused her to summon all three of us next day, June 20th, to go to speak to her after dinner, without ceremony and in private. We were taken by water to her garden, and found her in a gallery, where she welcomed us very graciously'.

We had audience concerning the Duke of Alençon. [v.20].

Court news. June [21], Earl of Leicester to Earl of Lincoln, in France: Montmorency has been at Windsor 'and there installed with as much honour I think as ever any subject was. He doth yet find himself best satisfied with all his entertainments that may be, and such is his noble and courteous usage as he is worthy of any honour that can be showed. He hath been three or four times with her Majesty, and tomorrow, being Sunday, the 21st [22nd] of this month, he is to receive a new banquet, which will be the greatest that was in my remembrance. He hath dealt with her Majesty earnestly touching the Duke of Alençon; and to be plain with your Lordship it seems her Majesty meaneth to give good ear to it, such as if his person be any way to content I suppose she will proceed to some communication. Your Lordship shall do well to observe him thoroughly, and to enquire diligently of his disposition'...

'Her Majesty, thanks be to God, was never better in health'... 'The Duke sups with me on Tuesday next. I am bold of your pheasants, etc'. [Murdin, 219; dated June 20].

June 22, La Mothe to Catherine de Medici: 'It would take too long to relate to you in how many ways the Queen has done her best to make much of and to honour your Deputies, and has given them and all their company, since they have been in this Kingdom, the greatest and best treatment it is possible to think of, and has given orders that it shall continue until they embark again'. [v.22].

June 22, Sun Banquet for Duke of Montmorency and the Queen.
 *June 22: masque at Whitehall.

Revels preparations for the masque before Montmorency and the Queen. Properties included: 'A chariot 14 foot long and 8 foot broad, with a rock upon it and a fountain therein...for Apollo and the Nine Muses'; 'a castle for Lady Peace to sit and be brought in before the Queen's Majesty', with the Arms of England and France upon it, and a church in the castle; a vizard for Argus; a prison for Discord, and 'a bolt, shackles and a collar'; 'curling of hair made of black silk for Discord's head'; 30 women's vizards; 6 Turks' vizards.

Silk-weavers made long flowers, bay-leaves, single roses, flowers in branches, single pansies, flowers of needlework and gold; 'buttons of green silk and gold' for 'a scarf for one of the gentlewomen masquers'. For the costumes there were blue, black, crimson, silver and white tinsel, carnation and silver lawn, 'copper silver fringe', counterfeit cloth of gold. Alphonse had a pair of cloth of gold buskins, 20d. Mistress Swego garnished nine heads and nine scarves for the Nine Muses. Haunce Eotts [Hans Eworth] drew and painted patterns of the chariot and mount, at the appointment of 'Mr Alphonse and his officers'.

There were rewards to 'Petruccio for his travail and pains taken in preparation for the same masque and for recompense to Mistress Swego and for the musician that taught the ladies; porters that watched all night at the Blackfriars bridge for the coming of the stuff from the court; workmen that waited on the masque all night who had no time to eat their supper, 16 of them, 7s'.

[Revels, 156-162]. Alfonso Ferrabosco, musician, and Petruccio Ubaldini, author and calligrapher: Italians who received annuities from the Crown.

The masque of Discord and Peace was apparently similar to a masque prepared for the Queen's planned meeting with Mary Queen of Scots in 1562, which also included Peace, Argus, and Discord in prison. See 'Proposed progresses: 1562'.

June 23, Charles IX to La Mothe: 'The English are leaving today...I have presented to the Earl of Lincoln a very fine cupboard of plate of around 12,000 livres in value, to Sir Thomas Smith one of around 1000 crowns, to Walsingham one of around 2000 livres...I also gave, without any ceremony, to Mr Middlemore and the Vice-Admiral a chain of 600 crowns each, and have made the Earl of Leicester's nephew [Philip Sidney] a Gentleman of my Chamber'. [vii.296].

Walsingham described gifts as: to Lincoln 2800 ounces of gilt plate, to Smith 472 ounces; valued at 10 shillings an ounce. [SPF.x.135].

June 25: Will made by Sir Thomas Bengier, Master of the Revels 1560-1572, Auditor of Elizabeth's household at Hatfield before her Accession.

Bengier refers to 'the great clemency and bounty and liberality always by her Majesty shown', and to himself as 'her old servant and one of the last of the poor flock of Hatfield'. He was buried at St James, Clerkenwell. [July 6].

He died deeply in debt; the will was not proved until 1577.

June 26, Thur Queen and French Ambassadors at Council meeting.

Court news. June 28, London, anonymous Spanish newsletter: On June 25 a reply came from France about 'the negotiation broached by Montmorency and Foix...respecting a joint war in Flanders'. The Queen 'went to the Council next day in person. Montmorency and the other two were there, and the Queen said to them, loudly, that on no account would she break with the Catholic King [Philip of Spain]. This declaration was made very emphatically, and Montmorency replied that her intentions were much changed'.

'Montmorency left this morning. The train he brought consisted of 540 persons in all, amongst whom were 62 Monseigneurs, most of the rest being gentlemen and captains'. [Span.ii.396-7].

June 30, Mon Queen at Closing of Parliament.

Journal of Thomas Cromwell, M.P.(c.1540-1611), son of Gregory 1st Lord Cromwell and grandson of Thomas Cromwell, King Henry VIII's Secretary:

'In the afternoon this day the Queen's Majesty came to the House, who being sat under her cloth of state in her robes, all the lords being likewise in their robes, the Speaker came in, accompanied with the residue of the House, and made an oration'. After Speaker Bell's oration, and Lord Keeper Bacon's reply, came the reading of Bills.

'Lastly the title of the Bill against Mary commonly called Queen of Scots was read. Before any answer made whereto the Queen's Majesty called the Lord Keeper unto her, who thereupon pronounced thus much in effect following:

"The Queen's highness's pleasure is, I wish you not to be moved though upon a strange occasion a strange answer have been made". Here the Queen interrupted him and told him that no answer at all was made as yet'.

The eventual answer was *La Royne s'avisera*, a veto. [Parl.i.414,418].
Parliament was prorogued. Next session: February 1576.

Among Acts passed was 'An Act for the punishment of Vagabonds and for Relief of the Poor and Impotent'. This included a clause that:

'All Fencers, Bearwards, Common Players in Interludes and Minstrels, not belonging to any Baron of this Realm or towards any other honourable personage of greater degree; all Jugglers, Pedlars, Tinkers and Petty Chapmen; which... shall wander abroad and have not licence of two Justices of the Peace...shall be taken, adjudged, and deemed Rogues, Vagabonds and Sturdy Beggars'.

1st offence: to be whipped and burnt through the right ear with a hot iron;
2nd offence: to suffer [death] as a Felon, 'except some honest person...will... take him or her into his service for two whole years'; 3rd: death. [ES.iv.270].

Court news. July 1, La Mothe to Charles IX:

'As to the proposal for the Duke of Alençon, the Queen has taken it in very good part...Her Councillors have generally approved it, and have reduced all the difficulties to two alone, which are age and religion'...

'M.de Montmorency and M.de Foix and all the French lords and gentlemen in their company were for two weeks with all magnificence and grandeur very favourably entertained with feasts, with good cheer, with many sorts of pastimes, leaving hardly a single hour empty of pleasure'.

'In addition to the collar and robes of the Order of the Garter, and two little Orders and two Garters, very beautiful and rich, which the Queen and Leicester gave M.de Montmorency, she bestowed upon him a present of around 7000 crowns in a vessel of silver-gilt, and a very beautiful gold cross; M.de Foix had a cupboard of plate valued at around 1200 crowns; and both of them and some of the other lords received a number of beautiful hackneys and dogs from the Earl of Leicester. And having been escorted as far as Dover by the Earl of Hertford with five other lords, they returned very contented, and have left the whole Kingdom similarly greatly contented with them'. [v.26,28].

Court news. [July 2], Lord Burghley to Francis Walsingham:

'The Duke with all his train...have been entertained here for their meat and drink...as it is to be affirmed, that the like hath not been seen in any man's memory. The honour also done to him hath been such, as surely her Majesty could do no more; I mean, in her courteous usage of him, in appointing sundry sorts of the nobility of the highest sort to attend on him...No other lord but my Lord of Leicester did feast him...saving I did upon Midsummer Even feast him and all his gentlemen with a collation of all things that I could procure'...

'Afore their going hence, they had done what they could in the matter of the Duke d'Alençon, whereunto they had neither yea nor nay, but a delay only for one month'...

'I am willed to require you...to understand what you can of the Duke... of his age...his stature...his inclination to religion...hereof her Majesty seeketh speedily to be advertised, that she may resolve before the month'...

'I could wish we might have Calais to the issue of their bodies, and he to be Governor thereof during his life...I wish also that secretly the Queen's Majesty might be assured...that he would hear no Mass after his marriage'...

'Now for our Parliament...all that we laboured for...I mean, a Law to make the Scottish Queen unable and unworthy of succession of the Crown, was by her Majesty neither assented to nor rejected, but deferred until the Feast of All Saints [November 1]; but what all other wise and good men may think thereof, you may guess'. [Digges, 218-219].

[July 2], Earl of Leicester to Lord Burghley: 'My good lord. Her Majesty's leave maketh me bold to hold it out to the last which is till tomorrow, for I must after give attendance, the progress being at hand. We wish you here... we are altogether hunters and do but ride from bush to bush with a cross-bow in our necks'. Endorsed with date; no location given. [SP12/88/50].

July 3, Thur French Ambassador at Whitehall for audience.
La Mothe thanked the Queen for her reception of Montmorency. [v.30].

By July 4: Scottish envoy with the Queen.

The Regent of Scotland sent Nicholas Elphinstone in June to require that nothing be done in Parliament hurtful to the King of Scots, to require more money, and to require the Bishop of Ross to be delivered up.

July 4, Queen to Regent Mar, in brief: We have considered his message.
The bearer can impart our mind. [SPF.x.126,142].

July 5, Sat Earl of Lincoln at Whitehall on return from France.

July 5, Lord Burghley to Walsingham: 'This day my Lord Admiral came to the Queen's speech, and reporteth well of his entertainment there'. [Digges, 219].

Sir Thomas Smith had sent Burghley, from the Louvre, a day-by-day description of the Lord Admiral's reception and entertainment, and the French King's taking of the Oath on June 15. [Ellis (2), iii.12-22].

July 8, Tues new appointment: Robert Beale, esquire, was sworn one of the Clerks of the Privy Council. The text of his oath is in the Council Register.^{APC}

Court news. July 10, La Mothe to Charles IX: 'The Earl of Lincoln and the lords and gentlemen who crossed to France with him, and Mr [Sir Thomas] Smith, arrived here, and by the report which they made of their journey to the Queen and the Lords of the Council, and to all this court, I hear that they have very much praised the honour, favour, and good cheer they received there'...

'The Earl, Mr Smith and Mr Middlemore are doing good offices to advance the Duke's proposal, and speak strongly in his favour, giving assurances that... it is only the accident to his face which is wrong with him' [pock-marks].

To Catherine de Medici: 'I think that the Queen could easily return to her natural inclination not to marry at all, at the least difficulty which she finds, and because she has for a long time been accustomed to live grandly and has reigned happily for fourteen years without a husband. And Lady Sidney arrived six days ago, and has treated very secretly and in private with her, and she is devoted to Spain, and is closer to the Earl of Leicester than his other sister, and leads him where she wishes'. [v.40-41,46].

July 11, Charles IX to La Mothe: 'This morning I have heard with great pleasure the report made by the Duke of Montmorency and Monsieur de Foix... The marriage between my brother the Duke of Alençon and the Queen ought to be decided upon soon...He will willingly undertake to go to England to thank the Queen and to offer to serve her'. [vii.298-9].

July 12: court news, of the Queen's summer progress. July 12, Gorhambury [Herts], Sir Nicholas Bacon to Lord Burghley, his brother-in-law:

'Understanding by common speech that the Queen's Majesty means to come to my house, and knowing no certainty of the time of her coming nor of her abode, I have thought good to pray you that this bearer my servant might understand what you know therein; and if it be true, then that I might understand your advice what you think to be the best way for me to deal in this matter: for, in very deed, no man is more raw in such a matter than myself'...

PS: 'I have written this because I would gladly take that course that might best please her Majesty, which I know not how better to understand than by your help'. [Ellis (1), ii.265-6].

July 12: new appointment: William Herne: to be Serjeant Painter; £10 p.a.^P
In succession to Nicholas Lizard (appointed 1554; died April 1571).

July 13, Sun new appointments:
William Cecil, Lord Burghley [Queen's Secretary]: Lord Treasurer.
William, Lord Howard of Effingham [Lord Chamberlain]: Lord Privy Seal.
Thomas Radcliffe, 3rd Earl of Sussex: Lord Chamberlain.
Christopher Hatton: Captain of the Guard.
Sir Thomas Smith: Secretary.
[Appointments listed by Holinshed].

July 13 [Paris], Francis Walsingham to Lord Burghley:

Marshal Montmorency returned on July 10. 'He omitted no occasion to set out the great honour he received at her Majesty's hands...The like speech passes from the rest of his train, who all returned very well satisfied, and cannot speak too much good of her Majesty'.

As to the Duke of Alençon: 'To be plain with your Lordship, the only thing that I fear in this match is the delicacy of her Majesty's eye and of the hard favour of the gentleman, besides his disfiguring with the smallpox, which, if she should see with her eye, I misdoubt much it would withdraw her liking to proceed'. [Digges, 219].

c. July 15: proposed visit to Jasper Fisher, Bishopsgate, London.
Sir Robert Chester, Gentleman Usher, made ready 'at Mr Fisher's house at London'.^T The Queen stayed at 'Fisher's Folly' in March 1573.

July 15, Tues dinner, Bethnal Green, Middlesex; Lady White.^C
Netteswell House, occupied by Lady White; she was Joan (Lake), widow of:
(1) Sir Ralph Warren of Bethnal Green, mercer, twice Lord Mayor of London;
(2) Sir Thomas White, merchant tailor, Lord Mayor 1553-54 and Founder of St John's College, Oxford. St Botolph Aldgate: 'For ringing when the Queen passed by to Bethnal Green towards progress, 1s4d'. 'Bednall Green'.^T

Lady White died 8 October 1572, at Hinchingsbrooke house, Huntingdon.

Start of SUMMER PROGRESS in Middlesex, Essex, Hertfordshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Northamptonshire, Warwickshire, Oxfordshire, Berkshire.

July 15, Tues **HAVERING**, Essex.^c

Havering House; Crown property.

St Margaret Westminster: 'For ringing when the Queen's Majesty went from Whitehall to Havering, 6d'; St Martin in the Fields: 'Paid at the Queen's remove the 15th of July from Whitehall to Enfield [sic], 8d'.

July 16, Wed Florentine engineer at Havering with the Queen.

Antonio Fogaza to the Duke of Alva, July 22, London: 'There is a Florentine gentleman in the service of the Queen called Portinario, a great engineer, who has been here since King Henry's time, and receives a salary of £200 a year. He is a man of 70 years, but robust, a great Catholic, and much attached to the King [Philip]. He was summoned last Wednesday night by the Queen, who told him to go to Flushing and the other forts for her service [to strengthen their fortifications]. To this he replied: "Madam, I will gladly go if your Majesty orders me, but as there is no war declared between England and Spain, those who go thither are carrying on an unfair war, and are liable to be hanged if captured, so that, saving your Majesty's orders, I would rather not go".

'The Queen laughed and said "All right, Portinario, stay at home then, but hold yourself in readiness". [Span.ii.399].

July 16, Russell House [London], Earl of Bedford to Lord Burghley:

'I am now going to prepare for her Majesty's coming to Woburn, which shall be done in the best and most heartiest manner that I can. I trust your Lordship will have in remembrance to provide and help that her Majesty's tarrying be not above two nights and a day; for, for so long time do I prepare. I pray God the rooms and lodgings there may be to her Majesty's contentation for the time. If I could make them better upon such a sudden, then would I, be assured, they should be better than they be'. [Ellis (1), ii.267].

July 18, Gorhambury, Sir Nicholas Bacon to his son Nicholas, at Redgrave [Suffolk]: 'Son, because the Queen's Majesty shall be here with me the 26 of this month being Saturday, therefore I would you should give warning to 12 of my men, such as you shall think most meet and handsome to serve, to be here on Friday night before, the one half of them to be gentlemen and the other half yeomen, or near thereabouts. See this done with speed. Fare you well'.

PS. 'You must give them warning to come in their liveries'.
[Diarmaid MacCulloch, ed. *Letters from Redgrave Hall* (Woodbridge, 2007), 46.

Court news. July 20, London, La Mothe to Charles IX:

'The Queen has begun her progress, and has gone to Havering, where she will stay for six days, and will then make her way little by little towards Warwick. The Earl of Leicester has invited me to go to her when she arrives at his house at Kenilworth. Before she left London she made a distribution of offices, and gave that of Lord Treasurer, which is the highest post in England after the Lord Keeper, to Lord Burghley, and made the Lord Chamberlain Privy Seal, and gave his office of Lord Chamberlain to the Earl of Sussex, and that of Secretary to Mr Smith. She still has in her hands the office of Grand Master [Lord Steward], which she has already destined for the Earl of Leicester, but it is not yet decided who will have his office of Master of the Horse. She says she will make Mr Pigrin Vice-Chamberlain [*Sir William Pickering]'...

'It is hoped that she will free some of those in the Tower, and she has already promised me to free the Bishop of Ross...Every day they continue to send men, munitions and artillery to Flushing, and Captain Pelham, Lieutenant of the Ordnance, left two days ago to go there'. [v.59-60.] Posts of Lord Steward and Vice-Chamberlain remained vacant; Leicester continued as Master of the Horse.

July 21, Mon Flemish envoy at Havering with the Queen.

Antonio Fogaza to Duke of Alva, Aug 7, London: On July 21 'a Fleming called Casimbrot, Secretary of the town of Bruges...arrived at this court with letters from the Prince of Orange and the Princes of Germany, as their envoy'.

The Queen had enquired about assistance against the Spanish forces in the Low Countries; Leonard Casimbrot brought replies from Duke August of Saxony, the Count Palatine, the Marquis of Brandenburg, and William of Orange.

'The gentleman was very well treated at court, and...they told him to enjoy himself and make good cheer, for they would soon give him an answer that would rejoice him'. Casimbrot left London on August 19 with bills of exchange for £30,000, partly raised after an auction of goods 'by candle', when the last bidder before a candle went out was successful. [Span.ii.401,415].

[July 22, Tues] dinner, Mr Elderton.^T [Theydon Bois, Essex].
Birch Hall, Theydon Bois; owned by Edward Elderton or Elrington (1528-1578), Gentleman Pensioner, Ranger of Waltham Forest; wife: Dorothy, daughter of Sir Ralph Sadler, a Privy Councillor, of Standon, Herts.

John Norden: Essex, 1594: 'Birch Hall. 'Theirs of Elderton. It was Henry VIII's for recreation when he came into the forest'.

By July 22: Lord Treasurer Burghley's preparations for the Queen's visit to Theobalds. Lodgings appointed 'against the Queen's Majesty's coming' included:

West side: 'The hall for the Great Chamber; the parlour for the Presence Chamber; the dining chamber for the Privy Chamber'.

In the highest storey, for the Queen: 'the Vine chamber for the Withdrawing Chamber; the Bedchamber; the Gallery'.

In the two 'tower chambers': 'Lady Carew and the Ladies and Gentlewomen of the Bedchamber'. Also on the West side: the Lord Chamberlain [Earl of Sussex]; Earl of Leicester; Mr [Christopher] Hatton.

West side: In the second storey: Lady Stafford; Lady Marquis [of Northampton]; Lady Strange. Lowest storey: the Chapel; the Robes; Grooms of the Privy Chamber.

North side: In the highest storey: Earl of Warwick, next to 'a Withdrawing Chamber and a Gallery for the Queen's Majesty to dine in'.

Second storey: Earl of Oxford; Earl of Rutland; Squires for the Body; Mr Treasurer [of the Household]. Lowest storey: Mr [Thomas] Heneage.

In the 'westerly tower': Mr Alphonso. [Alfonso Ferrabosco, musician].
'The easterly Tower for the Lord Treasurer's use'.

South side. Outer court: 'The highest storey, being a garret over the Brew-house and Bake-house, for the lodging of the officers of the Pantry, Ewery, Buttery and Cellar. The other rooms in the garret over the Laundry for the servants of the Ladies of the Privy Chamber, and the Queen's chests to be carried that way into the Gallery'.

'The storey next the garret': Maids of Honour; Gentleman Usher of the Privy Chamber; Serjeant Porter; Groom Porter; Gentlemen Ushers.

Lowest storey: Wardrobe of Beds; Laundry; Chandlery; Spicery.

North side, over the Stable: Clerk of the Kitchen.

A list of 'Servitors at Theobalds 1572 against the Queen's Majesty's coming thither' has about 50 names, with Lord Burghley's note of their duties, e.g. servitor, carver, sewer, cupboard keeper for beer, cupboard keeper for wine, gardener. [HT.xiii.110-111; HT.MS 140/20].

July 22, Tues **THEOBALDS**, Cheshunt, Herts; William Cecil, Lord Burghley.^{C,T}
Theobalds; owned and built by William Cecil, 1st Lord Burghley (c.1520-1598), Lord Treasurer July 1572-1598; 2nd wife: Mildred (Cooke)(c.1525-1589).

The royal manor-house at Enfield, Middlesex, was also made ready for the Queen.^T Whilst she was at Theobalds part of her household was at Enfield.^C

July 23, Theobalds, Queen to Francis Walsingham: 'The Duke of Montmorency, he and de Foix...did many times very earnestly deal with us...to move us to incline to an offer of marriage...for the Duke of Alençon'.

The Queen directs him to express her great regret to the French King and the Queen Mother that she cannot assent to their proposal brought by Montmorency for her marriage to the Duke, and to assure them that the only impediment arises through the great disparity in their age. [Digges, 226].

[See July 27 for a contradictory letter; both were presented by Walsingham at the same time to the King and the Queen Mother; this caused some confusion, explained to the French envoys at Kenilworth in August]. [HT.ii.21-22].

c. July 24, Thur French Ambassador at Theobalds for audience.
La Mothe to Charles IX, July 29: 'I sent to beg the Earl of Sussex, who is now Lord Chamberlain of this court, to understand from the Queen when it would be agreeable to her that I should go to her with a dispatch I had received from your Majesty; she promptly informed me that it would be next morning in the house of her Lord Treasurer, who was making a feast for her, at which I would be welcome'.

'The Lord Treasurer sent his coach for me and I was very well received by the Queen, who seemed to me to be in much better spirits since the beginning of her progress than while she was in London'.

'After dinner...she led me to a small place outside the chamber, where having had chairs brought she did not allow anyone else to remain'. [There followed a lengthy audience to discuss the Duke of Alençon's marriage proposal].

To Catherine de Medici, July 29: 'After I had talked to the Queen for as long as I could desire I went to speak to the Earls of Leicester and Sussex and to Burghley...Burghley said that nothing was more true than that now the accident to the face gave more hindrance to the proposal than the difficulty of the age, for the Queen had spoken to those who had just returned from France, and asked each one separately very particularly about the Duke; they had all with one voice much praised the Duke's qualities, and his height and disposition, but there was not one who had not said that as for his face they were of the opinion that it would not please her at all, when she saw it'. [v.65,74].

July 26, Sat dinner, Hatfield, Herts.^c
Hatfield manor-house; Crown property.

[July 26] via St Albans, Herts. St Peter's churchwardens paid 'ringers at coming of the Queen through the town unto Gorhambury'.

July 26, Sat **GORHAMBURY**, near St Albans, Herts; Sir Nicholas Bacon.^{c,w}
Gorhambury, owned and built by Sir Nicholas Bacon (1510-1579), Lord Keeper. 2nd wife: Anne (Cooke) (c.1528-1610). The Queen lost between Theobalds and Gorhambury 'one pair of aglets enamelled black'. [Lost, 139].

Bacon's gift to the Queen 'in progress time': 'One Venetian cup of gold with a cover...a pinnacle in the top of the cover'. [Jewels, 1395].

July 27, Gorhambury, Queen to Francis Walsingham, that she would consider a personal interview with the Duke of Alençon if 'his coming may be secretly and privately, without any outward pomp or show'. [Digges, 230; date: MS].

July 27, St Albans, Sir Thomas Smith to Francis Walsingham:
'The Queen's Majesty hath begun her progress, and from Havering instead of Enfield lay at Theobalds my Lord Treasurer's house three days. Now is merry at my Lord Keeper's house, called Gorhambury, beside St Albans, and tomorrow goeth to Dunstable, and the next day to Woburn my Lord of Bedford's house and so forth to Warwick and Woodstock, and endeth her progress at Windsor the 24th September'. [BL Cotton Vespasian F.VI, f.117].

July 27-Aug 28: French special Ambassador, La Mole, at London and court.

Hyacinthe Joseph Boniface, Sieur de la Mole, one of Alençon's Gentlemen of the Chamber. July 21, Paris, Walsingham to Burghley: 'Monsieur de la Mole, servant unto Monsieur le Duc d'Alençon, is sent by the King to her Majesty... The pretence of his coming is with letters of thanks for the honour done unto the Marshal...But I take it the chief end of his coming is to present his Master's letters unto her Majesty; as also to say somewhat unto her on his behalf. The gentleman is a Provincial, and of a good house, and one, as I learn, very well qualified'. Aug 7, London, Antonio Fogaza to the Duke of Alva: On July 27 'a young French gentleman named M.de la Mole arrived from the French court...He came post with great speed, and only took four days in coming from Paris to London...La Mole is very friendly with the Duke d'Alençon'.

On July 28 Lord Burghley came at 11 p.m 'very secretly' to speak with him and La Mothe 'when all folks were asleep', and on August 1 La Mole left for court with the resident French Ambassador, La Mothe. [Digges, 224; Span.ii.402-3].

July 28, Mon **DUNSTABLE**, Beds; at an inn. *The Red Lion*.

Inn-keeper Richard Amias, who was paid 66s8d.^C 'Mr Wyngate's house'.^W Edward Wyngate, Clerk of the Cheque of the Queen's Guard, owned *The Red Lion*. The Queen lost between Gorhambury and Dunstable 'one pair of small aglets'.

July 29, Tues **WOBURN**, Beds; Earl of Bedford.^{C,W}

Woburn Abbey; owned by Francis Russell, 2nd Earl of Bedford (1527-1585). 2nd wife: Bridget (Hussey) (1525-1601), twice widowed. Simon Bowyer made ready at Woburn, 'as also for four standings for her Majesty's hunting'.^T

August: Bishop of Ross was moved from the Tower to Farnham, Surrey.

John Lesley, Bishop of Ross, the Queen of Scots' former Ambassador, had been in the Tower since October 1571, suspected of treason and conspiracy.

His Memoirs: Duke Montmorency 'had special commission...to sue for my relief and delivery'. The Duke 'got promise before his departing forth of England that I should not be delivered unto them in Scotland' [for probable execution], but the Queen would not 'set me at full liberty'.

'A warrant was sent to the Lieutenant of the Tower [Sir Owen Hopton] to deliver me to the Bishop of Winchester [Robert Horne] to remain in his custody in the country. To whom...I was delivered after that he was satisfied for my charge during my remaining there, which extended to £200 sterling paid to him by the French Ambassador for my relief, with money for my Iron Silver [?], and other fees due to officers of the house. And the Lieutenant retained, according to the use of the Tower, my whole furniture which I had within for my own use and my servants, as bedding, napery, silver plate'...

'The Gentleman Porter of the Tower retained my satin gown as due to him, because it was my uppermost cloth when I entered in the Tower'...

'The Lieutenant made me be conveyed by his gentlemen and servants to the number of a dozen of horse to Farnham Castle, to the Bishop of Winchester's house, being 34 miles from London, where he was resident and received me, and but one servant only with me, Mr Thomas Lesley, who was with me in the Tower; and would admit none other in my company, not so much as my Cook, who was with me in the Tower, and there served me in the kitchen...In the which Castle I remained the space of a year and three months, and all that time was very straitly kept, and two gentlemen did continually wait upon me night and day'.

[Ross, 245-7]. The Bishop was taken back to London in November 1573.

Aug 1, Fri dinner, Chicheley, Bucks.^C Mrs Weston.

Chicheley manor-house; occupied by Mrs Weston. She was Elizabeth (Lovett), widow of (1) Anthony Cave of Chicheley; (2) John Newdigate; (3) Richard Weston, Justice of Common Pleas (died 6 July 1572). She died in 1577.

Aug 1, Fri **SALDEN**, Mursley, Bucks; Mr Fortescue.^{C,T}
 Salden manor-house, Mursley; owned and built by John Fortescue (1533-1607),
 who had been in Elizabeth's household at Hatfield; Master of the Great Wardrobe
 1559-1607; widower (later remarried). His monument is in Mursley Church.
 Part of the Royal household was at Easton Neston, Northants.^C

Court news. Aug 3 [Brickhill, Bucks], La Mothe to Charles IX: 'Monsieur de
 la Mole made such haste that he arrived at London on July 27. I at once sent
 to make his coming known to the Queen...on her progress to Warwick. Finding
 herself in a place too inconvenient and small to receive us, and seeing that the
 next four or five stops which she had to make would be the same, she deferred us
 to Easton, where she planned to arrive yesterday and to give us audience today'.

'But being a little tired from hunting the day before yesterday at Salden,
 from following a large stag all day and into the night, she did not move from
 there yesterday nor today, and sent word to us, knowing that we were already at
 Brickhill, very near her, that we were welcome, and that tomorrow, Monday, she
 would undoubtedly reach Easton in order to receive us there on Tuesday, and that
 she had ordered Henry Cobham to accompany us and to find us accommodation at
 Towcester [Northants], a mile or so from there...On our way here we visited the
 Lord Keeper [Bacon] at his house in the country, where the Queen had stayed'...

'The Earl of Leicester, who went on beforehand to Kenilworth, has returned
 to be present at the receiving of M.de la Mole, but Lord Burghley, who has gone
 to a house of his towards the North, will not return until Saturday'...

'Mr Pelham has returned from Flushing and...is strongly persuading the Queen
 to take Flushing under her protection, as very opportune for England and very
 easy to defend'. [v.76-78].

Aug 3, Sun French special Ambassador, La Mole, secretly at Salden.
 Antonio Fogaza to Duke of Alva, Aug 7: 'On Sunday the 3rd he was taken to
 the palace very secretly at night when all the people had retired, and was
 introduced into a private chamber where he conferred with the Queen in the
 presence only of the Earl of Leicester, the Ambassador, and Secretary Smith'...
 'Only one lady-in-waiting was with the Queen...She was full of graciousness
 and caresses'. [Span.ii.403].

c. Aug 4: *proposed visit, Beachampton, Bucks; Mr Pigott.*
 'Bechington'.^T Beachampton manor-house; owned by Thomas Pigott.

Aug 4, Mon **EASTON NESTON**, Northants; Mr Fermor.^{C,W}
 Easton Neston manor-house; owned by George Fermor, died 1612; wife: Mary,
 died 1628. Sir Robert Chester made ready 'at Easton Sir John Fermor's house'.^T
 George's father Sir John had died in December 1571. His monument is in
 Easton Neston Church, and his son Sir George's monument, with their wives.

Aug 5, Tues French Ambassadors at Easton Neston for audience.
 Aug 7, Antonio Fogaza to Alva: 'M.de la Mole went very bravely to the palace,
 and was received in state by the Queen and all the lords, as an envoy who had
 come to salute her from Alençon...He is still at court being feasted and made
 much of. With him comes a gentleman from the Admiral of France'. [Span.ii.403].

Aug 7, La Mothe to Charles IX: 'I never doubted that the Queen would give a
 very good reception to M.de la Mole, on account of the close friendship which
 she has now with your Majesty, but she received him much better than I had
 hoped, and last Tuesday at Easton gave us a very favourable audience [for three
 hours]...She very graciously dismissed us until she would see us the following
 day at the hunt, to which she invited us'...

'The Earl of Leicester told us it would be good if we stayed here for some
 days, so we plan to accompany the Queen to Kenilworth'.

Aug 7: La Mothe: PS. 'The night after our audience the Queen was taken very ill from having been out walking too late, taking cold, and from having hunted too hard on the previous days; but today she is very well, and we are invited to accompany her to the fields after dinner'. [v.79,82-83].

[Aug 9,Sat] via Culworth, Northants. Culworth churchwardens paid: 'To the ringers when the Queen's Grace came to Edgecote, 16d'.

Aug 9,Sat **EDGECOTE**, Northants; Mr Chauncy.^{C,T}
Edgecote manor-house; owned by William Chauncy, widower, died 1585.
His monument is one of many Chauncy monuments remaining in Edgecote Church.

Aug 10, Edgecote, Lord Burghley to Earl of Leicester: 'I returned to the court on Friday last...Here I found the French Ambassador with one Monsieur la Mole, a gentleman of the Duke of Alençon's, being for his person and other qualities very well chosen for all respects. They do both spend their time in waiting, but I doubt of their speeding [succeeding]. They are drawn on to be at Warwick and Kenilworth, upon occasion that her Majesty may not give answer until she have answer of her letters sent into France from your Lordship's house'...

'The company now is very small but at Warwick it will swell...The Queen of Scots hath made great means to come to Kenilworth, offering to disclose matters of great moment to the Queen's Majesty, but I trust no such gross error will be committed, although I see some towardness here to admit it'. [SP12/89/3].

Lord Burghley alludes to letters sent from the Earl of Leicester's house [Leicester House, Strand] on a royal visit on an unknown date earlier in 1572. A letter of 1572 by a servant also refers to such a visit. [Middleton, 534].

Court news. Aug 11, La Mothe to Charles IX:

'By occasion of a little stomach trouble which took hold of the Queen the day she gave us audience at Easton, as by the postscript of our previous dispatch we informed you, she was two days without going out of her chamber, during which the Earls of Leicester, Sussex and Warwick escorted us to the house of a rich gentleman in the neighbourhood; there we were greatly honoured and well entertained, and in the morning and after dinner they gave us much pleasure in the Queen's parks near there, in many kinds of hunt which were no less royal than if the Queen herself had been there; and we had ample commodity to negotiate with the Earls of Leicester and Sussex, in which we lost no time...On the third day the Queen, still not completely cured, permitted us to see her'.

During the audience 'she said that her desire would be to be satisfied by an interview, more for the contentment of the Duke of Alençon than for herself'... 'Yesterday one of the Prince of Orange's gentlemen was sent back there from here with very good words, and they await a more solemn embassy from him'. [v.83-5,89]

Aug 11,Mon dinner, Bishop's Itchington, Warwicks; Mr Fisher.^C

Bishop Itchington manor was leased from the Bishop of Lichfield by Thomas Fisher, who built the manor-house, changing the name of the manor (temporarily) to Fisher's Itchington. It was occupied by his son Edward Fisher (c.1546-1601); wife: Catherine (Long), daughter of Sir Richard Long, a Gentleman of King Henry VIII's Privy Chamber. Thomas Fisher lived at Warwick Priory.

Edward Fisher was in and out of prison for his debts. It was reported to Parliament by Recorder Fleetwood in 1584 that Speaker Puckering 'sent to Fisher then being in the Fleet four marks and he bestowed it all upon a banquet one night when he had music and whores. Fisher's father, a lewd fellow, said he was persecuted of the Papists. Fisher the son as lewd said he was persecuted of the Protestants'. [Parl.ii.71]. Edward Fisher died in the Fleet, heavily in debt.

Aug 11, Mon **WARWICK CASTLE**, Warwickshire.^{C.W} Earl of Warwick.
 Warwick Castle; owned by Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick (c.1530-1590),
 Master of the Ordnance; 3rd wife: Anne (Russell) (c.1548-1604). Whilst
 the Queen was at Warwick and Kenilworth they stayed at Warwick Priory.
 Simon Bowyer, Gentleman Usher, and his men made ready at Warwick.^T

Aug 11, afternoon Queen's arrival at Warwick.

The Bailiff, Recorder, and Burgesses met her after she came from Itchington.
 'The direct way from whence leading by Tachbrook and so through Mitton field,
 and therefore it was thought convenient...to expect her Majesty at the gate
 between Tachbrook and Mitton field. Nevertheless the weather having been very
 foul long time before, and the way much stained with carriage, her Majesty was
 led another way through Chesterton pastures and so by Oakley and by that means
 came toward the town by Ford Mill, whereof the said Bailiff, Recorder and
 Burgesses having word they left their place afore taken and resorted to the
 said Ford Mill Hill, where being placed in order first the Bailiff, then the
 Recorder, then every of the principal Burgesses in order kneeling and behind
 Master Bailiff kneeled Master Griffin, preacher'.

'Her Majesty about 3 o'clock in her coach accompanied with the Lady of Warwick
 in the same coach, and many other lords and ladies attending...approached and
 came as near as the coach could be brought nigh to the place where the said
 Bailiff and company kneeled, and there stayed, causing every part and side of
 the coach to be opened that all her subjects present might behold her, which
 most gladly they desired'. Recorder Edward Aglionby's long oration recalled
 'the great benefits received from God by the happy and long desired entrance of
 your Majesty into the imperial throne of this Realm after the pitiful slaughter
 and exile of many of your Highness' godly subjects, the restoration of God's
 true religion, the speedy change of wars into peace, of dearth and famine into
 plenty, of a huge mass of dross and counterfeit money into fine gold and silver,
 to your Highness' great honour, whose prosperous reign hitherto hath not been
 touched with any troublous season (the rude blast of one insurrection except),
 which being soon blown over and appeased by God's favour and your Majesty's
 wisdom hath made your happy government to shine more gloriously'.

Aglionby recounted the history of Warwick and the favour shown to it by
 previous Kings and Queens, praised the Queen for creating an Earl of Warwick,
 and the Earl of Leicester for founding a hospital for the poor of Warwick
 (Leycester Hospital), and hoped that the Queen's coming would bode 'better
 estate and fortune' for the town. The Bailiff will present 'a simple and small
 gift coming from large and ample willing hearts'. 'I make an end desiring
 God long to continue your Majesty's happy and prosperous reign over us even
 to Nestor's years if it be his good pleasure. Amen, Amen'.

'The oration ended, Robert Phillips Bailiff rising out of the place where
 he kneeled approached near to the coach or chariot wherein her Majesty sat, and
 coming to the side thereof kneeling down offered unto her Majesty a purse very
 fair wrought, and in the purse twenty pounds all in sovereigns'.

'Which her Majesty putting forth her hand received, showing withal a very
 beaming and gracious countenance and smiling said to the Earl of Leicester
 "My lord, this is contrary to your promise", and turning toward the Bailiff,
 Recorder, and Burgesses said "Bailiff, I thank you and you all with all my heart
 for your good wills. And I am very loth to take any thing at your hands now
 because you at the last time of my being here presented us to our great liking
 and contentation, and it is not the manner to be always presented with gifts,
 and I am the more unwilling to take anything of you because I know that a mite
 of their hands is as much as a thousand pounds of some others. Nevertheless
 because you shall not think that I mislike of your good wills I will accept
 it with most hearty thanks to you all, praying that I may perform as Master
 Recorder saith such benefit as is hoped".

'And therewithal offered her hand to the Bailiff to kiss, who kissed it, and then she delivered to him again the mace which before the oration he had delivered to her Majesty, which she kept in her lap all the time of the oration. And after the mace delivered she called Master Aglionby to her and offered her hand to him to kiss, withal smiling said:

"Come hither little Recorder. It was told me that you would be afraid to look upon me or to speak so boldly, but you were not so afraid of me as I was of you. And I now thank you for putting me in mind of my duty and that should be in me". And so thereupon showing a most gracious and favourable countenance to all the Burgesses and company said again "I most heartily thank you all my good people".

'This being done Master Griffin the preacher approaching nigh her Majesty offered a paper to her and kneeled down, to whom she said "If it be any matter to be answered we will look upon it and give you answer at my Lord of Warwick's house". And so was desirous to be going...These verses her Majesty delivered to the Countess of Warwick riding with her in the coach'...

'Then the Bailiff, Recorder, and principal Burgesses with their Assistants were commanded to their horses which they took with as good speed as they might and in order rode two and two together before her Majesty from the Ford Mill Hill till they came to the Castle gate. And thus were they marshalled by the Heralds and Gentlemen Ushers: first the Attendants or Assistants to the Bailiff to the number of 30, two and two together in coats of puce laid on with lace. Then the 12 principal Burgesses in gowns of puce lined with satin and damask, upon foot-cloths. Then two Bishops. Then the Lords of the Council'.

'Then next before the Queen's Majesty was placed the Bailiff in a gown of scarlet, on the right hand of the Lord Compton who then was High Sheriff of this shire...And in this manner her Highness was conveyed to the Castle gate, where the said principal Burgesses and Assistants stayed, every man in his order dividing themselves on either side made a lane or room where her Majesty should pass, who passing through them and viewing them well gave them thanks, saying withal "it is a well-favoured and comely company"...

'The Bailiff nevertheless rode into the Castle still carrying up his mace, being so directed by the Gentlemen Ushers and Heralds, and so attending her Majesty up into the hall, which done he repaired home, on whom the principal Burgesses and commoners attended to his house, from whence every man repaired to his own home, and Master Recorder went with John Fisher, where he was simply lodged, because the best lodgings were taken up by Master Controller'.

Griffin, the preacher, presented Latin verses praising the Queen, comparing her to Pallas, Astraea, Penelope, and Deborah; the first and last letter of each line of the first verse form an acrostic which can be translated as

'Thou Elizabeth being married to a man shall be a mother'.

Ralph Griffin was the first Master of Leycester Hospital, Warwick.

Warwick and Kenilworth: details of the Queen's visits are taken, unless otherwise stated, from a description by John Fisher, Town Clerk of Warwick and brother of Thomas Fisher. [Black Book of Warwick, 86-97; original MS is at Warwickshire County Record Office].

Aug 13, Wed **KENILWORTH CASTLE**, Warwicks; Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. Royal household remained at Warwick.^c

The Queen 'desired to go to Kenilworth, leaving her household and train at Warwick. And so was on Wednesday morning conveyed through the streets to the North Gate, and from thence through Master Thomas Fisher's grounds and so by Woodloes the fairest way to Kenilworth, where she rested at the charge of the Lord of Leicester from Wednesday morning till Saturday night, having in the meantime such princely sport made to her Majesty as could be devised'.

Aug 14,Thur French Ambassadors at Kenilworth with the Queen.
Resident and Special Ambassadors, La Mothe and La Mole.

La Mothe to Charles IX, Aug 28: 'We arrived at Kenilworth on the 13th, and next day the Earl of Leicester entertained us to a feast with the greatest in this Kingdom, where we were in conversation with the Queen for more than an hour and a half...After dinner the Earl took us, with the rest of the nobility of this court, to hunt the stag in one of his parks until night'. [v.91].

Aug 16,Sat evening visit, Warwick Priory; Thomas Fisher.

Warwick Priory: a house on the site of the dissolved Priory, owned and built by Thomas Fisher (c.1515-1577), widower, formerly in the service of the Dudley and Seymour families. He was Secretary to Protector Somerset (executed 1552).

'On Saturday night very late her Majesty returned to Warwick. And because she would see what cheer my Lady of Warwick made she suddenly went unto Master Thomas Fisher's house where my Lord of Warwick kept his house, and there finding them at supper sat down awhile, and after a little repast rose again leaving the rest at supper and went to visit the goodman of the house Thomas Fisher, who at that time was grievously vexed with the gout, who being brought out into the gallery end would have kneeled or rather fallen down, but her Majesty would not suffer it but with most gracious words comforted him, so that forgetting or rather counterfeiting his pain he would in more haste than good speed be on horseback the next time of her going abroad which was on Monday following when he rode with the Lord Treasurer attending her Majesty to Kenilworth again'...

'Her Majesty that Saturday night was lodged again in the Castle at Warwick'...

'The Earl of Warwick keeping house at the Priory to his great charge, the town offered unto his Lordship a small present. That was a fat ox and ten muttens or wethers [sheep] fed, which it seemed his Lordship took very courteously. So as in the end at his going away it pleased him to appoint four bucks to be given and delivered to the Bailiff and townsmen to make merry withal, and in money [blank] which both were promised by his officers but nothing delivered'.

Aug 16,Sat **WARWICK CASTLE.**^c [Second 1572 visit].

Aug 17,Sun At Warwick Castle: dancing before the Queen.

'It pleased her to have the country people resorting to see her, dance in the court of the Castle, her Majesty beholding them out of her chamber window, which thing as it pleased well the country people, so it seemed her Majesty was much delighted and made very merry'.

Also Aug 17: French Ambassadors at Warwick. Evening: Fireworks.

La Mothe, Aug 28: 'We went on the 17th to see the Queen again at Warwick'.

[They had audience concerning marriage negotiations with the Duke of Alençon].
'The Queen, withdrawing for a little while very joyfully to her chamber, told the Earl of Leicester to bring us back to have supper with her, and she herself invited us. When we returned to her, we found her at the end of the chamber playing on the spinet, and at our entreaty she continued to play, to please M.de la Mole. Then at supper, which was a quite magnificent feast, in front of the whole assembly she made us the best show of favour which could be desired. After drinking to me, and sending me her cup and her remaining wine to pledge her, she wished to show that she found the Duke's message and messenger agreeable, and drank also to M.de la Mole, with many other honest courtesies'...

'After supper, at nine o'clock at night, a fort erected in a field under the windows of the castle was attacked by a party of young courtiers and defended by another party, where there were so many fireworks, so well arranged, that it was very good to see them. The Queen kept us until around midnight to see the end of it'. [v.92,96-97].

John Fisher's description of the fort and fireworks in the Temple Fields:
 'There was devised on the Temple ditch a fort made of slender timber covered with canvas. In this fort were appointed divers persons to serve as soldiers and therefore so many harnesses as might be gotten within the town were had wherewith men were armed and appointed to show themselves. Some others appointed to cast out fireworks, as squibs and balls of fire. Against that fort was another castle-wise prepared of like strength, whereof was governor the Earl of Oxford, a lusty gentleman, with a lusty band of gentlemen'.

'Between these forts or against them were placed certain battering pieces to the number of 12 or 13 brought from London, and 12 score chambers or mortar pieces brought also from the Tower at the charge of the Earl of Warwick'.

'These pieces and chambers were...fired and so made a great noise as though it had been a sore assault, having some intermission in which time the Earl of Oxford and his soldiers to the number of 200 with calivers and arquebuses likewise gave divers assaults. They in the fort shooting again and casting out divers fires...the wild-fire falling into the River of Avon would for a time lie still and then again rise and fly abroad, casting forth many flashes and flames, whereat the Queen's Majesty took great pleasure, till after by mischance a poor man or two were much troubled, for at the last, when it was appointed that the overthrowing of the fort should be, a dragon flying casting out huge flames and squibs lighted upon the fort and so set fire thereon'...

'A ball of fire fell on a house at the end of the bridge wherein one Henry Cowper otherwise called Miller dwelt and set fire on the same house, the man and wife being both in bed and asleep, which burned so as before any rescue could be the house and all things in it utterly perished, with much ado to save the man and woman. And besides that house another house or two near adjoining were also fired, but rescued by the diligent and careful help as well of the Earl of Oxford...and other gentlemen and townsmen which repaired thither in greater number than could be ordered'...

'The fire-balls and squibs cast up did fly quite over the Castle and into the midst of the town, falling down some on houses, some in courts and back sides, and some in the street as far almost as St Mary's Church, to the great peril or else great fear of the inhabitants of this borough...Four houses in the town and suburbs were on fire at once, whereof one had a ball come through both sides and made a hole as big as a man's head and did no more harm. This fire appeased it was time to go to rest'.

Aug 18, at Warwick: 'Next morning it pleased her Majesty to have the poor old man and woman that had their house burnt brought unto her, whom so brought her Majesty comforted very much. And by her great bounty and other courtiers there was given towards their losses that had taken hurt £25.12s8d or thereabouts, which was dispensed to them accordingly'.

Aug 18, Mon French Ambassadors at Warwick and Kenilworth.
 La Mothe to Charles IX, Aug 28: 'After the Queen's Treasurer of the Household [Sir Francis Knollys] invited us to dinner, the Queen summoned us to tell us that, as we had requested on the previous day, she had referred the matter [the marriage with Alençon] to her Councillors...Having heard the opinion of each one of them she found herself more perplexed than ever'.

After the audience, the Queen 'taking horse, wished us to accompany her to Kenilworth. She hunted as she returned there, and conversed with one or other of us many times all along the way on our proposal'. [v.97-99].

Aug 18, Mon **KENILWORTH CASTLE**; Earl of Leicester. [Second 1572 visit].
 'Her Majesty taking great pleasure in the sport she had at Kenilworth would thither again'. Royal household also moved to Kenilworth.^c Leicester during August bought material for fireworks, to be used at Kenilworth. [*Bath*, v.189].

At Kenilworth: hunting. During the Queen's two visits in 1572:
 'In the Chase: killed by the Queen with her bow and hounds, 4 stags.
 By her Majesty and divers other noblemen, bucks there, 19'.
 'In Rudfyn Park the same time: by the Queen, a stag;
 By her Majesty and divers noblemen there, bucks, 14'.
 [Leicester's Huntsman's book].

Aug 18, in Paris: in a marriage of Huguenot and Catholic, the young King Henri of Navarre married Marguerite de Valois, sister of King Charles IX; the Prince of Condé, also a Huguenot, had married Marie of Cleves in the previous week. Thousands of Huguenots were in Paris for celebrations.

Aug 20, Wed French Ambassadors at Kenilworth for audience.
 La Mothe to Charles IX, Aug 28: 'After summoning us to Kenilworth, the Queen after talking to us for some time of some little adventures which happened in the morning during the hunt, and after making us listen for more than an hour to her musicians in the Presence Chamber, took us into the Privy Chamber'.
 In front of seven Councillors the Queen said she had considered the proposal for marriage with the Duke of Alençon.

'Because her State and her subjects were threatened with inevitable ruin as soon as she died, for want of a certain successor, she was persevering more than ever in wishing to sacrifice herself for them, to leave them a successor. Therefore she had come to a resolution with her Council, and declared to us in their presence that she was without any doubt willing to take a husband, and that we could assure your Majesty of this; and if we asked her from where? she would answer "from a great place, because she was not small". [She continued with fulsome praise of the Duke, and hoped for an interview with him].

'She begged your Majesties...to take in good part this declaration, which was the clearest and most open she could make you. The Queen expressed all these things much more fully, and with such a fine order of words, pronounced with feeling and yet with so much ornament, that both of us, and her own people, marvelled greatly at it'...

'With regard to her decision to marry, seeing that she has reigned for 14 years very peacefully, and that God has shown that amidst the most changeable and dangerous times He knows how to rule and govern a monarchy under a princess, which is very rare, but which makes the Queen the most celebrated princess who has ever reigned in the world, you can very well judge that this was not without her being full of great prudence, great virtue, wise counsel, and perfect good fortune, all this being found in one whom all her subjects recognise as daughter and grand-daughter of their Kings, a beautiful princess full of majesty, whom they see very worthily filling the Throne, and have very willingly obeyed until now...always hoping that she would leave them a successor after her'. [v.99-104].

Aug 21, Thur French Ambassadors at Kenilworth to take leave.
 La Mothe to Charles IX, Aug 28: On August 20th the Queen 'asked us to see her again the next day'. After the audience 'we were taken to the hunt'...
 'The Queen showed herself to be very satisfied with the whole of M.la Mole's embassy and...very graciously dismissed us both' adding that La Mole 'has left a very good opinion of himself and will always be most welcome'.
 To Catherine de Medici: M.de la Mole 'was very favourably received by the Queen, and well entertained in her court and in many places in this Kingdom, and then was honoured with a present, which in truth did not correspond to the rest, nor to the liberality with which he was used everywhere...for it was only a chain valued at 330 crowns; but possibly this happened because it was not in a convenient place'. [v.107-8].

Aug 21, Paris, Charles IX to La Mothe: 'The Earl of Leicester wishes to come to congratulate us, on behalf of the Queen, on the birth of the child whom I hope God will soon give me...I would like him to leave within 6 or 7 weeks'.

Aug 21, Catherine de Medici to La Mothe: 'I am still in some good hope of the proposed marriage of the Queen and my son d'Alençon...It would be very easy to arrange that the Queen, my son, and I, could see one another, in safety for her and for us, on a very calm fine day between Boulogne and Calais and Dover, and thus we could easily arrange everything'. [vii.316-7,320].

Court news. Aug 22, Lord Burghley noted: 'Answer given to La Mole, at Kenilworth, when he came to move marriage for Francis Duke of Alençon, younger brother to the French King: that there were two difficulties, one for difference of religion, the other for their ages; but yet, that the articles moved in his brother the Duke of Anjou's case might serve for him'.^B

Aug 22, Killingworth, Burghley to Francis Walsingham: 'This gentleman La Mole hath well behaved himself here to the great contentation of her Majesty and her court...Surely the choice of him was good, and as it seemeth the Queen's Majesty is come nearer to the matter than I hoped'. [Digges, 237].

George Goldwell, a Groom of the Chamber, sent by commandment of the Lord Chamberlain 'to harbinge and attend upon two ambassadors sent from the French King and their train to divers and sundry places, 24 days, August 1572, £5'.^T

Aug 22, at York: Thomas Percy, 7th Earl of Northumberland, one of the leaders of the Northern Rising in 1569, was executed. The English had paid the Scots £2000 for him. The Earl's brother Sir Henry Percy (c.1532-1585), who became 8th Earl of Northumberland, had been in custody since November 1571.

Aug 22, in Paris: Admiral Gaspard de Coligny, Huguenot leader, was shot and wounded, in an murder attempt apparently involving the Queen Mother, Catherine de Medici, whose son the King learnt of this next day.

Aug 22, Charles IX to La Mothe, with news of the wounding of the Admiral of France, and of measures he is taking. [vii.322].

See 'Proposed progresses: 1572' for the original itinerary for August 23-September 24, and for the Queen's original intention to visit Wiltshire.

Aug 23, Sat dinner, Charlecote, Warwicks; Sir Thomas Lucy.^{C,T}
Charlecote manor-house; owned and built by Sir Thomas Lucy, died 1600;
wife: Joyce (Acton), died 1595. The Queen gave to a 'Mrs Lucy' a New Year gift given her by Lady Cheke: 'a flower of gold enamelled', with a pansy, two daisies with a ruby and a diamond, and a butterfly. [Nichols, (1823) i.295].

Sir Thomas Lucy was later linked with the young William Shakespeare over an alleged tradition (first published by Nicholas Rowe in 1709) that Shakespeare poached deer from him. At this time Charlecote had no deer-park but had a warren, which could include rabbits, hares, pheasants, roe-deer.

Aug 23, Sat **COMPTON WYNYATES**, Warwicks; Lord Compton.^{C,T}
Compton Wynyates; owned by Henry, 1st Lord Compton (1538-1589).

1st wife: Frances (Hastings); she died in 1574.
Lord Compton's gifts to the Queen 'in progress time': 'one cup of gold being plain with a cover, having a ring in the top'; 'one cup of assay of gold'.
The second cup was later 'lost at Oatlands'. [Jewels, 1396-7].

Aug 23, Lord Burghley to the Earl of Shrewsbury:
'From Compton in the Hole (so well called for a deep valley: but surely the entertainment is very great, and here have I wished your Lordship)'.
[Lodge, i.540; with Postscript on August 27].

Aug 24, in France: Massacre of St Bartholomew.

On St Bartholomew's Day King Charles IX and his mother Catherine de Medici gave orders for Admiral de Coligny and senior Huguenot nobles and captains to be put to death. This was done in a few hours, but the killing of Huguenots did not end there, but spread and became a Massacre lasting several days, out of control of the court. The events in Paris were witnessed by Francis Walsingham, the English Ambassador, with whom a number of English visitors took refuge.

The slaughter of men, women, and children spread over the next weeks to a number of other towns, and provoked the Fourth War of Religion.

Large numbers of Huguenots fled to the Channel Islands, and to England.

Aug 24, Charles IX to La Mothe, with the first news of the Massacre.

Aug 25, with news of the discovery of an alleged conspiracy by those of the 'pretended reformed religion' against the King, his mother, and brothers.

Aug 26: I am sending Monsieur L'Espinasse to England and Scotland, with a *mémoire* justifying the Massacre. I hope Monsieur La Mole will bring good news of the marriage negotiations. [vii.323-8].

Aug 26, Tues dinner, Great Tew, Oxon; Mr Rainsford.^{C,T}
Great Tew manor-house; owned by Hercules Rainsford, died 1601;
wife: Dorothy (Andrews), died 1608.

Aug 26, Tues **WOODSTOCK PALACE**, Oxon.^C
Crown property. Lieutenant of Woodstock, 1571-1611: Sir Henry Lee (1533-1611);
wife: Anne (Paget), daughter of William 1st Lord Paget; she died in 1590.

Aug 27, Woodstock, Lord Burghley to Earl of Shrewsbury, postscript, with news of the wounding of Admiral Coligny. Also: 'The Earl of Huntingdon is appointed Lord President of the North'. [Lodge, i.541-2].

Aug 29: News of the Massacre of St Bartholomew reached the Queen.

Aug 30, London, Antonio de Guaras to the Duke of Alva:

'Two Posts from Paris arrived here yesterday, one of them from the English Ambassador there and the other from the King of France to his Ambassador here. When they disembarked at Rye, the English Post, acting under legal authority, took the letters away from the French Post, and with both packets went to the Queen. No news has yet come from the court as to what they contain, but people who are flying from Paris bring the intelligence that an incredible event has happened in Paris. If what they say is true, 8000 Huguenots have been put to death...People here are panic-stricken...I have since heard that, whilst the Queen was hunting in company with her principal Councillors, the said Post from France reached her and she read the letters at once, whereupon she immediately abandoned her hunting and returned to her palace, so distressed at the news that all the court was downcast'. [Span.ii.409-410].

Aug 30, London, La Mothe to Charles IX: 'As M.de la Mole was ready to depart on Thursday morning [August 28] to return to your Majesty, the first courier you had sent off to me on Sunday the 24th August arrived here without any packet, because in passing through Rye, where he had just landed on leaving Rouen, the local officials having already seen six or seven boats arriving from Dieppe with people of the new religion all terrified by the sudden insurrection in Paris, took the dispatch which he was bringing me, and sent it at once to the Queen, who has still not sent it back to me, because she is a long way from here'.

'Nevertheless M.de la Mole left after dinner with the whole account of all the negotiations carried on until then. On the same evening came the second courier, who left Paris on Tuesday the 26th, by which Sire it pleased you to tell me the regret which your Majesty had that the insurrection of the townspeople was not yet appeased, and that I should not speak of the details, nor of the occasion for them, until the next dispatch which your Majesty was making me next day'.

Aug 30, La Mothe to Catherine de Medici: 'Madame, on a case so new and so unexpected as that which happened last Sunday in Paris, they make so many different interpretations here that I am in great difficulty as to how to reply to them; and this morning Mr [Thomas] Wilson, the Queen's Master of Requests, came to me to ask for details, but I excused myself for having nothing to reply to him, because I did not yet have my packet, and only said that I was afraid that those of the new religion had given occasion to the Parisians to rise against them. It is unbelievable how greatly this news has moved this whole Kingdom'. [v.112-114].

Aug 31, Sun Oration to the Queen, at Woodstock.
Dr Laurence Humphrey, Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University, made a Latin oration. 21p. (London, 1572).

Sept 1, Mon **LANGLEY**, Oxon; Sir Edward Unton.^{c,T}
Langley manor-house; Crown property, occupied by Sir Edward Unton (for details see 2 Aug 1574). Part of the Royal household remained at Woodstock.^c
Langley was not in the Queen's original itinerary.

Court news. Sept 2, London, La Mothe to Charles IX: 'As soon as the officials of Rye who had taken the packet which your Majesty had sent me by Nicolas the courier had been brought to this court, the Council being very angry with them for the offence they had done me by having delayed it, they at once sent it to me by [Henry] Killigrew, with very many excuses'. [v.115].

c.2 Sept 1572-September 1573: Duplessis, Huguenot refugee, in England.
Philippe Duplessis-Mornay (1541-1623).

Charlotte d'Arbaleste, who married Duplessis in 1576, in a Memoir of her husband wrote that he arrived in England the ninth day after the Massacre.

Francis Walsingham to Lord Burghley, Oct 7, Paris: The Councillor to the Duke of Saxony has commended him as the rarest young man in Europe for those great good parts that are in him. He has been a great traveller. He is a gentleman of good house. Besides Latin, Greek, and his own tongue, he has both Italian and Almain [German]. Being driven to abandon his country for religion, I cannot but commend him to your protection. [SPF.x.189-190].

He brought a poem addressed to the Queen, pleading on behalf of the Protestant cause. [Mémoires et Correspondance de Duplessis-Mornay (Paris, 1824), i.36-7].

Charlotte d'Arbaleste recalled: 'He was well received...and welcomed by everybody of quality and sound doctrine'. Francis Walsingham sent from Paris a special courier with letters to the Queen and Council recommending him 'as a person in whom they might place complete confidence'. 'For a while he spent the weary days common to all refugees with his books. He wrote several papers both in Latin and in French addressed to the Queen, imploring her to uphold the Church...He was even employed on various negotiations with the Queen, both by the Prince of Orange and the Estates General of Holland and Zeeland...as well as on behalf of the Duke of Alençon'. He eventually left after the Duke of Anjou was elected King of Poland (May 1573), and requested Duplessis to accompany him there. [Charlotte d'Arbaleste's Memoir, translated by Lucy Crump as A Huguenot Family in the XVI Century (1926), 102,110,131-133].

Duplessis became a distinguished statesman and scholar, and was several times sent by King Henri of Navarre on embassies to Queen Elizabeth.

Sept 3: Francis Walsingham's secretary, who had been delayed by bad weather, reached London from Paris, with M.de l'Espinasse, son-in-law of M.du Croc, French special Ambassador to Scotland. Both left for Oxfordshire.

Sept 3, Wed **WOODSTOCK PALACE**, Oxon.^c

Sept 5, Bishop of London (Edwin Sandys) to Lord Burghley, in haste from my house at Fulham: 'These evil times trouble all good men's heads, and make their hearts ache, fearing that this barbarous treachery will not cease in France, but will reach over unto us...Hasten her Majesty homeward, her safe return to London will comfort many hearts oppressed with fear. God preserve you, and direct you with his spirit to counsel to his glory'.

The Bishop encloses nine measures to be taken for

'The safety of our Queen and Realm, if God will', beginning:

'1. Forthwith to cut off the Scottish Queen's head'. [Ellis (2), iii.23-26].

Court news. Sept 6, London, Antonio de Guaras to the Duke of Alva:

'The late events in France have effectually silenced all other matters here. The surprise is so great that nothing else is spoken of, and Posts come every day from France bringing fresh particulars. This court is much distressed, and the alliance with France is now publicly declared to be a nullity. Since the news came the Council meets to discuss the matter every day'. [Span.ii.410].

Sept 7, Paris, Charles IX to La Mothe: 'Yesterday Monsieur La Mole arrived... We charge you to look at ways to arrange the interview between the Queen and the Duke of Alençon on a fine day at sea between Boulogne and Dover, towards October 20th...I hope that at the interview the marriage will be concluded, for La Mole found the Queen and her Councillors well disposed to it'. [vii.335-6].

Sept 7, Woodstock, Lord Burghley to the Earl of Shrewsbury (Queen of Scots' Keeper): 'Her Majesty has granted to you the office of the Earl Marshal, whereof I send to your Lordship the bill assigned, for so...her Majesty willed me to do; and if your Lordship shall return it hither I will procure that it shall pass the seals'. [The Earl's appointment officially dated from January 1573].

'My lord, these French tragedies, and ending of unlucky marriage with blood and vile murders, cannot be expressed with tongue to declare the cruelties... None of any name of the religion [Huguenots] is left living, but such as fled and escaped their pursuers, as the Count Montgomery, who was pursued two whole days by 200 horse, and yet escaped, and is come into Jersey. The Vidame, also being pursued, is yet escaped'...

'God save our gracious Queen, who now assembles her Council that may come to consult what is to be done for some surety'...

'We have sent H.Killigrew this day into Scotland. The French Ambassador came yesterday to Oxford with Le Croc's son-in-law, that is come out of France to go into Scotland to sow seed of sedition; but the Queen's Majesty is not hasty to hear any of them. All men now cry out of your prisoner'. [Lodge, i.546-8].

7 Sept 1572-July 1573: Henry Killigrew was special Ambassador to Scotland. Killigrew (Burghley's brother-in-law) had had meetings with the Queen, Burghley and the Earl of Leicester. They alone knew of his very secret instructions to deal in a matter of great moment 'wherein all secrecy and circumspection is to be used. The continuance of the Queen of Scots here is so dangerous... as nothing presently is more necessary than that the Realm might be delivered of her, and though by justice this might be done in this Realm...it seemeth better that she be sent into Scotland, to be delivered to the Regent and his party... so they would without fail proceed with her by way of justice, so as neither that Realm nor this should be endangered by her hereafter'. [Murdin, 224-5].

Regent Mar consented to this request, but Regent Morton, who succeeded him in November, demanded conditions to which the English could not agree.

Sept 7: Information concerning the Earl of Southampton, in the Tower, by Elizabeth Massie: She heard the Earl say 'that he trusted to see my Lord of Leicester's head set there where the Duke of Norfolk's was, for he was a traitor and a traitor's son...and other of the Council's heads as well as his...This was the week before the Queen went her progress'. He said 'there was a privy [private] stairs where the Queen and my Lord of Leicester did meet, and if they had not used sorcery there should have been young traitors ere now begotten'.

Elizabeth Massie: wife of the Parson in the Tower. [Scot.iv.396].

Sept 8, Mon French Ambassador at Woodstock for audience, after the Massacre. La Mothe to Charles IX, Sept 14: 'Immediately M.de l'Espinasse arrived I went to the Queen at Woodstock, but she did not admit me so soon to speak to her, but made me wait for three days in Oxford to give time for her Council to meet, as they had done many times on receiving Mr Walsingham's dispatch'.

'At last she summoned me. I found her in her Privy Chamber, accompanied by many of the Lords of her Council, and the principal ladies of her court, all deeply silent. She came forward ten or twelve steps to receive me, with a sad and severe yet very humane manner; and having led me aside to a window, after a little excuse for the delay of my audience, asked me if it was possible that she could hear such strange news as was published of a Prince whom she loved and honoured, and in whom she had placed more confidence than in all the rest of the world'. In a long audience La Mothe gave the King's reason for the Admiral's murder, an alleged Huguenot plot against him; the Queen remonstrated with him.

'On leaving her I went to hold the same discourse with the Lords of the Council, and explained the extremities which had constrained you to allow this violence. They replied that the extremities which were represented to them as most urgent, as I said, were not to be found in Mr Walsingham's dispatch, and that without doubt the most heinous deed which had happened in the world since the time of Jesus Christ had just been committed by the French'. [v.122,128].

Sept 8, Woodstock, Earl of Leicester to Earl of Shrewsbury, of 'the tragical news out of France...that cruelty that I think no Christian, since the heathen time, has heard of the like'. [Lodge, i.548].

Sept 9, Woodstock, Privy Council to Francis Walsingham: The Queen had news of 'the hurt of the Admiral', and 'by means of certain that fled hither from Dieppe, that the said Admiral, with a great multitude of the Religion, were suddenly murdered the four and twentieth at Paris, in a most cruel sort'...

'The King's Ambassador here yesterday imparted first to her Majesty, and afterwards to her Council, the process of this murder...to make the King to appear void of all intention of evil'.

La Mothe told us of an alleged Huguenot plot against the King, his brothers, and the Queen Mother, which would have led to a new civil war, and that a hasty decision was made to execute the Admiral, which in turn led to an unplanned 'general fury', and slaughter of innocents. He asked the Queen 'to show her compassion of the King, rather than condemn him'; the King wished 'to continue perfect amity with her'. 'In this sort, at great length, the Ambassador proceeded, showing also outwardly a marvellous inward grief of mind for this shameful fact, professing himself ashamed to be counted a Frenchman...

Her Majesty did very wisely and princely answer him in such sort, as he made thereof to her Council very good report'. [Digges, 246-7].

Sept [9], Woodstock, Lord Burghley to Francis Walsingham, Ambassador to France: 'We do presently put all the sea coasts in defence, and mean to send the Queen's Majesty's Navy to the seas with speed...If I could have had my mind, you had been presently revoked, and only a Secretary left there...The whole Council shall be here by tomorrow, but beforehand we that are here will not be idle'...

'God keep you, and comfort His afflicted Church'. [Digges, 250].

Sept 11, Paris, Queen Mother to La Mothe: 'I think it best for the interview to be on the islands of Jersey or Guernsey, the Queen's possessions near the coast of Normandy'. A doctor has remedies for my son's pock-marks. [vii.345-6].

Sept 12, Woodstock, Sir Thomas Smith to Francis Walsingham: Yesterday three men 'coming out of France to the court did so amplify the cruel disorders there, and thereupon your dangers in every man's ears, whereof your friends made relation to her Highness, that finally her Majesty was content to write this letter [copy enclosed] for your return hither, to the French King'...

'Her Highness hath been so awakened that care and provision also is taken for the defence of her Realm, if this fire in France should attempt to come nearer hither'. [Digges, 253]. Walsingham left France in May 1573.

Sept 15, Woodstock, Lord Burghley to Dr John Sturm, in Strasbourg, who had informed the Queen of the death of Dr Christopher Mount, her Agent for the German States since 1558. The Queen appoints Dr Sturm in his place.

We 'are exceedingly busied in keeping from our borders the flame of the fires that are burning so near us'. [Zurich, 412-413].

Sept 17, Wed **HOLTON**, Oxon; Sir Christopher Browne.^{C,T}

Holton manor-house; owned by Sir Christopher Browne (or Brome), died 1589. 2nd wife: Eleanor, daughter of William 2nd Lord Windsor. Queen lost between Woodstock and Browne's 'one pair of aglets enamelled black'. [Lost, 142].

Sept 18, Thur **EWELME**, Oxon.^C Crown property.

Ewelme manor-house. Sir Francis Knollys, Treasurer of the Household, widower, was Steward of the Honour of Ewelme and Keeper of Ewelme Park.

Court news. Sept 20, London, Antonio Fogaza to the Duke of Alva: 'The Queen is approaching London in her progress, and will arrive here at the end of the month...She has sent all her musicians and minstrels home, and there are no more of the dances, farces, and entertainments with which they have been amusing themselves lately, as they have some less agreeable things to think about'...

'Enormous numbers of French refugees are flocking into London, and the place can hold no more'. [Span.ii.416-417].

Sept 20, Sat via Smith's tenement, South Stoke, Oxon; manor leased from Christ Church, Oxford University, by Griffith Barton (died 1579). (See Sept 21).

Sept 20, Sat **READING**, Berks.^C

Reading Abbey; Crown property. Adjacent to St Lawrence's Church, whose churchwardens paid 'To Simon Dye for new wheeling of the great bell, 6s8d; mending the same work being broken when the Queen was in the town, 20d; for washing against the Queen's coming to the town, 4d; for ringing to her incoming, 2s'.

Sept 21, Reading, Privy Council to Griffith Barton, 'in the behalf of the poor tenants of Smith's not far from Ewelme, to let them have new and larger estates in their copyholds'. The Queen 'removing yesterday from Ewelme to this town, to avoid the extremity of a shower chanced to come into a tenement called Smith's, belonging to the lordship of Stoke, which...you do hold...of the college of Christ Church in Oxford. And as her Majesty was by reason of the foul shower abiding in the barn of the poor tenants, her Highness chanced to question with an aged woman dwelling in the same copyhold, to understand how long she had dwelt therein, and what interest she had for continuance'. As she had the tenement only for her life and that of one son, the Queen has commanded us to ask you to extend their interest for the lives of other children.

The Queen also complains that you have been taking copyholds into your own hands as they fell in, 'whereby not only houses be dispeopled but her subjects undone and beggared'. [BL Add MS 32323, f.128v].

Sept 22, Mon French Ambassador at Reading for audience.
 La Mothe to Charles IX, Sept 29: 'I found all the Lords of the Council assembled near their Mistress at Reading...No one dared salute me... The Queen alone received me kindly, as customary'. During the audience the proposed interview with the Duke of Alençon was discussed.

'The Queen was in much difficulty as to how such a thing could be accomplished now, even on the sea; for it would not be decent to go out looking for a husband and in addition her subjects would never permit her to put to sea, nor even to cross to the Isle of Wight, which is only four miles from the coast, and there were some of her Councillors who would think that people were mocking her to put such a thing forward'.

I explained that the Queen Mother proposed that it should be at sea 'knowing that the Queen had the finest and most magnificent fleet of any prince or princess in Europe...If it pleased her that it should be on the islands of Jersey and Guernsey it would be convenient for both of them'.

'The Queen replied...that she saw no place more convenient than Dover; but that she thought that none of her Councillors, who were now suspicious of everything, and possibly even of the two of them meeting one another, should be informed, and that it would be necessary for her alone to give orders for it'.

'I asked that...she would not refuse the honour, advantage, surety and other commodities that the Crown of France offered her by this interview. Upon which she begged me to give her two days to think about it, and she would give me her response. During this time I for my part and she for her part were as diligent as could be to sound out the intentions of her Council. They showed themselves to be quite deaf and dumb, so that she herself was constrained to declare her intention to them, in which she was so I heard much assisted by the Earl of Leicester and Lord Burghley'.

La Mothe to Catherine de Medici, of Queen Elizabeth's response after two days:

'Seeing that the Queen and her people declared to me that the interview could not be on the sea nor outside England, and that they still had many doubts about the coming of such a great princess as your Majesty, with the great train which you would bring at such a suspicious time, which unfortunately would not pass by without words and reproaches about things which had happened in France, I said that your Majesty would agree to come to Dover with such a company as would be advised. And in truth Madame it is the most convenient place which one could choose in this Kingdom, for they will not have Jersey or Guernsey spoken of'.

[v.143,146-7,152].

Sept 27, Sat dinner, Philberds, Bray, Berks; Sir Thomas Neville.^{C,T}
 Philberds manor-house, Bray; leased from St George's Chapel, Windsor, by Sir Thomas Neville, died 1582; wife: Isabel, died 1585. Sir Thomas Smith to Walsingham, Sept 27, 'which is removing day to Windsor'. [Digges, 263].

Sept 27, Sat **WINDSOR CASTLE**, Berks.^C
 Treasurer of the Chamber paid £5 to Humphrey Adderley, 'Groom of the Queen's Majesty's Robes, for the charges of himself, his two men, and their horses, for riding before at every remove to every house in the progress time', 50 days.^T

Repairs needed at Windsor, listed by Clerk of Works, October 1572, included:
 'First the Terrace is in very great ruin, and would ask speedy repairing... The Rubbish Bridge is in great decay...The Tennis court would also be repaired both in paving and boarding'. There are 'decayed holes round about the Castle where the choughs do breed; the vaults under the ground are broken...a great cause of the decay whereof are the conies [rabbits] that build in them'.

The Clerk referred (December 1572) to 'choughs and pigeons that do much hurt to the Castle'.
 [Hope, Windsor Castle, i.267-8].

Sept 28, Queen to Francis Walsingham: 'De La Mothe the French Ambassador, on Monday the 22nd of this month, having asked audience, came to our court at Reading, and there had long communication with us, the which seemed to us at that time the more strange, being we had heard before of the daily murdering of those of the Religion there in France...by the King's appointment and commandment; whereupon when we had heard what he could say unto us, he heard us so reply at that time, as we do think he found himself unable to satisfy us'.

To the King and Queen Mother 'you may say' that for 'the King to destroy and utterly root out of his Realm all those of that Religion that we profess, and to desire us in marriage for his brother, must needs seem unto us at the first a thing very repugnant in itself; especially having before confirmed that liberty to them of the Religion by an Edict of his, perpetual and irrevocable...If that Religion of itself be so odious unto him, that he thinks he must root out all the professors of it, how should we think his brother a fit husband for us?'

Answers are enclosed to the French Ambassador's requests. [*Digges*, 259-261].

**September: double marriage. Anthony Browne 1st Viscount Montagu's son and daughter married the daughter and son of Sir William Dormer, of Bucks, by his 2nd wife Dorothy (Catesby), viz.*

1. Anthony Browne (c.1553-1592), eldest son of Viscount Montagu (whom he pre-deceased), married Mary Dormer (died 1637, having had two more husbands). The Queen became godmother to their son Anthony Maria Browne (February 1574).

2. Elizabeth Browne (1561-c.1631) married Robert Dormer (1551-1616), created (1615) Baron Dormer. Both families were Catholic. The marriages were at one of Lord Montagu's country houses (in Surrey or Sussex).

Between Sept 15-Oct 6 the Revels 'lent the copper cloth of gold gowns which was last made [for Montmorency's masque in June] and one other masque into the country to the marriage of the daughter of my Lord Montague'. [*Revels*, 410].

George Gascoigne wrote 'A device of a masque for...Viscount Montacute'. Eight gentlemen of the family planned to present a masque and had bought silks and 'caused their garments to be cut of the Venetian fashion'. Gascoigne was asked to devise verses to explain the Venetians' presence. He brought on a boy of 12 or 14, 'a Montacute by the mother's side', who told how he was captured in Cyprus by Turks, and rescued after a Christian victory; also four English soldiers ('The four torch-bearers that came in with the Actor'). They met a noble Venetian, also a Montacute, with a token on his hat worn by Montacutes 'to be known from Capels'. The boy returned to England, was 'trimmed up' in 'comely garments' and 'now am I clad in gold'. After the speech and the masque Thomas Browne, another of Montagu's children, came on as the 'Trunchman' or Spokesman to make a final speech to the brides and grooms.

Published in 1573, 1575, 1587; a source for Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*. Modern edition: Gascoigne's *Works*, ed. Cunliffe, i.75-86, 'The Posies'.

Court news. Oct 2, La Mothe to Charles IX, listing many Huguenot refugees.

'Villiers...and several other ministers have arrived in London, and some of them have gone to court, and have so much exaggerated things in France that they have given assurances that 100,000 people have been killed'...

'Count Montgomery as I hear has come secretly to the house of the Vice-Admiral of the West, his brother-in-law [Sir Arthur Champernown]'...

'The Captain of Jersey [Amias Paulet] had informed the Queen of his flight immediately he arrived there, and she told the Captain that he well knew the orders for the island, that he should not receive any foreigner; she assured me that if he was in any part of England it was so secretly that she did not know it, but if he fell into her hands and it was verified that he had conspired against your Majesty, if he had a thousand lives not one would remain to him; it is true that she would send him back to France'. [v.155-6].

Oct 4, Sat News of the Queen's alleged smallpox.

Lord Burghley noted: 'The Queen's Majesty appeared to have the smallpox... but she recovered speedily'.^B (See below, numerous letters).

The Queen had smallpox in October 1562; it is now known that this would generally confer immunity from a second bout of the disease.

Oct 6, Archbishop of Canterbury (Matthew Parker) to Lord Burghley, of a foreigner's slanders of the Queen:

'The Mayor of Dover brought up a strange body to be examined...and he hath it in writing that this villain should utter most shameful words against her, viz. that the Earl of Leicester and Mr Hatton should be such toward her, as the matter is so horrible that they would not write down the words'...

'Furthermore he should say, that a brother of his in Calais should affirm that within this winter he trusted to hear of so many throats cut here in England as be reported to be in France; and he should say "What make ye of the persecution of Queen Mary?" for within this twelvemonth he doubted not but that Henry's bones, and Mistress Elizabeth's too, should be openly burned in Smithfield'.

'And further I hear that this party is yet delivered, and sent home to London again, to the rejoyce of his friends. Sir, if this be true, God be merciful to us; I can say no more'. [Parker, 400-401].

Oct 7, La Mothe to Charles IX: 'I was hoping last Friday Oct 3rd to go to the Queen at Windsor...but she sent word to me on Thursday evening to excuse her for that Friday and for the whole day after, for she was considering taking medicine and did not know if she would be well, but that I could come on Sunday, or if it was an urgent matter she would put off taking her medicine to another time'.

'I did not dare to presume to delay anything which affected her health, and having deferred going till Sunday, the Earl of Sussex informed me on Saturday night that she had not been able to take her medicine on Friday as she hoped, being a little unwell, and had put herself in the hands of her doctor, so that he did not know when I would be able to see her'. [v.160].

Oct 8, Paris, Walsingham to Sir Thomas Smith: '*They begin now to discourse here that it would be a deed of charity for the Princes, Catholics, not only to set the Queen of Scots at liberty, but also to restore her to her right... If that sore be not salved, I fear we shall have a Bartholomew Breakfast, or a Florence banquet: so they term the late execution here*'. [Digges, 267].

Oct 9, Thur French Ambassador at Windsor with Councillors.

'Answers to the French Ambassador given by word of mouth by my Lord Treasurer in the Council Chamber in October 1572'. 'To the motion of the Interview to be before the 20th of October...at the Isle of Jersey, seemed to her Majesty so strange both for the time and place...for the 20th day of October is not 14 days off from the time of the motion...and Jersey is a place so far distant'...

'It were a dangerous thing for Councillors to be so careless of their Prince, as to give ear to such motions'...

'As to the offer of continuance of Amity...the Queen's Majesty meaneth nothing more than to continue the Amity'...

'As to the sending of the Earl of Leicester or Lord Treasurer after the Queen's *accouchement*...as her Majesty before had intention to have sent either one of them, or such other as should be agreeable to the King, so now there is to all the world one great cause that her Majesty may not with honour...send any whom she loveth to be in danger, as it seemeth they may be'. [Digges, 271-2].

Oct 10: 'To George Podwelson, knight, Ambassador from the Count of Emden in Germany, by way of the Queen's reward', £60.^T

Court news. Oct 12, De Guaras to the Duke of Alva: 'I have been at court every day since the 6th...The Queen has been unwell, and her illness turned out to be smallpox. She is now much better...I saw the Vidame and Schonvall at court'.

Vidame de Chartres and Schonvall, a Dutch 'sea-beggar'. [Span.ii.422-426].

Court news. Oct 13, La Mothe to Charles IX: 'The little indisposition which took hold of the Queen on return from her progress gradually turned into one or two bouts of fever, and afterwards into smallpox, which made her keep her bed, so I did not dare to insist on speaking to her, because it had come out on her face, but not much. She deputed Lord Treasurer Burghley and the two Earls of Sussex and Leicester to hear what I had to say'...

'They told me that it is true that the Vidame de Chartres was in this court, where he had come to escape, his life being in danger'.

To Catherine de Medici: 'The three Councillors told me...as regards the interview, that as their Mistress had an illness during which ladies wish hardly anyone to see them, and might not go out of her chamber for a month, when winter will be well forward, they did not see how the interview could conveniently take place this year...And as for going to the islands of Jersey or Guernsey, that would be as much to their Mistress as if she went the whole way to France (for they are twenty times nearer it than to England) as if to go to look for a husband there'. [v.164-5,169,172].

Oct 13, Windsor, Sir Thomas Smith to Francis Walsingham: Last Thursday [Oct 9] La Mothe 'had audience given him by my Lord Treasurer, my Lord Chamberlain, and my Lord of Leicester, because the Queen's Majesty was not at the time perfectly whole of the smallpox, as the physicians did say, although her Majesty and a great sort more will not have it so, now it makes no matter what it was, thanks be to God she is perfectly whole, and no sign thereof left in her face'...

'His negotiation...was long in words to make us believe better of that King than yet we can...although in that Prince and Country who have so openly and injuriously done against Christ, who is truth, sincerity, faith, pity, mercy, love, and charity, nothing can be too sharply and severely answered'...

'Du Croc and Vérac have already taken their leave of Scotland, and be come to Berwick. The 20th of this month they appointed to be here at court'. [Digges,274]

Oct 15, Windsor, Sir Thomas Smith to Lord Burghley (absent from court):

'To this commission of the Council in the North, although I said it came from you, I cannot get her Majesty's hand. After all other excuses, she said she was not wont to sign such things, except somebody's hand were to it, that all were well conceived and as it was wont. I do well perceive her Highness is disposed to sign nothing, except your Lordship be here'...

'Her Majesty hath been very sick this last night, so that my Lord of Leicester did watch with her all night. This morning, thanks be to God! she is very well. It was but a sudden pang. I pray God long preserve her'. [Wright, i.444-5].

Oct 16, Sheffield Castle, Earl of Shrewsbury to Burghley: 'It is spoken the Queen's Majesty has been lately sick of the smallpox...I am so desirous to hear of her Majesty's perfect recovery of health, as I have presumed to crave of her Majesty's own handwriting a word or two for my more comfort'. [Lodge, i.551].

[The Queen replied, as requested: see Oct 22].

Oct 17, Haarlem, Hadrianus Junius to Sir William Cecil [Lord Burghley], commending Janus Dousa, a Dutch Protestant scholar and poet coming to England. Dousa presented Latin odes to the Queen and Cecil. He stayed several months. The odes were published in 1575 in a collection of his poems, *Poemata*.

Oct 18, La Mothe to Charles IX: 'Some citizens from Flushing and Holland are newly arrived...The Protestant Princes have also sent secretly a personage of quality who does not show himself at all, whose name I have still not learnt. He often negotiates with four of the Council, and it seems that he will obtain some money. A citizen of La Rochelle named Duret is here, who makes show of having come here for trade, and he and one Bobineau, also from La Rochelle, have been at Windsor for some days'. [v.175]. Bobineau remained in England for several years as Agent for La Rochelle, a Huguenot stronghold.

Oct 20, Queen to Tsar Ivan IV of Russia, after her special Ambassador, Anthony Jenkinson, returned c.September 10. She expressed herself as entirely satisfied with the Tsar's concessions of privileges to English merchants.

Daniel Sylvester, Jenkinson's interpreter, took her answer, and brought back the Tsar's reply of 15 April 1573. [Bond, *Russia at the Close of the Sixteenth Century*, xxxiv].

Oct 20: Slanderous speeches of the Queen. Robert Blosse, of London, was examined before the Recorder of London, October 20. He had been overheard to say that King Edward VI was living in Flanders, and 'that the Queen's Highness was married about eight years ago unto my Lord of Leicester. And that during which marriage she had four children. And this false rumour he first conceived by a report of an old priest of Hampshire, about six years ago'. Recorder Fleetwood reported this to Lord Burghley in January 1573; Blosse was to be set at liberty. [Strype, Annals, II.ii, 503-5]. Blosse's further rumours: 20 August 1577.

Oct 22, at our castle of Windsor, Queen's reply to the Earl of Shrewsbury: 'True it is that we were about 13 days past distempered, as commonly happeneth in the beginning of a fever. But, after two or three days, without any great inward sickness, there began to appear certain red spots in some part of our face, likely to prove the smallpox; but, thanked be God, contrary to the expectation of our physicians, and all others about us, the same so vanished away as, within four or five days passed, no token almost appeared. And at this day, we thank God, we are so free from any token or mark of any such disease that none can conjecture any such thing. So as by this you may perceive what was our sickness, and in what good estate we be, thanking you good cousin for the care which you had of the one, and of the comfort you take of the other'...

[In the Queen's hand]: 'My faithful Shrewsbury. Let no grief touch your heart for fear of my disease; for I assure you, if my credit were not greater than my show, there is no beholder would believe that ever I had been touched with such a malady. Your faithful loving Sovereign, Elizabeth R'. [Lodge, i.552].

Court news. Oct 22, London, La Mothe to Charles IX: 'M.du Croc and the Sieur de Vérac have arrived [from Scotland], and have gone to take leave of the Queen at Windsor...Du Croc hopes to leave here in a day or two'...

'Agents from the Duke of Alva are now so commonly in this court that it is as if they never left it'. [v.181-2]. [For Du Croc see Oct 27, court news].

Oct 24: death. Edward Stanley, 3rd Earl of Derby (1509-1572), K.G., Privy Councillor, died at Lathom House, Lancs. Funeral: Dec 4, Ormskirk, Lancs.

His eldest son Henry Lord Strange (1531-1593) became 4th Earl of Derby; Henry's wife Lady Margaret Strange became Countess of Derby. Their young son Ferdinando took the courtesy title of Lord Strange. The new Earl and Countess had separated; the Earl lived with his mistress, Jane Halsall.

The widowed Mary (Cotton), Countess of Derby, married Henry Grey, 6th Earl of Kent; she died in 1580. The Earl of Derby's magnificent heraldic funeral is described by Roger Kuin in Heralds and Heraldry in Shakespeare's England, ed. Nigel Ramsey (Donington, 2014), 166-181.

Oct 25, Paris, Francis Walsingham to Sir Thomas Smith: The Queen Mother had expected the young Queen's child to have been born by October 20; she never had any intention of coming to England, but thought Jersey a convenient place for a meeting with Queen Elizabeth. [Digges, 277].

Court news. Oct 26, London, Antonio Fogaza to the Duke of Alva: On October 10 'the rebel heretic Schonvall with nine ships arrived at Dover from Ostend. He is a famous pirate, and is accompanied by about 800 rebel soldiers from Orange's forces'. The wind had driven his stolen ships into Dover. 'He at once sent to court and obtained a passport for himself and his people' to go to Flushing.

'The Queen has been very ill and the malady proved to be smallpox'... Leicester, Burghley, and the Earl of Bedford 'were closeted together several times to arrange, in case the Queen died, to proclaim as King one of the two sons of [the Earl of] Hertford by Lady Catherine [Grey]...The two boys are being brought up by their paternal grandmother the Duchess of Somerset'...

'The Vidame of Chartres has fled hither and is often in the company of the Earl of Leicester and the Treasurer [Burghley], by whom he is much caressed... Montgomery is at Guernsey again, after having made a journey to this court in disguise. They say that some great plots are being hatched'. [Span.ii.426-9].

The Earl of Hertford made a clandestine marriage to Lady Catherine Grey, a cousin of the Queen, in 1560. She died in 1568. Their sons were Edward Seymour, Lord Beauchamp, and Thomas Seymour, born in the Tower in 1561 and 1563; in line to the Throne, but declared to be illegitimate.

Court news. Oct 27, London, Fogaza to Duke of Alva: Henry Killigrew was sent to Scotland partly to try to persuade the Earl of Morton to deliver the child King James to be brought up in England. This 'came to the ears of M.de Croc... and he at once tried to frustrate the business...Croc sent immediate advice to France by sea, and he himself came post hither on his way to France six days ago. He is asking for a licence to cross over. The Queen has received news from Killigrew that the negotiation...was rendered impossible by the action of Croc. This has caused much annoyance at court...and when Croc presented himself before the Queen he found a very cold welcome. She said a very few words to him...and he took leave and departed for France two days ago'. [Span.ii.431].

Oct 27: Queen's Printer, Richard Jugge, printed 'A Form of Prayer to be used, and so commanded by authority of the Queen's Majesty, and necessary for the present time and state'. The Preface refers to 'these dangerous and perilous times of the troubles in Christendom'. The prayers include 'A thanksgiving and prayer for the preservation of the Queen, and the Realm' and 'A prayer for deliverance from enemies'. [Liturgy, 540-547].

St Ethelburga Bishopsgate, 1572: 'For three prayer books of the Queen's Majesty's setting out, one at 3d and the others at 2d apiece, 7d'.

Oct 27, in Paris: birth of Charles IX's only legitimate child, a daughter. The King wrote on the same day to La Mothe, to ask the Queen to be a godmother.

On the same evening the French royal family watched as two Huguenot leaders were hanged by torchlight. Both men were well-known at the English court: François de Briquemault and Arnold de Cavaignes. [vii.378].

Oct 28, in Scotland: death. Regent of Scotland died of illness at Stirling. He was John Erskine, Earl of Mar.

His son John, Lord Erskine (1562-1634) became 2nd Earl of Mar.

Oct 30, Thur French Ambassador at Windsor for audience.
 La Mothe to Charles IX, Nov 2: 'The Queen gave me many thanks for the care I had of her during her last illness of smallpox, and said that if she had not had an upset stomach, the other time I was at Windsor, because she had taken a little mithridate, she would have allowed me to see her...She is so perfectly well cured that not a single trace remains on her face'. [v.184-5].

c.October-November, whilst the Queen was at Windsor: christening.
 Queen was godmother to 'Lord Herbert's daughter'.^T
 Parents: Edward Somerset, Lord Herbert (son of 3rd Earl of Worcester and himself later 4th Earl); wife: Elizabeth (Hastings); married at court, Dec 1571.
 The Earl of Worcester's country estate was at Raglan, Monmouthshire.
 Richard Brackenbury went from Windsor to Wales to make ready.^T
 Queen's gift: 3 gilt bowls with a cover.^{PS}
 1st child: Lady Elizabeth Somerset (1572-1627); became a Lady of the Privy Chamber; married (1596) Sir Henry Guildford.

c.October-December: christening: Queen was godmother to Lady Paget's son.
 Parents: Thomas Lord Paget; wife: Nazareth (Newton), widow of Thomas Southwell; a Lady of the Privy Chamber. At 'Parman Park'.^T
 Queen's gift: one cup with a cover gilt.^{PS}
 1st child: William Paget (1572-1628); married (1602) Lettice Knollys, daughter of Henry Knollys.

Court news. Nov 3, from my house at Westminster, Lord Burghley to Francis Walsingham: 'Yesterday the French Ambassador sent me word to declare to her Majesty that the French Queen hath brought forth a daughter, and to know whether the Queen's Majesty would be content to christen it with her own name, and to send my Lord of Leicester or me thither. Her Majesty's answer was, That she would not desire to christen it, nor would send my Lord of Leicester or me; but if the King would desire her Majesty to be godmother she would not refuse it, but would send some person qualified'. [Digges, 283-4].
 A special Ambassador arrived on November 29.

Nov 4, Tues Flemish envoy's secret arrival at Windsor.
 Charles de Boisot, sent by William Prince of Orange for aid.
 Antonio Fogaza to Duke of Alva, Nov 17: On Nov 4th 'a Flemish gentleman called Boisot arrived at this court. He is much thought of by Orange...He was secretly welcomed and well treated at court, and has now been dispatched with nine smacks loaded with stores' and with 20,000 crowns in cash. [Span.ii.441].

November 1572-August 1573: French envoy, Maisonfleur, in England.
 Jerome de l'Huillier, Sieur de Maisonfleur, a Gentleman of the Duke of Alençon's Chamber. It was at first suspected that letters he brought were partial forgeries.

Nov 4, Tues Maisonfleur, Duke of Alençon's envoy, at Windsor.
 Nov 4 (I), Earl of Leicester to Burghley: 'The Frenchman shall have audience this afternoon by her Majesty's own order to me, which truly, my Lord, is much against my mind; for that upon comparing the letters he brought with others of the same party's we find great difference, and certainly I am persuaded it is not from the party. Yet hath he written such a letter to her Majesty as moveth her to speak with him, and if she find any doubt by his report, she means to cause him to be kept in safe custody; but he allegeth such danger to his master that sent him, for lack of audience, that her Majesty will needs hear him'.

Nov 4 (II), Leicester to Burghley, in haste: 'I have received your letter this afternoon about two o'clock, but yet in time to stay the repair of Maisonfleur, I trust, for I will presently open the causes of your letter to her Majesty, whom by no means I could stay from giving audience this day unto him, albeit she was yesternight most farthest from that mind. But God, I trust, doth reveal all things for her preservation; and truly there was never thing, as your Lordship doth know, that went more against my stomach than this fellow's access to her Majesty's person, which I hope and doubt not but to put off till your coming'.

PS. 'Your Lordship may peruse the letters here enclosed, and shall find the difference between the postscript that Maisonfleur brought to be the Duke's own hand, and the letter joined therewith, which is taken as his own hand'.

[Murdin, 232-3].

(See November 7).

c.Nov 6: Sir Humphrey Gilbert secretly at Windsor.

From July-November Gilbert (1537-1583) led an expedition, with the Queen's secret approval, to support the Dutch against the Spaniards. He now returned from the Low Countries and an unsuccessful attempt to besiege a town, Tergoes.

Antonio Fogaza to Duke of Alva, Nov 17, London: On Nov 5 'Sir Humphrey Gilbert and 800 Englishmen arrived in this country from taking part in the Siege of Tregus [Tergoes]. Gilbert came secretly to court directly he landed, and gave an account of events in those parts. He was sent away as secretly as he came and was ordered to come to this city as if he had not been to court, and pretend that he dared not go thither until his friends had interceded and obtained pardon for him, for going on the expedition without leave. This is the sort of stratagem they usually employ...The purpose of this is...to be able to show ...that it was not done by the Queen's wish'. [Span.ii.443].

Court news. Nov 7, Lord Burghley to Francis Walsingham: The Queen has spoken to Maisonfleur; he has convinced her of his good faith. 'I am willed to require you to use some secret means how to understand the truth'.

Walsingham replied, Nov 12, that he had found Maisonfleur to be a genuine messenger from the Duke of Alençon. [Read, Walsingham, i.246-7].

Nov 11, Tues **HAMPTON COURT**, Middlesex.^c

Anthony Wingfield, Gentleman Usher, made ready 'two several times'.^T

Earl of Leicester to Burghley, Saturday [Nov 1]: 'Her Majesty...doth hold yet her determination to remove on Tuesday next' [November 4].

Fogaza to Alva, Nov 3: 'The Queen is coming next Friday the 7th from Windsor to Hampton Court'; Leicester, Nov 4: 'Her Majesty doth not remove till Tuesday next to Hampton Court'. [Murdin, 229, 233; Span.ii.435].

Nov 12, London, anon newsletter to Lord Deputy Fitzwilliam, as to 'the murders in France, being one of the most horrible things that ever chanced since the world's beginning...Seeing there is no man who with a good conscience can live there, my Lord Ambassador, Mr Walsingham, shall return, and Mr Carew, in whom is thought not to be so much religion, shall go in his place'. [SP63/38/36].

Francis Carew and others refused to go to France.

Nov 14, Fri Huguenot merchants at Hampton Court.

Antonio Fogaza to Duke of Alva, Nov 17: 'About 12 days ago ten of the principal merchants of Rochelle arrived here, and six of them went to court on the 14th. Montgomery was expected there secretly from Guernsey on the following day'.

De Guaras to Alva, Nov 18: 'About ten Frenchmen of good appearance have arrived here from Rochelle, and have gone to court to say that if help were not sent at once the place would be in great peril. They are still at court, associating with the Vidame de Chartres and Montgomery, and are trying to get the aid they seek, publicly or privately'. [Span.ii.442,445].

Court news. Nov 15, La Mothe to Charles IX: 'The Queen...is very well, not being for a long time better in health than she is at present, since she was cured of this last illness which she had of smallpox'...

'Two hundred Frenchmen are here from Flushing, amongst whom two days ago some fifteen gentlemen or soldiers arrived...including young Pardaillan'...
'Sieur de Gasceville is here from the Prince of Orange'. [v.200,202].

Nov 16, William Patten addressed 'Supplication Patteni' to the Queen, being a petition in Latin verse. Patten was Teller to the Exchequer from 1562 until he was replaced in 1568 after almost £8000 was found to be missing from his account. In his petition, copied out by his son Thomas, aged 10, he praises the Queen, recounts his misfortunes, blames a servant for the loss, and begs for the matter to be investigated. 33 folios. [BL Lansdowne 739].

No response is known. Patten, a prolific author, wrote part of the Kenilworth entertainment for the Queen, 1575.

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

St Botolph Bishopsgate: 'For three new prayer books for the Queen, 7d; for bread and drink for the ringers when they rang for the Queen's Majesty's reign, 12d'.

St Dunstan in the West: 'To the ringers for the Queen, 8d; to the singing men that came from Paul's and other places the day of the beginning of the Queen's reign, 5s'. [St Dunstan paid singing men on November 17 from 1572-1581].

St Martin in the Fields: 'For ringing at the Queen's Majesty's changing of her reign, 4s'. St Mary Aldermanbury: 'For eight psalms appointed for the day of the Queen's reign, 8d'. St Mary Woolchurch Haw: 'To the Sexton for ringers for the day of the Queen's reign, 16d'. St Michael Cornhill: 'For the ringing of the bells the first day of the new year of the reign of our Queen, 12d'.

Ashburton Church, Devon: 'To ringers for that they rang for the long preservation of the Queen's Majesty long to endure, 16d'.

Bath, St Michael, churchwardens paid: '12d to make the ringers drink when they rung the day of the remembrance of the Coronation of our Queen's grace'.

Bramley, Hants: 'To the ringers for honour of the Queen's Majesty, 6d'.

Canterbury Chamberlains: 'Given to the Waits at Master Mayor's appointment the 17th of November, 3s4d'.

Lambeth Church, Surrey: 'To the ringers for ringing at the beginning of the 15th year of the Queen's Majesty's reign, 3s4d; for candles in that night, 3d'.

Oxford Chamberlains: 'Given to a preacher for a sermon on the Coronation day in the 15th year of Queen Elizabeth's most gracious reign, 10s; given to Mr Dennys for playing on the organs the same day, 12d; for bread and wine for the Communion on the said Coronation day, 14d'.

Rowington Church, Warwicks: 'Paid for a gallon of ale upon St Hugh's Day to the ringers, 4d'.

Salisbury, St Edmund: 'Ringers for the reign of the Queen, 4s'.

Salisbury, St Thomas: 'Ringings the bells...at the change of the Queen's Majesty's reign, being seven of them, 4s8d'.

Southampton, St Lawrence: 'Paid to Goodman Ham the 29th of December 1572 which he laid out for mending the bell wheel that was broken in ringing for the 15th year of the Queen's reign, 8d'.

Warwick, St Nicholas: 'To ringers when the Queen was here and also for ringing at the day of her Grace's entrance of her years, 15d'.

Winchester, St Peter Chesil: 'Ringers at the reign of our Queen's grace, 10d'.

Worcester, St Michael Bedwardine: 'For ringing at the Queen's renewing of her reign, 8d'.

Nov 17, Mon French Ambassador at Hampton Court for audience.

La Mothe to Charles IX, Nov 23: 'I sent on the 16th to ask for audience, and the Queen granted me it for the next day, 17th, which was the very day of the 14th anniversary of her accession to this Crown, of which there is usually some commemoration in this court'.

I gave the Queen official notification of the birth of the King's daughter; also of the executions on the same day in Paris of François de Briquemault and Arnold de Cavaignes, for alleged complicity in a Huguenot plot. The Queen regretted that the King 'profaned the day' of his daughter's birth. [v.204].

21 Nov 1572-9 Feb 1573: Henry Horne was secret messenger to German States. Nov 25, London, Antonio Fogaza to Duke of Alva: Henry Horne left on Nov 21 for Dover; he is a nephew of the Bishop of Winchester, aged 36, and takes letters in Latin from the Queen for the Duke of Saxony, the Elector Palatine, and the Marquis of Brandenburg, for their opinion as to whether the Emperor might intervene with the King of Spain to bring about a peaceful settlement in the Netherlands. Horne carries the letters concealed in a taffeta doublet lined with leather pockets. He takes a trunk of clothes and books in Latin, and pretends that his object is to study in Germany. His voyage is very secret, and 'great favour and honours are promised him on his return if he carries through his mission successfully'. [Span.ii.446-7].

Nov 24, in Scotland: New Regent of Scotland: James Douglas, 4th Earl of Morton (c.1516-1581). Regent 1572-1578.

Nov 29-c.Dec 10: French special Ambassador in London and at court. Michel de Castelnau, Sieur de Mauvissière; to make a formal request to the Queen to be godmother to the King's daughter; also to request the continuance of amity, and that Alençon's suit for marriage continue. Dec 1, Fogaza to Alva: He arrived November 29 'with much ostentation...He has been here and in Scotland several times before and is liked by this Queen'. [Span.ii.440,448].
Emperor Maximilian II's wife and the Duke of Savoy were to be godparents.

Dec 2, Tues French Ambassadors at Hampton Court for audience. La Mothe to Charles IX, Dec 4: 'On Dec 2nd M.de Mauvissière and I went to the Queen at Hampton Court, and she received him much better and more favourably than past events had led me to hope, and I believe truly that anyone else would not have been used as well as he was; she reminded him at the outset of his previous embassies to her'. He made an official request for the Queen to be godmother, for which she gave many thanks.

'After enquiring a little about what we think the Empress will do and which of the princesses of your court she could ask to act as her Deputy, she went on to say that where she found herself most hindered was in sending someone over there, after what had happened, not from distrust of your Majesty, but because there was not a single person of quality who did not think that she held him of very small account and wished to get rid of him, if she spoke to him of wanting to send him to France'.

As to the Duke of Alençon's marriage proposal 'she now saw that the external difficulty of the inequality in their ages, and the internal difficulty of the difference of conscience and religion made more hindrance than she had thought.. She told us that she would reply to us next day on all these things'...

'We found her Councillors very cold to us; we went to lodge for that night a mile from the court. Early in the morning the Queen sent word that she prayed us to give her until Friday, tomorrow, to reply to us'. [v.214-217].

Dec 3, Maisonfleur, the Duke of Alençon's envoy, wrote a long letter to 'Don Lucidor' [the Duke], urging him to come to England, and referring to one or more audiences with 'Madame de L'Isle' [the Queen]. 'Her heart seemed to say to me through her eyes "Tell him to come, and to despair of nothing; if I marry any Prince in the world it will be he"...If she wishes and desires a husband, as I know she does greatly, it can be only Seigneur Lucidor'. In the last part of the letter, which was shown to Lord Burghley, Maisonfleur advised the Duke to travel in disguise and to come to a 'masked entertainment'. [HT.ii.29-35].

Court news. Dec 4, Edward Grimston to Nathaniel Bacon: 'The rex incristianissimus [most unChristian King] after killing many good men hath begotten a daughter of his mother's kind to increase his progeny, whereunto our Queen is required to be godmother, whereunto (as some saith) her Majesty hath either yielded a cool answer or a flat denial'. [Bacon, i.49].

A King of France was permitted by the Pope to style himself 'the most Christian King'; a King of Spain was 'his most Catholic Majesty'.

Dec 5, Fri Privy Council informed the French Ambassadors that the Queen accepted to be godmother with the Empress, and would send one of her greatest lords. The Queen asked to see Mauvissière on December 8. [v.218,221].

Dec 8, Mon French special Ambassador at Hampton Court to take leave. La Mothe to Charles IX, Dec 16: 'Next day the Queen sent M.de Mauvissière his dispatch, with a good present, but he was forced to delay for some days before he left, in order to provide for his safe passage, having a warning that he was laid in wait for at sea'. [v.222].

Dec 11, Hampton Court, Sir Thomas Smith (the Queen's Secretary) to Francis Walsingham (Ambassador to France since 1570 and very desirous to be replaced):

'De Mauvissière hath been honourably received, and friendly, and yet to say the truth, since these late and execrable murders of the true servants of God there, the minds of the most number are much alienated from that nation, even of the very Papists, much more of the Protestants here'...

'I am sure you have heard of, and I think you have seen, the new fair Star or Comet, but without beard or tail, which hath appeared here this three weeks... Such a one never have I observed nor read of. I pray you let me know what your wise men of Paris do judge upon it'. It 'would do me good yet to understand what your Astronomers and Heaven-gazers there do judge of it'...

'Methinks I hear you say, what a mischief meaneth he to write unto me of new Stars and Astronomers, and telleth me nothing of my coming home'...

'This I can tell you, all your friends hath not only been diligent, but more than importunate to bring you home; and your wife with tears and lamentations; and the Queen's Majesty seemed to incline and grant our requests, but when a pin is set fast in a hole, till we have another to thrust that out, and tarry there itself, hard it is to get it out; and you know how long we be here of resolving, and how easily to be altered. At the signing of her Majesty's letters to you this morning, I said to the Queen "Madam, my Lord Ambassador looks now to have some word from your Majesty of his return. It would comfort him very much"...

"Well", saith she, "you may write unto him that he shall come home shortly, we think with the Lord of Worcester". I said indeed my Lord's train should be more honourable, if he had one Ambassador to go with him, and another to return with him. "Yea", saith her Majesty, "there be some make excuses that they would not go, but their excuses shall not serve them". I thanked her Majesty, and came my ways, for she made haste to go a-walking with the ladies, because it was a frost'. PS. 'Her Highness appealeth still upon Mr Francis Carew to be your successor, but he maketh great labour to the contrary by Ladies of the Privy Chamber, and others'. [Ellis (3) iv.5-9; and MS].

Dec 11, Thomas Digges (astronomer and mathematician) to Lord Burghley:
 'I have waded as far as ancient grounds of Astrology and authors' precepts of approved credit will bear me to sift out the unknown influence of this new star or comet, which is like to be no less vehement than rare, as by the 1st and 2nd of the seven notes herein enclosed may partly appear. The 3rd showeth from what quarter the calamity is to be expected. The 4th on what kind of creature the influence is like to take effect. The 5th and 6th what regions and provinces here on earth are menaced. The 7th...such as are like to play the chiefest part in this fatal tragedy. More particularities by art cannot be gathered, without conference of this situation of the heavens with private nativities. And therefore...I leave longer at this time to be tedious with homely scribbling'.

[SP12/90/12]. The comet was visible from November 1572-March 1574, and most contemporary astronomers wrote notices of it. When Digges died in 1595 he was described in St Mary the Virgin Aldermanbury, London, register, August 29, as 'Mr Thomas Digges Esquire and a most excellent mathematician'.

Dec 14, Maisonfleur to the Duke of Alençon, pressing him to come over to urge his suit to Madame de L'Isle. There are ladies and ladies, and the way to gain this one is not by bargains, but by love, honour, respect, and obedience. You have only to pay your addresses in person to be successful. It were better you brought a good supply of money, and not more than 6 or 7 persons. [SPF.x.447-8].

At Maisonfleur's request Lord Burghley sent a ship to Normandy so that the Duke, said to be in great danger, could escape to England. Also in December Maisonfleur wrote to the Queen seeking audience, or to be allowed to withdraw to London; in the meantime he would remain where he was confined by her orders.

[Murdin, 240]. The Duke of Alençon first came to England in 1579.

Dec 19, Fri, and Dec 22, Mon: Kingston churchwardens, Surrey, on each day:
 Paid 'to the ringers when the Queen came through the town, 12d'.

Court news. Dec 23, La Mothe to Charles IX: 'I am going tomorrow to the Queen at Hampton Court...The Earl of Worcester has very willingly agreed to go to your Majesties for the christening...He is a kinsman of the Queen and has the surname Somerset, and one could not have chosen anybody greater or more noble than him in this Kingdom to honour the ceremony'...

'In default of Mr Carew, Sir John Hastings had been ordered to make ready to succeed Mr Walsingham, but he has excused himself by illness or other reasons, and a man of the long robe [a lawyer] named Dr Dale, Judge in the Admiralty Court, is now making ready to go there'. [v.225-6].

The Earl of Worcester left for France in January 1573; Dr Valentine Dale arrived there in April as new Ambassador; Francis Walsingham returned in May.

Dec 24, Wed French Ambassador at Hampton Court for audience.
 La Mothe to Charles IX, Dec 25: 'When the Earl of Leicester knew that I was going to Hampton Court on Christmas Eve he sent to beg that he could give me dinner, which he did with much favour...The Earl of Worcester was one of the company...The Queen agreed that she will make him leave on January 3rd'.

Mémoire, 2 Jan 1573: At this audience the Queen said that 'the Earl of Worcester was of the same house as her, brought up in the court, and he had been greatly loved by the late King her father'. [v.228,232].

Robert Naunton, of William Somerset 3rd Earl of Worcester (1526-1589), and the Queen: 'He was of the ancient and noble blood of the Beauforts, and of her grandfather's line by the mother, which the Queen could never forget, especially where there was a concurrence of old blood with fidelity, a mixture which ever sorted with the Queen's nature'. [*Fragmenta Regalia*]. One of the Beauforts, Lady Margaret Beaufort, was mother of Henry VII and grandmother of Henry VIII.

By 24 December 1572-February 1573: *Dutch Commissioners in London*.
 William Prince of Orange sent Deputies from the States of Holland, to seek aid.
 Dec 25, London, Leonard Casimbrot to Lord Burghley: The Prince of Orange has sent me and three other noblemen with messages to the Queen. We desire to be informed when an interview would be convenient, and hope that in the meantime we and the ship that brought us may be unmolested. [HT.ii.36].

Dec 25,Thur: 'Lost from her Majesty's back...one tassel and one middle piece of gold from a knotted button containing three pearls'. [Lost, 145].

Christmas: Revels preparations for plays and masques at Hampton Court.
 For a masque the Revels paid for painting 'dishes for fruits and fishes', and provided 'hats for the women masquers...gloves for the lady masquers... a net for the fishers masquers...wool to stuff the fishes...a tray for the fishermen...knives for mariners...fruits counterfeit...moulds to cast the fruits and fishes in, and to the women that tempered the stuff and made up the same...beards for fishers six'...
 'Haunce Eotts for painting of patterns for masques', 13s4d; Henry Sackford esquire 'for rushes in the hall and in the great chamber where the works were done and the plays recited; for hanging up tents to keep away the wind and snow from driving into the hall, and taking down the same again; for...billets and coals where the plays were recited in the great chamber'.

'Rewards to the head-piece makers working on Christmas night; John Betts' wife for one day and one night spangling of the head-pieces; six head-pieces for Turks; carriage of trees and other things to the court for a wilderness in a play; the hire of a barge for a masque; canvas for a monster; to Benbow for playing in the monster; an altar for Theagines; the picture of Andromeda; two spears for the play of Chariclea'. Robert Baker 'for drawing of patterns for the play of Fortune and altering the same', 6s8d. [Revels, 175-181].

Betts: John Bettes, English painter;
 Haunce Eotts: Hans Eworth, Dutch painter.
 Henry Sackford: Keeper of the Privy Purse.

Christmas: three plays, by Earl of Leicester's Men; payment, Jan 1.^T

Christmas 1572-Shrovetide 1573:
 play: *Fortune*.
 play: *Theagenes and Chariclea*. Set in ancient Egypt.
 masque: Turks. Revels provided bows and arrows.
 masque of six Women.

[c.1572] Sermon at court by Dr Tobias Matthew (c.1544-1628); appointed in 1572 as one of the Chaplains to the Queen.

Text: Psalm 24:3-4: 'Who shall ascend unto the hill of the Lord, or who shall dwell in his holy place? Even he that hath clean hands and a pure heart, and hath not lift up his mind unto vanity nor sworn to deceive his neighbour'.

An exhortation to godly living. Dr Matthew criticises the Queen for her mercy to enemies, and for sparing the Queen of Scots.

Dr Matthew became (1595) Bishop of Durham, and (1606) Archbishop of York.

1572: George Gascoigne (c.1534-1577), wrote 'The Fruits of War'.

Dedicated to Lord Grey of Wilton.

Gascoigne had been with Sir Humphrey Gilbert's expedition fighting in the Low Countries to assist the Dutch against the Spaniards; he wrote whilst on active service. He describes the unsuccessful expedition, and incompetent leaders, but has a 'Peroration':

'O noble Queen, whose high foresight provides,
That waste of war, your realms doth not destroy,
But pleasant peace, and quiet concord glides,
In every coast, to drive out dark annoy,
O virtuous dame, I say Pardonnez moi,
That I presume in worthless verse to warn,
Th'ambitious Prince, his duties to discern.

Your skilful mind (O Queen without compare)
Can soon conceive that cause constrains me so,
Since wicked wars have bred such cruel care,
In Flanders, France, in Spain and many mo,
Which reap thereby none other worth but woe.
Whiles you (meanwhile) enjoy the fruits of peace,
Still praising God, whose bounties never cease'.
[Gascoigne's Works, ed. Cunliffe, vol 1].

1572: Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, wrote:

De antiquitate Britannicae Ecclesiae.

[The antiquity of the British Church]. (London, 1572).

Believed to be the first book privately printed in England.

The Queen's presentation copy, with elaborately embroidered green velvet binding, including a scene in a deer-park, and coloured illustrations, is at the British Library.

1572: 'A pleasant Posy, or sweet Nosegay of fragrant smelling Flowers gathered in the Garden of heavenly Pleasae, the holy and blessed Bible'.

To the Tune of the Black Almain. By John Symon.

Conclusion:

'Now at this time, for our gracious Queen,
Let us give hearty praise.
God may her defend from enemies' hand,
At this time and always
And send her prosperous reign,
With us for to remain,
For to defend God's word so pure,
And ever with it for to endure.
That she may be to us a bower,
To keep us always when it doth shower,
I pray God save that princely flower!'

[Seventy-nine Black-letter Ballads and Broad-sides (1867)].

c.1572: A painting was given by the Queen to Francis Walsingham, who with Sir Thomas Smith had negotiated the Treaty of Blois, April 1572.

'The Family of King Henry VIII' or 'The Allegory of the Tudor Succession'.
Attributed to Lucas de Heere.

Representing Henry VIII, with Edward VI; Queen Mary leading in King Philip and Mars, God of War; Elizabeth leading in Peace and Plenty. Inscribed:

'The Queen to Walsingham this tablet sent,
Mark of her People's and her own Content'.

Also with an explanatory verse:

'A face of much nobility lo in a little room,
Four states with their conditions here shadowed in a show.
A father more than valiant. A rare and virtuous son.
A zealous daughter in her kind what else the world doth know.
And last of all a virgin Queen to England's joy we see,
Successively to hold the right and virtues of the three'.

1572: Nicholas Hilliard painted his first miniature of the Queen.
Dated 1572, aged 38. National Portrait Gallery, London.

For the Queen's conversation with Hilliard on this or a later occasion see:
'Anecdotes' (Hilliard).

The painting and the miniature are reproduced and discussed by Roy Strong in *Gloriana. The Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I* (1987), 70-79.