

Anecdotes, and Miscellaneous.

Anecdotes.

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Anecdotes in the Text.

1559 Jan 15: Rainsford: four 'prisoners', the Gospels. (Francis Bacon);
Jan 29: Queen Mary and Calais. (Holinshed);
Feb 15: David Whitehead and the Queen. (Bacon).
1560 Aug 23: Basing: Marquis of Winchester. (Naunton).
1563 August, end: Maidenhead: Sir Henry Neville. (Anon).
1566 April 21: Sir Richard Sackville's funeral. (Buc).
1573 Sept 22: Rochester, Satis House. (Rawley).
1575 July 18: Kenilworth: Arion. (Anon).
1578 Aug 13: Redgrave: Sir Nicholas Bacon. (Francis Bacon).
1579 Oct 25: Great Turk's jest. (Goodman).
1581 March 18: Speaker Popham. (Bacon).
1582 Oct 14: Walter Raleigh and the cloak. (Fuller).
1583 Sept 23: Bishops of Worcester and London. (Harington).
1584 Jan 11: Sir Walter Mildmay and Emmanuel College. (Anon).
1586 Sept 22: Sir Philip Sidney at Zutphen. (Greville).
1588 Nov 24: Armada Thanksgiving: Francis Bacon's jest.
1589 Feb 13: Earl of Essex and Marprelate Tracts. (Codrington).
1590 January, end: Queen and a Purveyor. (Osborne).
1591 Oct 27: Queen and Essex's knights. (Bacon).
1596 April 8: Queen and Lord Burghley. (Fuller);
July 23: Lord Hunsdon's claim to Earldoms. (Fuller; Buc).
1598 Dec 21: conspirator's ingenious weapon. (Bacon).
1602 Jan 26: the Devil and Ireland. (Beaumont);
Aug 24: Queen and the Siege of Grave. (Bacon).

ANECDOTES.

Aston: Roger Aston and the Queen.

Aston brought messages from King James and took money and deer to him from at least 1592-1602. This description is attributed to Anthony Weldon (1583-1648), son of the Queen's Clerk of the Green Cloth; nephew of her Clerk of the Kitchen; he later held both posts himself.

Roger Aston 'was an Englishman born, but had his breeding wholly in Scotland, and had served the King many years as his barber, an honest and free-hearted man, and of an ancient family in Cheshire, but of no breeding answerable to his birth; yet he was the only man ever employed as a messenger from the King to Queen Elizabeth as a letter carrier only, which expressed their own intentions without any help from him besides the delivery, but even in that capacity was in very good esteem with her Majesty, and received very royal rewards, which did enrich him, and gave him a better revenue than most gentlemen in Scotland; for the Queen did find him as faithful to her as to his master, in which he showed much wisdom, though of no breeding'.

'In this his employment I must not pass over one pretty passage I have heard himself relate: that he did never come to deliver any letters from his master but ever he was placed in the Lobby, the hangings being turned him, where he might see the Queen dancing to a little fiddle, which was to no other end than that he should tell his master, by her youthful disposition, how likely he was to come to the possession of the Crown he so much thirsted after'.

[A.W. *Court and Character of King James* (1650)].

Roger Aston, illegitimate son of a Cheshire gentleman, lived in Scotland until he came south with King James in 1603.

He was knighted, and became the King's Master Falconer, and Keeper of the Great Wardrobe.

He obtained an estate at Cranford, Middlesex, where he had a spectacular monument built for himself, his two wives and five daughters.

This is in St Dunstan, Cranford. He died in 1612.

Bendlowes: Serjeant Bendlowes and the Queen.

William Bendlowes (c.1514-1584), of Great Bardfield, Essex, a Serjeant at Law from 1555.

George Puttenham in *The Arte of English Poesie* (1589), Book III 'Of Ornament', cites as an example of the use of inappropriate or 'base' words:

'Serjeant Bendlowes when in a progress time coming to salute the Queen in Huntingdonshire he said to her Coachman "Stay thy cart, good fellow, stay thy cart, that I may speak to the Queen", whereat her Majesty laughed as she had been tickled, and all the rest of the company, although very graciously (as her manner is) she gave him great thanks and her hand to kiss. These and such other base words do greatly disgrace the thing and the speaker or writer'.

The Queen visited Huntingdonshire in August 1564 and July 1566.

Bendlowes' monument is in Great Bardfield Church.

Carew: Sir Francis Carew's cherry tree.

The Queen visited Carew (c.1530-1611) many times from 1576-1600 at Beddington, Surrey, where his gardens and fruit-trees were renowned. This 'pretty conceit' cannot be precisely dated.

Sir Hugh Platt's description in his chapter on 'Secrets in the ordering of trees and plants' in *Flora's Paradise* (1608), 173:

'Here I will conclude with a pretty conceit of that delicate knight Sir Francis Carew, who, for the better accomplishment of his royal entertainment of our late Queen of happy memory, led her Majesty to a Cherry tree, whose fruit he had of purpose kept back from ripening at the least one month after all cherries had taken their farewell of England. This secret he performed by straining a tent or cover of canvas over the whole tree, and wetting the same now and then with a scoop or horn, as the heat of the weather required; and so, by withholding the sunbeams from reflecting upon the berries, they grew both great, and were very long before they had gotten their perfect cherry colour. And when he was assured of her Majesty's coming he removed the tent, and a few sunny days brought them to their full maturity'.

Carmarden: Richard Carmarden [or Carwarden] and the Queen.

Robert Naunton:

Of the Queen 'it will be a true note of her providence that she would always listen to her profit, for she would not refuse the information of mean persons which proposed improvement, and had learned...to look unto her own work'.

'Of the which, there is a notable example of one Carwarden, an under officer of the Custom House, who observing his time presented her with a paper showing her how she was abused in the renting of the Customs, and therewithal humbly desired her Majesty to conceal him for that it did concern two or three of her greatest Councillors whom Customer Smith had bribed with £2000 a man so as to lose the Queen £20,000 per annum'.

'Which being made known to the Lords [the Council], they gave strict charge that Carwarden should not have access to the back stairs, till at last her Majesty smelling the craft and missing Carwarden, she sent for him, backed and encouraged him to stand to his information, which the poor man did so handsomely that within ten years he brought Smith to double his rent and to leave the Customs to new farmers. So that we may take this also into observation that there were of the Queen's Council which were not of the catalogue of saints'.

[Naunton, *Fragmenta Regalia*, 45-6; also in Camden's *Annals*].

Richard Carmarden (c.1536-1603), Surveyor-General of the Customs; of Chislehurst, Kent, where the Queen visited him in 1597.

'Customer' Thomas Smith, Customer of the Port of London; from 1584-88 he paid a rental fee of £30,000 for operating the Customs, yet made a profit of £16,000; he died in 1591, exceedingly wealthy.

Cecil: Sir Robert Cecil and the Queen.

Sir Henry Wotton's anecdote can be dated 1601 or 1602, when Cecil, the Queen's Principal Secretary, was secretly corresponding with King James and other Scots.

'The Queen having for a good while not heard anything from Scotland, and being thirsty of news, it fell out that her Majesty going to take the air towards the Heath (the court being then at Greenwich) and Master Secretary Cecil then attending her, a Post came crossing by, and blew his horn. The Queen out of curiosity asked him from whence the dispatch came; and being answered, From Scotland, she stops the coach and calleth for the Packet. The Secretary, though he knew there were in it some letters from his correspondents, which to discover were as so many serpents; yet made more show of diligence than of doubt to obey; and asks some that stood by (forsooth in great haste) for a knife to cut up the Packet (for otherwise he might perhaps have awaked a little apprehension); but in the meantime approaching with the Packet in his hand, at a pretty distance from the Queen, he telleth her it looked and smelt ill-favouredly, coming out of a filthy budget, and that it should be fit first to open and air it, because he knew she was averse from ill scents. And so being dismissed home, he got leisure by this seasonable shift to sever what he would not have seen'.

Reliquae Wottonianiae, 4th ed. (1685), 169-170; described as 'precisely true, and known to few'. Wotton (1568-1639) had been one of the Earl of Essex's secretaries. In the next reign he was for many years an Ambassador, notably to Venice. It was Wotton who punned in 1604 that 'An Ambassador is an honest man sent to lie abroad for the good of his country'. King James was not amused.

Chettle: The Queen and a Purveyor.

'I well remember...how her Highness in one of her progresses, walking in the garden of a house where she was received, being somewhat near the highway, heard on a sudden a market woman cry, and from an arbour beheld one of her own servants, a Taker up of provision, use the woman uncivilly; whereupon the cause being examined, and the poor woman found by the same fellow to be wronged, as well afore as then, her Highness caused him presently to be discharged of her service and punished; yet the fault being but slight, the Taker was countenanced to make suit to be restored, and some half year after fell down before her Majesty desiring mercy, and restoring; her Highness pitying his distress commanded him to be provided for in some place where he could not wrong her poor subjects, but in any case not to make him a Taker'.

From Henry Chettle's England's Mourning Garment (1603), as an example of the Queen's charity. Chettle, printer and playwright, died 1603/7.

Clod: Dr Andrew Perne and the Queen's Fool, Clod.

Thomas Fuller's anecdote of Dr Perne [during 1583-1589]:

Dr Perne, Master of Peterhouse, Cambridge, 'is much taxed for altering his religion four times in twelve years (from the last of King Henry the Eighth to the first of Queen Elizabeth); a Papist, a Protestant, a Papist, a Protestant; but still Andrew Perne'...

'He was of a very facetious nature, excellent at *blunt-sharp* jests...Yet was Dr Perne himself at last heart-broken with a jest (as I have been most credibly informed from excellent hands), on this occasion. He was at court with his pupil Archbishop Whitgift in a rainy afternoon, when the Queen was (I dare not say wilfully, but) really resolved to ride abroad, contrary to the mind of her ladies, who were on horseback (coaches as yet being not common) to attend her. Now one Clod the Queen's jester was employed by the courtiers to laugh the Queen out of so inconvenient a journey'.

Drake: Sir Francis Drake's legendary game of bowls, Plymouth, 1588. Francis Drake (1540-1596), was knighted in 1581 aboard *The Golden Hind*, the ship on which he had sailed around the world. Thomas Scott in 1624 wrote *Vox Populi*, a political pamphlet dealing with Prince Charles's journey to Spain to court the Infanta. It is said to be 'faithfully translated out of the Spanish copy by a well-willer to England and Scotland'.

In an alleged speech in the Spanish Parliament the Duke of Braganza says 'Did we not in 88 carry our business for England so cunningly and secretly... in bringing our Navy to their shores while their Commanders and Captains were at bowls upon the Hoe of Plymouth'.

Part of *Vox Populi* was reprinted in 1731 by J.Morgan in *Phoenix Britannicus*. This was referred to by William Oldys in 1736 in a Life of Raleigh prefixed to his edition of Raleigh's *History of the World*, when for the first time Drake's name was attached to the story. According to Oldys, when news of the Spanish fleet came: 'The captains and commanders were then it seems at bowls upon the Hoe at Plymouth, and the tradition goes that Drake would needs see the game up; but was soon prevail'd on to go and play out the rubbers with the Spaniards'.

Dictionaries of Quotations now regularly credit Drake with declaring: 'There is plenty of time to finish the game, and to thrash the Spaniards too'.

The anecdote is discussed in detail by Bertrand T.Whitehead, *Brags and Boasts, Propaganda in the Year of the Armada* (Stroud, 1994), 203-207.

Dyer: Sir Edward Dyer and the Queen.
Dyer (1543-1607), poet, knighted in 1596.

Anecdote set down by William Rawley, formerly Francis Bacon's chaplain, in his *Commonplace Book* compiled c.1626-1641:

'Queen Elizabeth saw Sir Edward Dier in her garden, she looking out at window, and asked him in Italian, *What does a man think of when he thinks of nothing?* Sir Edward Dier, after a little pause, said in Italian: *Madam, of a woman's promise.* The Queen shrunk in her head, and shut the window'.

First published in *Baconiana*, ed. Thomas Tenison (1678):

'Queen Elizabeth seeing Sir Edward - in her garden, looked out at her window, and asked him in Italian, *What does a man think of when he thinks of nothing?* Sir Edward (who had not had the effect of some of the Queen's grants so soon as he had hoped and desired) paused a little, and then made answer, *Madam, he thinks of a woman's promise.* The Queen shrunk in her head; but was heard to say, *Well, Sir Edward. I must not confute you.* Anger makes dull men witty, but it keeps them poor'.

[The final riposte is apparently Bacon's addition. Both versions are in the *Apophthegms* in James Spedding's *Works of Francis Bacon*, vii.174].

Ely, Bishop of: an alleged royal threat.

Martin Heton was Bishop of Ely from February 1600 until his death in 1609. A peremptory order, supposedly from the Queen to Heton, was published in 1761, said to be 'taken from the Register of Ely': 'Proud Prelate, I understand you are backward in complying with your agreement, but I would have you to know, that I who made you what you are, can unmake you; and if you do not forthwith fulfil your engagement, by - , I will immediately unfrock you. Yours, as you demean yourself, Elizabeth'. [Annual Register, 1761: 'Characters', p.15].

There is no such order in an Ely Register: it is a fabrication.

Gresham: Sir Thomas Gresham and the Queen.

Thomas Fuller's anecdote of Gresham, of Osterley House, Middlesex:

Osterley was 'built in a park by Sir Thomas Gresham, who here magnificently entertained and lodged Queen Elizabeth. Her Majesty found fault with the court of this house as too great; affirming "that it would appear more handsome, if divided with a wall in the middle".

'What doth Sir Thomas, but in the night-time sends for workmen to London (money commands all things), who so speedily and silently apply their business, that the next morning discovered that court double, which the night had left single before'. The 'courtiers disported themselves...some avowing it was no wonder he could so soon *change* a building, who could build a *Change*; others (reflecting on some known differences in this knight's family) affirmed "that any house is easier divided than united"'. [Fuller, *Worthies*, Middlesex].

The Queen stayed at Osterley, Isleworth, Middlesex, with Gresham and his wife Anne on numerous occasions, 1564-1576. Gresham (1519-1579) began to build a London Bourse in 1566; in 1571 the Queen named it The Royal Exchange.

Harington: Sir John Harington's 'Brief Notes and Remembrances'.

Harington (1560-1612), of Somerset, was called by the Queen 'my witty godson'. He became an author, translator, wit. In *Nugae Antiquae*, edited by Thomas Park (1804), i.166-180, are some of his 'Brief Notes and Remembrances'; the following are a few (others are given in the main Text).

Sunday June 14 [1590]: 'The Queen's Majesty tasted my wife's comfits, and did much praise her cunning in the making'. [The following notes are undated].

'The Queen stood up, and bade me reach forth her arm to rest her thereon. Oh, what sweet burden to my next song!'...

'The Queen loveth to see me in my last frize jerkin, and saith tis well enough cut. I will have another made like to it. I do remember she spit on Sir Matthew's fringed cloth, and said, the fool's wit was gone to rags. Heaven spare me from such jibing'. [Referring to Sir Matthew Arundell, of Wilts].

'I talked much to the Treasurer [Lord Treasurer Burghley] on sundry matters lately, which hath been reported'.

'Who liveth in courts must mark what they say;
Who liveth for ease had better live away'...

'I must turn my poor wits towards my suit for my lands in the North... I must go in an early hour, before her Highness hath special matters brought up to counsel on. I must go before the breakfasting covers are placed, and stand uncovered before her Highness cometh forth her chamber; then kneel and say: God save your Majesty, I crave your ear at what hour it may suit for your servant to meet your blessed countenance. Thus will I gain her favour to follow to the auditory'.

'Trust not a friend to do or say
In that yourself can sue or pray'.

Harington's recollections: from a letter to his cousin Robert Markham, 1606:

'Her wisest men and best Councillors were oft sore troubled to know her will in matters of state: so covertly did she pass her judgement as seemed to leave all to their discreet management; and when the business did turn to better advantage, she did most cunningly commit the good issue to her own honour and understanding; but when aught fell out contrary to her will and intent, the Council were in great strait to defend their own acting and not blemish the Queen's good judgement. Herein her wise men did oft lack more wisdom; and the Lord Treasurer [Burghley] would oft shed a plenty of tears on any miscarriage, well knowing the difficult part was not so much to mend the matter itself as his mistress's humour; and yet he did most share her favour and goodwill; and to his opinion she would oft-time submit her own pleasure in great matters. She did keep him till late at night in discoursing alone, and then call out another at his departure, and try the depth of all around her sometimes. Walsingham had his turn, and each displayed their wit in private'.

'On the morrow, everyone did come forth in her presence and discourse at large; and if any had dissembled with her...she did not let it go unheeded, and sometimes not unpunished'.

'Sir Christopher Hatton was wont to say "The Queen did fish for men's souls, and had so sweet a bait, that no one could escape her network".

'In truth, I am sure her speech was such as none could refuse to take delight in...I have seen her smile, soothe with great semblance of good liking to all around, and cause everyone to open his most inward thought to her; when, on a sudden, she would ponder in private on what had passed, write down all their opinions, draw them out as occasion required, and sometimes disprove to their faces what had been delivered a month before. Hence she knew everyone's part, and by thus fishing, as Hatton said, she caught many poor fish, who little knew what snare was laid for them'...

'I could relate many pleasant tales of her Majesty's outwitting the wittiest ones...We all did love her, for she said she loved us'...

'When she smiled, it was a pure sunshine that everyone did choose to bask in, if they could; but anon came a storm from a sudden gathering of clouds, and the thunder fell in wondrous manner on all alike'.

'I never did find greater show of understanding and learning than she was blest with'.

'I need not praise her frugality, but I will tell a story that fell out when I was a boy. She did love rich clothing, but often chid those that bought more finery than became their state. It happened that Lady M.Howard was possessed of a rich border powdered with gold and pearl, and a velvet suit belonging thereto, which moved many to envy; nor did it please the Queen, who thought it exceeded her own. One day the Queen did send privately, and got the lady's rich vesture, which she put on herself, and came forth the chamber among the ladies; the kirtle and border was far too short for her Majesty's height, and she asked everyone "How they liked her new-fancied suit?" At length she asked the owner herself "If it was not made too short and ill-becoming?", which the poor lady did presently consent to. "Why then, if it become not me, as being too short, I am minded it shall never become thee, as being too fine; so it fitteth neither well". This sharp rebuke abashed the lady, and she never adorned her herewith any more. I believe the vestment was laid up till after the Queen's death'.

[*Nugae Antiquae*, ed. Thomas Park (1804), i.357-362].

Lady M.Howard: Harington was born in 1560. If he refers to a Maid of Honour in his boyhood, two daughters of William Lord Howard of Effingham were Maids: (1) Mary Howard, a Maid 1559-1571; she married Lord Dudley and died in 1600. (2) Martha Howard (c.1552-1598) a Maid only from 1577-January 1578, when she was dismissed after having a child by George Bouchier, whom she married.

Hatton: Sir Christopher Hatton and the Queen.

Anecdote told by John Manningham (c.1575-1622):

'Sir Christopher Hatton and another knight made challenge who should present the truest picture of her Majesty to the Queen. One caused a flattering picture to be drawn; the other presented a glass, wherein the Queen saw herself, the truest picture that might be'.

Sir Christopher Hatton (c.1540-1591), Captain of the Guard, knighted 1577, Vice-Chamberlain, Lord Chancellor. The Diary of John Manningham of the Middle Temple, ed. R.P.Sorlien (Hanover, NH, 1976), 188.

Heywood: The Queen and an Ambassador.

'An Ambassador being to be entertained in the court of Queen Elizabeth (where the greatest state was still observed) he first passed through a line of the Guard in their rich coats, next through the Gentlemen Pensioners, and so through all the greater officers, the Lords, Earls, and Council'.

'The Queen sat then in state at the upper end of a long gallery, which when the Ambassador should enter, the great Ladies of either side richly attired were placed; through the midst of whom as he passed along, as amazed at the state, or admiring at their beauties, cast his eye first on one side, then on the other, and that not without some pause, as if he had been to take a particular survey of all their features; but by degrees coming up towards the Queen, who sat like Diana amongst her nymphs, or Ariadne in her crown of stars, instated above the lesser lights, to give him entertainment: and observing his eyes still to wander, she thus bespake him, *Averte oculos ne videas vanitatem*: Turn away your eyes lest you behold vanity. To whom he suddenly replied, *Imo potius mirabilia opera Dei*: Nay, rather the wonderful works of God'.

Thomas Heywood (c.1573-1641), *Gunaikeion: or Nine Books of Various History concerning Women* (1624), 244-5; quotations from Psalm 119:37, and Psalm 139:13.

Heywood also writes of 'The memory of Queen Elizabeth': 'My country (thrice blest and divinely happy in her most fortunate reign)...Sacred be still her memory to us on earth, as her blessed soul lives ever glorified in heaven'.

Hilliard: Nicholas Hilliard (c.1547-1619), painter, and the Queen.

His earliest known miniature of the Queen is dated 1572.

John Donne (1572-1631) wrote in his poem 'The Storm' (c.1597):

'A hand, or eye,
By Hilliard drawn, is worth an history,
By a worse painter made'.

John Harington's note on limning (miniature painting) in his translation of *Orlando Furioso* (1591, note to Book 33), referring to Hilliard:

'We have with us at this day one that for limning (which I take to be the very perfection of that art) is comparable with any of any other country...I think our countryman (I mean Mr Hilliard) is inferior to none that lives at this day, as among other things of his doing myself have seen him in white and black in four lines only set down the feature of the Queen's Majesty's countenance that it was even thereby to be known, and he is so perfect therein (as I have heard others tell) that he can set it down by the Idea he hath without any pattern'.

In his *Treatise on the Arte of Limning* (written 1599-1602) Hilliard himself refers to John Harington's comment:

'Forget not therefore that the principal part of painting or drawing after the life consisteth in the truth of the line; as one saith in a place that he hath seen the picture of her Majesty in four lines very like, meaning by four lines but the plain lines, as he might as well have said in one line, but best in plain lines without shadowing'...

'This makes me to remember the words also and reasoning of her Majesty when first I came in her Highness's presence to draw; who, after showing me how she noted great difference of shadowing in the works and diversity of drawers of sundry nations, and that the Italians [who] had the name to be cunningest and to draw best, shadowed not, requiring of me the reason of it, seeing that best to show oneself needeth no shadow of place but rather the open light'.

'To which I granted, affirmed that shadows in pictures were indeed caused by the shadow of the place, or coming in of the light as only one way into the place at some small or high window, which many workmen covet to work in for ease to their sight, and to give unto them a grosser line, and a more apparent line to be discerned; and maketh the work...show very well afar off, which to limning work needeth not, because it is to be viewed of necessity in hand near unto the eye. Here her Majesty conceived the reason, and therefore chose her place to sit in for that purpose in the open alley of a goodly garden, where no tree was near, nor any shadow at all'...

'This her Majesty's curious demand hath greatly bettered my judgement, besides divers other like questions in Art by her most excellent Majesty, which to speak or write of were fitter for some better clerk'.

[Nicholas Hilliard 'picture drawer' was in the Queen's funeral procession].

Knollys: 'Lord Knollys' and the Queen's ladies.

'The Lord Knollys in Queen Elizabeth's time had his lodging at Court, where some of the Ladies and Maids of Honour used to frisk and hey about in the next room, to his extreme disquiet at nights, though he had often warned them of it; at last he gets one to bolt their own back door, when they were all in one night at their revels, strips off his shirt, and so with a pair of spectacles on his nose and Aretine in his hand comes marching in at a postern door of his own chamber, reading very gravely, full upon the faces of them'.

'Now let the reader judge what a sad spectacle and pitiful fright these poor creatures endured, for he faced them and often traversed the room in this posture above an hour'. [H.F.Lippincott, ed: *Merry Passages and Jests* (Salzburg, 1974), 530].

Sir William Knollys (c.1545-1632) was created Baron Knollys in 1603; he was Controller of the Household 1597-1602, Treasurer of the Household 1602-1616. Aretine: Pietro Aretino (1492-1556), satirist, and author of 'lewd sonnets'.

L'Estrange: Anecdote collected by Sir Nicholas L'Estrange (1603-1655):

'As Queen Elizabeth passed the streets in state one in the crowd cried first "God bless your Royal Majesty!" and then "God bless your Noble Grace!". "Why, how now", says the Queen, "am I ten groats worse than I was e'en now?". [Valueing the 'royal' at 10 shillings, the 'noble' at 6s8d; a groat: 4d]. [H.F.Lippincott, ed. *Merry Passages and Jests* (Salzburg, 1974), 492].

Leicester: Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester (1532-1588), and Simon Bowyer, one of the Queen's Gentlemen Ushers 1569-1597; he became Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod c.1593; he died in 1606.

Robert Naunton's anecdote of the Queen:

The principal note of her reign 'will be that she ruled much by faction and parties which herself both made, upheld, and weakened, as her own great judgement advised; for I dissent from the common and received opinion that my Lord of Leicester was absolute and alone in her grace and favour'...

'Bowyer, a Gentleman of the Black Rod, being charged by express command to look precisely to all admissions into the Privy Chamber, one day stayed a very great captain (and a follower of my Lord of Leicester), from entrance, for that he was neither very well known nor a sworn servant to the Queen. At which repulse, the gentleman, bearing high on my Lord's favour, told him that he might perchance procure him a discharge'.

'Leicester coming to the contestation said publicly (which was none of his wont) that he was a knave and should not continue long in his office, and so turning about to go into the Queen. Bowyer, who was a bold gentleman and well beloved, stepped in before him and fell at her Majesty's feet, relates the story and humbly craves her Grace's pleasure and whether my Lord of Leicester were king, or her Majesty queen'.

'Whereunto she replied with her wonted oath, "God's death, my Lord, I have wished you well, but my favour is not locked up for you that others shall not partake thereof, for I have many servants unto whom I have and will at my pleasure bequeath my favours and likewise reassume the same, and if you think to rule here I will take a course to see you forthcoming. I will have here but one mistress and no master, and look that no ill happen to him lest it be severely required at your hands".'

'Which so quelled my Lord that his feigned humility was long after one of his best virtues'. [Robert Naunton, *Fragmenta Regalia* (1641)].

Oxford: Earl of Oxford and the Queen.

Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford (1550-1604);

Sir Walter Raleigh (1554-1618), Captain of the Guard 1592-1603.

Francis Bacon: 'When Queen Elizabeth had advanced Raleigh, she was one day playing on the virginals, and my Lord of Oxford and another nobleman stood by. It fell out so that the ledge before the jacks was taken away, so as the jacks were seen. My Lord of Oxford and the other nobleman smiled, and a little whispered. The Queen marked it and would needs know, What the matter was? My Lord of Oxford answered, That they smiled to see that when jacks went up, heads went down'. [jacks: part of the mechanism].

Robert Naunton: Raleigh 'was well descended and of good alliance, but poor in his beginnings. And as for my Lord of Oxford's jest of him, for a jack and an upstart, we all know it savoured more of emulation and his humour than the truth'.

Bacon, *Apophthegms New and Old* (1625); Naunton, *Fragmenta Regalia* (1641).

Agnes Strickland attributed Bacon's anecdote to Naunton and dated it as when the Queen heard the news of the Earl of Essex's execution in 1601. Numerous authors have repeated this, but it cannot be precisely dated, and there is no reference to Essex. [*Lives of the Queens of England*. (1866 edition, iv.748)].

An anecdote, often quoted, about an alleged embarrassing incident for Oxford before the Queen, after which he went abroad for seven years (he was abroad only for a month in 1574, and from February 1575-April 1576), is attributed to John Aubrey, but is not in his 'brief life' of Oxford, but referred to in a letter. *John Aubrey's Brief Lives*, ed. Kate Bennett (Oxford, 2015), 2 vols; ii.914-917.

Pace: John Pace, the 'bitter fool'.

John Pace (born c.1523, died by 1592), had been Jester to King Henry VIII; he was known for his caustic wit. [Bacon, *Apophthegms*].

Bacon: 'Pace, the bitter fool, was not suffered to come at the Queen, because of his bitter humour. Yet at one time some persuaded the Queen that he should come to her; undertaking for him that he should keep compass. So he was brought to her, and the Queen said: "Come on, Pace; now we shall hear of our faults".'

Saith Pace: "I do not use to talk of that that all the town talks of".

Parker: Archbishop of Canterbury and the Queen.

Matthew Parker (1504-1575), Archbishop from December 1559 until his death, was married to Margaret (Harlston) (1519-1570). The Queen made several visits to the Archbishop's Palace at Lambeth during his wife's lifetime.

Sir John Harington (1560-1612):

'Though this Archbishop dissembled not his marriage, yet Queen Elizabeth would not dissemble her dislike of it. For whereas it pleased her often to come to his house, in respect of her favour to him that had been her mother's Chaplain, being once above the rest greatly feasted, at her parting from thence, the Archbishop and his wife being together, she gave him very special thanks, with gracious and honourable terms, and then looking on his wife, and you (saith she) Madam I may not call you, and Mistress I am ashamed to call you, so as I know not what to call you, but yet I do thank you'.

[*Nugae Antiquae*, ed. Thomas Park (1804) ii.16].

Parker: The Queen's supposed prejudice against married clergy is discussed by Brett Usher, 'Queen Elizabeth and Mrs Bishop', in The Myth of Elizabeth, eds. Susan Doran and T.S.Freeman (Basingstoke, 2003), 200-220.

After reviewing the marital status of all the Elizabethan bishops, most of whom married, some twice, or even thrice, without hindering their promotion, Usher concludes that there is little to substantiate this 'persistent legend' apart from the Queen's Injunction at Ipswich (August 1561), her opinion (generally held) of Richard Fletcher's unsuitable second wife (February 1595), and a few uncorroborated anecdotes (such as the above) told by John Harington.

Tarlton: Richard Tarlton's jests before the Queen.

Richard Tarlton made his name in the 1570s as 'the Queen's jester', and popular comic actor, writer of light prose and verse, composer of jigs.

In 1583 he became one of the original members of the company of players called the Queen's Men, and a Groom of the Chamber; he died in 1588.

Thomas Fuller: 'When Queen Elizabeth was serious...and out of good humour, he could *un-dumpish* her at his pleasure. Her highest favourites would, in some cases, go to Tarlton before they would go to the Queen, and he was their usher to prepare their advantageous access unto her. In a word, he told the Queen more of her faults than most of her chaplains, and cured her melancholy better than all of her physicians'. [Worthies, Staffordshire].

An anecdote about Richard Tarlton preserved in the State Papers can be dated 1572-1583, whilst Thomas Radcliffe, 3rd Earl of Sussex, was Lord Chamberlain; a Spanish Admiral called Pedro de Valdes had landed in Devon in 1575.

'Tarlton in a play of the Gods playing the God Luz with a flitch of bacon at his back, Thomas Earl of Sussex the Lord Chamberlain said unto him

Tarlton, Tarlton, though you be so brave,

I fear me you'll prove but a saucy knave.

This he spoke because the Queen having bid them take away the knave for making her laugh so excessively for fighting against her little dog, Perrico de Faldes, with his sword and long staff, and had bid the Queen take off her mastick [mask]; and she calling to the Lord Chamberlain to do his office to bring him a charger and to take him away, Tarlton replied:

O Thomas Thomas with your white rod

Be not so saucy to correct a God!'

[SP12/215/89].

Several collections of Tarlton's Jests were published after his death, including *Tarlton's Jests, drawn into three parts: His Court Witty Jests; His Sound City Jests; His Country Pretty Jests; full of delight, wit, and honest mirth.* [1600]. Edition of 1611 ed. J.O.Halliwel in *Tarlton's Jests* (Camden Society, 1844). Only two 'Court Witty Jests' relate to the Queen:

'How Tarlton played the drunkard before the Queen'.

'The Queen being discontented, which Tarlton perceiving, took upon him to delight her with some quaint jest: whereupon he counterfeited a drunkard, and called for beer, which was brought immediately. Her Majesty, noting his humour, commanded that he should have no more; for, quoth she, he will play the beast, and so shame himself. Fear not you, quoth Tarlton, for your beer is small enough. Whereat her Majesty laughed heartily, and commanded that he should have enough'.

'How a parsonage fell in Tarlton's hands'.

'Her Majesty, dining in the Strand at the Lord Treasurer's [Burghley's], the lords were very desirous that she would vouchsafe to stay all night, but nothing could prevail with her. Tarlton was in his clown's apparel, being all dinner while in the Presence with her, to make her merry; and hearing the sorrow that the noblemen made that they could not work her stay, he asked the nobles what they would give him to work her stay. The lords promised him anything, to perform it. Quoth he, procure me the parsonage of Shard. They caused the patent to be drawn presently. He got on a parson's gown and a corner-cap, and standing upon the stairs where the Queen should descend he repeated these words: A parson or no parson? A parson or no parson? But, after she knew his meaning, she not only stayed all night, but the next day willed he should have possession of the benefice'.

'A madder parson was never, for he threatened to turn the bell-metal into lining for his purse; which he did, the parsonage and all, into ready money'.

Westminster School and Winchester College.

Thomas Lupton's anecdote of the Queen at Westminster School:

'Queen Elizabeth, being a learned princess, on a time comes into Westminster School to see the scholars, and to examine them; amongst the rest espies one of a fair and ingenious countenance, with which she was much pleased, comes to him and strokes him upon the head, and demanded him to tell her how often he had been whipped; the scholar being as witty as beautiful and comely, replies extempore unto her Majesty this verse out of Virgil: *Infandum, Regina, iubes renovere dolorem* [*The Aeneid, II.3. O Queen, you arouse anew unutterable pain*]. She being wonderful pleased with the witty answer, said he should be her child, if he did English it; which presently he did thus, to her great comfort and his advancement: Most gracious Queen, you do desire to know A grief unspeakable and full of woe'.

Thomas Lupton, *A thousand notable things of sundry sorts*, second edition (1601). There are no anecdotes in the first edition, 1579.

Archibald (Archy) Armstrong, Court Jester to King James I, elaborated Thomas Lupton's anecdote as 'A Boy's Answer to Queen Elizabeth'.

'Queen Elizabeth coming to the Free School which she had erected in Westminster pleasantly asked a boy how often he had been whipped. The boy answered her with that verse out of Virgil, *Infandum, Regina, iubes renovere dolorem*'.

'She liking his answer, for it was sudden and apposite, gave him some money, which he receiving said. "*Quis, nisi mentis inops, oblatum respuit aurum?*"

[*Who, unless lacking in mind, rejects an offering of gold?*].

'As the same poet has it in another place. The Queen was much taken with his wit, and a little after, as soon as he was capable, took occasion to prefer him'. [Armstrong, *A Banquet of Jests and Merry Tales* (1630)].

At Winchester College, Hampshire, is a board inscribed:

Aut disce, aut discede, manet sors tertia: caede.

[*Either learn or depart, there remains a third fate: to be beaten*].

The Queen twice visited Winchester, and later a similar story attached itself to this board, with the Queen supposedly being answered by a young scholar with a quotation from Virgil, as at Westminster, but the Winchester 'tradition' appears not to be found before the 19th century.

There is no evidence that the Queen went to Westminster School to see Latin plays performed (as has often been suggested): the boys came to court to perform for her there, as was the custom for both amateur and professional players.

Queen's alleged 'last words'.

The Queen became speechless some hours before she died, and had to communicate by signs, so no 'last words' were recorded by eye-witnesses.

Frederick Chamberlin, in *The Sayings of Queen Elizabeth* (1923), puts into the Queen's mouth, as her last words (without a source):

'To the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was praying by her side the last night and who had been calling to her mind her great accomplishments as a monarch':

'My lord, the crown which I have borne so long has given enough of vanity in my time. I beseech you not to augment it in this hour when I am so near my death'.

Dictionaries of Quotations now regularly assert that the Queen's last words were: 'All my possessions for a moment of time'. There is no mention of this by contemporaries, nor is it in the least likely; it appears to be a modern invention which is now regularly repeated, though sometimes as 'apocryphal'.

MISCELLANEOUS.

A Chime for the Queen, 1571-1579.

Archery show of King Arthur, c.1587.

Challenges by Masters of Defence.

Harefield presents for the Queen's hosts, 1602.

Heneage House entertainment, 1591.

London: Midsummer Watches, 1585.

Marshalsea Prison.

Norfolk: Hartford Bridge verses, 1578.

Osterley: Protests over enclosures, 1576.

Post of the Court: complaints about, 1578.

Queen Elizabeth's Academy.

Queen Elizabeth's Potion.

Scottish gold-mines.

Show at Greenwich Park before the Queen.

Theobalds: enquiries into thefts, 1597.

1571-1579: **A Chime for the Queen.**

A device by Robert Tirwitt, Sub-Dean of the Chapel Royal, 1570-1584.

Robert Tirwitt to Lord Burghley: 'Please it your Honour to understand, that where the Queen's Majesty commanded me to devise her a Chime, I showed her it would be more charges than I am able of my poor ability to reach unto, in that her request is to have it play pavaues and galliards or any other song; her Majesty wished me to repair to your Honour, who should take order for the charges thereof. And if your Honour will commit the disbursing of the charges to Mr Stockett, surveyor, I will with all expedition devise her that work by geometry, arithmetic and music, that I suppose was never devised since Christ's Ascension; which shall be an everlasting memory of her so long as England remaineth. I beseech your honour to give me an answer whereupon to stay, lest I incur her Highness's displeasure in neglecting her Majesty's request'.

'Your humble Orator, Tirwitt. Sub-Dean of her Majesty's Chapel'.

With a paper endorsed 'A device of the Sub-Dean'.

'These Notes delivered to her Majesty at Greenwich, which her Majesty commanded to give to Mr Middlemore'.

'First, if it shall please your Majesty to be at the charge of a Tower upon the which there must be 44 bells, the greatest of the which would be as much as the great bell in Westminster Abbey, for unless they be great they will not be harmonious, having no pipes with them. Which bells being tuned shall play any pavane, galliard, French song, Italian song, being either triple, quadruple, or sextuple, only by geometry, without hand or foot of any man'.

'There shall be also in the same a pair of keys like a virginal, upon the which your Organists in the Chapel, or Mr Earle of the Chamber, shall play any voluntary that may be played upon the virginal or organ, which will be an everlasting memory of your Highness, so long as the world shall endure'.

'Secondarily, if your Majesty mislike of the charges of the Tower, you may have a cupboard of the bigness of my Lord of Leicester's chime for your Gallery with such small bells as those be, and also what noise of pipes your Highness most delighteth in. Which chime having a barrel of copper or iron, as I have devised it, shall play any song, pavane, galliard, masque, Italian or French song of 80 or a 100 notes long'.

'And when your Majesty will have a new song, I will teach any that can sing a prick song to take off one, and set on the other. The greatest charge of this instrument will be the copper barrel, and the notes which must go with vices'.

'Thirdly, if your Highness will be contented with an instrument to play but one pavane and galliard, as your Majesty's request was to me, I will with a small charge speedily accomplish your request, if it were for every house one, such I trust as none outlandish man shall be able to achieve unto'.

[BL Lansdowne 108/58, undated].

Sir William Cecil became Lord Burghley in 1571.

Lewis Stockett was Surveyor of the Works, 1563-1579.

Henry Middlemore was a Groom of the Privy Chamber, 1569-c.1592.

Walter Earle, virginal player and composer, was a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, 1539-1558; he died in 1581.

[1587?]

Archery Show of King Arthur.

A little before the year 1588, Hugh Offley, a rich citizen of London, free of the Leathersellers' Company 'set forth, at his own expense, a costly show of Prince Arthur, with his Knights of the Round Table. He made choice of 300 archers, personable men, and well appointed in black satin doublets and black velvet hose; every one having a bow of yew and a dozen of waxed arrows. He appointed certain stages and forts and marks to shoot at, with liberal rewards to them that won the prizes, and plentiful banquets for them all. They marched in goodly and orderly array, three together, every three a bow length from the other, from Merchant Taylors' Hall to Mile End Green'.

'Queen Elizabeth happened to pass by, and she ordered her chariot to be stopped, that she might see the show, and speaking to the nobility that attended her, said "that in her life she never saw a more stately company of archers". They, approaching near to her Majesty, did their duty upon their knee, praying God long to prosper and preserve her Majesty; whereupon she most graciously bowed her body, and gave them most hearty thanks, saying "she would love, maintain, and advance, her citizens of the City of London", and so prayed to God to bless all her good subjects therein'. [John Nichols, *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, 2nd ed. (1823), ii.529; from a Jacobean manuscript, now untraced].

Hugh Offley was Sheriff of London in 1588, and died in 1594. The date of this Show is not known, but other similar shows took place in the summer months.

The Queen was seldom in the vicinity of London in the 1580s, but she is known to have been at Mile End Green on 23 December 1587, when the Drapers' Company received a Precept to meet her there, on her way to Greenwich. If the show was in summer, as is likely, a possible date is 7 July 1587, when the Queen's route from Greenwich to Hackney could have taken her via Mile End Green.

Challenges by Masters of Defence.

The records of the Masters of Defence from Henry VIII-1590 are edited by Herbert Berry, *The Noble Science* (1991). [From BL Sloane MS 2350].

They describe three undated Challenges before the Queen, here tentatively dated from the names of the participants.

a. 'A Challenge played at Westminster before Queen Elizabeth by Richard White, William Hearne and Robert Edmonds challengers, and there played Thomas Weaver against Richard White and William Hearne, and William Joyner against Robert Edmonds'. [Part of the Coronation celebrations, January 1559?].

b. 'A Challenge played at Whitehall before Queen Elizabeth by Richard White and Robert Edmonds at the long sword, the back sword, the sword and buckler, the rapier and dagger, and the staff. And there played against them Thomas Weaver, William Glover and William Joyner, Masters'.

[The Challenge on 17-18 February 1561, when these weapons were used, and when an unnamed Master was fatally wounded?].

c. 'A Challenge played at Whitehall before Queen Elizabeth by Gregory Grene and Francis Calvert at the back sword, the sword and buckler, the sword and dagger, and the rapier and dagger, and there played against Gregory Grene John Evans and Richard Smyth, against Francis Calvert John Blinkinsop, and our Scholars against theirs'. [Calvert became a Master of Defence in 1581. In May or June 1581, during the French Commissioners' visit, the Works gravelled and railed a place at the Tilt-yard 'for the fencers'. The only such reference to fencers].

Harefield, Middlesex: Presents for the Queen's Hosts, 1602.

The Queen stayed at Harefield from July 31-August 3 with Sir Thomas Egerton, Lord Keeper, and his 3rd wife, Alice, Dowager Countess of Derby. Egerton's 2nd wife Elizabeth had been the sister of Sir George More of Loseley, Guildford.

[Presents: *Egerton Papers*, ed. J.P. Collier, Camden Soc. 12 (1840), 350-357].

'A Note of all the Presents that were given to my Lord at Harefield',
July 20-August 2. [With rewards, if paid, to bringers of presents].
Mr Warden of the Fleet, 6s: 4 sugar-loaves.
Sir George More, 20s: 1 stag, 17 lobsters, 200 prawns, 19 trout, 5 bream,
12 pheasants, 14 partridges, 30 quails, 4 swans, 800 Selsey cockles,
24 peewits, 6 gulls, 24 pullets, 24 pigeons.
Sir Thomas Gerard, 25s6d: 4 bucks.
Sir Richard Ward, 25s: 1 stag, 1 buck, 3 moor-poots, 4 partridges.
Sir John Egerton, 5s: 10 sugar-loaves. Mr Washington, Register: 4 sugar-loaves.
Lord Mayor [Sir John Garrard], 7s6d: 1 pipe sack, 2 firkins sturgeon, 6 herons,
6 gulls, 24 peewits, 12 partridges, 2 salmon, 4 pheasants.
Dr Singleton, 13s4d: wheat flour, 24 capons, 15 turkeys, 48 chickens.
Mr Thomas Spencer, 30s: 4 oxen, 20 muttons. Mr Robert Denny, 20s: 2 oxen.
Mr Kiddermaister, 15s: 1 buck, 1 salmon, 3 pheasants, 4 partridges,
1 basket flowers, 18 boxes sweetmeats, 36 fine cakes.
Sir Henry Lee, 33s4d: 1 stag, 6 bucks.
Sir Michael Moleyns, 10s: 1 buck.
Lord Abergavenny, 10s: 1 buck.
Mr Clerk of Ruislip, 10s: 6 muttons. Mr Lennard, 10s: 1 buck.
Lord Treasurer [Lord Buckhurst], 13s4d: 1 stag.
Mr Chamberlain, the Councillor, 20s: 2 bucks, 13 lobsters, 300 crayfish,
12 trout, 4 crabs, 4 pair soles, 4 plaice, 2 mullets.
My fellow Walters, 2s6d: 14 lobsters, 36 cakes.
Mr Dr Harris, 2s6d: 2 firkins oysters. Mr Copinger, 10s: 1 ox.
Mr Robert Sackville, 35s: 1 stag, 3 bucks, 107 lobsters, 10 crabs,
1200 Selsey cockles, 18 partridges, 1 salmon.
Sir Harry Grey, 20s: 2 bucks.
Mr Evelyn, 6s: 1 buck. Mr Dorrell, 5s: 6 capons, 12 carp, 1 swan.
Sir John Seymour, 10s: 1 stag. Sir William Kingsmill, 10s: 1 buck, 2 pheasants.
Sir Richard Gifford, 6s8d: 1 buck. Sir Francis Goodwin, 13s4d: 1 ox, 10 muttons.
Mr Tyrell of Thornton, 10s: 1 buck, 4 pheasants, 2 swans, 2 cheeses.
Mr Bowyer of Camberwell, 5s: 1 salmon, 9 partridges.
Sir Edward More, 6s8d: 1 buck.
Lord Pembroke, 15s: 2 bucks.
Sir John Petre, 20s: 2 bucks, 4 heronshaws, 4 shovellers, 12 peewits, 18 quails.
Goody Beckenton: 6 chickens.
Sir Robert Wroth, 34s10d: 1 stag, 3 bucks.
Clerk of the Pipe, 2s6d: 6 gulls, 12 peewits.
Earl of Sussex, 10s: 2 bucks.
Mr Gargrave, 5s: 6 pheasants, 12 partridges.
Sir Robert Spencer, 33s4d: 2 bucks, 19 muttons.
Lord Admiral [Earl of Nottingham], 19s6d: 1 stag, 1 buck.
Mr Sanders, 5s: 3 salmon. Guildford Park, 6s6d: 1 buck.
Mr Jermyn Pole, 5s: 6 pheasants, 11 partridges.
Lord Montague, 20s: 3 bucks.
Sir Thomas Tasburgh, 10s: 3 shovellers, 3 herons, 3 swans, 12 peewits,
12 quails, 10 partridges, 1 pheasant.
Sir Thomas Leigh, 50s: 3 stags, 4 bucks, 24 full capons, 24 ducklings,
60 peewits, 30 partridges, 6 swans, 3 pheasants, 1 pheasant pie, 8 cheeses.
Mr Beeston, 5s: 3 sugar-loaves.
Mr Walter Cope, 2s6d: 1 Banbury cake, 2 cheeses, 3 gallons cherry wine.

Mr John Throckmorton: 6 turkeys, 30 ducklings, 24 chickens, 24 pigeons, 2 geese, 10 partridges, 5 quails, 24 plovers. Mr William Parsons, 6s6d: 1 buck.
 Lord Rich, 10s: 2 bucks. Lord Norris, 33s: 2 oxen, 2 bucks.
 Sir Thomas Mildmay, 20s: 2 bucks, 3 brewes, 3 godwits, 12 peewits, 6 quails, 2 firkins oysters, 2 cheeses.
 Earl of Lincoln, 15s: 2 bucks, 12 pheasants.
 Lord Lumley, 15s: 2 bucks. Mr Myddleton, 6s8d: 1 buck.
 Sir Thomas Lucas, 20s: 2 bucks, 4 firkins oysters.
 Sir Philip Butler, 20s: 2 bucks, 6 cygnets, 4 pheasants, 20 partridges, 1 pot preserved apricots, 1 pot preserved citrons, 12 boxes marmalade, 1 box fine cakes.
 Sir Oliver Cromwell, 13s: 1 stag.
 Mr Harrison of Brentford, 3s6d: 2 salmon.
 Mr Wolley, Mayor of St Albans, 2s: 2 sugar-loaves.
 Sir Edward Norris, 20s: 4 bucks.
 Sir Thomas Lucy, 6s8d: 1 buck.
 Lord Chamberlain [George Carey, 2nd Lord Hunsdon], 16s8d: 1 stag, 1 buck.
 Mr Sergeant Duck, 15s: 1 ox, 10 muttons. Mr Hawley, 3s4d: 2 sugar-loaves.
 Sir Oliver Leigh, 3s4d: 4 pheasants, 10 partridges, 8 quails.
 Grafton Park, 6s6d: 1 buck. Mr Lister, 6s8d: 1 buck.
 Sir Francis Carew, 12s6d: 1 buck, 1 box apricots, plums, and preserved oranges.
 Lady Morrison, 10s: 1 buck, 2 sugar-loaves, 8 partridges, 1 box biscuit bread, 1 box plums. Windsor Great Park, 6s8d: 1 buck.
 Mr Richard Spencer, 10s: 4 sugar-loaves, 3 boxes prunes de Cenello, 2 boxes Venice plums and apricots, 1 keg sturgeon.
 Sir Robert Dudley: 1 stag.
 Mr George Carey, 12d: 1 rundlet olives, 1 rundlet capers.
 Mr Pile, 12d: 12 partridges. Mrs Masterson, 2s: 100 apricots.
 Mrs More, 2s: 1 box sweetmeats, 2 pots preserves.
 Mr John Brereton, 2s6d: 1 bottle rosewater, 1 pot preserved lemons, 1 glass cinnamon water. Mr Conyers, of the Wards, 5s: 8 sugar-loaves.
 John Marshall, 6d: 1 salmon. Mr Bashford: 2 veals.
 Mr Halsey: 6 great ling, 4 cod, 20 bushel bay salt, 2 quarters white salt.
 Mr Browne, Clerk Controller [of the Royal Household]: 2 peacocks, 2 bustards, 8 pieces fresh sturgeon.
 Mr Angell: 4 salmon, 2 congers, 2 firkins sturgeon, 14 lobsters, great crab.
 Mr George Hire: 2 salmon, 3 great pikes, 3 great carp, 4 firkins great oysters, 4 firkins small oysters.
 Mr Barnston, my Lord's Chaplain: 2 sugar-loaves.

Heneage House entertainment, 1591.

A Pedlar's Tale and gift-giving at Sir Thomas Heneage's London house.

Two incomplete versions give the title and location: 'Pedlar's Tale at her Majesty's being at Heneage House'. 'A pedlar's tale that was told to our Majesty's grace at Sir Thomas Heneage's house in London'.

Transcripts: Marion Colthorpe 'A Pedlar's Tale to Queen Elizabeth I', Records of Early English Drama Newsletter: 10:2 (1985). From an MS at Downing College, Cambridge, and from BL Add MS 41499A, f.9v.

The complete Tale (with final paragraph) was discovered by the late Jeremy Maule, of Trinity College, Cambridge, it is believed at John Rylands University Library, Manchester. This is untitled, but is dated primo Julii 1591.

'Most honourable Ladies whom Lords love to please, and the world seeks to serve. As it hath pleased you to command me to open my pack, so you must be contented I follow my property, which is like a Pedlar to utter my words as well as my wares, but the one good cheap though the other more dear. And yet this light merchandise fetched but from conceit and vented most by breath proves more profitable to traffic with than gold of India or the spices of Molucca'.

'I will not meddle with the Religious, who are to be revered. But the Merchant with his oaths, the Lawyer with his brawls, the Courtier with his flattery, will prove this without argument'.

'And I that have passed through a great part of the world, not like a rogue I would be thought but as a wanderer, I must confess have found in all countries whatsoever be the matter the tongue makes the man to seem wise when he is not'.

'I saw it in Flanders to show true when he is not; I found it in France to seem noble when he is not; I saw it in Spain to show honest when he is not; I proved it in Italy to seem holy when he is not; I found it in Rome - more particulars I will not speak of lest I offend my own country'.

'But this is very manifest through the whole world, this little busy merchant this tongue I tell you of is the readiest utterer I know of wares he is trusted with, whether they be good or bad, true or false. Whether they come from the head or from the heart, as imaginations and thoughts, devices and determinations, with their infinite appurtenances which prove I may tell you full costly things both for the buyer and the seller, the utterer and the receiver. And yet these be the great wares of the world, whereof for the most part the tongue is the merchant'.

'Which when I found and withal perceived that nowadays men were more esteemed for their many tongues than their good conditions, and it was rather looked how well he could speak than how honest he should be, drawn to care for my profit, which all the world cares for, I cast myself to be a traveller, which belongs to my trade, and to go into divers countries to learn divers languages, thereby to be more acceptable'.

'So passing through many places I came at last into Greece, the ancient seat both of the best orators and the best philosophers in the world. There wandering through a wilderness to seek out near the sea where old Athens was situated, I espied suddenly a Lady whose looks were to be revered more than Pallas as she is pictured. Whom when I approached and had humbly saluted, I besought to know the way, of which I told her I had lost. "So do many" quoth she "that seek unknown ways, and likewise that follow their own ways. But what brought you hither?". "My desire" quoth I "to see and withal to be satisfied".

"No worse guide" quoth she "upon earth (except it be guided from Heaven). Hast thou not seen desire pictured both blind and flying, to show his error and his haste, besides unbridled to show how hardly it can be stayed?".

"But Madam" quoth I "is this the place where renowned Athens was seated, and the wisest men in the world were settled?". "Men called wise" said she "had here once some being. But which of them all thinkest thou was the wisest?".

'Then thinking to speak wisely, I told her "Diogenes, that saw nothing in the world whereof he had any need". "Who need nothing in the world", quoth she "the world hath no need of, but it most needeth wise men". Then I reckoned up unto her all the most notable Captains and Orators of Greece, that with their wit and their words bore most rule in the world and most sway with the people. "What were these" quoth she "but bubbles, and what are they but dust?". At last I showed her how Plato and Aristotle were reputed most wise. "And why" quoth she "because the one wrote of God, which he knew not, and the other of virtues which he had not, even as Tully taught his son the offices which he used not'.

"But madam" quoth I "the books they have left behind them make many both more learned and more wise". "Some" quoth she "be more learned but never the more wise, and some more wise but never the more virtuous. And surely philosophers be but as sundry other professors pretending that they be not, Truth is that they shoot at, and Truth is that they miss. I could resemble them to divers, but best to lovers and priests, lovers to be constant and priests to be holy; this is their profession, and likewise their praise. But how be they found, the one unstable, the other profane?".

'Then questioning with me of my trade and my travel, finding her so wise I began to shrink back. Which she perceiving, and demanding the cause, I durst not but confess it was both for shame and for fear. "These be two things" quoth she "worse becoming a man: such need to be ashamed as care too little for their honesty, and they be found afraid that care too much for their life".

"Madam" quoth I "I trust to be found none of those, my shame groweth to show what poor occupation I am of, and my fear to talk with so wise a Lady".

"Wise" quoth she, and smiled, "how can women be wise when all men that live with them be so foolish? Thy fear is very vain, and thy shame much worse, to be ashamed of thy trade thou gettest thy living by. There is no occupation evil but that which is evil used. Thou art a Pedlar and sellest thy trifles very dear, but many greater than thou art sell themselves too good cheap and sometimes for naught. But" quoth she "hadst thou no other errand hither but to seek men that be dead, and places that be gone? Athens is so wasted as no man can tell well where it was". "Yes Madam" quoth I "in truth I have gone through many countries, not so much to see the places I knew not as to learn the languages I had not".

"It is not so good" quoth she "to go abroad to learn languages as to tarry at home and learn wit. And learn this of me - neither vices be lost nor virtues be gotten very much by wandering, though it be true again there is no place that a man may not get both in. But it is the mind and not the tongue should make a man to be esteemed".

"But Lady" quoth I "a good tongue is thought one of the best things in the world". "It is" quoth she "as it is ordered. But I think tongues be, as men say women be, needful evils". With this I replied "Can there be anything Madam more needful than to speak well?" "No" quoth she "so it be no more than is needful. But to speak well is most rare, to speak wisely most hard, to speak true most honest, and to speak nothing most safe".

"This" quoth I "I will not forget, both often to think on, and to thank your excellency for". "Alas" quoth she "poor fool, what a phrase is this of flattery. There is no excellency but in perfection, and no perfection but in Heaven".

"Madam" quoth I "I meant not to offend you, but to thank you".

"And I" quoth she "meant rather to speak truth than to please you. But because I believe the best of your meaning and think nothing better in the world than to be thankful, to give you more cause I will give you this counsel, not hard, but most needful: leave in time your wandering, and return to your natural dwelling. Think, as birds be content with their own nests and conies with their own caves, so should men be with their own countries, where it is best for every man to be that is worthy to be anywhere. There serve God sincerely, love thy Prince truly, do in the world justly, deal with neighbours kindly, and behave thyself honestly. So shalt thou live and die happily".

'With this, away she went, I think into the air. And I to follow her advice came home as fast as I could. And by chance am come hither to tell you this idle tale and show you my foolish trifles, which done I shall depart, wishing well, Ladies, to you all, and best to the best of you. Praying you when you come home and shall think of my tale to think of it as a cipher that serves for something: that it signify nothing'.

London: Midsummer Watches, 1585.

June 23 and June 28: St John's Eve and St Peter's Eve Shows or Watches. Ordered by the Queen in April. Description from 'A Book containing the manner and order of a Watch to be used in the City of London upon the even at night of St John Baptist and St Peter as in time past hath been accustomed'.

Lord Mayor 1584-1585: Sir Thomas Pullison, draper. Description in *Harleian Miscellany* ix (1812), 389-408.

The 26 Wards of London are to provide 1200 men:

'Soldiers 408, weaponed with calivers and the furniture thereof, as flask, touch-box, match, powder, morrion, coat of mail, sword, dagger, and cleanly hose, and for default of coat of mail some cleanly jerkin with sleeves of mail, and that their morrions be made fast under their chins soldierlike'.

Bowmen 312, 'with bows and sheaves of arrows covered with red leather, swords, daggers, skulls in red Scottish caps...armour...and cleanly hose'.

Pikes 408 tall men armed in bright corslets, burganets, swords, daggers and cleanly hose; Halberdiers 72 armed in bright corslets, fair burganets, swords, daggers and cleanly hose. To muster at Moorfields on the day before each Watch.

At the Guildhall on the evening of each Watch there are to be 26 'young men householders to serve as corporals or whifflers...to go all along on the one side of the footmen to put them in remembrance of their array and also to keep the people from intruding themselves among the said footmen for disordering their march'; also 132 Constables, 48 to attend on the Lord Mayor and 42 to attend on each Sheriff, each with a Page and a staff-torch.

The streets are to be gravelled for the safety of 'the stirring horses which shall prance'. In the adjacent streets 'lanterns and candle light be hanged forth of the windows of every house'.

Constables are to place a 'standing watch' along the streets where the 'marching watch' should pass, being 'from the furthest Conduit in Cheap, all along Cheapside, Cornhill, Bishopsgate, Leadenhall, to Aldgate, Blanch Appleton, Fenchurch, Gracechurch Street, round about the Conduit and so up to Leadenhall'.

'Provision to be made by the Chamber': 'to hire 20 old soldiers of skill' to lead 'the two battles of footmen', four to be made captains, two lieutenants, 14 corporals. Also 29 drums, 21 fifes, 8 ensigns.

Also in the Guildhall are to be 8 barrels of beer, 10 dozen of white bread, 6 dozen of stone cruses, 'that the men may drink and be refreshed'.

'Provision to be made by the Lord Mayor and the two Sheriffs': 60 great horses with their riders, two captains on 'great stirring horses', six corporals, 'two sword-players to make room, and to go foremost in the Watch', two drums and a fife, four trumpeters on horseback. Lord Mayor 'to be in comely apparel and well mounted on horseback, the sword-bearer in fair armour'; 24 grave personages (eg. Aldermen), in black velvet with gold chains, on small nags, to go before the Mayor; two henchmen on great stirring horses 'to prance, mount, and fetch up their horses aloft on all fours in the gallantest and best wise'; 15 footmen; 15 young men carrying staff-torches; one pageant; 'one noise of music as the Waits of London'; 'one sound of trumpets containing four'.

Also '12 proper boys in hobby-horses finely covered with some pretty coloured things, as buckram or linen painted', the boys to have armour and burganets or head-pieces made of pasteboard 'after some strange or antic manner silvered over with leaf silver...which said boys to have every one a little sword, I mean foils of iron, to be very light and bright, that after prancing, mounting and fetching up their horses aloft on all fours they may at divers times in the Watch make combat all together, to wit all twelve to fight at one instant, to say six against six in true form and order of a matachin, which if they be truly taught one shall not hurt another but always strike upon the sword'.

The Lord Mayor is also to provide 30 young yeomen for his guard; 6 'sergeants or whifflers'; 6 drums, 4 fifes, 4 ensigns, 6 sword-players, one company of Morris dancers. He is to appoint 'one special man to take the charge and direction of his pageant', and to conduct it to the north churchyard of St Paul's by 8 p.m. on the night of the Watch. If he has a second pageant 'so should his show be so much the more fairer'.

The Elder and Younger Sheriffs are to be on horseback and are each to provide: one henchman on a 'great stirring courser'; 21 grave personages of their Company 'or other friends'; 8 footmen; 10 young men with staff-torches; one pageant; 'one sound of trumpets containing four; one noise of music of loud instruments'; 30 sergeants and yeomen as the guard; 4 old soldiers as sergeants or corporals; 6 drums, 4 fifes, 4 ensigns, 6 sword-players, one company of Morris dancers, one man to direct the pageant. They are to meet the Lord Mayor at his house at 9 p.m. 'to march with him to the Watch'.

To provide light there are to be 186 cressets, being one for every 15 yards of the standing watch; and 114 cressets for the marching watch.

'To every cresset and cresset-bearer there be one bag-bearer with cresset-light stuff'; these to be provided by the Guildhall and the Livery Companies.

The Lord Mayor is to appoint a man to 'lead or conduct the Watch through the streets', who is to wait at 'the furthest Conduit next to Paul's' at 9 p.m. until 'the first band or battle of footmen do come marching from the Guildhall through Wood Street into Cheapside'. After marching through the streets they are to break up at the Cross in Cheap.

The order of the marching watch: the first battle (or band) of footmen and horsemen; Lord Mayor with his company; first Sheriff with his company; second Sheriff with his company; second battle of footmen and horsemen.

'Thus may the said Watch be done honourably and after a true and warlike manner, and I suppose with as small charge now as in time past when it was not so orderly done'.

Marshalsea Prison, Southwark.

'A note touching the Marshalsea, showing that prisoners committed from the Council Board should be sent to the Marshalsea and not to the Fleet and other prisons'. 'Reasons to prove that prisoners from the Council Board committed should be sent to the Marshalsea'. [SP12/105/48].

[By the Knight Marshal of the Household, Robert Hopton; mid 1570s].

1. 'The Marshalsea is the proper prison to the King's house, so suited thereto that in all progresses and removes (how far so ever) the Marshal is to stand charged with the prisoners to him committed and the safe keeping of them. All other prisons (the Tower excepted) limited to the several places. As the Fleet to Westminster Hall, the Counter to London, the Gate-house to Westminster, etc.
2. The charge of the Marshal is great in keeping many servants to be ready at every employment to the service of her Majesty. The allowance therefor being only out of her Majesty's coffers 14d by the day for two of his servants appointed to attend at the Council Chamber door and the gate, whereby it hath been supposed and thought sufficient heretofore that the casualties [fees, gratuities] should maintain the charge, and the prison to be the benefit of the office. The commodity whereof being translated to other places doth injury to the office, and will in time decay the service now looked for.
3. As at the Star Chamber the Officers of the Fleet attend, from which board seldom any are committed to other places, so at the Council door the Marshal's servants are ever to wait, specially thereto appointed by ancient orders of the house. And being ministers to the service and attending on that place it seemeth hard that others should reap the profit of their pains.
4. The Marshal is to make his prison where he shall think best, and is not tied to keep it in any certain place, and therefore of the better credit. But as the place I now hire for the Marshalsea is by many degrees fairer and therein greater store of rooms better furnished than the Fleet, or it hath ever heretofore been, so I do account myself no way inferior to the Warden of the Fleet. Whereby the better sort should think the place of less credit; which heretofore hath grown through the abuse of some officers, now (as I hope) better reformed.
5. Two years now past, at Richmond it pleased the Lords of her Majesty's Council to order that such as should be committed for riots and routs, which were to come to the Star Chamber, should be sent to the Fleet, but upon other causes they should be sent to the Marshalsea. Which order I pray may be observed.
6. By how much the King's house is of greater honour than Westminster Hall, so much the Marshalsea is in place to be preferred before the Fleet. The one being prison to the first, the other to the last. And for the greatness of the office, and the account in times past it hath been of, the Common Law and ancient statutes taketh knowledge of no officers in the King's house but of the Steward and Marshal thereof, using these words of their authority in them as the government of the King's house.
7. The Law also joineth the Marshal with the Steward equally in the laws, whereby authority is given for government of the said house. Whereupon Sir William Carrant [*Garrard], Marshal, standing in over stout terms with Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, then Lord Great Master [Lord High Steward], he wrought the overthrow both of himself and the office at that time, which since hath never been raised, through the diversity and division of Marshals. It must be confessed that in latter time some noblemen have been committed to the Fleet through the causes aforesaid, which proveth not the equity thereof, but showeth what favour and friends the Wardens of the Fleet have had'.

Norfolk: Hartford Bridge, 1578.

[Aug 16]: 'Mr Downes, Lord of the manor of Earlham near Norwich when Queen Elizabeth came to Norwich met her at Harflet Bridge and there delivered those verses with a pair of gold spurs'. [BL Harl MS 980, f.282].

'Resplendent Queen my Sovereign Lady dear,
My heart would yield to thee what is thy own.
But for because the case appears not clear,
Accept O prince the Duty which is known.
My name is Downes, I hold of thee by right
A manor here whose name is Earlham hight.

In serjeantine the tenure thereof stand,
And by the grant a basilisco due.
By petit serjeantine likewise my land
Must yield, my liege, a pair of spurs to you.
Thereby in proof my homage to declare,
So oft as please you hither to repair.

Likewise to me, if old reports be true,
Is service sign'd which I to do am prest.
That is while time your Majesty is here
I am to be preferred before the rest
Lieutenant to Blanchflower's castle old,
And High Constable here the place to hold.

In lieu thereof there should redound to me
The palfrey which thy Majesty do bear.
My spurs O Queen I render unto thee,
And for the Crown I pay three pounds a year.
Lo, thus to thee his whole estate is known,
Whose heart and land and goods are all thy own'.

Edward Downes, of Earlham manor, had previously consulted his cousin John Marsham, an official of the Court of the Exchequer, as to whether any service was due from him to the Queen if she came to Norwich.

Downes believed that he held Earlham manor by a form of tenure called petit serjeanty, or the service of the cross-bow (here called 'a basilisco') to defend Norwich Castle, which service had been commuted to a payment of £3 a year and a pair of spurs to the Crown.

26 June [1578], London, Marsham to Cousin Downes: I have searched the records, have found nothing, and advise you 'to make no words of any service nor to offer or do it...I do suppose the rumour of this service is but vain and untrue'.

If once done you will be obliged to do it henceforth. 'And then you shall be without remedy'. [BL Egerton MS 2722, f.128].

Downes ignored this advice, and in 1584 wrote: I 'do pay yearly to the Queen's Majesty in lieu and service to be done in the Castle of Blanchflower £3'.

[Norfolk Arch Soc Transactions (1847) i.25].

Osterley, Middlesex: Protests over Enclosures, 1576.

The Queen stayed from May 10-12 with Sir Thomas Gresham at Osterley House, Isleworth. During her visit the paling of Gresham's deer-park was burnt in a violent protest by local people against his alleged enclosure of common land.

May 22, Greenwich, Privy Council to Justice Southcote and the Recorder of London (William Fleetwood): 'advertising them that where certain persons are committed to the Marshalsea, whose names are Joan Ayre, Mary Harris, George Lenton and George Bennet, for burning Sir Thomas Gresham's park pale at that time when the Queen's Majesty was there, wherewith her Highness was very much offended, and commanded that the offenders should be searched out and punished according to their offence. They are therefore required to take some pains therein and to appoint some time and place to have the prisoners brought before them, and severally to examine them and to induce them by all means they can to open the truth, and for their better instructions therein Sir Thomas Gresham will instruct them for that purpose, and Mr Attorney is appointed also to join with them if he conveniently may, or at least to send them such examinations as he hath heretofore taken in that matter'.

The Council also wrote to the Attorney-General [Gilbert Gerard].^{APC}

June 18, Finsbury: Middlesex County Sessions: True Bill (Latin) that on May 6 [*sic*] at about 10 p.m. Joan Eyer wife of Nicholas Eyer of Heston husbandman and Mary Harris of Heston spinster broke into a park enclosed with pales and posts for the preservation of deer and other animals of Sir Thomas Gresham (the Queen with her Privy Council and many others in attendance on her being in 'Osterley Park House' within the park) and tore up and threw down posts and pales of the park. These posts and pales the said Joan and Mary on May 7 at 2-3 a.m. maliciously, diabolically and wickedly burnt, to the very great disquiet and disturbance of the Queen and her attendants.

Also a True Bill that Joan, Mary, and about 20 other men and women, at the command and instigation of George Lenton tailor and Nicholas Hewes husbandman, all of Heston, on May 7 with staves, two-pronged forks, spades and axes at Osterley Park (the Queen being at Osterley House), broke down the enclosure.

Adjourned to June 19. (No details). [Translated, *Jeaffreson*, i.98-99].

July 10, St James's, Privy Council to Justice Southcote and the Recorder of London, and the rest of the Justices of Peace of Middlesex 'with the examinations of such as pulled down and burnt Sir Thomas Gresham's park pale at Osterley at her Majesty's last being there; they are required at the next General Sessions in that county to cause the said offenders to be enquired of according to law, and as matter shall fall out against any of them to proceed to their punishment according to justice'.

July 19, St James's, Privy Council to five gentlemen, 'with a petition exhibited to the Queen's Majesty in the behalf of certain poor men complaining to receive wrong by an enclosure made by Sir Thomas Gresham of certain common ground, parcel of his Park'.

The Queen has referred the matter to the Council, who now refer it to them to confer with both parties and to enquire into what rights were and are held over the common by the lord, the tenant and the cottager, and to examine 'what detriment the poor men do receive by the means of this enclosure, what cattle they might keep afore, and what they may keep now', and to give their opinions how 'this controversy may be most reasonably compounded to the satisfaction of all parties'.^{APC}

Post of the Court: Complaints about, 1578.

'The evil dealing of Robert Gascoigne, ordinary Messenger and Post to her Highness'. With his answer 'to certain Articles objected against him by Lawrence Dutton and others'. [SP12/125/55,57].

'Robert Gascoigne is an ordinary Messenger of the Queen's Majesty's Chamber, and hath *per diem* 7½d. Also he is Post of her Highness's court and hath for the same *per diem* 4s. And likewise he is Post for Ireland, and keepeth never a horse in Town to serve, and hath *per diem* 2s.

Gascoigne's Answer: He 'confesseth he is an ordinary Messenger of the Queen's Majesty's Chamber, and hath *per diem* 7½d. Also he is Post of her Highness's Court and has for the same 4s *per diem* when the Queen's Majesty remaineth from London. But when her Highness lieth at or near unto London then he hath but 2s *per diem*'. Lord Treasurer Burghley and Mr Secretary Walsingham 'at the humble suit of the said Robert Gascoigne to be one of the number of those Posts as serve into Ireland, during the time of that service, considering his great travail and pains therein in laying of Posts, settling of them and conveying of letters to the next Post where it shall happen to be from time to time as occasion served, by their Honours' order, they were content that he should be one of the number and allowed him for the same 2s *per diem*. And it is well known and to be perceived that at all times he hath good and sufficient horses in a readiness to serve for her Majesty's business, although he hath neither lodging for himself nor for his horses at hand as he ought to have'.

(1) 'Robert Gascoigne is to be examined what bills he hath made in his brother Richard Gascoigne's name, and how many in his own name, for he never rode any journey as by oath and duty he ought to have done'.

Answer: 'He hath made no bills in the name of his brother Richard Gascoigne. And how many in his own name he knoweth not certain, but as occasion served, for neither he nor any other Messenger (as he thinketh) is able to show certain how many since their beginning, nor how many journeys he hath ridden himself, but divers and sundry times upon occasion of her Majesty's business he hath served according to his duty. And sundry times as well in the absence as in the presence of the said Robert Gascoigne it hath pleased the said Lord Treasurer and Mr Secretary Walsingham to send his men about her Majesty's business, for the which it also pleaseth them to give bills in his name for allowance'.

(2) 'When he doth lay Posts in the progress time, he doth receive £140 and sometime more in a year, whereof he never payeth out half to the Posts, but maketh Corporate Towns to serve as it were at his commandment and alloweth nothing to them, and often times the Posts are unpaid their duties a year or two and then contented to take their half, whereas he is paid the money for them in prest'.

Answer: 'He never received above £140, and that was but at one time, which was by warrant from her Majesty out of the Exchequer...And hath disbursed and paid the said sum of £140 as occasion then served to divers and sundry Posts... He never caused any Corporate Towns to serve for nothing (as is alleged), but when they served they were paid according to the rate of 2s *per diem*, as shall and may appear by sundry acquittances whereunto they have subscribed, nor never suffered them to be unpaid one year or two to his knowledge, nor never offered them the one half as is alleged, but as speedily as he might always paid them, nor as yet was there ever any person before this time came to complain for such money so supposed to be behind, either to her Majesty's Council or to the Master of the Posts [Thomas Randolph] or to him...but only such person or persons as now complain, having nothing therewith to do but only of malice and without just cause, wherefore considering it is so long time since, he thinketh he hath great injury offered him to be called to any such account'.

(3) 'When he doth lay Posts in the progress time he hath 4d *per diem* out of every Post's wages during that time, and hath also at the laying of the Posts a week's wages to himself for every Post, and likewise a week's wages after they be discharged for every one of them'.

Answer: 'He never received or stayed out of any Post's wages 4d a day as is alleged, but by order from the Lord Treasurer and Mr Secretary Walsingham sometimes the Posts were laid at 20d by the day and sometimes at 2s *per diem* and so were paid after that rate...Neither hath at any time received to his use or behalf one week's wages of any Post either at the beginning or at the discharge of any Post; for at the first laying of the Posts he doth not enter them in wages presently until the last Post be laid as shall serve that turn, and when the last is laid, then he signifieth unto them all the day of their entry of wages, so that the first and the last enter all at one day, for the which, some of them being ignorant, make a claim to have wages from the day of their laying and not of their entry, and some exclaim without cause'.

'And so likewise when he sendeth his letter of discharge amongst them, some make account for a fortnight after, and some a month, as of late one of Daventry did and would take no knowledge of any discharge. So that the said Robert Gascoigne hath no advantage thereby, as is most wrongfully alleged'.

(4) 'He doth lay Posts in every town where he lieth in the progress time, whereas he ought to ride 10 miles to the same at the least, whereby her Majesty is greatly charged'.

Answer: 'He hath not laid Posts in every town wherein he lieth in the progress time where he ought to ride 10 miles, but once or twice when occasion served and not otherwise, which the Lord Treasurer and Mr Secretary allowed, and then the Queen's Majesty was at no greater charges thereby than otherwise'.

(5) 'He did not according to his duty and oath at any time reveal to the Lords of the Council the £50 received by Philip Conway and Anthony Conway in the name of the said Robert Gascoigne in the Exchequer'.

Answer: 'He never heard or knew of £50 received out of the Exchequer by Philip Conway and Anthony Conway...The said Philip Conway hath confessed he hath made bills in the said Gascoigne's name and thereupon received money'.

(6) He had letters from the Council to Lord Monteagle 'which were delivered at *The Horse Head* in Islington, and he made his bill of allowance to Hornby Castle in Lincolnshire to the Lord Monteagle's, for the which he received £4.8s'.

(7) 'He having letters for Mr Auditor Neale and others delivered the same to them in London, and yet made his bill of allowance through their whole circuit'.

[William Neale, of Hampshire, Auditor of the Court of the Exchequer].

Answer to Articles 6 and 7: 'To his remembrance he knoweth of no such matters, but would gladly know what time the same were, for that he hath made divers journeys to the Lord Monteagle'.

(8) 'He nameth himself Post Master, and doth set his name upon sundry packets of letters, and the back side underneath the direction from the Lords of the Council where they have subscribed the same. And so the poor people in many places think him to be a Councillor or one in great authority'.

Answer: 'He confesseth that he calleth himself Post Master, as he thinketh he may do without offence to any, by reason he is both her Majesty's servant and Post Master of the Court and hath such direction from the Council, better than such as be called Post Masters of Rochester, Sittingbourne, Canterbury, or such like betwixt London or Berwick or elsewhere'.

- (9) 'In the progress time he doth cause the Constables to take up oats for his horses at the Queen's price, as though he had a commission.
- (10) 'At Windsor town's end when the Queen's Majesty lieth there he useth customably to take butter from poor women for his own use and payeth for the same but his own price, for the which many times the poor women make great lamentation'. *Answer to Articles 9 and 10*: 'Neither he at Windsor or elsewhere in the progress time or any other time hath taken up oats for his horses at the Queen's price, or butter or such like to his own use or any other, as is against him most unjustly alleged, and done only of malice'.
- (11) 'He asketh allowance for many bills for the service of his men, which hath not been allowed at any time heretofore'.
- Answer*: 'He hath fully answered the same in the first Article'.
- (12) He 'asketh allowance for Augustine Richardson late Messenger deceased for divers and sundry bills which were before paid to the said Augustine in his life-time, and made bills for himself as he thought good'.
- Answer*: [He denies this]. 'Robert Gascoigne as well in this as in the rest is wrongfully charged, and thinketh the said Dutton is maintained by others'.

Queen Elizabeth's Academy.

An Academy for youths aged from 12-21, proposed to the Queen by Sir Humphrey Gilbert (1537-1583), soldier and explorer; probably in the early 1570s.

'The erection of an Academy in London for education of her Majesty's Wards, and others the youth of nobility and gentlemen'.

'Forasmuch as (most excellent Sovereign) the most part of noblemen and gentlemen that happen to be your Majesty's Wards...are, through the defaults of their guardians, for the most part brought up, to no small grief of their friends, in idleness and lascivious pastimes, estranged from all serviceable virtues to their prince and country...it were good...that for their better educations, there should be an Academy erected in sort as followeth':

'There shall be one Schoolmaster, who shall teach Grammar, both Greek and Latin', £40 yearly. With four Ushers, £20 yearly each.

Teacher of Hebrew, £50. Teacher of Logic and Rhetoric, who 'shall weekly... see his scholars dispute and exercise the same', chiefly in English. £40.

Reader of Moral Philosophy, discoursing on Peace and on Wars, £100.

Reader of Natural Philosophy, £40.

Mathematician, teaching Arithmetic and Geometry; with 'fortifications, and matters of war, with the practice of artillery', £100. Powder and shot, £100.

Ushers teaching Arithmetic and Geometry, £40 each.

'One good Horseman' to teach riding, and 'to run at Ring, Tilt, Tourney, and Course of the Field' and 'to skirmish on horseback with pistols'. To be bound to keep 10 'great ready horses'. £333.6s8d. To buy the horses: £266.13s4d.

'One perfect trained Soldier', to 'teach them to handle the arquebus', and to practise skirmishing, embattling, marching. £66.13s4d.

Mathematician, teaching Cosmography, Astronomy, Navigation, the art of a Shipwright, with a model ship and galley. £66.13s4d.

Teacher 'to draw maps, sea charts, etc', £40.

Doctor of Physic, teaching also Surgery, and all kinds of medicines, £100.

For the Physician and Natural Philosopher: a garden. For their charges, £100.

Reader of Civil Law, £100. Reader of Divinity, £100.

Lawyer, to teach maxims of the Common Law; also he 'shall set down and teach exquisitely the office of a Justice of Peace and Sheriff'. £100.

Teachers of French and Italian, £26 each; each with an Usher, £10 each.

Teachers of Spanish, and of High Dutch, £26 each.

Master of Defence, expert in 'the rapier and dagger, the sword and target, the grip of the dagger, the battle axe and the pike'; to teach, £26.

'One who shall keep a dancing and vaulting school', £26.
 'One teacher of Music, and to play on the lute, the bandora, and cittern, etc',
 £26. With an Usher, £10.
 'Yearly allowed for a Steward, cooks, butlers, and other necessary officers',
 £100. 'Yearly allowed for a Minister and Clerk', £66.13s4d.
 'One perfect Herald of Arms' to teach 'to blaze arms, and also the art of
 Heraldry', and to keep a Register of descents and pedigrees. £26.
 'One Keeper of the Library', £26. To buy books, £40 yearly.
 'All Printers in England shall forever be charged to deliver into the
 Library of the Academy, at their own charges, one copy, well bound, of every
 book, proclamation, or pamphlet, that they shall print'.
 Treasurer of the Academy, £100. Rector of the Academy, £100.
 'The Master of the Court of Wards...shall be the chiefest governor', £200.
 To be given for 'the first furnishing of this Academy', £2000.
 Orders to be observed: including that books published by the Readers and
 Teachers shall be entitled 'as set forth by the gentlemen of Queen Elizabeth's
 Academy, whereby all the nations of the world shall...receive great benefit,
 to your Highness' immortal fame'.
 'Also, forever, the 7th day of September and the 17th day of November [Queen's
 birthday and Accession Day], there shall be a sermon in the Academy, whereby the
 auditory shall be put in mind who was the founder thereof'...
 'The Commodities which will ensue by erecting this Academy'...
 'O noble prince, that God shall bless so far as to be the only mean of bringing
 this silly frozen Island into such everlasting honour that all the nations of
 the World shall know and say, when the face of an English gentleman appeareth,
 that he is either a Soldier, a Philosopher, or a gallant Courtier; whereby in
 glory your Majesty shall make yourself second to no prince living'...
 'By erecting this Academy, there shall be hereafter, in effect, no gentleman
 within this Realm but good for somewhat, whereas now the most part of them are
 good for nothing. And yet thereby the Court shall not only be greatly increased
 with gallant gentlemen, but also with men of virtue, whereby your Majesty's and
 successors' courts shall be for ever, instead of a Nursery of Idleness, become
 a most noble Academy of Chivalric policy and Philosophy, to your great fame'...
 'So shall your Majesty make yourself to live among men forever (whereas all
 flesh hath but small continuance), and therewithal bring yourself into God's
 favour, so far as the benefits of good works may prevail'.
 [*Queene Elizabethes Achademy*, ed.F.J.Furnivall, *Early English Text Society*,
 extra series 8 (1869)].

Queen Elizabeth's Potion.

Anonymous description of a Potion, with ingredients and method of making.
 'The following Potion purgeth choler and melancholy, helpeth much the
 consumption of the lungs, cureth the liver, and strengtheneth the back,
 also it cleareth the kidneys, and breaketh the wind colic, purgeth ill
 humours, and may be taken at all times without any offence. This was made
 use of by Queen Elizabeth twice a year'. [Ingredients]:
 Senna; epithimum; cypress roots; eulocampana; polipodium; rhubarb;
 eringoe roots; liquorice, colliander seeds; dill seed; aniseed; raisins.
 'Boil these forementioned roots and seeds in a pottle of fair water...
 Then boil your senna and rhubarb sliced with the rest...Set it by till it
 be almost cold, then strain, and let the patient drink a quarter of a pint
 thereof cold when he goeth to bed, and the like quantity warmed when he
 riseth. An hour and a half after it let him take a little warm broth made
 with a few raisins of the sun'. [Bodleian: Ashmolean MS 1402, f.4].

Scottish Gold-mines.

From Stephen Atkinson, *Discoverie and Historie of the Gold Mines of Scotland* (1619), ed. G.L.Meason (1825), 30-36,42-43.

George Bowes:

'Mr George Bowes, an English gent, procured a commission into Scotland unto the gold mines'. He 'discovered a small vein of gold, which had much small gold in it, upon Winlocke-head. But he swore all his workmen to keep it secret, and never to disclose the same unto the King of Scotland, nor his Council: for so he had promised to do, at his departure from the Queen of England, if he found it'.

'And Mr Bowes, by force and virtue of the Queen's letters unto the Council of Scotland, had a new warrant granted from the Lords of Scotland, by virtue whereof he was suffered quietly to dig and delve, where he would'.

[He dug more shafts, found more gold, gave much away].

Then 'he did return unto the Queen's Majesty in England, unto whom in all secret manner he said, That the trust committed unto him by her Majesty was performed, and concealed, saying, that he had found out a small vein thereof; and Behold, said he and see of it, for this, even all this, is out of the same vein. And he showed a long purse full thereof; and it was admired at then of such as saw it, and it was valued to be worth 7 score pounds sterling, without melting; but he had before given much thereof away'...

'And he said unto the Queen's Majesty: "How long it will continue, Madam, I know not; but I have made it very sure, and hid it up till my next going thither". And her Majesty liked well thereof, and kept it secret from all others, as he said, giving thanks to Mr Bowes for his true service therein; and for that gift she received it of him, but promised trebly to reward it; and said that the next spring he should go again thither, at her Majesty's only charge, and to seek for a greater vein thereof, and commanding him to prepare himself so to do, that store might be had'.

'And he went home richly into the North country, where he dwelt, but unfortunately, in riding to see the copper works and mines in Cumberland, at Keswick, as he was going down into the deep pits, the ladder broke, and the earth fell in upon him, and so was bruised to death; and thus he lost his life, and the vein of gold, not since discovered in Scotland'.

Bevis Bulmer:

'Mr Bulmer was well possessed by letters of warranty, with a patent granted by her Majesty in England, and from the King's Majesty of Scotland, there to make an adventure, and seek for the gold and silver mines in any place within that kingdom, especially within these five moors, or forests, following'...

Mannock moor; Winlock water, both in Niddsdale. Fryer moor, within Clydesdale; Crayford moor; Lang-clough-head.

At Winlock water some say he 'found out the suspected vein of gold, which Mr Bowes had discovered; a good part or quantity thereof he brought unto the Queen of England...which I hardly believe'...

'Amongst all the gold, which Mr Bulmer had gotten in Scotland...he presented unto the late Queen Elizabeth so much natural gold as made a porringer of clean gold. And her Majesty liked so well of the gift, that she was pleased to say unto him: "Bulmer, thou art a true faithful servant; I have too few such as thou art; but I will not forget thee, and this thy gift shall remember me, when I see it and not thee. And I will devise how to requite this service done. In the meantime, Bulmer, seek out for some reasonable suit that is not already granted, nor prejudicial to us, or our Crown, within the kingdom of England or principality of Wales...and I will remember thee, Mr Bulmer, and give it thee freely, in some recompense of thy services".

'And within a short space following, Mr Bulmer was made one of her Majesty's sworn servants; and this was his first step at court, and from thence he learned to beg, as other courtiers do'.

As to 'the porringer which was made of clean Scots gold...Mr Bulmer caused these verses to be engraven on it, as written unto the Queen of England:

'I dare not give, nor yet present,
But render part of that's thy own;
My mind, and heart, shall still invent
To seek out Treasure, yet unknown'.

Stephen Atkinson, who wrote this description, was a friend of Bevis Bulmer, and a refiner of ore. In 1593, after a letter of recommendation from Queen Elizabeth to the Scottish government, Bulmer was granted a patent to search for gold and silver at Leadhills, in Lanarkshire.

Bulmer was knighted by King James in 1604, and continued mining for gold and silver in Scotland, and later in Ireland. He died in England in 1613, penniless.

Show at Greenwich Park before the Queen.

'The order of the show to be done at the Turret, entering into the park at Greenwich, the music being within the Turret'.

'One of the biggest Children of her Majesty's Chapel of a sudden to come out of the Turret bareheaded, his right hand and arm armed, holding a lance therein, his body likewise armed, all save the left arm and hand, within the which he shall hold a spade, about his neck a chain, an anchor hanging cross his back, his right leg booted and spurred, his left leg without having wings at his heels, and his name, Goodwill'.

'His bare head showeth the reverence he oweth unto her Majesty. His chain about his neck, that nobility is linked to goodwill. His right arm with his body armed, and the lance, represents the invincible power of goodwill. The spade in his left hand showeth the diligence of the commonalty to serve her Grace at need. The anchor at his back declareth the force of her navy. The booted leg the dutifulness of her officers. The winged leg the general goodwill that would fly to the skies to report her worthiness'.

There follows 'Goodwill's part', some 40 lines of verse, again explaining the symbolism of his appearance, and ending:

'And lo Goodwill to welcome more your grace
The sylvan nymphs hath brought into this place'.

'Then they sang Ye Helicon muses etc'.

From a commonplace book kept from 1591 by Gilbert Frevile of County Durham. Transcribed and discussed by C.E.McGee, in 'A Reception for Queen Elizabeth in Greenwich', REED Newsletter, 1980:2, p.1-8. [From BL Egerton 2877].

This 'Royal Entertainment at Greenwich' is discussed by Martin Wiggins: British Drama, vol.II, no.818; assigned as a 'best guess' to 30 November 1588, (but it cannot be precisely dated, and was probably a summer-time show).

Theobalds, Herts: Enquiries into thefts during royal visit, 1597.

The Queen visited Lord Burghley from September 5-12 at Theobalds, Cheshunt, Hertfordshire. During her visit a silver standish or ink-stand was stolen from her, and two silver bowls from Burghley. [BL Lansdowne 84/33].

Oct 30, Westcheap, Sir Richard Martin [goldsmith, Master of the Mint], to Lord Burghley: 'Having understanding that some lewd persons did steal from out the Privy Chamber a standish set with mother-of-pearl of her Majesty's, when as her Highness was last at your Honour's house at Theobalds, I, according to such light as I received by a petition of one Lankford who of late was executed, to my Lord Chamberlain, wherein he impeached divers for the stealing of the foresaid standish, did make out my warrant for the apprehending of one Travers, Lankford's wife, and divers other; the effect of whose examinations I have here enclosed, and thus far by the same have discovered the felony, that the said Thomas Travers did steal the foresaid silver standish and two silver bowls from your Honour's house, and brought it to the foresaid Lankford and one John Todd, and that one Pynnock, a goldsmith, did buy 25oz. of the standish of them...with the mother-of-pearl that was upon the standish, and Mr Traherne hath £30 of his toward the new making of the said standish'.

'All which, for that it was stolen at your Lordship's house, and that I hear your Honour also then lost some plate, I have thought it my duty to advertise your Lordship of...praying your Honour's pleasure whether I shall further examine them about any other matter, or what course shall be taken for their trial'.

'A brief of certain examinations taken before Sir Richard Martin about the stealing of a standish and other plate when her Majesty was at Theobalds'.

'First I find by the petition of one Lankford and Bolton (who were at the last Sessions executed) unto my Lord Chamberlain, that one Thomas Travers did steal and bring to him the said Lankford and one John Todd, alias Black Jack, from out of her Majesty's court (which then was at Theobalds), a silver standish with two silver bowls, which Travers made away; which petition, for that my Lord Chamberlain did not know of the loss of her Majesty's standish, his Honour respected not, so that Lankford and Bolton were executed'.

'Whereupon Thomas Travers, being apprehended, was often examined and charged by many more probable circumstances to have stolen the said standish, and yet nevertheless standeth in denial of it, and by no means can be brought to confess the having or stealing of it'.

'To approve that Travers did steal the standish, first one William Venn did say and signify to Travers before me, that he the said Travers did confess to him that he absented himself from his wonted lodging in St Katherine's, and that indeed he had stolen plate from out the court and had given the same to William Lankford that was executed, and another whose name he knoweth not, but had no benefit thereby. Whereupon the said Venn apprehended him, and saw a great bunch of pick-locks in his breeches'.

'Margaret Lankford, the wife of William Lankford, confesseth that her husband both before his last imprisonment and after told her that at the last time her Majesty was at Theobalds he the said Lankford and Black Jack were there lying in a field hard by the court, where one Thomas Travers did bring unto them a silver standish with mother-of-pearl in it, and taking out the weights and the best part thereof himself did give them only the bottom thereof, which Black Jack broke and defaced at one Margaret Askewe's house and sold it to a goldsmith whose name she knoweth not'.

'John Todd alias Black Jack examined by Mr Traherne confesseth that he and Lankford when her Majesty was at Theobalds were there, where Thomas Travers did bring unto them a standish which was worth £20, but gave them but the bottom thereof, which he broke and defaced, and sold parcel of it to one Samuel Pynnock, a goldsmith in Westminster'.

'Samuel Pynnock goldsmith confesseth that he bought of the foresaid Black Jack and William Lankford, by means of one Pennington that brought them unto him, 25oz. of silver battered and broken, and paid after 11 groats the ounce, and understood by them that they sold more of the same silver to other goldsmiths dwelling either in Lombard Street or Paul's Churchyard. When as they told him they brought it from Cales [Cadiz], which he melted and sold to one Lathbury and Simpson goldsmiths after 14 groats the ounce'.

'Williams a goldsmith dwelling in Paul's Churchyard saith that he bought of a young man 3oz. of broken plate for which he paid 10s, but knoweth not whether it were of Lankford, Black Jack or Travers, for as yet he hath not seen them. William Pennington had the mother-of-pearl that was upon the standish given him by the foresaid Lankford to help him to a goldsmith that would buy plate of him. Whereupon he went with them to Samuel Pynnock. The pearls be in Mr Traherne's keeping. Williams the goldsmith having seen Thomas Travers this morning in Newgate thinketh him to be the party that sold him the 3oz. of broken silver'.

Dec 1, Whitehall, Privy Council to Sir Richard Martin, the Recorder of London, Mr Topcliffe, Fowler, Aty, Vaughan, Skevington 'or any two of them, requiring them to examine one Thomas Travers, prisoner in Bridewell, being detected for stealing a standish of her Majesty by examination of witnesses, and yet he still persisted in obstinate denial thereof, and if he shall not declare the truth by your persuasion, then to put him to the torture of the manacles'.^{APC}

[No further reference found to Travers].