

1593

At **HAMPTON COURT**, Middlesex.

Jan 1, Mon New Year gifts. New Year Gift roll is not extant, but William Dethick, Garter King of Arms, gave the Queen a book of: 'Arms of the Knights of the Garter in the time of Henry VII'.

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

Jan 1: 'A Pleasant Conceit plainly set out, and plainly presented as a New Year's Gift to the Queen's Majesty at Hampton Court Anno Domini 1592'. Entered by the Stationers, 17 Jan [1593]. Not extant, but Thomas Churchyard lists this in Churchyard's Challenge as among his works. (See end 1593).

Jan 1: Sir Francis Drake (1540-1596) wrote a Dedicatory Epistle to the Queen, intended to preface an account of his services against Spain: 'To the Queen's most excellent Majesty, my most dread Sovereign': 'Madam, seeing divers hath diversely reported, and written, of these voyages and actions which I have attempted and made...whereby many untruths have been published...I have accounted it my duty to present this Discourse to your Majesty...either for itself, being the first fruits of your servant's pen, or for the matter, being service done to your Majesty by your poor vassal against your great enemy...that...our present age...may be satisfied in the rightfulness of these actions...and your servant's labour not seem altogether lost, not only in travail by Sea and Land, but also in writing the Report thereof, a work to him no less troublesome, yet made pleasant and sweet, in that it hath been, is, and shall be, for your Majesty's content; to whom I have devoted myself, live or die'. Francis Drake. January 1 [1593].

Epistle first published in 'Sir Francis Drake Revived: Calling upon this Dull or Effeminate Age, to follow his Noble Steps for Gold and Silver, by this Memorable Relation, of the Rare Occurrences...in a Third Voyage made by him into the West Indies in the Years 72 and 73'. [Taken out of the Report of others in the same voyage, by Philip Nichols]. 'Reviewed also by Sir Francis Drake himself before his Death...Set forth by Sir Francis Drake Baronet (his Nephew) now living'. With an Epistle to King Charles I, preceding 'The Dedicatory Epistle, intended to Queen Elizabeth. Written by Sir Francis Drake, deceased'. [Describing Drake's voyage of May 1572-August 1573]. (London, 1626).

Jan 2: Hampton Church: burial: Hugh Underhill, Yeoman of the Wardrobe. Plague deaths increased again, the plague becoming the worst since 1563-1564.

Jan 6, Sat play, by Earl of Pembroke's Men.^T

January: Don Pedro de Valdes at Hampton Court.

Don Pedro, one of the commanders of the Spanish Armada, had been a prisoner since his ship was captured by Francis Drake in July 1588. Since autumn 1588 he had been in the custody of Drake's cousin Richard Drake of Esher, Surrey, who demanded a ransom of over £3500. Admiral William Wynter's son Edward Wynter had been imprisoned on the Continent since 1589, and there had been lengthy negotiations over effecting an exchange of the two prisoners.

Privy Council informed Richard Drake, 16 November 1592, that Don Pedro is to be set at liberty and exchanged for Wynter at Calais or 'on the water'.^{APC}

Sir Edmund Uvedale to Sir Robert Sidney, February 10, Flushing: 'Don Pedro came yesterday and remains at the Ramekins till there be order for his exchange'.^{SD} At the end of February Don Pedro reached Brussels.

Don Pedro de Valdes to Lord Burghley [March 3]: 'I am so grateful to her Majesty for the gracious favours she extended to me before my departure, and to her household and nobility'; Don Pedro to King Philip II [March 9]: 'Eight days before my departure from England I was taken to court by orders of the Queen, where I was treated very handsomely, and was visited by the Councillors, nobles, and naval officers there...I was then taken to London, where I was entertained at a banquet by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen. The next day I went to visit the Lord Treasurer...I found him very ill'. [Span.iv.595-6].

Jan 27: News of Lord Burghley's illness.

Dr John Dee had noted: 'The Lord Treasurer very dangerously sick in the beginning of this month'.^D

Jan 27, Burghley to the Earl of Shrewsbury, of 'my dangerous late sickness, in which I have not been able of a good time to write or to endite long letters from myself, being not yet recovered'. [Bath, v.116].

Burghley was absent from Privy Council meetings, 13 Dec 1592-6 Feb 1593.

Jan 27: Constantinople newsletter: The English Agent has been appointed permanent envoy 'by letters from his Queen, but without any presents for the Sultan. He declares that the vessel they were on was captured...by the Spaniards ...He 'has used this excuse often before'. [Fugger, 245]. Presents: March 21.

Jan 28, Privy Council to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, concerning the number of plague-deaths in London:

'Forasmuch as by the certificate of the last week it appeareth the infection doth increase' we 'do hereby require you and in her Majesty's name straitly charge and command you forthwith to inhibit within your jurisdiction all plays, baiting of bears, bulls, bowling and any other like occasions to assemble any numbers of people together (preaching and Divine service at churches excepted), whereby no occasions be offered to increase the infection within the city'.

Similar letters to the Justices of the Peace in Surrey and Middlesex.^{APC}

Jan 29, Beauvoir, the French Ambassador, wrote to Lord Burghley on hearing that the Queen was going to visit him in his great illness. [SPF].

Jan 30, Hampton Court, Council to John Stanhope, Master of the Posts:

'The proceedings in France continuing such between the King there and his subjects, as that it behoveth her Majesty to be speedily advertised of the occurrents from the parts of Normandy and Brittany where presently her forces are employed for the said King's relief, it is thought expedient, and very needful for her Highness's better service, that stages of standing posts be erected and laid between the court and Portsmouth and Southampton'.

'These are therefore to signify unto you her Majesty's pleasure, namely that forthwith you send and dispatch one expressly for appointing and laying of posts in the several places and at the rates of wages to be allowed by the day as hereunder prescribed and written...This shall be your warrant in that behalf'.

Posts to be laid at:

Kingston-upon-Thames, 2s per day; 15 miles - Guildford, 2s6d per day; 9 miles - Farnham, 20d; 7 miles - Alton, 2s; [then either] 8 miles - East Meon, 20d; 9 miles - Portsmouth, 18d [or] Twyford, 2s; 7 miles - Southampton, 16d.

Jan 30, London, John Stanhope sent the warrant 'To the right worshipful my loving friends the Mayors, Bailiffs, Headboroughs' of all the places named, 'and every the chief magistrates there'. [T.B.James, ed. Third Book of Remembrance of Southampton (Southampton, 1979), iv.61-2].

January 30: *The Queen left Hampton Court.*
 Rowland Maylard, Under-Keeper of Hampton Court 'for the hire of 6 labourers... two several nights at 6d the piece the night for making clean the Queen's Majesty's lodgings when she went to Chelsea to the Lord Admiral's, viz. the Great Chamber and Presence Chamber on the King's side the first night and the Great Chamber and Presence on the Queen's side on the second night', 12s.^T
 Maylard was at this time also Master of the Swans on the Thames.

Jan 30, Tues via Kingston-upon-Thames, Surrey.
 Kingston Church: 'To the ringers the 30th of January...when her Majesty passed through the town, 12d'.

Jan 30, Tues dinner, Putney, Surrey; Mr [John] Lacy.^T

Jan 30, Tues **STRAND**, London; Sir Robert Cecil.
 Strand house of Sir Robert Cecil (1563-1612), son of Lord Burghley; Privy Councillor; wife: Elizabeth (Brooke) (1562-1597), daughter of William Brooke, 10th Lord Cobham; a Lady of the Bedchamber and of the Privy Chamber.

St Martin in the Fields: 'Ringing the 31st [sic] at her Majesty's coming to Sir Robert Cecil, and at her departure from thence the 1st of February, 2s'.

Feb 1, Thur **CHELSEA**, Middlesex; Lord and Lady Howard of Effingham.
 Chelsea manor-house; given by the Queen in 1591 to Katherine (Carey), wife of Charles 2nd Lord Howard of Effingham (c.1536-1624), Lord Admiral: both were the Queen's cousins; Katherine: a Lady of the Bedchamber and of the Privy Chamber.

Works: 'Attending at Chelsea for the laying of the Queen's landing bridge'.
 'Chelsea, the Lord Admiral's house...at the time of her Majesty's abode... for locks, keys, staples and rings for her Highness's lodgings there, and mending locks, keys, doors and casements, with other necessary smiths' work'.
 Feb 2-5: Chelsea, Chancery warrants.

Feb 4: death. Sir Gilbert Gerard, Master of the Rolls. Funeral, March 6: Ashley Church, Staffs. His monument is there, with wife and children.

Feb 5, Mon **CECIL HOUSE**, Strand; Lord Burghley.
 William Cecil, Lord Burghley (1520-1598), Lord Treasurer, widower.
 The Queen stayed with Burghley before Parliament opened.
 St Martin in the Fields: 'For ringing the 5th of February at her Majesty's coming to the Lord Treasurer's, and at her departure from thence, 2s'.

John Norden (1592): 'Burleigh House': 'Standing on the north side of the Strand, a very fair house raised with bricks, proportionably adorned with four turrets, placed at the four quarters of the house; within it is curiously beautified with rare devices, and especially the Oratory, placed in an angle of the great chamber. Unto this is annexed on the east a proper house of the honourable Sir Robert Cecil'. [Norden, ed. Ellis, *Essex*, xvi].

Feb 6-14: Privy Council meetings were held at Lord Burghley's house, e.g.
 Feb 7: 'At the court at the Lord Treasurer's in the Strand'.^{APC}

Feb 7: new appointment: Sir William Peryam (1534-1604) became Chief Baron of the Exchequer.

February 12-April 14: Lord Burgh was special Ambassador to Scotland.
 Thomas 5th Lord Burgh went to be informed of what action the King was taking against the Catholic lords after the discovery of the 'Spanish Blanks' in December 1592. Letter of credence: February 12.

Feb 14, Wed **HAMPTON COURT**, Middlesex.^{CH}

Richard Coningsby: 'altering' Hampton Court 'against her Majesty's return from London'.^T Feb 15, John Dee noted: 'Her Majesty graciously accepted of my few lines of thankfulness delivered unto her by the Countess of Warwick... at Hampton Court two or three days before the remove to Somerset House'.^D

Feb 17, Sat dinner, Putney, Surrey; Mr [John] Lacy.
'For her Highness to dine at when she came from Hampton Court'.^T

Feb 17, Sat **SOMERSET HOUSE**, Strand.

Crown property. Keeper: Henry Carey, 1st Lord Hunsdon, the Queen's cousin; wife: Anne (Morgan). St Martin in the Fields: 'Ringing the 17th of February at her Majesty's coming to Somerset House, 12d'.

John Norden (1592): 'Somerset House, situate in the Strand near the Thames, built by the late Duke of Somerset, not fully finished, yet a most stately house...having chief prospect towards the south, and the sweet river of the Thames offereth many pleasing delights. The fields also and the air sweet and pleasant...Lord Hunsdon, Lord Chamberlain to her Majesty, hath under her Majesty the use thereof'. [Norden, ed. Ellis, Essex, xv].

Feb 18, William Lord Vaux of Harrowden to Burghley, after being summoned to Parliament: By reason of my debts 'I am come up raggedly suited and clothed, unfittedst to give dutiful attendance on Royal presence...Moreover my Parliament robes are at pawn to a citizen where I have offered large interest...to borrow them for some few days...Nevertheless, I cannot obtain them'.

I beg to be freed from attending Parliament. Signed 'Unfortunatest peer of Parliament for poverty that ever was, W.Harrowden'. [Ellis (3), iv.109-110].

Lord Vaux (1535-1595), a well-known recusant, had in the 1580s been put in prison and heavily fined for harbouring a Jesuit priest.

He attended the 1593 Parliament on a number of days. [Lords Journal].

Feb 19, Mon Queen at Opening of Parliament.

In the morning the Lords attended a sermon in Westminster Abbey, and in the afternoon the Queen went to Parliament by water, with no ceremonial procession because of the risk of plague being spread by the crowds. [Details of a proposed Procession: Nichols, *Progresses* (2014), iii.706-709].

Richard Brackenbury made ready 'the Parliament House' and 'the Church'. George Gower, Serjeant Painter, 'for the employment of himself and other his ministers under him divers days in painting and dressing her Majesty's Privy Barge with fine gold and other incidents thereto belonging against the Parliament held at Westminster', £19.9s8d.^T

Anonymous Journal: 'The Queen came privately by water. After her Majesty's coming and the Lords all set, the Lower House had intelligence thereof and went to ascend into the Upper House below the Bar, being well repleted with those that had gotten in before privately; the door was shut upon us until the Lord Keeper had gone a good step into his oration. The Lower House finding themselves discontented herewith, because of custom the way ought to have been open unto us, murmured so loud that the noise came to her Majesty's hearing, who presently commanded the door to be let open, which was done'.

Lord Keeper Puckering resumed his oration. 'He set forth as the principal matter (which her Majesty did desire to have made known and manifest to all her loving subjects) the great malice of the King of Spain which he had towards this Realm' and that he was again preparing for invasion. 'The principal cause of this Parliament is that her Majesty might consult with her subjects for the better withstanding of those intended invasions...The Sessions cannot be long... so the good hours should not be lost in idle speeches'. [Parl.iii.62-3].

Court news. Feb 20, John Danett to Ralph Lane, in Dublin:
 'Her Majesty, whom the Almighty ever more bless, is in perfect health, and my Lord Treasurer (God be thanked) is very well recovered and able to walk in his chamber and a little to sit in Council, her Majesty having been with him divers times, the Household remaining at Hampton Court'. [SP63/168/57].

Feb 22,Thur Queen at Parliament for presentation of new Speaker of Commons.
 Edward Coke (1552-1634), Solicitor-General. The Queen went by water.

Anonymous Journal: 'We met about one o'clock in the afternoon in the Lower House, and by 3 o'clock the same day the Queen was set with the nobility in the Higher House. We being let to know when her Majesty was set, went up with our Speaker, presenting him at the Bar'. Edward Coke, Speaker-elect, made the customary 'disabling speech' asking for the Queen's 'allowance and approbation', saying: 'For as in the Heavens a star is but *opacum corpus* [an opaque body] until it have received life from the Sun, so stand I *corpus opacum*, a mute body, until your Highness's bright shining wisdom hath looked upon me and allowed me'.

In the House are many men 'of ripe judgements. But I am untimely fruit, not yet ripe, but a bud, scarcely blossomed...Amongst so many fair fruit ye have plucked a shaking leaf...Yet in faithfulness of service and dutifulness of love, I think not myself inferior to any that ever were before me'.

'The Lord Keeper [Sir John Puckering], having received instruction from the Queen, answered him', accepting him as Speaker. Coke's second oration began by considering 'the great and wonderful blessings' of the Queen's 'most happy and victorious reign...We have cause daily to praise God that ever you were given us'. He described 'the great attempts of her Majesty's enemies against us' and 'how wonderfully we were delivered in eighty-eight'. He ended by asking for the Commons to have liberty of speech, freedom from arrest, and access to the Queen.

'To this speech the Lord Keeper having received new instructions from the Queen replied', saying 'The Queen answereth: liberty of speech is granted you... but you must know what privilege you have: not to speak everyone what he listeth, or whatsoever cometh in his brain to utter that - but your privilege is Aye! and No! Wherefore, Mr Speaker, her Majesty's pleasure is that if you perceive any idle heads which...will meddle in reforming the Church and... transforming the Commonwealth, do exhibit any Bills to such purpose, that you receive them not, until they be viewed and considered by those whom it is fitter should consider of such things, and can better judge them'. [Parl.iii.64-68].

Court news. Feb 23, Beauvoir to Lord Burghley, of two young Frenchmen, the Baron de la Rivière, and the stepson of President Groulart, who had been sent to see foreign countries, and began with peaceful England. At Beauvoir's last audience they had been kindly received by the Queen. Beauvoir showed them some of the sights of London. All they now wish is to visit Burghley. They will ask for a passport, and hope to leave by February 26. [SPF List 4, 329].

c.Feb 23,Fri **ST JAMES'S PALACE.**^{CH,T}

Work at St James included: George Gower, Serjeant Painter, 'painting and gilding with fine gold a seat of wainscot for the Queen's Majesty's monkey in the Privy Chamber, 13s4d'.^T [March 1592-March 1593].

John Norden (1592), of St James: 'It standeth from other buildings about two furlong, saving a farm-house opposite against the north gate. But the situation is pleasant, endued with a good air and pleasant prospects. On the east London offereth itself in view; in the south the stately buildings of Westminster, with the pleasant park and the delights thereof; on the north the green fields. It was built by King Henry the 8'. 'Hyde Park substantially impaled with a fair lodge and princely stands therein. It is a stately park and full of fair game'.

Lord Hunsdon is 'Master of the game'. [Rye, 100].

The Queen had not stayed at St James's Palace since 1588, and did not stay at Whitehall between April 1592-April 1593. John Norden wrote of the City of Westminster (1592): 'The principal means whereby this City is relieved'. It has 'no general trade'. 'The first and principal means' whereby the people are maintained 'is her Majesty's residence at Whitehall and St James, whence if her Majesty be long absent they begin to complain of penury and want, of a hard and miserable world. And therefore do the people...seem...to pour forth daily petitions...that it might please God to send her Majesty to one of these places. Having her Highness's presence they rejoice, they triumph, they flourish, and they thrive, some by victualling, some by lodging courtiers, some by one means, some by another; they are all glad, and fare well. And no doubt but they could wish in their hearts that Whitehall were her Majesty's common abode. But alas, what then should other places that stand upon like terms do? Therefore hath her Highness a gracious consideration to visit these places...as it were by turn, as much for the comfort and relief of all, as for her Highness's private own pleasure'. The second and third means whereby the City is maintained are the four law terms in the year, and when Parliament is summoned. [Rye, 93-94].

Feb 24, in Parliament: Two of the Commons, Sir Henry Bromley and Peter Wentworth, 'delivered a petition unto the Lord Keeper, therein desiring the Lords of the Upper House to be suppliants with them of the Lower House unto her Majesty for entailing the succession, whereof a Bill was made ready drawn by them. Her Majesty being let know of this was highly displeased therewithal as a matter contrary to her former strait commandment. Charged the Commons to call the parties before them. Sir Thomas Heneage presently sent for them, and after speeches had with them commanded them to forbear the Parliament, and not to go out from their several lodgings'.

Feb 25: Sir Henry Bromley and Peter Wentworth 'were called before the Lord Treasurer, Lord Buckhurst, and Sir Thomas Heneage. The Lords treated them favourably and with good speech, but so highly was her Majesty offended that they must needs commit them and so they told them'. [Parl.iii.68].

Bromley and two others were sent to the Fleet; they were released in April after Parliament ended. Peter Wentworth was sent to the Tower, as in two previous Parliaments; this time he was not released; his wife Elizabeth (Francis Walsingham's sister) was allowed to join him; she died 1596; he 1597.

Feb 25, Shrove Sunday, St James: new Privy Councillor: Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, 'Master of the Horse, took the Oath of Supremacy and of a Privy Councillor at the Council Board'.^{APC}

Feb 26, Mon, in the Commons: Sir John Fortescue (Master of the Great Wardrobe since 1559; Privy Councillor) spoke on the dangers from abroad, and the great demands on the Queen's purse now and in the past in England, France, Ireland, Scotland, and the Low Countries.

'When her Majesty came to the Crown she found it four millions indebted; her Navy when she came to view it she found greatly decayed...And now she is able to match any Prince in Europe...She hath with her ships compassed the whole world, whereby this land is made famous throughout all places'...

'As for her own private expenses, they have been little in building; she hath consumed little or nothing in her pleasures. As for her apparel, it is royal and princely, beseeming her calling, but not sumptuous nor excessive. The charges of her house small, yea never less in any King's time'.

'And shortly (by God's grace) she will free her subjects from that trouble which hath come by the means of Purveyors. Wherefore she trusteth that every good subject will assist her Majesty with his purse'.

A Committee was appointed to decide on the Subsidy.

Feb 27, Tues, in the Commons: James Morice (1539-1597) of Essex, Attorney of the Court of Wards, complained of 'the hard course' of Bishops, 'and other Ecclesiastical Judges in their courts'. He offered the Speaker two Bills. After some debate Coke took the Bills to consider. [D'Ewes, 474-6].

Feb 27, Tues afternoon Speaker of Commons at St James with the Queen. Edward Coke, the Speaker, had presided over the Commons in the morning. 'At two o'clock the Speaker was sent for to the court, where the Queen herself gave him a special commandment to deliver unto the House'. She did not ask to see Morice's Bills, but to know what was in them.

Feb 28, Wed, in the Commons 'stood up Mr Speaker and said he had a message to deliver unto the said House from her Majesty, which is this:

Yesterday a grave member of this House after a speech used and his reasons laid forth did deliver up two Bills unto me...No eye more than my own ever saw one word of them. A little after I had perused the Bills I was sent for by a special messenger from her Majesty, and coming to her royal presence I was commanded to deliver these words from her...I must be short for her Majesty's words were not many. And I may perhaps fail in the delivery of them for... who is so impudent whom the presence of such a Majesty would not appal?'

'The message...consisted in three things: first, the end why the Parliament was called; secondly, the speech which her Majesty used by the Lord Keeper; thirdly, what her pleasure and commandment now is'.

'For the first, it is mine and in my only power (I speak now in her Majesty's person) to call and summon Parliaments...The calling of this Parliament was only that the Majesty of God might be more religiously served...And further that the safety of her Majesty's person and of this Realm might by all means possible be provided for against our great enemy the Pope and the King of Spain'...

'Secondly...it was not meant we should meddle in matters of state or in causes ecclesiastical...and she wondered that any could be so forgetful of her commandment to attempt (I use her own word) a thing so expressly contrary to that which she had forbidden, wherefore with this she was highly offended'.

'Thirdly...her Majesty's present charge and express commandment is that no Bill touching the said matters of state or reformation in causes ecclesiastical be exhibited. And upon my allegiance I am commanded if any such Bill be exhibited not to read it'. [Parl.iii.80,83-85].

Also Feb 28: James Morice was examined before the Privy Council. He wrote a description of his examination, noting that Lord Keeper Puckering said he had incurred 'her Majesty's high displeasure for that I had dealt contrary to her express commandment in matters of state...and withal that I had touched ecclesiastical jurisdiction. "For which causes", said he, "her Majesty's commandment is that you should be sharply chidden, yea and committed also".

At which his last words he looked on the Lord Treasurer, who said "Yea, to some Councillor's house".

Lord Treasurer Burghley: "We have not seen", saith he, "your Bills, but heard of them. Good matter they contain, your fault is only in form. If any things were amiss in the ecclesiastical government you should have privately informed the Queen thereof, who hath power and authority to reform all such disorders".

Morice had 'leave to answer for myself'. After dinner at his Westminster house he was committed to 'Sir John Fortescue's house at the Old Wardrobe'. [Parl.iii.40-42]. Morice was released in April.

Also Feb 28: Gilbert Laton, a Catholic, confessed that he had been sent to England from Spain to kill the Queen. The King of Spain's Secretary told him it was for the good of all Christendom, and offered to make him a Knight of Jerusalem. Father Parsons advised him that the deed could be done while the Queen was on progress, with a wire or with a dagger. [SP12/244/55]. Laton was imprisoned in the Tower until 30 Nov 1597 when he was to be released on giving bond to behave as 'a good subject', and not to come to court.^{APC}

February: christening. Queen was godmother to 'Sir Robert Sidney's daughter'.^T Parents: Sidney, Governor of Flushing, who was at his London house; 1st wife: Barbara (Gamage). Simon Bowyer made ready 'at Dowgate in London', February.^T Queen's gift: gilt bowl with a cover.^{PS} 5th child: Elizabeth Sidney; died 1605.

March 1, Anthony Bagot to Richard Bagot, of the Earl of Essex: 'My Lord is very desirous to take order for his debts; and now since Shrove Sunday at 4 o'clock (about which hour he was sworn a Privy Councillor), his Lordship is become a new man, clean forsaking all his former youthful tricks, carrying himself with honourable gravity, and singularly liked of both in Parliament and at Council table for his speeches and judgement'. [Devereux, i.282].

March 1, Thur, in the Commons: A Committee was appointed to confer with a Lords Committee on the very large Subsidy needed by the Crown.

March 2, in the Commons: Sir Robert Cecil reported that the Lords would not agree to 'less than three entire subsidies, to be paid in the three next years'.

Francis Bacon proposed that the Commons should yield to this demand, but should not join with the Lords in granting it. [D'Ewes, 483].

Mar 4, Sun sermon: Dr Matthew Hutton, Bishop of Durham.
Text: Jeremiah 27:5-7: 'I have made the earth, the man, and the beasts that are upon the ground, by my great power and by my outstretched arm, and have given it unto whom it seemed meet unto me. And now have I given all these lands into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar the King of Babylon, my servant; and the beasts of the field have I given him also to serve him. And all nations shall serve him, and his son, and his son's son, until the very time of his land come: and then many great nations and great kings shall serve themselves of him'.

John Harington's description, written in the reign of King James I:

'I no sooner remember this famous and worthy prelate but I think I see him in the Chapel at Whitehall, Queen Elizabeth at the window in the Closet, all the lords of the Parliament, spiritual and temporal, about them, and then... that I hear him out of the pulpit thundering this text:

"The kingdoms of the earth are mine, and I do give them to whom I will, and I have given them to Nebuchadnezzar, and his son, and his son's son"; which text, when he had thus produced, taking the sense rather than words of the prophet, there followed first so general a murmur of one friend whispering to another...lastly, so quiet a silence and attention, in expectancy of some strange doctrine, where text itself gave away kingdoms and sceptres, as I have never observed either before or since'.

He 'showed how there were two special causes of translating of kingdoms: the fullness of time, and the ripeness of sin...running historically over the great monarchies of the world...Then coming nearer home' he spoke of her Majesty and that 'the uncertainty of succession gave hopes to foreigners to attempt fresh invasions, and bred fears in many of her subjects'...

'The only way then (said he)...to assuage these fears, were to establish the succession...And at last, insinuating as far as he durst the nearness of blood of our present Sovereign, he said plainly that the expectations and presages of all writers went northward, naming, without any circumlocution, Scotland!'

'When he had finished this sermon, there was no man that knew Queen Elizabeth's disposition but imagined that such a speech was as welcome as salt to the eyes, or, to use her own words "to pin up her winding sheet before her face, so to point out her successor, and urge her to declare him".

'Wherefore, we all expected that she would not only have been highly offended, but in some present speech have showed her displeasure...When she opened the window we found ourselves all deceived, for very kindly and calmly, without show of offence...she gave him thanks for his very learned sermon'.

'Yet when she had better considered the matter, and recollected herself in private, she sent two Councillors to him with a sharp message'.

I went to the Bishop to request a copy of the sermon for a peer].

He 'told me plainly he durst give no copy, for that Sir John Fortescue and Sir John Wolley...had been with him from the Queen, with such a greeting as he scant knew if he were a prisoner or a free man'. But 'it was not long ere the Queen was so well pacified, that he went down with the Presidentship of York'.

[*Nugae Antiquae*, ii.248-252]. Dr Hutton became Archbishop of York in 1595; he became a 'Commissioner in the North' in 1596.

March 5: Stationers entered a book by Jean de Frégeville, dedicated to the Queen: Palma Christiana. Latin dedication, of a Latin theological work. Text: 152p. (London, 1593).

March 5, Mon, in the Commons: Sir Henry Unton declared that names of those speaking against the Subsidy were given to the Queen (which they were). Sir Robert Cecil denied this.

March 6,7,8: in the Commons: There were speeches for and against granting an unprecedentedly large Subsidy to be paid to the Crown in four years. Francis Bacon and Sir Henry Unton spoke more than once.

March 8: 'Mr Francis Bacon assented to three subsidies, but not to the payments under six years. And to this propounded three questions. The first, impossibility or difficulty; the second, danger or discontentment; and thirdly, a better manner of supply than subsidy. For impossibility: the poor men's rent is such that they are not able to yield it, nor to pay so much for the present. The gentlemen they must sell their plate and the farmers their brass pots ere this will be paid'. [Parl.iii.109]. For speeches in this Parliament both Bacon and Sir Henry Unton were for long out of favour with the Queen.

March 10, Sat: The Commons voted for three subsidies.

[c.March 10], Gray's Inn, Anthony Bacon to Anthony Standen:

'Here is a Parliament held at this present which hath already granted three subsidies to be paid to the Queen in four years, more than hath been granted to her or any of her ancestors heretofore'...

'Sir Walter Raleigh, having been almost a year in disgrace for several occasions, as I think you have heard, is yet hovering between fear and hope, notwithstanding his great share out of the rich carrack'. [LPL 648/99].

The carrack: the Portuguese treasure-ship captured in August 1592.

Mar 11, Sun sermon: Dr William Wickham, Bishop of Lincoln.
John Harington: 'He preached before the Queen at a Parliament, I think the last time that ever he preached before her'. The effect was 'That the temporalities of bishoprics, and lands of colleges...were now reduced to a good mediocrity'. He 'besought her Majesty to make stay of them at least in this mediocrity'. [Nugae Antiquae, ii.93]. The Bishop died in 1595.

Mar 14, Wed sermon: The appointed preacher was Lawrence Stanton, Canon of Norwich. Probably the following sermon:

Text: Philippians 3:20-21: 'But our conversation is in heaven, from whence also we look for the Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ. Who shall change our vile body, that it may be fashioned like unto his glorious body, according to the working whereby he is able even to subdue all things unto himself'.

Stationers entered, October 1: 'A sermon entitled *Resurgendum*, viz. concerning the Resurrection, preached not long since at the court by L.S'.

Printed, 1593, entitled: *Resurgendum*. A notable sermon concerning the Resurrection...by L.S.

March 18, St James: Council's order: John Holles and Gervase Markham having received special commandment by order from her Majesty that they should not provoke one another to fight, were by order from their Lordships for disobeying ...committed prisoners to the Marshalsea'.

'John Stanhope, esquire, was also committed to the Marshalsea for breach of like commandment towards Sir Charles Cavendish'.^{APC} (See March 25, 29).

There were long-standing disputes between John Holles and Gervase Markham, both of Nottinghamshire, and their associates. On Jan 18 Holles was ordered to attend the Council; Markham had been publishing 'libels in divers places against Mr Holles tending to the breach of her Majesty's peace and defame of the gentleman'. Markham was also to attend the Council. A recent fierce quarrel was described by the Earl of Shrewsbury to Lord Burghley, Jan 30. [Bath, v.117-118]. Stanhope: Gentleman of the Privy Chamber; Cavendish: son of 'Bess of Hardwick'.

March 21: Queen's presents sent to the Sultan and Sultana of Turkey. Newsletters, March (I): 'There is sent unto the Turk a rich bedstead which was found in the carrack'. [The ship captured in 1592].

(II): 'Mr Beecher (an Alderman's son of London) is now ready to pass for Turkey with these presents, viz: a very rich bedstead worth £3000, two striking clocks of silver, a very rich cupboard of plate, 52 chests of the best scarlet could be bought, and 12 scarlet gowns for his chiefest Pashas'. [Verstegan, 104,126].

All the presents were put aboard *The Ascension*, which left Gravesend, Kent, on March 21, arriving in Turkey on September 1. Presentation: see October 7.

Mar 23, Fri Richard Carmarden at St James's Palace with the Queen.

Richard Carmarden (c.1536-1603), of Chislehurst, Kent, Surveyor-General of the Customs; one of the Commissioners for the carrack captured in 1592, the largest part of whose cargo was pepper; several thousand bags had been loaded into six ships in Devon and brought to London.

Carmarden to Burghley, March 29, Chislehurst: 'On Friday last it pleased her Majesty to hear my opinion touching the disposal of the pepper', either to sell 'in gross' or retail. I advised her to 'prohibit by proclamation any pepper to be brought to this realm for the space of two years'. [Carmarden had several discussions with the Queen on this subject]. April 17, London, as above: Carmarden gave the Queen his opinion of an offer for the pepper which could yield £68,000; when last with her showed her an offer of £80,000 (pepper was selling for 3s per pound). The last offer was liked best. [HT.iv.297,301].

March 25, St James: Council warrant to the Keeper of the Marshalsea to set at liberty John Holles, John Stanhope, Gervase Markham. They 'were brought before their Lordships, and were again straitly commanded to keep the peace each to other...and to give no occasion of challenge, provokement or offence'.

March 29, St James: Council warrant to the Keeper of the Marshalsea to receive into his custody Sir Charles Cavendish and five of his servants, permitting him one man to attend upon him.^{APC} (Sequel: April 26).

*Mar 30, Fri sermon: Dr Lancelot Andrewes.

Text: Mark 14: 4-6 (on objections to Mary Magdalene anointing Jesus):
 'Therefore some disdained among themselves, and said, To what end is this waste of ointment? For it might have been sold for more than three hundred pence, and been given to the poor. And they grudged against her. But Jesus said, Let her alone, why trouble ye her? she hath wrought a good work on Me'. [Printed, 1629].

April 4: Purveyance for the Royal Household: provisions from county of Surrey.

April 4, Privy Council made an 'agreement and composition' with three Surrey Justices of the Peace that the following provisions should be delivered:

At the Court Gate: '100 fat and great veals' of 5 weeks and upwards', on April 26 (15); May 14 (30); May 16 (25); Sept 14 (30), 'all at 6s8d the piece'.
 '10 good flitches of bacon, without gammon', on Good Friday, at 12d the piece.
 '50 fat and good lambs', on May 1 (25); May 20 (25), at 12d the piece.
 'At London or elsewhere, upon one month's warning': 16 dozen capons, 4s dozen; 10 dozen hens, 2s dozen; 30 dozen pullets, 18d dozen; 5 dozen geese, 4s dozen; 100 dozen chickens, 12d dozen.

'Ready money shall be paid for the said veals, bacon, lambs, and poultry, immediately upon the receipt of the same'. [Kemp, 272-273].

April 5 [St James], Privy Council to Lord Mayor of London (William Roe):

'Whereas her Majesty doth purpose to stay here some further time than she had thought to have done, because the house her Majesty doth now remain in is so near unto the city we have thought good to require you, as you would be glad to have the comfort of her Majesty's presence so near unto the city, that some extraordinary care may be had...for avoiding of the increase of the infection and the keeping of the streets sweet and clean'.

Similar letter to the Justices of Middlesex; postscript that 'no dung or other filth be laid in any of the highways, being a very great annoyance both to breed infection and to her Majesty riding sometimes in the fields to take air'.^{APC}

April 6: *News of secret marriage, followed by imprisonment.*

William Cecil (1566-1640), son of Sir Thomas Cecil and grandson of Lord Burghley, married (2nd wife) Elizabeth Drury (1579-1654), a Gentlewoman of the Privy Chamber, daughter of Sir William Drury and grand-daughter of Dorothy Lady Stafford, a Lady of the Privy Chamber 1559-1603.

William Cecil was at first rumoured to have married Lady Arbella Stuart.

Newsletters, April (I): 'The world was deceived in supposing young Cecil to be married to the Lady Arbella, for he of late conveyed Mistress Drury...from the court, and unknown to either prince or parents secretly married her; for which he is in great disgrace with his grandfather, who threateneth therefore to disinherit him; and for his contempt he was committed to the Fleet'.

April (II): Cecil 'carried away the Lady Stafford's daughter's daughter, who was a Gentlewoman of the Privy Chamber, and...they were taken again'.

[Verstegan, 130,151].

April 6, The Fleet, William Cecil to 'my very honourable uncle' [Sir Robert Cecil]: 'I lie here in prison upon her Majesty's commandment. When my punishment shall be thought proportionable to the quality of my offence I humbly pray you be one of my best helpers to procure my liberty. The place where I lie is a congregation of the unwholesome smells of the town, and this season contagious, for I hear of many that died of the plague'. [SP12/244/120].

April, William Cecil to Sir Robert Cecil: 'My remove from a noisome prison to this place of better health I do acknowledge to be procured by your honourable means'; May 22, Westminster: 'I am rather beholden to you than to any other for completing my liberty'. [HT.MS 169/65,72].

William Cecil became (1605) 3rd Lord Burghley; (1623) 2nd Earl of Exeter.

April 6,28: *Problems with the Queen's elephant* (a gift from France in 1592). April 6, Noel Caron (Dutch Agent) to Sir Robert Cecil, asking his favour for the Keeper of the elephant, whom he had known in Flanders. In view of his great expenses in looking after the elephant, the Keeper wanted the Queen's leave to take it for four months or so to the United Provinces, where he was sure no one had ever seen one. Caron had never seen one in Holland or Zeeland. People would be very pleased to see it, and the Keeper would give sureties to bring it back to England before winter or whenever required. April 28: Caron sent Burghley a petition about taking the Queen's elephant abroad, with the names of two Dutch merchants as pledges for its return. They had brought it from France to England and had charge of it, and now wish for a passport to sail straightaway, or else they will have to find it another lodging, as it needs a change of air after the winter. [SPF List 4, 148]. Further problems with the elephant: 3 June 1594.

April 7: 'Memorial of an order to be taken for poor soldiers'. A complaint that the late statute for their maintenance is not performed in most counties. That the Justices send them from the place where they were impressed to the place where they were born, and vice versa, and refuse to sign their certificates, so that they become vagabonds, and the Queen is troubled, whenever she takes the air, with these miserable creatures. [SP12/244/125].

April 9: *Pawned Maundy cloth*. Philip Henslowe (theatre owner) lent his nephew Francis Henslowe 10 shillings 'the 9 of April 1593 upon a remnant of broad cloth which the Queen gave on Maundy Thursday to a poor woman dwelling in Thieving Lane', and 10 shillings 'upon a sad green cloak of Goodwife Allen which lies in the room of' the same remnant. [Henslowe, 111-112].

The 1593 Maundy was distributed on April 12.

Thieving Lane, close to Westminster Abbey, was so called 'for that thieves were led that way to the Gate-house [Prison], while the Sanctuary continued in force'. [Stow, *Survey of London*, ii.104].

Apr 10, Tues Queen at Closing of Parliament.

St Margaret Westminster: 'For ringing when her Majesty came to dissolve the Parliament, 2s6d'. The Queen went by water.

'Between 5 and 6 o'clock in the afternoon...the Queen's Majesty, accompanied with her Officers and daily attendants, came to the Upper House'.

The Speaker and Commons arrived, with the Bill of Subsidy.

Speaker Coke in his oration said: 'This sweet Council of ours I would compare to that sweet Commonwealth of the little bees...The little bees have but one Governor whom they all serve, he is their King...They forage abroad, sucking honey from every flower to bring to their King...The drones they drive away out of their hives...Your Majesty is that princely Governor and noble Queen, whom we all serve; being protected under the shadow of your wings we live, and wish you may ever sit upon your Throne over us...Our lands, our goods, our lives, are prostrate at your feet to be commanded'. [D'Ewes, 465].

Roger Wilbraham's Journal: 'Her Majesty came in her robes and coronet, and having well placed and settled herself, the Speaker... made an oration:

1. of the antiquity of Parliament...secondly of her Majesty's favour in calling her people to consult for the state; and 3. desired leave to compare her Majesty to a bee, which governs with such policy that all the others obey... Her people are valiant as bees to drive away the drones, so they put Spaniards to flight...4. he showed the nobles and commons had made laws to which her Majesty must give life...offering in the name of all a treble subsidy'.

'The Lord Keeper having kneeled before her Majesty returned to his place' [to answer the Speaker]. The Queen 'approved the comparison of the bees'; she accepted 'most thankfully the subsidy, as a provision against invasion'.

'Then her Majesty stood up saying to this effect, in golden words: She thought meet the Lords and Commons should understand out of her own heart and mouth those things the Lord Keeper had spoken by her direction: touching the subsidy she thanked them, assuring them that it was for their own defence a provision and not for her own expenses, for her endeavours were spent altogether either in service of God or in government of her people or for the flourishing estate of her kingdoms; her care was as great as any King's had been (her father excepted, in reverence of a child) to preserve her people; that she was now grown in years and therefore not like now to bestow her treasure but for the safety of her people; that since the beginning she hath refused good occasion to amplify her kingdom, but that she feared it would be more charge to her people than honour; she never gave occasion of offence wherefore her neighbours should so annoy here; she made war abroad to keep it farther off; she required none to fear; her heart never stood so much at peace; she knew no cause to doubt victory but persuaded provident provision, and so ended with hearty thanks'.

[*Wilbraham*, 3-4]. Acts passed included: 'An Act to retain the Queen's subjects in obedience'. Parliament was dissolved. Next Parliament: October 1597.

April 11, 'At my house in Broad Street which I have lately bought of my Lord Compton', Earl of Shrewsbury to his uncle John Manners:

At 'the ending of the Parliament...Mr Coke the Speaker for the nether house, and the Lord Keeper, performed their several speeches very sufficiently, and her Majesty with her own mouth concluded with a princely and eloquent speech... worthy of great praise and memory, wherein she joined, with the provident care she had to have all things meet and in readiness in all suddenness to withstand her potent enemies, a protestation of freeness from any fear of their greatness or attempts whatsoever, and so she wished we all should persuade the people in those countries where we severally dwell to be of the same mind. And many other points her oration contained worthy of great praise and memory'.^{RT}

Apr 12, Maundy Thursday ceremonies and alms-giving, at Westminster Abbey.

By Richard Fletcher, Bishop of Worcester, Queen's Almoner; to 59 poor women, each 20s in a red purse and 59d in a white purse.^{T,W}

c. April 13 onwards: Sir Charles Blount at court.

Blount (1563-1606), a favourite of the Queen, had been recalled from Brittany.

Robert Naunton's description: He 'having twice or thrice stolen away into Brittany (where under Sir John Norris he had then a company) without the Queen's leave...she sent a messenger to him with a strict charge to the General to see him sent home. When he came into the Queen's presence, she fell into a kind of reviling, demanding how he durst go over without her leave'.

"Serve me so", quoth she, "once more and I will lay you fast enough for running. You will never leave till you are knocked on the head as that inconsiderate fellow Sidney was. You shall go when I send you. In the meantime see that you lodge in the court", which was then at Whitehall, "where you may follow your book, read, and discourse of wars". [*Fragmenta Regalia*].

Sidney: Sir Philip Sidney received a thigh-wound at Zutphen, 1586.

Queen to the Treasurer at War (Sir Thomas Sherley), June 30, Oatlands: Sir Charles Blount, having been stayed to attend upon us, was forced to be absent from his charge; he and his servants were not paid from April 12; they are to continue to be paid, and he is to have £200 also. [SP12/245/37].

Blount was made Governor of Portsmouth in January 1594; became 8th Lord Mountjoy on his brother's death, June 1594; was made Lord Deputy of Ireland in 1600.

Apr 14, Sat Lord Burgh at St James's Palace on return from Scotland.
From a two month special embassy.

April 14, St James, Lord Chamberlain's warrant to pay Margaret Darrett, widow (of William Darrett, formerly Master of the Barges): 'for one barge with 12 oars which was taken by the Master of her Majesty's Barges by the commandment of the said Lord Chamberlain and was altered and employed for her Highness' service in the Parliament time; and now her Majesty possessed thereof; which barge was appraised by the Officers of her Majesty's Barges who agreed with the said Margaret Darrett in full satisfaction for the same the sum of £16'.^T

Apr 15, Easter Day Queen at Holy Communion, St James's Palace.
Description by Anthony Anderson, Sub-Dean of the Chapel Royal, 1592-93:

'The princely coming of her Majesty to the Holy Communion at Easter'.

'The most sacred Queen Elizabeth upon Easter Day, after the Holy Gospel was read in the Chapel at St James, came down into her Majesty's travers; before her Highness came the Gentlemen Pensioners, then the Barons, the Bishops London and Llandaff, the Earls, and the honourable Council in their Colours of State, the Heralds at Arms, the Lord Keeper bearing the Great Seal himself, and the Earl of Hertford bearing the Sword before her Majesty. Then her Majesty's royal person came most cheerfully, having as noble supporters...the Earl of Essex, Master of her Majesty's Horse, on the right hand...the Lord Admiral on the left hand...the Lord Chamberlain of England, viz. the Earl of Oxford, and the noble Lord Chamberlain to her Majesty, also next before her Majesty attendant'.

'All the while Dr Bull was at the organ playing the Offertory. Her Majesty entered her travers most devoutly, there kneeling. After some prayers she came princely before the Table, and there humbly kneeling did offer the golden obeisant, the Bishop...of Worcester [Richard Fletcher] holding the golden basin, the Sub-Dean and the Epistler in rich copes assistant to the said Bishop. Which done her Majesty returned to her princely travers sumptuously set forth, until the present action of the Holy Communion, continually exercised in earnest prayer, and then the blessed Sacrament first received of the said Bishop and administered to the Sub-Dean, the Gospeller for that day, and to the Epistler, her sacred person presented herself before the Lord's Table, royally attended as before, where was set a stately stool and cushions for her Majesty'.

'And so humbly kneeling with most singular devotion and holy reverence did most comfortably receive the most blessed Sacraments of Christ's body and blood, in the kind of bread and wine, according to the laws established by her Majesty and Godly laws in Parliament. The bread being wafer bread of some thicker substance, which her Majesty in most reverent manner took of the Lord Bishop in her naked right hand, her satisfied heart fixing her semblant eyes most entirely upon the worthy words sacramental pronounced by the Bishop, and that with such a holy aspect as it did mightily add comfort to the godly beholders (whereof this writer was one very near)'.

'And likewise her Majesty received the cup, having a most princely linen cloth laid on her cushion pillow and borne at the four ends by the noble Earl of Hertford, the Earl of Essex, the Earl of Worcester, and the Earl of Oxford'.

'The side of the said cloth her Majesty took up in her hand, and therewith took the foot of the golden and now sacred cup and with like reverent attention as before to the sacramental words did drink of the same most devoutly (all the while kneeling on her knees)...And so returning to her said travers there devoutly stayed the end of prayers, which done her Majesty royally ascended the way and stairs into her Presence [Chamber], whom the Lord bless for ever and ever. Amen'. [Cheque Book of the Chapel Royal, i.54-55].

Dr John Bull (c.1562-1618) organist and composer, was first a Child and then a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal, c.1574-1613.

By 16 April 1593 until July 1595: **Antonio Perez** in England.

Antonio Perez (1540-1611) had been Secretary of State to King Philip II of Spain, and a favourite of the King.

In 1577 the King suspected that Don John of Austria, his half-brother, was plotting against him; when Don John's Secretary Escovedo came to Spain from the Low Countries he was stabbed to death in Madrid on Good Friday night, with the secret connivance of both Perez and the King. Escovedo's widow suspected that Perez and his mistress the widowed Princess of Eboli were implicated. In 1579 on the King's orders both were imprisoned. The innocent Princess died in prison.

In 1585 Perez was fined for corruption, and sentenced to harsher imprisonment. Later the King allowed him to be tried for Escovedo's murder.

In 1590, after implicating the King in the murder, and knowing that he would be sentenced to death, Perez escaped from prison and reached Aragon, his native province.

Perez was imprisoned in Aragon, but whilst facing charges brought by the Inquisition was freed in 1591 after a popular uprising; he fled to France; there he was granted a pension.

King Henri IV to the Queen, [19 March] 1593: I found Perez worthy of the position he held and justly complaining of persecution, so retained him in my service. But as your Majesty might like to see him I am sending him over with the Vidame, with whom he should return. [SPF List 4, 359].

Perez's stay is described by Gustav Ungerer, A Spaniard in Elizabethan England: the Correspondence of Antonio Perez's Exile (1974), 2 vols.

By 16 April until October 1593: Vidame de Chartres in England from France.

Prégent de la Fin, Sieur de Maligny, Vidame de Chartres; son of the resident French Ambassador, Jean de la Fin, Sieur de Beauvoir. He was the nephew of the previous Vidame, who was twice in England as a Huguenot refugee.

King Henri IV sent the Vidame to endeavour to negotiate a loan and a treaty. He came with Antonio Perez.

Apr 17, St James, Queen's gift. James Meagh is to be paid £6.13s4d 'by way of her Majesty's liberality, being a long time suitor here about the court for some relief from her Majesty'.^T

Apr 18, Wed Vidame de Chartres at St James for first audience. The Vidame was accompanied by his father, the resident Ambassador, when he presented his Instructions from King Henri IV. [SPF List 4, 30].

April 20-September: Dr Christopher Parkins was special Ambassador to Emperor Rudolf II in Prague.

On his way home he visited numerous German princes.

Apr 21, Sat **WHITEHALL PALACE.**

St Martin in the Fields: 'Paid the 21st of April at her Majesty's remove from St James to Whitehall for ringing, 12d'.

April 22, Sun Eve of St George's Day Garter ceremonies.

The ceremonies were delayed until after 5 o'clock by an audience for the Vidame de Chartres and the French Ambassador.

At a Chapter of Garter Knights the Queen appointed a Lieutenant, prior to the customary service attended by the Knights.

April 22, Privy Council to Dr Caesar (a Judge) and four others:

The Queen is aware of 'certain libels' published in London against 'strangers' (foreigners) and threatening by violence to remove them; you are 'to examine by secret means who may be authors of the said libels'.^{APC}

One of the libels published about this time:

'Doth not the world see that you beastly brutes the Belgians or rather drunken drones, and faint-hearted Flemings, and you fraudulent fathers, Frenchmen, by your cowardly flight from your own natural countries, have abandoned the same into the hands of your proud cowardly enemies, and have by a feigned hypocrisy and counterfeit show of religion placed yourselves here in a most fertile soil under a most gracious and merciful Prince, who had been contented, to the great prejudice of her own natural subjects, to suffer you to live here in better case and more freedom than her own people?

'Be it known to all Flemings and Frenchmen that it is best for them to depart out of the realm of England between this and 9th of July next. If not, then to take what follows. For there shall be many a sore stripe. Apprentices will rise to the number of 2336. And all prentices and journeymen will down with Flemings and Strangers'. [J.Strype, *Annals of the Reformation* (1731, 4 vols), iv.167].

Apr 23, Mon St George's Day Garter ceremonies, Whitehall.

Queen's Lieutenant: Charles Lord Howard of Effingham, Lord Admiral.

The Queen was in the processions and at the service.

The ceremonies were attended by the Vidame, Beauvoir, and Antonio Perez.

Anthony Anderson, Sub-Dean of the Chapel Royal, set down 'A prayer for her Majesty and the Lords of the most honourable Order of the Garter'; and the Order of Service, including the Lord's Prayer, psalms, lessons.

[*Cheque Book of the Chapel Royal*, i.180,182,184].

April 23: Stationers entered a book published as: 'The Shepherd's Garland, Fashioned in Nine Eclogues. Rowland's Sacrifice to the Nine Muses'.

Running title: 'Idea, The Shepherd's Garland'.

Dedicated to Master Robert Dudley.

By Michael Drayton (1563-1631).

Drayton's 'pastoral' name was Rowland; in the third Eclogue Rowland celebrates Queen Elizabeth as Beta, beginning:

'O thou fair silver Thames; o clearest crystal flood,
Beta alone the Phoenix is, of all thy watery brood,
The Queen of Virgins only she,
And thou the Queen of floods shalt be.

Let all thy Nymphs be joyful then to see this happy day,

Thy Beta now alone shall be the subject of my lay'. (London, 1593).

Apr 24, Tues Final 1593 Garter ceremonies, Whitehall.

At a Chapter of the Order five new Knights of the Garter were elected:

Henry Percy, 9th Earl of Northumberland; Edward Somerset, 4th Earl of Worcester; Thomas, 5th Lord Burgh; Edmund, 3rd Lord Sheffield; and Sir Francis Knollys, Treasurer of the Household, a kinsman of the Queen.

The Queen knighted the Earl of Worcester before she placed the George round his neck and, assisted by two Knights, the Garter on his leg.

Lord Burgh and Lord Sheffield were similarly invested.

Sir Francis Knollys 'was conducted by the Lord Hunsdon and the Earl of Essex, Garter going before them, and the Queen's Majesty would herself only put on his George and Garter with most kind words, and tears on all sides'. [Ashmole, 203].

Earl of Northumberland was absent and was invested at a later date.

All were installed at Windsor on June 25.

April 26, Council letter to Sir Richard Martin (a former Lord Mayor):
Whereas five servants of Sir Charles Cavendish were committed to the Marshalsea (March 29) 'for making of an assault and affray upon Mr John Stanhope esquire... in Fleet Street, in which one James Jaques was very grievously and dangerously hurt, their Lordships had given direction to the Keeper of the Marshalsea to bring them before him'. He is to take good bond of them 'with sufficient security for their forthcoming if the said Jaques should happen to die of those wounds within a year and a day'.^{APC}

Apr 29, Sun knighting, Whitehall: Lord Mayor, William Roe, ironmonger.

The Recorder of London [Edward Drew], and Aldermen presented the Lord Mayor. 'The Recorder's speech was that the armour of peace was the due administration of the sword and of laws...in both which he extolled her Majesty's most happy government as well with her power against foes as Justice towards her subjects'. By her 'gracious reign and benignity the city had flourished above all the rest of the realm; wherefore in humble acknowledgement thereof their service, goods and lives were ready to sacrifice to her gracious pleasure'. Lord Keeper Puckering 'after her Majesty by whispering had intimated her pleasure' answered on her behalf ('albeit an unworthy interpreter of so divine an oracle'), gave her instructions and allowed their choice of a Mayor. [Wilbraham, *Journal*, 5-6].

Also April 29: Vidame de Chartres and Beauvoir at Whitehall for audience.

April 30, London, Beauvoir to Lord Burghley: Yesterday as we were getting into a coach to go to a christening we received a command to go to the Queen. We did not dare to deal at length about the matters on which the Vidame had been sent to her, but at the end she said she wished to speak of them...

We are asking the Lord Chamberlain if we can accompany the Queen on May 2 [when she is to move from Whitehall]. [SPF List 4, 337].

April: Antonio Perez at Whitehall for private audiences.

Earl of Essex's memorandum for the information of Thomas Phillips:

'Antonio Perez came not the first nor second time to the Queen when the Vidame had audience. When he did come he came privately, at which first time he did only kiss the Queen's hand, having no great speech with her. He hath at two several times since had private conference with the Queen. He never came to the court publicly when the two Ambassadors of France did come but at the Feast of St George. He himself is not willing to speak with many here, nor the Queen is willing to have him. He hath only spoken privately with the Lord Treasurer once, and with the Earl of Essex once or twice. They both have received great satisfaction in him and do much commend his sufficiency. It is not yet known whether he shall stay here or return into France'. [SP12/245/42].

Antonio Perez remained in England for two years, although King Henri IV wished him to return to France. He rapidly became a confidential adviser to the Queen, and entered Essex's service as one of his secretaries, fee £20 per month.

When Perez was living in France in 1603, the English Ambassador Sir Thomas Parry wrote to Robert Cecil from Paris, 29 Sept 1603, that in Queen Elizabeth's time Perez 'was requested, as a man acquainted with government and affairs of Princes, to deliver in writing such principal points of policy fitting her present state as to his judgement should seem most convenient. After many modest excuses, being daily and instantly thereto urged, at length he performed and sent them to her Majesty, and shortly after coming to the court she thanked him for it and showed him a little key tied with a string about her arm, assuring him she kept them in her Cabinet under the lock of that key'. [SP78/50/21].

May 1, Haling [Croydon, Surrey], Lord Howard of Effingham to Sir William More and George More, Surrey Justices of the Peace: 'Her Majesty hath determined to make her residence within the county of Surrey during the most part of this summer, and hath commanded me to signify unto you that her Highness' pleasure is that you...give order and direction unto all Mayors, Bailiffs, Constables... and other officers...that they...in her Majesty's name charge and command the inhabitants...not to receive any child born in London, the suburbs and confines thereto adjoining, to be nursed in any of their houses, nor any inhabitants within the said places to come to make their dwelling, abode, or sojourning within their houses...during the time of such contagious infection and sickness, upon pain of imprisonment and her Majesty's grievous displeasure'. [Kempe, 279-81]

*May 2, Wed dinner, Streatham, Surrey; Dr Forth.
Simon Bowyer made ready 'Doctor Ford's house at Streatham'.^T

Tooting Bec manor-house, Streatham; owned by Dr Robert Forth, Doctor of Civil Law, died 1595.

3rd wife: Mary, illegitimate daughter of Sir Richard Southwell, and widow of (1) Henry Paston; (2) Dr William Drury, Doctor of Civil Law; she married (4) Sir Thomas Gresley (died 1610); she died in 1622.

May 2, Wed **CROYDON**, Surrey; Archbishop of Canterbury.^T
At Croydon Palace. John Whitgift; unmarried.

Works: At Croydon 'against her Majesty's coming thither' payments for 'making of new presses for the Robes, railing up of boards and ledges about her Highness's Bedchamber and Privy Lodgings, fastening of the cloth of state and hangings, making of sundry partitions there'. Wages and 'entertainment' of Carpenters, 12d per day; labourers, 8d per day; Clerk, 12d per day; Henry Hearne, Purveyor, 12d per day. St Martin in the Fields: 'For ringing the 2nd of May at her Majesty's remove from Whitehall to Croydon, 12d'.

May 2: Stationers entered a book published as:
'Sundry Christian Passions, Contained in two hundred Sonnets. Divided into two equal parts: The first consisting chiefly of Meditations, Humiliations, and Prayers. The second of Comfort, Joy, and Thanksgiving'. By Henry Lok.

Dedicated to the Queen. 'To the right renowned Virtuuous Virgin Elizabeth, Worthy Queen of happy England, her Highness faithful subject, Henry Lok, wisheth Long Life, with eternal bliss'. Dedicatory sonnet, beginning:

'My worthless pen Presumeth to devise,
To eternize Your peerless virtuous fame'. (London, 1593).

Lok reprinted the Christian Passions in his Ecclesiastes: see 11 Nov 1596.

May 13, Sun Vidame de Chartres and Beauvoir at Croydon for audience.

The Queen commanded the Frenchmen to come to court, and asked the Vidame to accompany her on May 17 to Nonsuch. May 19, Beauvoir to Burghley: Last Sunday the Queen commanded the Vidame to stay longer in England; I mean tomorrow to beg her to give him a favourable reply and let him return. There have been great honours, favours, and good cheer made him here in England. [SPF List 4].

May 15, Richard Broughton to Richard Bagot: 'My Lord of Essex this day dineth with Sir Henry Unton, who entertaineth the French Ambassador, Vidame of Chartres, son to the old lieger [resident] Ambassador, that was here at Mount Fisher, also called Fisher's Folly, without Bishopsgate'. [Bagot, 336].

[May 16] Newsletter: 'The French King's ambassadors, father and son, Vidame of Chartres, are yet here. The son hath had as great favours and feastings as any these many years, especially graced by her Majesty and the whole Council. But for effectuating his desire I think he hath little hope'. [Verstegan, 163].

May 17, Thur **NONSUCH PALACE**, Cheam, Surrey.
Crown property. Keeper: John Lord Lumley.

May 18: Christopher Marlowe was summoned to court.

A fellow playwright, Thomas Kyd, had been arrested; heretical papers were found in his possession; he had formerly been living with Marlowe, and alleged that they belonged to Marlowe, whose patron was Thomas Walsingham, of Chislehurst.

Privy Council warrant 'To Henry Maunder, one of the Messengers of her Majesty's Chamber, to repair to the house of Mr Thomas Walsingham in Kent, or to any other place where he shall understand Christopher Marlow to be remaining, and by virtue thereof to apprehend and bring him to the court in his company'.

May 20: 'This day Christopher Marley of London, gentleman, being sent for... hath entered his appearance accordingly...and is commanded to give his daily attendance on their Lordships [the Privy Council] until he shall be licensed to the contrary'.^{APC} (See May 30).

May 21: *Captain William Fenner arrived at Boulogne.*

Fenner was sent to Boulogne by the Council, to whom he wrote, May 22, 'aboard *The Moon in Dover Road*', that he had made known to Madame Rouillac, the 'Lady Governess' of Boulogne, the Queen's 'gracious pleasure for the good of that place'. Enemies were camped around the town, and Madame Rouillac requested English gunners. Thomas Edmondes informed Burghley, Oct 26: 'The place is governed by three heads, Rouillac's wife the late Governor and two others, the one commanding in the Citadel and the others that do very ill agree'. [HT.iv.313-320; Edmondes, 111].

May 21-22: *Earl of Essex entertained the Vidame de Chartres and the French Ambassador at his house at Wanstead, Essex.* [Bath, v.254].

May 22: Provisions for the court, to be delivered by the county of Wiltshire. Privy Council made an agreement for provisions to be delivered at the Court Gate, including 15 fat oxen, each weighing 600 pounds; 200 muttons, 200 lambs, chickens. [Wilts Arch Mag. 14, 239].

May 25: *Trial of John Penry, alleged author of the 'Marprelate Tracts', widely-read satirical attacks on the Bishops, first published in 1588.*

Particulars of Penry's seditious and slanderous speeches included: 'That the Queen stands against the Gospel, and will not move a finger to help it, not speak a word to reform it. That the magistrates, ministers and people are conspirators against God, murder whole troops of souls, and are godless men. That the Privy Council are rebels against God. That the people are not permitted to serve God under the Queen. That she would not have embraced the Gospel if she could have received the Crown without it, and only uses it to strengthen her sceptre'. Penry had written: 'That were it not for the hope of a better life, it were better being the Queen's beasts than her subjects'. [SP12/245/21].

Penry was found guilty and sentenced to death, and was hanged on May 29. He left a young widow, Helen, and four daughters aged 4 and under, named *Deliverance, Comfort, Safety, and Sure Hope.*

Court news. May 26, Richard Broughton to Richard Bagot:

'The plague increaseth, and my Lord Treasurer hath given forth that the next [law] term shall be adjourned...The court is at Nonsuch, and the Household is near Oatlands, expecting the next remove to be to Oatlands'. [Bagot, 336].

May 28, Mon Vidame and Beauvoir at Nonsuch for audience. The Queen had commanded the Ambassadors to come to court. [SPF].

May 30: *death. Christopher Marlowe was stabbed to death by Ingram Frizer at Mrs Eleanor Bull's house in Deptford, Kent, after spending the day there with Frizer, Robert Poley, and Nicholas Skeres.*

June 1: An *inquest* was held at Deptford by William Danby, Coroner to the Royal Household, who had jurisdiction over the Verge, a 12 mile radius of the court.

The jury found that Frizer had acted in self-defence, in a quarrel over the 'reckoning' for food and drink. Later on June 1 Marlowe was buried at St Nicholas, Deptford. The circumstances of his death, as given at the inquest, were brought to light by Leslie Hotson, *The Death of Christopher Marlowe* (1925).

Nevertheless conspiracy theories abound. *Sequel: June 12, 28.*

June 5, Nonsuch, Privy Council to the Mayor of Windsor and Mr Lovelace:

'The Queen's Majesty, intending to make her residence for the most part of this summer at the Castle of Windsor, did of late by her express commandment... give order that no citizen of London or other person coming from any place where the present infection may be should resort to the town of Windsor, there to inhabit, make any residence or stay, that they should all forbear that place in respect of the safety of her Majesty's royal person, considering how the sickness is now dispersed in sundry towns and villages far and near'.

Some persons 'contrary to her Majesty's said commandment...have resorted thither' and 'obstinately and undutifully refuse to obey the same'.

You are 'in her Majesty's name...to charge and command them...to remove and depart from thence with their families...and thereof not to fail as they will avoid her Majesty's indignation and severely to be punished'.^{APC}

June 10: *French special Ambassador to come. Thomas Edmondes, with King Henri IV at Mantes, to Lord Burghley, May 18: 'News is come hither from Paris that to the number of 500 of the inhabitants...signified...that they would live and die in the maintenance of the Catholic religion, but if the King do render himself a Catholic that they would make a peace with him'. June 10, Camp before Dreux, to Burghley: 'This gentleman, Monsieur Morlans, Commissary General of the Victuals, is sent thither by the King to give her Majesty satisfaction, both of the causes of necessity moving him to the resolution of his conversion, as also with assurance of his intention what course he will run with her Majesty, wherein if solemn vows carry credit, he meaneth great faith'. [Edmondes, 77,81].*

Court news. June 12, Thomas Phillips, draft: 'The talk for a great while has been of the likelihood of the King of France being [becoming] a Catholic, and of a peace by means of a treaty between the King and the League. This has detained all resolution with the Vidame of Chartres, his Ambassador here. The Queen stormed at first, but it is believed that nought would come of the matter'...

'The plague is very hot both in London and divers other places of the realm, so as there is some doubt of great mortality this summer'. [SP12/245/30].

June 12: At Nonsuch Vice-Chamberlain Heneage signed a warrant for payment of £30 to Robert Poley 'for carrying of letters in post for her Majesty's special and secret affairs of great importance from the court at Croydon the 8th of May 1593 into the Low Countries to the town of the Hague in Holland, and for returning back again with letters of answer to the court at Nonsuch the 8th of June 1593, being in her Majesty's service all the aforesaid time'.^T

Although Robert Poley was present at Christopher Marlowe's death at Deptford on May 30, the warrant reads as if he had still been travelling back to Nonsuch then. Poley frequently carried royal letters, e.g. on July 14 he was paid £10 for going from Nonsuch to France, and back to Oatlands.^T

[Eugénie de Kalb, 'Robert Poley's movements as a Messenger of the Court, 1588-1601', *Review of English Studies*, 9 (1933), 13-18].

June 13: Anthony Standen returned to London after 28 years abroad.

Standen, of Surrey, a Catholic, had been abroad since 1565, and initially supported the cause of the Queen of Scots. He later acquired particular knowledge of Spain and southern France, and became a double agent. He had an affair with Don John of Austria's mother.

From the mid-1580s he was a secret agent of Sir Francis Walsingham, but also had a pension from the King of Spain, and from 1590-1591 was imprisoned in France as a Spanish spy. He then became an agent of Lord Burghley, had a pension from the Queen, and sent news bulletins to Burghley's nephew Anthony Bacon, who deciphered them and passed the 'advertisements' to Burghley and the Queen.

Anthony Bacon to Standen, March 14: Burghley said that my collections from your letters were read to the Queen. 'Her Majesty would have me let you know that she liketh well of your advertisements if they might come in season, adding thereto that an apple in time was better than an apple of gold out of time'.

Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, May 26: 'I send you a letter written to me by Standen from Calais...He sent word to Anthony Bacon ten days past from Bilbao of his intention to come secretly hither to inform her Majesty of many matters, if her Majesty should so allow it. If he may come secretly hither I think it were good he were heard'. [LPL 648/98; Murdin, 667].

Standen arrived on June 13 at Gray's Inn, where Anthony Bacon was living. He remained in England.

June 14, Gray's Inn, Anthony Standen to the Earl of Essex: Mr Bacon 'delivered of your gracious intention to favour me, as by the token or earnest penny he put about my neck in your Honour's behalf [a gold medallion]'.

June 15, Anthony Bacon to his mother Lady Bacon, of 'the arrival of a gentleman from beyond sea, whom it pleased her Majesty to command my Lord Treasurer to direct to repair and remain here with me'. [LPL 649/96,121].

Anthony Standen's first audience: August 1.

June 18, Nonsuch, Proclamation (755): Prohibiting Access to Court because of Plague. [In similar terms to a Proclamation of 12 October 1592].

June 22, Fri dinner, Hampton Court.

Richard Coningsby made ready 'at Hampton Court' and 'a dining house at Hampton Court'.^T Crown property. Keeper: Charles Lord Howard of Effingham.

Kingston Church: 'To the ringers the 22nd of June for ringing for the Queen's Majesty, 12d; the same day for mending of the great bell wheel, 6d'.

June 22, Fri **OATLANDS PALACE**, Weybridge, Surrey.

Court news. June 22 [London], Philip Gawdy to his 'sweet brother': 'The Queen's Majesty this day removeth to Oatlands, by reason one of Lord Lumley's maids died of the plague falling sick there [at Nonsuch Palace], but removed before her death...The plague increaseth, this last week died fourscore and eleven [in London], six more than before'.^{GY}

By June 23: George Peele (1556-1596) wrote: The Honour of the Garter. 'Displayed in a Poem gratulatory: entitled to the worthy and renowned Earl of Northumberland'. With the Royal Arms, the Queen's motto 'Semper eadem', and a Latin verse praising her.

Prologue to Maecenas (the Earl).

In this Peele writes: 'Unhappy in thy end, Marlowe, the Muses' darling' (the earliest known reference in print to his death).

'The Honour': The Poet sleeps in a meadow near Windsor Castle, and dreams that he sees Fame and Renown leading the founder of the Order of the Garter, King Edward III, with 24 Garter Knights, followed by the heroes of the ancient world, with King Arthur and King Henry VIII among them. Then:

'Under the glorious spreading wings of Fame,
I saw a virgin queen, attired in white,
Leading with her a sort of goodly knights,
With garters and with collars of Saint George:

"Elizabeth" on a compartment

Of gold...was writ...

She was the sovereign of the knights she led:

Her face methought I knew, as if the same,

The same great empress that we here enjoy,

Had climbed the clouds, and been in person there'.

With "Hail, Windsor!" King Edward addresses the five new Knights, being two 'noble earls', two 'lords of lively hope', and old Knollys, 'famed for his sons, And for his service gracious and renowned'. I 'gratulate

'To those new knights, created by a queen

Peerless for wisdom and for majesty,

The honour of the Garter'.

At last the 'trumpet of Renown' sounds a retreat; this 'triumphant train was vanished quite', and the Poet awakes. (London, 1593).

June 23: Earl of Northumberland's household accounts have a payment 'at my Lord's appointment to give to one George Peele, a poet, at my Lord's liberality, £3'.

By June 25: Preparations at Windsor for Garter Installation.

John Stephenson, Keeper of the Wardrobe at Windsor Castle, with 4 labourers, made ready 'the Privy Lodgings against the coming of the Noblemen to be installed, the French Ambassador accompanying them' and 'the Dean's house for the French Ambassador's lodging against the Instalment of the Noblemen'.^T

Warrant to deliver to each of the Knights-elect 'for their liveries' 18 yards of crimson velvet and 12 of white taffeta; and to Simon Bowyer, Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod 'a like quantity of crimson satin'.^B

Essex's Steward paid 'To William Bowles, Harbinger, for the Pages, Yeomen and Footmen's lodgings at Nonsuch and for his charges at Windsor at the Installing, he going before to provide lodging, 55s'. [Longleat Devereux, III, f.76].

June 25, Mon: at Windsor, Installation of new Knights of the Garter. Henry Percy, 9th Earl of Northumberland; Edward Somerset, 4th Earl of Worcester; Thomas 5th Lord Burgh; Edmund 3rd Lord Sheffield; Sir Francis Knollys.

Installed by the Queen's Commissioners:

Charles 2nd Lord Howard of Effingham; Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex; Thomas Sackville, 1st Lord Buckhurst.

June 28, Wed The Queen signed Ingram Frizer's pardon for killing Christopher Marlowe in self-defence.

June 29, Thur Oatlands, Privy Council to the Surrey Justices of Assize, who planned to hold the Assizes at Guildford because of the infection in Southwark and the City. 'Her Majesty residing now in Surrey, and where she intendeth to abide for the most part of this summer, is very unwilling to have any assemblies of people within the heart of the county or in places near to her Majesty's houses, fearing that thereby the sickness might disperse and increase'.

The Queen wishes the Assizes to be in St George's Fields [Southwark], with 'some hall, barn and rail to be set up'.^{APC}

c.30 June 1593–September 1602: George Gilpin was a Councillor on the Dutch Council of State (until his death). Initially Gilpin replaced Thomas Bodley, who returned to England from June 1593–May 1594.

July: Prayers during the plague. Queen's Printer, Christopher Barker, printed 'Certain Prayers collected out of a form of godly Meditations set forth by her Majesty's authority in the great Mortality in the fifth year of her Highness's reign [1563] and most necessary to be used at this time in the like present visitation of God's heavy hand for our manifold sins'. [Liturgy, 471].

1593. Allhallows London Wall: 'Paid to the painter for making red crosses upon the doors when the infection of the plague was, 20d; for red wands or rods, 2d'.

St Ethelburga Bishopsgate: 'Paid for two books of prayer appointed by the Bishop [John Aylmer] to be read in the Church in the time of Plague, 4d'.

Lambeth, Surrey, churchwardens: 'For writing a book of them that were visited with the plague, 6d'. St Margaret Westminster churchwardens made several payments for killing dogs during 'the infection'.

Court news. July 5, Thomas Phillips, draft:

'The plague is hot in London and other places; cannot come so much at the court which is in out places, and a great part of the Household cut off'...

'Anthony Standen has been drawn over by Mr Bacon, who lay long in France... Standen is graced by the Earl of Essex...He is very Catholic'. [SP12/245/50].

July 14: Queen's Instructions for Sir Thomas Wilkes, to be special Ambassador to France; Jean Morlans, special Ambassador from France, had had audiences (on unspecified dates).

The Queen had supported the Huguenots for years with men and money, but the King regarded his conversion as the only way to end the Wars of Religion and be recognised as undisputed ruler. Morlans made profuse, elaborate and conciliatory explanations as to his conversion and as to his future intentions.

The Queen has waited some time since the arrival of Morlans to hear what course the King of France means to follow. She can delay no longer, and sends Wilkes to learn the King's answers. If he has not yet bound himself to convert to the Catholic religion 'it shall please him to understand that in no wise we can allow nor think it good before God that for any worldly respects or any cunning persuasions he should yield to change his conscience and opinion in religion from the truth wherein he hath been brought up from his youth and for the defence whereof he hath continued in arms many years with good forces'.

Wilkes will be given a collection of reasons to persuade the King to forbear his conversion. If he is already converted he is to show him how grieved the Queen is. She wishes to know how he would be stronger by his conversion, both against his rebels and against Spain.

The King should remember how long she has aided him, even before he became King of France, with money that had never been repaid, not one denier, and with her subjects' lives 'in such number as England never yielded such number in any age to serve in foreign countries'. [SPF List 5, 358-9].

July 15 (o.s.), in France: King Henri IV converted to Catholicism.

At Mass in St Denis Cathedral he publicly abjured heresy and professed that he would live and die in the Catholic religion.

July 15, St Denis, Thomas Edmondes to Burghley: Today the King went to Mass 'with all the solemnity and magnificence that the Catholics here could devise to express so great a joy, and to the end the same should be carried to those of Paris bonfires were made in their view at Montmartre'. [Edmondes, 89].

The King was not crowned till February 1594; he entered Paris in March 1594.

July 15, Sun Scottish Ambassador at Oatlands.

Sir Robert Melville (1527-1621), King James's Treasurer, well-known to the Queen, came with news of Scottish affairs, and for James's annual gratuity.

Sir Robert to King James, July 21, London: 'I have been continually delayed to the 15 of this instant...at which time I had audience and long conference with her Majesty, tending always to excuse that she was so pressed at this time in disbursing of great sums for the King of France to the maintenance of his realm', and on ships to go to sea 'for meeting of 30 Spanish ships'.

She 'doubted not if I would inform your Majesty of her hard state' and 'desired me to take in patience for two days longer upon my dispatch, which came to my hands upon the 18th...with a warrant to receive £2000'.

'I wrote to complain to the Queen and Council that your Majesty was promised £5000 yearly; I was allowed a further £2000 for debts to merchants'.^{SD}

'To Alderman Martin for plate, silks and other things' in 1589, £2000.

Melville himself received a gold chain from the Queen. [Scot.xi.130-131].

Payment: 'To Robert Melville, the King's Ambassador, to be conveyed to the King of Scots Majesty, £2000'. 'To him more to the said King's use to be paid to certain merchants of London to whom certain merchants of Edinburgh stand indebted for the like sum owing to them by the King of Scots which her Majesty was pleased to discharge...£2000'. [Scot.xiii.742: July 23].

Court news. July 18, Twickenham, Anthony Bacon to Lady Bacon, his mother:

The Earl of Essex told me he had 'already moved the Queen for my brother [Francis, to be Attorney-General]; and that she took no exception to him, but said that she must first dispatch the French and Scottish Ambassadors and her business abroad before she think of such home matters'. [LPL 649/145].

July 18-Sept 2: Sir Thomas Wilkes was special Ambassador to King Henri IV.

Wilkes was sent to the King 'to dissuade him from his conversion to the Pope, if he be not already converted'.^B He arrived at the beginning of August, and had a first audience on August 10. [SPF List 5, 361].

Wilkes was too late to dissuade the King from his conversion, but succeeded in negotiating an alliance with France against Spain.

July, mid: Counts of Emden in England.

Count Edzard of East Friesland sent his sons John and Christopher to visit foreign countries, including France, Italy, and Sweden, from which they came to England. They were nephews of King John of Sweden and his sister Cecilia, who visited England in 1559-1560 and 1565-1566 respectively.

July: Counts of Emden at Oatlands with the Queen.

Simon Bowyer made ready 'the Queen's side at Oatlands for her Majesty at two several times for the receiving of the Ambassador of France and the two noble gentlemen of Emden'.^T

July 22: Lord Burghley entertained the Counts at Theobalds, Herts. [SPF].

In July the Earl of Essex gave a dinner for 'the Earls of Emden' at Hampton Court; cost £67.16s.9d. [Bath, v.254].

July: 'Passport for the two young Counts, sons of the Earl of Friesland, to pass into France'.^B

The Queen wrote to Henri IV in favour of the Counts, who showed 'a carriage such as was rarely seen in lords of that nation and so young an age'.

Count Edzard wrote on December 4 to thank Lord Burghley for his kindness to his sons and for his splendid hospitality in his fine house.

Their mother Catherine wrote on December 5 to thank the Queen for her kind reception of her sons, and for ordering her nobles to conduct them from one royal house to another and to take them hunting. [SPF List 5, 480-1].

Court news. July 28, Molesey, Ambassador Beauvoir [to Sir Robert Cecil]: The departing special Ambassador, Morlans, asks for his passport, without which he cannot leave the realm; he has 12 or 13 persons with him.

He also asks for the Queen's letter to the King of France, whereupon he will mount his horse and be off. [SPF List 5, 361].

The Queen wrote to Henri IV in July, lamenting (in translation):

'Ah! what grief; ah! what regrets, ah! what groans, have I felt in my soul at the sound of the news brought to me by Morlans! My God! is it possible that any worldly respect can efface the terror of Divine wrath? Can we by reason even expect a good sequel to such iniquitous acts?...Tis bad to do evil that good may come of it. Meantime I shall not cease to put you in the first rank of my devotions...As to your promises to me of friendship and fidelity, I confess to have dearly deserved them...I desire that God may guide you in a straight road and a better path. Your most sincere sister in the old fashion. As to the new, I have nothing to do with it'. [Motley, *United Netherlands*, iii.240].

July: hunting, Chertsey, Surrey.

Simon Bowyer made ready 'a standing for the Queen's Majesty at Crooked Oak in the Forest of Windsor near Oatlands'.^T

Later known as Crouch Oak Tree. At Addlestone, Chertsey parish.

July: dinner, New Lodge, Windsor; Crown property.

Simon Bowyer made ready 'the New Lodge for the Queen's Majesty to dine at when her Highness rode a-hunting into the Forest'.^T

Aug 1, Wed Anthony Standen at Oatlands to meet the Queen.

Standen had returned to London on June 13 after being abroad since 1565.

Sir Robert Cecil introduced him to the Queen, who commanded him to draw up an account of his life during his residence abroad. He began work on this at once at the Twickenham Park house of Anthony and Francis Bacon, whence he wrote to Cecil, Aug 6: 'Myself, Sir, is busied in the matter her Majesty commanded me, which will be the more tedious in that I must call to mind all actions since the year '65 till this present '93, and therefore will it ask more time than I presupposed'. [HT.iv.349]. (See August 15).

Aug 1: An approved medicine against the deserved Plague.

By Anthony Anderson, Sub-Dean of the Chapel Royal.

Dedicated, August 1, to 'Lady Scudamore, attendant upon her Majesty's most excellent person in her Privy Chamber'.

Including 'A prayer to God against the Plague' and 'An earnest prayer for the Queen's most excellent Majesty'. 16p. (London, 1593).

Anthony Anderson, Vicar of Stepney, Middx, died of the plague on October 10. Burial: October 11, St Dunstan, Stepney.

Aug 3, Fri dinner, Egham, Surrey; Mr Kellefet.

'For a dining house for the Queen's Majesty when her Highness came and removed from Oatlands to Windsor'.^T Rusham House, Egham; owned by Richard Kellefet, died 1595; wife: Cecilia (Farr), widow of Anthony Bond, Writer of the Court Letter; she married (3)(1596) Sir John Denham; she died in 1612; he re-married, and by his second wife was father of the poet, also Sir John Denham.

Egham Church memorial to Richard Kellefet:

'A most faithful servant to her Majesty, Chief Groom in the Removing Wardrobe of Beds, and Yeoman also of her Standing Wardrobe at Richmond'.

Aug 3, Fri **WINDSOR CASTLE**, Berks.

Richard Brackenbury made ready 'of Windsor house'; John Stephenson, with four labourers, made ready 'all the Privy Lodgings against the coming of her Majesty'.^T Earl of Essex's Steward paid William Bowles, Harbinger, 'for lodging his Lordship's men 6 weeks at Oatlands ending 3rd August 1593, 71s8d; and more for lodging his Lordship's servants at Windsor 12 weeks, £6.3s'.

[Longleat Devereux, III, f.76].

Aug 4: Reply received by an envoy from Hamburg.

Sebastian à Bergen, Secretary to the Senate of Hamburg, previously in England in 1588, came mainly to complain about 'reprisals' exacted from Hamburg merchants, and concerning Merchant Adventurers bringing their goods to Hamburg.

As it was a time of plague he waited at Sunbury, Middlesex, for a written reply to his mission, which was brought by the Secretary of the Steel-Yard.

Aug 4, Woolwich, Bergen to Lord Burghley, in Latin, thanking him for obtaining the revocation of the reprisals, granted by the Queen. He dare not come to court in this pestilent time, and asks for his final answer, and safe-conduct for himself and his men; their ship is waiting at Gravesend. [SPF List 5, 480].

Aug 6, Greenwich, Lord Stafford to Wolfgang Meier, of Switzerland, who is to begin studying at Trinity College, Cambridge University, at the Queen's expense: 'I have given an order in the Queen's name to the most learned and illustrious master Doctor Nevile, to give you ten pounds sterling a year'...

'As to a chamber, they will, if possible, provide one for you, although it is a thing unheard of to allow to foreigners what is appropriated by the founders to our own countrymen'. [Zurich, 545].

Dr Thomas Nevile was Master of Trinity College (founded by Henry VIII). Nevile's Court at Trinity is named after him.

Wolfgang Meier of Basle (1577-1653) was a grandson of Martin Bucer, who died in 1551 when Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge.

Meier became a Professor of Theology in Switzerland in 1611.

Aug 7, Tues 'A pass for Sebastian van Bergen, Secretary and Ambassador to the town of Hamburg, to return with his 8 servants...into his country'.^{APC}

Aug 9, Thur Lord Burghley's 'Memorial for diminution of the excessive number at Windsor'. A book is to be made of all the Officers of the Household, distinguishing how many attend, how many are lodged within the Castle, and how many abroad, and in what places. Also how many lords and ladies are lodged within the Castle, and how many persons attend upon them. Also to cause the Mayor of Windsor, with the Harbingers and deputies of the Knight Marshal, to survey the town of Windsor, so as to ascertain how many persons lodge there who are not attending upon the Queen's Household, how many houses are infected, where they are situated, and how provided for, and how many strangers are lodged where the College is, when directions may be given how to diminish the access of the great multitude. Mr Herbert and Mr Ashley are to enquire what suitors are about the court. [SP12/245/75]. Information obtained led to a Proclamation: September 15.

Aug 15, Windsor, Anthony Standen to Anthony Bacon: 'I delivered yesternight my paper to the Earl [of Essex], who hath read it and well liked of it. He will I shall be the deliverer and to that effect will move the Queen'.

'After dinner I mean to go visit the father and son [Burghley and Cecil], the Holy Ghost be with me'. [LPL 648/159]. Ill-health prevented Anthony Standen delivering his account of his life abroad to the Queen himself; the Earl of Essex presented it for him; there was no immediate response from the Queen.

Aug 16, Thomas Phillips, draft: 'The plague has driven me from London... The courtiers are so afraid of the plague that there is a restraint put upon all from infected places...The proceeding of the King of France, in changing his religion, is thought very strange, and at first was not believed'. [SP12/245/79]

Aug 19 (o.s.), in *France: King Henri IV made a Bond of Amity with the Queen*. In view of the Queen's friendship and goodwill and the great assistance she has given him to defend his Crown and to resist the violent onslaughts of the forces of the King of Spain and his own rebel subjects, he is bound to aid her all he can against the King of Spain, their common enemy. He promises on the word of a King to continue to make war, offensive and defensive, against the King of Spain as long as he remains at war and enmity with the Queen; and never to make peace or accord with the King without informing her and without including her to her contentment, provided she makes a reciprocal Bond.

This was brought to England by Thomas Wilkes at the beginning of September. The Queen made a reciprocal Bond in October. [SPF List 5, 364].

Aug 20: *marriage*, at Berwick. Sir Robert Carey (1560-1639), son of Henry Carey 1st Lord Hunsdon, the Queen's cousin, married Lady Widdrington. She was Elizabeth (Trevanion), widow of Sir Henry Widdrington; she died in 1641.

Carey wrote: 'I married a gentlewoman more for her worth than her wealth... The Queen was mightily offended with me for marrying, and most of my best friends, only my father was no ways displeased at it'. [Carey, *Memoirs*, 25].

c.Aug 23: French envoy at Windsor to take leave. Ambroise de Mouy, sent by King Henri IV earlier in August to ask the Queen to reinforce her troops in Brittany, to send more foot soldiers, to lend the King 10,000 crowns a month, to have some forces on the seas (and other demands). De Mouy took a letter from the Queen to the King, Aug 23, complaining that: The poorest mechanic or toiler on the land looked for some reward and some fruit of his labour after his work. Yet for a Princess who for five years had poured out her treasure and lost so many people, time was not given to draw breath before the imposition of new expenses. She was astonished that he did not think reparation for his infinite broken promises was called for rather than new demands. Why should she trust him more now than when he had much larger forces in the field, all to no purpose? She knelt to pray the Creator to inspire the King all for the best and not to forget either himself or those who had been long and sincerely faithful to him. [SPF List 5, 362]. (See Oct 7).

Court news. Aug 24, Eton, Ambassador Beauvoir to Lord Burghley, of the Queen's continuing anger with King Henri IV, and her determination to withdraw every English soldier from his support. I vow that I cannot sleep at nights, and that the gout and the colic, to which I was always a martyr, are nothing to the anguish which has now come upon my soul and brain, such as I had never suffered since the bloody day of St Barthomomew [the Massacre, in 1572].

"Ah, my God! is it possible that her just choler has so suddenly passed over the great glory which she has acquired by so many benefits and liberalities?"

But I persuade myself that her Majesty would not persist in her resolution. I so dread the ire of the Queen that I protest I was trembling all over merely to see the pen of my secretary wagging as I dictated his dispatch.

Nevertheless, it is my terrible duty to face her in her wrath, and I implore your Lordship to accompany me, and to shield me at an approaching interview.

"Protect me by your wisdom from the ire of this great princess; for by the living God, when I see her enraged against any person whatever, I wish myself in Calcutta, fearing her anger like death itself".

[Motley, *United Netherlands*, iii.239].

Court news. [*Aug 24,Fri] Earl of Essex to Francis Bacon, after Essex had urged the Queen to forgive Francis for his speeches in Parliament in March, and to give Francis access to her 'as in former times':

'I spoke with the Queen yesterday and on Wednesday. On Wednesday she cut me off short; she being come newly home and making haste to her supper. Yesterday I had a full audience, but with little better success than before'...

'She pleaded that you were in more fault than any of the rest in Parliament; and when she did forgive it, and manifest her receiving of them into favour, that offended her then, she will do it to many that were less in fault, as well as to yourself. Your access, she saith, is as much as you can look for. If it had been in the King her father's time, a less offence than that would have made a man be banished his presence for ever. But you did come to the court when you would yourself'...

'Near access...she shows only to those that she favours extraordinarily'.

'I told her that I sought for you was not so much your good...as for her honour, that those excellent translations of hers might be known to them who could best judge of them'. Endorsed Aug 23, but apparently written on a Friday. [LPL 649/165].

The Queen's translations: see October 10.

Aug 26,Sun French Ambassador at Windsor for audience. Beauvoir, with his son the Vidame de Chartres. He planned to speak of the King of France's and the churches' hopes from the Queen. [SPF List 5, 365].

Aug 26, Windsor, Lord Burghley to Sir John Norris, in Brittany:

Upon 'reading of your letters before her Majesty and her Council hath grown this day much diversity of opinion'. The Council have persuaded the Queen to allow you to stay in Brittany.

Next day Burghley wrote that the Queen had given conditions for Norris's forces staying; you are 'to follow that course which you shall think best for her Majesty's service'. [SPF List 5, 255].

Aug 27, Monday, Windsor: Sir Robert Sidney to Lady Sidney: 'My dear Barbara...The Queen goeth this day towards Sunninghill'. [Hannay, 34].

Aug 27,Mon **SUNNINGHILL**, Berks.^T
Sunninghill manor-house. Crown property.

Henry Neville (1564-1615) was Keeper of Sunninghill Park and Mote Park 1593-1601; he was a godson of the Queen and was the son of the previous Keeper Sir Henry Neville, who had died in January 1593.

He was knighted in 1599 and was Ambassador to France 1599-1601.

Wife: Anne (Killigrew); married (2) 1619, George Carleton, Bishop of Chichester; she died in 1632.

Nicholas Pigeon, Jewel-house Officer, with a man and two horses 'conveying of broken plate received out of sundry offices and chambers within the court at Oatlands, Windsor and Sunninghill and the same conveyed to London to her Majesty's goldsmiths to be new mended and gilded', and brought back; payment for 12 days, 108s.^T

August, twice: hunting, Mote Park, Windsor.
Richard Brackenbury made ready 'two standings in Mote Park for her Majesty at two several times'.^T

Crown property. Keeper: Henry Neville.

August: hunting, Little Park, Windsor.
Richard Brackenbury made ready 'a standing for the Queen's Majesty to see the hunting in the Little Park at Windsor'.^T Crown property.

c.Sept 1: **WINDSOR CASTLE**, Berks.

Richard Brackenbury made 'alterations of Windsor house against her Majesty's coming from Sunninghill', September.^T

*During stay at Windsor: visit/proposed visit to Eton College, Bucks.
College accounts: 'To Mr Middleton for 43 ells of huswife's cloth to make six table-cloths for the children's tables to serve at her Majesty's coming to the College, at 18d the ell, £3.4s6d'. [Sept 1592-Sept 1593].*

Sept 2, Sun Sir Thomas Wilkes at court on return from embassy to France.

*c.September 6: Grany O'Maly, Irish woman sea captain, at court.
Grany or Grace (c.1530-c.1603), from Connaught; her names had several variants.*

Sir Henry Sidney, Lord Deputy of Ireland, met Grany in 1577. In a letter to Sir Francis Walsingham, 1 March 1583, he recalled:

'There came to me also a most famous feminine sea captain called Grany Imallye, and offered her services unto me, wheresoever I would command her, with three galleys and 200 fighting men, either in Scotland or Ireland; she brought with her her husband, for she was as well by sea as by land more than Master's Mate with him...This was a notorious woman in all the coasts of Ireland'.

Sir William Drury, President of Munster, in 1578 described Grany O'Mayle as 'a great spoiler, and chief commander and director of thieves and murderers at sea to spoil this province', and 'famous for her stoutness of courage and person, and for sundry exploits done by her by sea'.

Grany was imprisoned, narrowly escaped hanging, but received a pardon. In July 1593 she sailed to England. July 13, Athlone, Sir Richard Bingham [President of Connaught], to Burghley: 'There be two notable traitors gone over, Sir Morrow Ne Doe and Grany O'Maly, both rebel from their childhood and continually in action; and if such be...rewarded with anything from her Majesty it will be the highway to make more rebels...There is matter enough of late found out against them to hang them...Grany O'Maly is mother-in-law to the notable traitor, the Devil's Hook [Richard Bourke]'.

A petition was sent to the Queen by her 'loyal and faithful subject Grany ny Mailly of Connaught', describing her 40 year campaign against the government in Ireland, her marriages and her poverty, and begging the Queen to grant her 'some reasonable maintenance' from her two deceased husbands' estates, and also to be granted liberty 'to invade with sword and fire all your Highness's enemies, wheresoever they are or shall be'.

Lord Burghley prepared 18 articles of interrogation to be answered, concerning her family and her life, to which she supplied detailed replies.

[Letters, interrogatories and petitions: SP Ireland, and Carew Papers].

c.Sept 6: Grany O'Maly at Windsor with the Queen.

Sept 6 [Queen to Sir Richard Bingham]: 'Our Treasurer of England, by his letters in July last, did inform you of the being here of...Sir Morogh O'Flaherty, knight, Grany ne Maly and Roobuck French', of Connaught.

'Grany ne Maly hath made humble suit to us for our favour towards her sons Morogh O'Flaherty and Tibbott Burk, and to her brother Donell O'Piper, that they might be at liberty'. Morogh 'is in no trouble, but is a principal man of his country, and as a dutiful subject hath served us when his mother, being then accompanied with a number of disorderly persons, did with her galleys spoil him ...But the second son, Tibbott Burk, one that hath been brought up civilly with your brother and can speak English, is by you justly detained...and for her brother Donald, he hath been imprisoned seven months past, being charged to have been in company of certain that killed some soldiers'...

'But for these two you think they may be both dismissed upon bonds for their good behaviour, wherewith we are content, so as the old woman may understand we yield thereto in regard of her humble suit; so she is hereof informed and departeth with great thankfulness and with many most earnest promises that she will as long as she lives continue a dutiful subject, yea, and will employ all her power to offend and prosecute any offender against us. And further, for the pity to be had of this aged woman, we require you to deal with her sons in our name to yield to her some maintenance for her living the rest of her old years ...And this we do write in her favour as she now showeth herself dutiful, although she hath in former times lived out of order...She hath confessed the same, with assured promises by oath to continue most dutiful, with offer... that she will fight in our quarrel with all the world'. [HT.iv.368-369].

Grany (or Grace) and her meeting with the Queen became legendary in Ireland, and inspired poems and paintings; all that is certainly known has to be deduced from the Queen's letter, September 6, and from a petition in 1595.

Grany returned to Ireland in September; her son and brother were freed in November, and the son thereafter fought on the government side.

Earl of Ormond wrote to Lord Burghley, 17 April 1595, on behalf of 'the bearer hereof Grany ni Maly'. She had prepared a petition to Burghley referring to 'her earnest promise made in September 1593, she being then at court, to continue a dutiful subject to the Queen's most excellent Majesty'.

Grany's son Theobald Bourke, born at sea, became in 1627 1st Viscount Mayo.

Sept 7, Fri: Queen's birthday celebrations, e.g.

St Botolph Aldgate: 'Paid the 7th day of September anno 1593 for bread and drink for the ringers being the Queen's Majesty's birthday, 12d'.

St Michael Cornhill: 'Being the Queen's birthday, for nails, oil, and otherwise for mending the bells and one to help the Sexton, 7d'.

Sept 13: Lee Church, Kent: burial: Nicholas Ansley, Esquire, Sergeant of her Majesty's Cellar. His monument is inscribed:

*'When that Queen Elizabeth full five years had reigned
Then Nicholas Ansley, whose corpse lies here interred,
At five and twenty years of age was entertained
Into her service, where well himself he carried
In each man's love till fifty and eight years old.
Being Sergeant of her Cellar, Death him then controlled'.*

Sept 14, Eton, Vidame de Chartres to Sir Robert Cecil, recommending a young Frenchman, who has been eight years in England teaching French, and has given the Queen verses, and a little book on the miserable state of France.

She promised him something, and he wants a licence to export 1000 tuns of beer. [SP12/245/95].

Sept 15, Windsor, Proclamation (758): Expelling Unlicensed Lodgers near Court.

'The Queen's most excellent Majesty being informed of the resort of a greater number of persons to her town and castle of Windsor and other places adjoining than are convenient, and that are not ordinary servants to attend on her Majesty in the court nor do belong to her Councillors or other her principal officers attending on her Majesty's person, whereof by late view taken both by the officers of the town and by her Harbingers there appeareth great disorder in that a great number of owners of houses do lodge a multitude of persons that are not allowed by any Harbinger, and many of the same so lodged are persons that with their wives, children, and servants are come from London and Westminster and other infected places, whereby great danger must needs follow if remedy be not provided very speedily'.

'And therefore her Majesty hath commanded the Knight Harbinger with other her Harbingers, and with the assistance of the servants of the Knight Marshal, and with the Mayor of Windsor and other officers in the towns adjoining, that they do cause a search to be newly made according as they are ordered and directed by her Majesty's Privy Council, and that all persons do obey them in the execution of those orders. And especially her Majesty chargeth all owners of houses in the said towns of Windsor, Eton, and the towns adjoining within five miles of her castle that within two days after publication thereof at the Market Cross in Windsor, they do exclude all persons that shall not be allowed by the said Harbinger to have lodging; upon pain of imprisonment and shutting up of their houses, and such fine as shall be imposed upon them for the breach of this her Majesty's commandment'.

Sept 20, Thur Vidame de Chartres at Windsor to take leave.
King Henri IV had ordered the Vidame to return to France as soon as possible.
Sept 20: Queen's gift to the Vidame: one basin and one lair of silver gilt; one pair of gilt vases; one pair of Hanse pots gilt; one nest of three gilt bowls with a cover; two gilt bowls with covers. Bought of Sir Richard Martin.^{NYG}
The Queen wrote, Sept 20, by the Vidame to King Henri. [HT.iv.374-5].
He was escorted to the coast by Arthur Gorges and Sir Edward Stafford, a former Ambassador to France. (See Sept 26).

Sept 21: William Reynolds, ex-soldier suffering from delusions, one being that the Queen loved him, boasted in 1593 that he had sent over 200 letters of complaint and warning to her, lords, bishops, and others. On one occasion the Queen had taken a petition with her own hand in the Council Chamber 'but the next Sunday following a Yeoman of the Guard put me forth of the Court Gate'.

On Sept 21, in a letter kept by Burghley, he referred to Shakespeare's new poem: 'Within these few days there is another book made, of Venus and Adonis, wherein a Queen represents the person of Venus'. Reynolds elaborates on this; he wrote on the same day to the Queen herself asking for money, adding 'But you will not give it me except I come to you, for you will have some sport for your money. By God, I swear I have heard many say you are a merry wench and a very pleasant gentlewoman, full of pretty conceits...And for love, why, you are Venus herself, even a god of love'. In 1595 Reynolds, discharged from the Marshalsea, was ordered not to come within five miles of the court without special licence.
[Leslie Hotson, *Shakespeare's Sonnets Dated*. (London, 1949), 142-146].

Sept 25: death. Henry Stanley, 4th Earl of Derby (1531-1593), K.G., Lord of Man [Isle of Man], Lord Steward of the Household, a Privy Councillor, died at Lathom House, Lancs. In his will he beseeched the Queen 'to accept into her gracious protection my well beloved son and heir Ferdinando Lord Strange, whose faithful and trusty service I do with all humbleness...recommend, will, and bequeath unto her Majesty as a special and assured legacy'. He also beseeched her Highness 'to continue her gracious favour towards me then deceased, that if any variance or controversy shall fortune to arise or happen after my decease touching...this my last will...that then her said Highness would wholly and entirely assume the said variance or controversy into her Highness's absolute and sole order and disposition for the final quieting, stay, and appeasing of such said variance and controversy as to her princely Sovereign wisdom shall seem needful and convenient'. Funeral: December 4, Ormskirk, Lancs.

Ferdinando Lord Strange (c.1559-April 1594) became 5th Earl of Derby.
The 4th Earl had lived for decades with Jane Halsall, by whom he had children.
His widow Margaret (Clifford), Dowager Countess of Derby, died in 1596.

Sept 26 (I), Southampton, Arthur Gorges to Sir Robert Cecil, of the Vidame de Chartres: 'I had once thought to bring the Vidame no further than Winchester, but finding him very barely accompanied' continued to Southampton.

'I had but half an hour's warning...to attend the Vidame with Sir Edward Stafford...I perceived her Majesty had an especial care he should be respected'.

Sept 26 (II), Hampton, in haste, Arthur Gorges to Sir Robert Cecil, of the Vidame de Chartres: 'Being somewhat diligent more than ordinary to see their provision of shipping...by commandment from her Majesty that they should be carefully provided for, I have learned that they would have had their own bark further off than the common vessels wherein their carriages and horses are transported, and that they will embark on Tuesday night [October 2]'.

Storms forced the Vidame to land in Kent; he eventually sailed from Dover on October 5. Meeting with the King: October 25. [HT.iv.377-378; xiii.491].

Court news. Sept 27, Lord Burghley to his nephew Francis Bacon, of Bacon's suit to become Attorney-General: 'I have attempted to place you, but her Majesty hath required the Lord Keeper to give to her the names of divers lawyers to be preferred, wherewith he made me acquainted, and I did name you as a meet man... I will continue the remembrance of you to her Majesty, and implore my Lord of Essex's help'. [LPL 649/197].

Oct 1: Seditious words at Aveley, Essex. Wilfred Lutey, of Aveley, scrivener, said 'That all those that her Majesty sent over into the Low Countries were damned because the King of Spain is our anointed King, and that...all the States of the Low Countries were drunkards and cobblers, and all those that her Majesty sent over were rebels and damned because they fought against their anointed King'. Verdict: Not guilty. [Assizes, Essex, 416].

Oct 7, the Queen to King Henri IV (who had complained about the failure of De Mouy's mission to her in August), defending him, saying that no one could have spoken more for the King's honour and the necessity of his affairs or in begging her not to deny him aid at this juncture. The two clerks with him said "Amen" so fervently that he would hardly have recognised them as Huguenots.

Thomas Edmondes to Burghley, Oct 18: 'Her Majesty's letters have procured Monsieur de Mouy much favour from the King and he pretending never to have had any ill thought of him'. [SPF List 5, 369; Edmondes, 107].

Oct 7, in Constantinople: Presentation of gifts sent to the Sultan and Sultana of Turkey by the Queen in March, aboard *The Ascension*.

Edward Barton, formerly Agent in Turkey, now Ambassador, who lived in Pera with other Christian ambassadors, made the presentation to Sultan Murad III (the Grand Signor, the Emperor of Turkey, the Great Turk).

The Ambassador 'apparelled in a suit of cloth of silver, with an upper gown of cloth of gold, accompanied with 7 gentlemen in costly suits of satin, with 30 other of his men...all in one livery of sad French russet gowns, at his house took boat'. The *Ascension*, displaying flags, streamers, and silk pendants, took them from Pera to the landing-place for the Seraglio. The Grand Vizier welcomed them with great kindness, and they were served dinner ('a hundred dishes or thereabouts', the drink being 'water mingled with rose water and sugar').

The Grand Signor was in a little marble house in the centre of one of the courts; at his command 'there were gowns of cloth of gold brought out of the wardrobe, and put upon the Ambassador and 7 of his gentlemen, the Ambassador himself having two, one of gold and the other of crimson velvet'.

'Then certain Cappagies [porters] had the Present, which was in trunks there ready, delivered them by the Ambassador's men, it being 12 goodly pieces of gilt plate, 36 garments of fine English cloth of all colours, 20 garments of cloth of gold, 10 garments of satin, 6 pieces of fine Holland, and certain other things of good value; all which were carried round about the court, each man taking a piece, being in number very near 100 parcels, and so two and two going round that all might see it, to the greater glory of the Present, and of him to whom it was given. They went into the innermost court, passing by the window of that room where the Grand Signor sat, who as it went by to be laid up in certain rooms adjoining took view of all. Presently after the Present followed the Ambassador with his gentlemen; at the gate of which court stood 20 or 30 Agas which be eunuchs. Within the courtyard were the Turk's Dwarfs and Dumb men, being most of them youths'. The Ambassador then had audience.

The Sultan's mother Sultana Safiye received presents a day or so later.

The Ambassador, Barton, 'presented the Sultana or Empress who (by reason that she is mother to him which was heir to the Crown Imperial) is had in far greater reverence than any of his other Queens or concubines'.

'The Present sent her in her Majesty's name was a jewel of her Majesty's picture, set with some rubies and diamonds, three great pieces of gilt plate, 10 garments of cloth of gold, a very fine case of glass bottles silver and gilt, with two pieces of fine Holland, which so gratefully she accepted as that she sent to know of the Ambassador what present he thought she might return that would most delight her Majesty'. [Hakluyt, iv.1-9].

The Sultana's presents and letter to the Queen: 31 July 1594.

Oct 8: Stationers entered a book published as:

'The Phoenix Nest. Built up with the most rare and refined works of Noblemen, Knights, gallant Gentlemen, Masters of Arts, and brave Scholars. Full of variety, excellent invention, and singular delight. Never before this time published. Set forth by R.S. of the Inner Temple Gentleman'. (London, 1593).

Including: 'An excellent Dialogue between Constancy and Inconstancy, as it was by speech presented to her Majesty, in the last Progress at Sir Henry Lee's house'. [Part of the Ditchley entertainment, 20 Sept 1592].

Also an anonymous poem [by Sir Walter Raleigh]:

'Like truthless dreams, so are my joys expired', with the refrain:

'Of all which past, the sorrow only stays'.

Raleigh's poem was entitled 'Farewell to the Court' when reprinted in Le Prince d'Amour (1660).

Oct 9, in London: Examination of John Boste, Jesuit priest, brought from the North. Oct 10, court, Richard Topcliffe to Lord Keeper Puckering: Boste, the northern priest, was examined yesterday. I never heard a more resolute traitor; he said that he loves the Queen and will take her part if the Pope sends an army against her, but if he proceeds against her as a heretic he cannot err, nor the Church, and Catholics must obey the Church. [SP12/245/124].

After a winter in the Tower of London Boste was executed at Durham, 1594.

October 10-Nov 5/8: the Queen's translations from Latin, at Windsor.

The Queen was grieved when the King of France converted to Catholicism.

'In this her grief she sought comfort out of the Holy Scriptures, the writings of the Holy Fathers, and frequent conferences with the Archbishop, and whether out of the Philosophers also I know not. Sure I am that at this time she daily turned over Boethius's books *De Consolatione*, and translated them handsomely into the English tongue'. [Camden, *Annals*].

The Queen wrote down her verse translation, but dictated most of her prose translation to Thomas Windebank (Clerk of the Signet, 1567-1607).

[Draft of part, in both hands: illustrated: Pryor, No.49].

Memoranda [by Windebank]: i) 'The Queen's Majesty being at Windsor...upon the 10th of October 1593 began her translation of Boethius *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, and ended it upon the 8th of November then next following, which were 30 days. Of which time there are to be accounted 13 days, part in Sundays and other holidays, and part in her Majesty's riding abroad, upon which her Majesty did forbear to translate. So that 13 days being deducted from 30, remaineth 17 days, in which time her Majesty finished her translation'.

'And in those 17 days her Majesty did not exceed one hour and a half at a time in following her translating. Whereby it appeareth that in 26 hours or thereabouts her Majesty performed the whole translation'.

ii) The translation was made from Oct 10-Nov 5, less 'four Sundays, three other holidays and six days on which your Majesty rode abroad to take the air'.

[C.Pemberton, *Queen Elizabeth's Englishings of Boethius, Plutarch, and Horace*, E.E.Text.Soc (1899), ix-x; *Elizabeth I: Translations 1592-1598*: 72-365].

Court news. Oct 13, Ferdinando 5th Earl of Derby to Sir Robert Cecil:

'I will...be at the court tomorrow morning, for I cannot see my mother until Monday night, and therefore wish that I may see her Highness, when she shall please, holding myself the happier the more I see her'. [HT.xiii.491].

For the new Earl's main motive for coming to court see November 24, Richard Hesketh's Trial.

Oct 13, Sat Anthony Bacon's attempted visit to court.

Francis Bacon's brother Anthony (1558-1601) returned to England in February 1592 after many years abroad, but was in poor health and had not yet had audience.

Anthony Bacon to his mother Lady Bacon, Oct 19, Twickenham Park:

'On Saturday last I undertook a journey to the court, with resolution to have done my most humble duty to her Majesty. But having passed three parts of the way betwixt Colnbrook and Eton, I was so suddenly surprised by an extreme fit of the stone that I was fain to take the next harbour at Eton, where finding myself so weak...I committed the signification of my uttermost endeavour and my unlooked for pang to the Earl of Essex's relation to her Majesty, who hath very graciously accepted thereof'. (See Essex's letter, October 19).

In October 1595 Lady Bacon had word that the Queen 'marvelled' that Anthony had still not been to see her. [LPL 649/230; 652/87].

Oct 14: death: Arthur, 14th Lord Grey of Wilton (1536-1593), K.G., former Lord Deputy of Ireland, died at Whaddon, Bucks.

Will (Oct 14): 'I shall die greatly indebted to her Majesty and others'.

Funeral: Whaddon. His son Thomas Grey (c.1575-1614), who was studying at University College, Oxford, became 15th Lord Grey.

The widowed Jane, Lady Grey, died in 1615.

Oct 18, Thur, Windsor Queen's Bond of Amity with the King of France. King Henri IV had made a Bond of Amity on August 19.

Court news. [Oct 19, endorsed], Earl of Essex to Anthony Bacon (brother of Francis): 'I spoke largely with the Queen on Saturday in the evening [Oct 13], and forced myself to get up this morning, because the Queen on Saturday told me that she would resolve this day [on an Attorney-General]'...

'On Saturday the Queen kindly accepted your promise to come to her, and as she said herself, sorrowed for your sickness which arrested you by the way. She used many words which showed her opinion of your worth and desire to know you better. She was content to hear me plead at large for your brother, but condemned my judgement in thinking him fittest to be Attorney whom his own uncle [Burghley] did name but to a second place; and said that the sole exception against Mr Coke was stronger against your brother, which was youth'...

'She referred me over till this day. Today I found her stiff in her opinion that she would have her own way. Whereupon I grew more earnest than ever I did before, insomuch as she told me that she would be advised by those that had more judgement in these things than myself'. I said 'those whom she trusted did leave out the wisest and worthiest...Whereupon she bade me name any man of worth whom they had not named. I named Mr Morice, and gave him his due. She acknowledged his gifts, but said his speaking against her in such manner as he had done [in Parliament, Feb 27] should be a bar against any preferment at her hands'.

[PS] 'I pray you burn this'. [LPL 653/172]. Edward Coke, Solicitor-General, succeeded Sir Thomas Egerton as Attorney-General in April 1594.

c.Oct 23: Information came from Sir Edward Norris, Governor of Ostend, one of the Cautionary Towns in the Low Countries held by the English, that the enemy was believed to be preparing for a sudden assault upon Ostend, with the connivance, it was feared, of a portion of the English garrison. The Queen wrote with orders to reinforce the garrison and to look well after the captains and soldiers, to bid all beware of sullyng the English name.

'A clause written in the letter to Sir Edward Norris, with her Majesty's own hand': 'Ned. Though you have some tainted sheep among your flock, let not that serve for excuse. For the rest, we trust you are so carefully regarded as nought shall be left for your excuses but either ye lack heart or want will, for of fear we will not make mention as that our soul abhors, and we assure ourselves you will never deserve suspicion of, now or never. Let for the honour of us and our nation each man be so much of bolder heart as their cause is good and their honour must be according, remembering the old goodness of our God who never yet made us fail His needful help, who ever bless you as I with my Prince's hand beseech Him'. Nov 2, Norris to Burghley: The Queen's care 'and exceeding gracious words hath wonderfully encouraged us'. [SPF List 5, 169].

Oct 24, Windsor Castle, Council to Thomas Edmondes: 'Ostend being presently in danger to be besieged with a mighty army of the enemies'. [Edmondes, 108].

Oct 25: The Vidame de Chartres reached Henri IV at Dieppe; the King was very glad to have him back, for he was one of his 'best loved servants'. He 'filled the court with the publication of the honourable reception given him by her Majesty'. He wrote to her of the courtesy shown him by Arthur Gorges, and that indeed everyone at her court had shown him great courtesy. [SPF List 5, 368].

Oct 25: death. Sir William Roe, Lord Mayor of London, died of the plague, three days before the end of his year in office.

Newsletters, September and October: (I) 'The like plague as is now in England hath not been seen in our age so long continuing and so vehement'. (II) 'The plague is so great in Wales that the half of the people are thought to be dead thereof. In London is great desolation, the greater part of the people fled and dead, and the Mayor is dead of the plague also'. [Verstegan, 185].

Oct 28, Windsor, Richard Kidman to the Earl of Shrewsbury, of his arrival at court early on October 26 (where he spoke to Sir Horatio Palavicino, the Queen's chief financial agent, in his bed, concerning a loan for the Earl):

'A sudden alarm was here at the court the night before I came'...

'My Lord Treasurer [Burghley] is not well, so as none hath access unto him, nor he to her Majesty...My Lord Admiral is not yet returned from the ships whither he went in haste. My Lord of Essex was ridden post towards Dover, but her Majesty sent one after him that overtook him at Greenwich and caused him to return yesterday to the court, coming back post alone'.

'I have been at my Lady Scudamore's chamber four times and cannot yet speak with her, for she hath been always with her Majesty'. [LPL 3199/571].

Lady Scudamore: a long-standing Lady of the Privy Chamber.

[c.Nov 6] 'Windsor at 6 o'clock', Anthony Standen (who had just arrived at court) to Anthony Bacon: 'I went to my Lord Treasurer's lodging to enquire of his welfare, into which his man would not suffer me to enter but told me that his Lordship had rested better this night than any other before; and even as I was going down the stairs was at my back the Queen, who unknown to me had been visiting my Lord. So I stayed among the rest to see her Majesty pass'.

[LPL 649/328; answered by Anthony Bacon on November 8].

Nov 10, London in haste, John Townshend to Nathaniel Bacon:

'Ostend is not besieged but only it was suspected it should have been. If it had my Lord of Essex and most of the young noblemen and gentlemen of England had determined to put themselves into the town and were all at the seaside'.

'The King of France is at Dieppe and Sir Robert Sidney is going unto him from the Queen and Sir Nicholas Clifford from my Lord of Essex'. [Bacon, iii.259].

By Nov 13: French envoy at Windsor for audience.

From Dieppe, Nov 1, the King had sent Beringham, a Groom of his Chamber, to the French Ambassador, to know whether the Queen would continue her assistance.

Nov 13, court, Sir Robert Cecil to Thomas Edmondes: 'The Queen having heard at large Monsieur Beringham, and having also heard the King's Ambassador in divers propositions made to her on the King's behalf, hath caused them to be answered'. Beringham took the King her letter, of explanation and apology.

[Edmondes, 113-116].

Court news. Nov 13, Drayton, Sir George Carey (Captain of the Isle of Wight) to his wife Elizabeth, 'My sweet soul': I 'came not to the court until Saturday [November 10]...I was presently sent for to her Majesty, who used me very kindly ...My coming interpreted to be for honouring the 17th day'...

'The action that now possesseth most for the present is every gallant's best employed wits, best to show themselves at the Course in the Field, witty in their shield devices, and pleasing in the choice of their presents'.

[Katherine Duncan-Jones, 'Christs Tears, Nashe's "forsaken extremities"', *Review of English Studies*, n.s.49 (1998), 170]. Sir George's youngest brother, Sir Robert Carey, was one of the 'gallants' preparing for Accession Day.

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

St Botolph Aldgate: 'Paid for bread and drink for the ringers on the Queen's Majesty's day called the Coronation day, 2s'.

St Martin in the Fields: 'Paid the 17th day of November for ringing at the day of Coronation of her Majesty's reign, 6s'.

St Olave Jewry: 'Paid for ringing on the Crownation day, 16d'.

St Stephen Coleman Street: 'Given to the ringers on the day of remembrance of her Highness's Coronation, 3s4d'.

Bristol Chamberlains: 'Paid Mr Williams Usher of the Free School upon the Queen's holiday that was given him by Mr Mayor's appointment, 5s; to three boys, 18d; and to Nicholas the Trumpeter, 2s'.

Ely, Cambs, St Mary's Church: 'For the ringers on the Queen's day in bread and drink, 20d'.

Exning Church, Suffolk: 'Paid to Frost the Roper for a bell-rope against the Coronation day, 2s'.

Kendal, Westmorland, Chamberlains: 'Paid to Cuthbert that he paid to Garnet for playing on the drum on the Coronation day, 4d'.

Kingston Church, Surrey: 'Laid out the 17th of November for the use of the church, 18s6d; paid to the ringers the same day, 6s8d'.

Louth Church, Lincs: 'Paid to the carpenter for dressing the bells against St Hugh's Day, 10s; paid then for candles, nails and grease, 2s; paid to 20 ringers on St Hugh's Day, 10s'.

Norwich Chamberlains: 'Shooting of the great ordnance the Coronation day and the [Mayor's] feast day. In reward to the Waits for their service done on the Coronation day and the day for the delivery of the Spaniards as in former years, 20s; for links for both those nights that they played about the City, 3s4d'.

Woodbridge Church, Suffolk: 'Paid to the ringers of the change day of the Queen's reign, 2s8d'.

Accession Day Tilt preparations.

Earl of Essex's payments: 'For diet and charges at Greenwich, his Lordship being there exercising himself at pastime in the Tilt-yard', £74.10s. [Bath, v.254].

Richard Brackenbury made ready 'a standing at Windsor Castle for the Queen's Majesty against the running at Tilt of the Coronation Day'.^T

Tilt-lists and fees, Nov 17,19: College of Arms MS M.4, f.42.

The 1593 Tilts were Viscount Fitzwalter's only Tilts under that name, as he became Earl of Sussex upon his father's death in December.

A portrait in the Tower of London Armouries shows him as a White Knight, with an Italian motto. [Reproduced, *Tournaments*, by Alan Young, 141].

Nov 17,Sat **Accession Day** 1593 'Course at Field at Windsor'. 7 pairs.

Earl of Cumberland	v	Earl of Southampton
Earl of Essex	v	Robert Knollys
Lord Fitzwalter	v	Carew Reynell
Lord Compton	v	Henry Noel
Sir Charles Blount	v	Sir Thomas Gerard
Sir Unknown [Sir Robert Carey]	v	Robert Dudley
Earl of Essex [again]	v	Sir William Knollys

Judges: Earl of Worcester, Lord Sandys, Lord North, Lord Norris.

Fees to Heralds for first Tilt: Lord Fitzwalter 'for his first entrance into the field, as hath been accustomed', 40s; Carew Reynell, 20s. The Queen lost two 'buttons of gold with true loves of pearl'. [Arnold, *Wardrobe*, 350].

There was a speech on behalf of the Earl of Cumberland, 'the Knight of Pendragon Castle' (one of his Westmorland castles), as in November 1591. There was no Accession Day Tilt in 1592 because of plague. The Earl had been at sea on privateering voyages. His crest was a red dragon, and one of his ships was *The Red Dragon*. [Speech: Williamson, 122-123].

'There are now two years past (most excellent Princess) since the Knight of Pendragon Castle according to his solemn vows and public profession kept his wonted true heart's holy day, not by any forgetfulness in him, who makes his whole life a remembrance of duty, but at command and by her appointment who first gave hope to his desire and glory to his hope. What he hath performed in the mean space and how he hath employed, let not jealousy suspect what loyalty and love have undertaken. Sure I am that as his enterprises were dangerous so the events are honourable'.

'In this long absence from home and hard adventure abroad, he conversed for the most part with Seamen and Mariners. a kind of people by nature painful, by practice courageous, loving to their Captain, mindful of their country, and profitable to the Commonwealth, yet earnest expecters of reward, which commonly comes but slowly...Good God how these good fellows laid about them after their arrival when the Knight had imparted at his departure that as this day he would return to his interrupted sacrifice and present your Sacred Majesty with the true devotion of his soul in the triumph of his body, how clamorous they continued, what arguments and expostulations they used, that they might be admitted as companions in this action, also said they it were no reason but if the hazard be equal the honour should in some measure be like'...

'And hither by good hap are they come, the Knight and his associates, where to begin the day with a miracle they found the old Castle, which was founded in Westmorland and once removed to Westminster, now strangely erected in Windsor. It is marvellous to relate, and more marvellous to conceive'.

The Knight 'called suddenly to his memory an uncouth Prophecy which runneth over all the shore where he dwelleth, viz.

"When Windsor and Pendragon Castle do kiss,
The Lion shall bring the Red Dragon to bliss".

'And because we are fallen into a vein of Prophecies whereof there is plenty in this place, the Knight thinks it meet to acquaint your Majesty with a quaint one indeed which his Porter met with in a vault whilst he was away and delivered him at his return, the contents being such as he acknowledgeth with his heart and will make good with his lance to be just.

"When Nature shall spend all perfections in one,
When all for that one of themselves shall think worse,
When duty shall move very castles of stone
When Albion prospers by outlandish curse,
And when the Red Dragon led shipmen on dry land,
Then blest be the Earth for a maid in an Island".

Nov 17, Windsor, Anthony Standen to Anthony Bacon:

'My Lord Treasurer [Lord Burghley] sitteth up on his pallet, writeth and signeth letters'...

'Most of these Ladies of the Chamber of my old familiar acquaintance have very courteously welcomed me home [from abroad]'...

'This tilting, about which our Earl [Essex] hath all this week been occupied, and away at London and Greenwich'...

'Sir Henry Unton was yesterday upon the Terrace by Sir John Wolley presented to her Majesty, who used him with very bitter speeches'. [LPL 649/267].

Unton had angered the Queen in March during the Parliament.

Standen's postscript, sending four lines written by Thomas Churchyard 'in choler after he could not obtain of one a thing her Majesty had granted him, which verses came to her hands'.

Madame. 'You bid your Treasurer, on a time,
To give me reason for my rhyme.
But since that time and that season,
He gave me neither rhyme nor reason'.

Thomas Churchyard (c.1529-1604), a prolific versifier, dedicated several books to the Queen, and contributed to several progress entertainments for her.

He was granted a pension of 18d per day in January 1593, but it was not paid until it was officially confirmed in July 1597, and increased to 20d per day.

He and Edmund Spenser were the only Elizabethan poets to have pensions. Spenser's pension of £50 p.a., granted in February 1591, was paid regularly.

The verse was attributed to Spenser in 1602 by John Manningham:

'When her Majesty had given order that Spenser should have a reward for his poems, but Spenser could have nothing, he presented her with these verses:

*'It pleased your Grace upon a time
To grant me reason for my rhyme.
But from that time until this season
I heard of neither rhyme nor reason'. [Diary, 78].*

Fuller (1662) also attributes similar lines to Spenser. [Worthies, London]. Churchyard's list of his works in Churchyard's Challenge: end 1593.

*Nov 19, Mon 'Course at field under Windsor Castle'.
Same participants as on Accession Day, including 'Sir Unknown'.

'Sir Unknown': Sir Robert Carey (1560-1639), Deputy Warden of the West March (the western Border districts) and son of Henry Carey, 1st Lord Hunsdon, Lord Chamberlain, was at St Albans, Herts, where the law term was being held, when:

'My father wrote to me from Windsor that the Queen meant to have a great triumph there, on her Coronation Day, and that there was great preparation making for the course of the field and tourney. He gave me notice of the Queen's anger for my marriage [on August 20], and said it may be, I being so near, and to return without honouring her day, as I ever before had done, might be a cause of her further dislike'...

'I came to court, and lodged there very privately...I here took order and sent to London to provide me things necessary for the triumph. I prepared a present for her Majesty, which with my caparisons cost me above four hundred pounds. I came into the triumph unknown of any. I was the forsaken Knight that had vowed solitariness, but hearing of this great triumph thought to honour my mistress with my best service...The triumph ended, and all things well passed over to the Queen's liking, I then made myself known in court'. Sir Robert stayed at court except for a brief embassy to Scotland in December. [Carey, *Memoirs*, 28-29].

Nov 20, Tues: death, at Windsor: *Lady Scrope's page died of the plague*.
Same day: *New Windsor Church: burial: 'John page to the Lady Scrope'*.

Nov 21, Windsor, Anthony Standen to Anthony Bacon:

'The death of a page of the Lady Scrope (so near her Majesty's person as of her Bedchamber) of the sickness this last night past, and that in the keep within the Castle, hath caused here a great alteration, so that it may not be doubted but that she doth remove within a day or two at the farthest, yet not resolved whither; but as my Lord of Essex thinketh, to Hampton Court...As soon as her Majesty shall remove I will do the like, not to the court, but to Twickenham'...

'My Lord Treasurer [Burghley], for all his sore gout, upon the alarm of this Page, and a new one since by the death of one of the Scalding-house of the same disease, is preparing to be gone, and will as is said be the first shall remove, whither is not said'. [LPL 649/266].

Nov 21: *Stationers entered 'The honour of the Tilt, 17 Novembris'*.

[c.Nov 22, London] John Stanhope (a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber) to Sir Robert Cecil: 'Thinking to return [to court] this day, a sudden alarm came hither of the death of my Lady Scrope's page, and of her Majesty's remove, which made me think it fitter to send, than uncertainly to wander and know nowhere to rest. Here I found the lord sad and the lady full of tears, till her Majesty's princely care gave comfort to both, who acknowledge this so gracious remembrance to proceed only out of the infinite treasure of her sweet disposition'.

Stanhope describes the death of one John Darcy, who had gone from Greenwich to London in a boat with a plague-infected cover; Darcy's brother Robert and two watermen all fell ill. 'I pray you, advertise me of her Majesty's resolution that I may dispose myself accordingly, for I long to be near her whose presence preserveth all those who know her worth'. [HT.iv.425-6].

Nov 23, Anthony Standen to Thomas Lawson: 'Her Majesty's remove to Hampton Court...was determined on Friday [Nov 22], but...it is firmly believed she will not away before Christmas, for all the carts are countermanded'. [LPL 649/254].

The Queen moved to Hampton Court on December 1, when Lord Burghley moved to Theobalds, Herts. As to the carts see Standen's letter, 6 Feb 1594.

Nov 23, Windsor, Anthony Standen to Anthony Bacon: 'By my last I wrote unto you of her Majesty's removing to Hampton Court, occasioned by that accident in her house, which was true. Since which, time hath made these lords and ladies (that here are accommodated so well to their likings), to persuade her Majesty to pause until she see some other effect. So that although the carts be warned for Monday next [Nov 26], yet is it constantly believed she will not remove until after Christmas, and therefore do I intend to stay yet for four days, although I have nothing to do but to spend. I accompanied yesterday Mr Richard Cecil to my Lord his grandfather's chamber [Lord Burghley], where the day before the Queen had been in the morning before she went a-walking'...

'Here is a Groom of the French King's Chamber arrived some three days past... He was by him sent to her Majesty to declare what he had done'. [LPL 649/262].

[The Groom: La Varenne: see December 3 and 4].

Nov 24, at St Albans: *Trial of Richard Hesketh for a plot against the Queen. Hesketh (1562-1593), an English Catholic living abroad, had instructions (from Jesuit priests) to take a letter to Henry Stanley, 4th Earl of Derby, and to tell him in all secrecy of a way 'to advance him, and by him the Catholic faith' (by placing him on the English Throne, to which he purported to have a claim).*

As the 4th Earl died on the day Hesketh arrived, the letter was delivered to his son Ferdinando, the new 5th Earl of Derby; he revealed its contents to the Privy Council and came to court; Hesketh was brought as a prisoner to Ditton near Windsor, where he was questioned.

Lord Keeper Puckering had sent Lord Buckhurst and Sir Robert Cecil on Nov 20 a summary of the 'horrible treasons of Hesketh...to the end her Majesty may be informed of them and give direction' as to what should 'be openly published in evidence' and when the trial should take place. [HT.iv.409,418,423-4].

Hesketh confessed. He was sentenced to death for high treason. (See Nov 28).

Nov 25, Windsor, Anthony Standen to Anthony Bacon: The Earl of Essex 'was absent these three days and returned this morning about 6 o'clock, which starts of his in stealing manner much troubleth his followers and wellwillers. He came so late to town as he will be in bed until noon'.

Nov 27, Standen to Anthony Bacon: 'Had it not been that yesternight I spoke with the *garde joyaux* [Keeper of the Jewels], Mrs Mary Radcliffe, who most kindly did yesterday bring me in question to her Majesty, of whom she received great good speeches of me and of my behaviour on the other side [overseas], I would doubtless have been with you on Monday, but because she will procure me private speech with her Majesty, and that the when is unknown time, I must daily give attendance, and when that hour shall come I will forget nothing ought to be said for my friends...Our man here [the Earl of Essex] hath been so extremely shaken up for his ranging abroad'. [LPL 649/261,260].

Nov 28, Belsize, William Waad to Sir Robert Cecil: 'I was at the arraignment of Hesketh...but the man did confess the indictment...so that there needed no other testimony against him. Nevertheless Mr Attorney-General [Egerton] laid open all the plot and course of his treasons for satisfaction of the standers by, in very discreet sort' and noted 'the malice of those fugitive traitors and other her Majesty's enemies to proceed from no other ground but for that her Majesty prefers the true worship of God and the peaceable government of her subjects above all other things, which they endeavour to subvert'. [HT.iv.462].

Nov 29: Richard Hesketh was executed at St Albans, Herts.

Nov 30, Windsor, Anthony Standen to Anthony Bacon, of Sir Robert Sidney, about to set off to France. 'This day he taketh leave of the Queen, and tomorrow she removeth to Hampton Court'. [LPL 649/259].

30 Nov 1593-8 April 1594: Sir Robert Sidney was special Ambassador to France. Sidney was to take to King Henri IV the Queen's Bond of Amity.

He had Instructions to say that the Queen heard that the King was to call an assembly of deputies of the Reformed Religion. He was to say to him privately that the Queen could not believe that he could in his inward conscience condemn that religion which he had so long professed, fought for, and knew to be agreeable to Christ's gospel and the holy fathers of the primitive church. She means not to contend with him by argument to reverse his conversion but urges him to show all the favour he can to them of the Religion. [SPF List 5].

Thomas Nevitt recalled: 'Your honour was sent Ambassador into France at which time you made you 12 suits of apparel and had one cloak lined with sables, which cost £250, also your Pages' suits and Footmen's came to at the least £300 more besides your servants' liveries'. [Sidneiana, 85].

Those with Sidney included Sir Nicholas Clifford and Sir Anthony Sherley; they were delayed for five weeks at Dover waiting for a fair wind.

Dec 1, Sat dinner, Laleham, Middlesex; Mr Tomson.

'For her Majesty at her removing from Windsor to Hampton Court'.^T

Laleham manor-house. Crown property, occupied by Laurence Tomson (1539-1608), Secretary to Sir Francis Walsingham 1575-1590; wife: Jane. Part of Laleham manor was in Chertsey, Surrey, and his monument is at St Peter's Church, Chertsey.

Dec 1, Sat **HAMPTON COURT**, Middlesex.^C

Works, 1593-4: 'making of landing places for her Majesty on Molesey side'.

Court news. Dec 2, Twickenham Park, Francis Bacon to Anthony Standen: 'Understanding...from my Lord [Essex] that the court is like within these three or four days to remove to Richmond, I was enforced to retain the coach to supply my necessary attendance now at Hampton Court, where it was in vain to agree for a lodging for so small time'. [LPL 649/300]. The Queen remained at Hampton Court until moving to Whitehall in March 1594.

c.Dec 3: Varenne, French envoy, at Hampton Court for audience.

Dec 3, Queen's gift to La Varenne: one chain of gold.^{NYG}

Dec 4, Noel Caron (Dutch Agent) to the States-General, of Guillaume Fouquet, Sieur de la Varenne, who was sent by King Henri IV to the King of Spain, and had come to report to the Queen on his return.

She at first refused to receive him on the ground that he had formerly used disrespectful language concerning herself, but she subsequently relented.

He claimed to have had only a distant view of the Spanish royal family at their devotions, and to have had commission only to see and hear; the true intentions of the French were not revealed. [Motley, *United*, iii.292].

Henri IV had secretly sent to Spain La Varenne, his '*portmanteau*', chosen expressly for his base quality and charged only to hear and observe, not to negotiate. As he begged to have a sight of the King of Spain and the Escorial, he was secretly taken to the chapel and the garden. [Edmondson, 101,103].

Dec 5: death. Sir Rowland Hayward (c.1520-1593), twice Lord Mayor of London, 30 years an Alderman, died of the plague. He was of Elsing Spital, St Botolph without Bishopsgate, and of Hackney, Middlesex (where the Queen had visited him several times). Executors included Richard Warren, son-in-law, married to Elizabeth Hayward; a bequest 'to my daughter his wife £20 a year to buy her pins with during her life'. Funeral: St Alphage, London Wall, where his monument has his two wives and 16 children, stating that 'he lived beloved of all good men'.

The widowed 2nd wife Catherine (Smith), Lady Hayward, was visited by the Queen in 1594 and 1597; she proposed to visit Richard Warren in 1594 at Ilford, Essex.

Dec 7, Theobalds, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, of the possible arrival of Dutch Deputies: 'I see the intention of the sending of the Deputies hither from the States is, as I at the first did conjecture, to borrow money of her Majesty, which in a paraphrase is, to carry away money, and to leave writings under seals, whereof her Majesty hath a great plenty, so as the coming of these Deputies may be better looked for than welcome'. [Wright, ii.429-430].

Dec 7 [London], Philip Gawdy to his brother Bassingbourne, new Sheriff of Norfolk: 'Mr Sheriff and my best beloved brother'...

'I have sent my heir and Charles two daggers and yet he forbids me to kiss his Kate'.

'I was one day at the court...I was talked withal by some Ladies of the Privy Chamber and by many others how thine own credit made thee Sheriff, and my Lord Keeper's aid, and her Majesty's special own liking and commendation'...

'My Lord Treasurer...is perfectly recovered, he hath been at his court at Theobalds this sennight...My Lord of Essex was this day in London'.^{GY}

Gawdy was not yet married: his 'heir and Charles': his brother's sons: Framlingham, born 1589, and Charles.'

Dec 7: Stationers entered a play, Orlando Furioso.

Published, 1594: 'The History of Orlando Furioso. One of the twelve Peers of France. As it was played before the Queen's Majesty'.

Principal characters: Marsillus, Emperor of Africa; his daughter Angelica; Orlando, a prince. By Robert Greene (1558-1592).

John Harington's translation of Ariosto's Orlando Furioso was published in 1591.

Court news. Dec 11, London, Anthony Standen to Anthony Bacon:

Whilst dining at the French Ambassador's with Sir Roger Williams yesterday 'I understood that the Earl [of Essex] was departed the court on Friday morning [December 7], and yesternight at 6 o'clock no news of him, which long absence hath not been these years by past, a cause why the court doth murmur of great disgust between both parties; for that the other [the Queen] ever since the Earl's going hath been in great alteration, and no one can guess about what, but my thought is that Mr F's matter [Francis Bacon's] may be the cause'.

Dec 12: Standen met the Earl of Essex at court. [LPL 649/294-5].

Court news. [c.Dec 13], 'from my lodging at my Lord of Shrewsbury's house', Philip Gawdy to Bassingbourne Gawdy 'Mr Sheriff and my best beloved brother'...

'There is news newly come to the court that there are five thousand Spaniards embarked at Ferrol for Brittany. The Queen's Majesty herself sat in Council upon Tuesday last in my Lord Chamberlain's chamber about these and some other special affairs...My Lord Treasurer is still at Theobalds'...

Edward Kelley [alchemist, in Bohemia] 'is delivered out of prison and restored to his former estate, and maketh gold as fast as a hen will crack nuts'...

'Sir Rowland Hayward is newly dead, and hath left a very sweet widow'.^{GY}

Dec 14: death. Henry Radcliffe, 4th Earl of Sussex (c.1532-1593), K.G., widower, his wife Honor having died earlier in 1593.

Will (Dec 10). Bequests included:

'To my cousin Mary Radcliffe, one of her Majesty's Bedchamber, £50; to my cousin Margaret Radcliffe, one of her Majesty's Maids of Honour, £40'.

Funeral: 16 January 1594, Bermondsey, Surrey.

Burial: 19 January 1594, Boreham, Essex.

His son Robert Radcliffe, Viscount Fitzwalter (1573-1629) became 5th Earl of Sussex.

Court news. Dec 20, Kingston, Anthony Standen to Anthony Bacon, of Essex, who 'hath been at London to prepare as he told me some six or eight chambers in Essex House...He will often be there to confer with friends at times, for I see all matters of intelligence are wholly in his hands, wherein the Queen receiveth great liking, as by her words to the father and son [Burghley and Cecil] touching this point is known'...

'By the countenance of this court it should appear through the smallness thereof that the Christmas will be very melancholy. The most, to avoid the charges of new apparel and donatives to officers here do shun the same, in which number I find myself...These six months I had waited on court to know the Queen's good pleasure [for some employment]'. [LPL 649/296].

Essex was preparing rooms in his deceased step-father's former house in the Strand, having changed its name from Leicester House to Essex House.

*Dec 21: Queen in Hampton Wick, Middlesex.
Kingston churchwardens (between payments for December 20 and 22):
'To the ringers when her Majesty was abroad in the Wick, 8d'.

Dec 22, Kingston, Standen to Anthony Bacon: 'The Lord Zouche, lately come out of his travels, is to go for Scotland out of hand, drawn thereto against his will. We know not whether Sir Robert Sidney be departed yet or no [for France], but a hoy laden with stuff and apparel of Mr Anthony Sherley's valued at a thousand pounds and more hath perished by tempest at the Land's End [in Kent] going to meet with the said Sherley, with divers who is to pass in company of Sir Robert. All is well that ends well and Jack shall have Jill'.

PS. 'Sir Thomas Danvers, son and heir to Sir John, lately come out of his travels, is in the Marshalsea for having kissed the Pope's toes'. [LPL 649/297].

22 December 1593-13 April 1594: Lord Zouche was Ambassador Extraordinary to Scotland. Edward 11th Lord Zouche (c.1556-1625) had travelled abroad from 1587 until summer 1593, calling himself 'Mr Welby' (his mother was Mary Welby). King James had failed to put on trial the Catholic lords who signed the 'Spanish Blanks' (December 1592).

Dec 22: Lord Zouche took King James a long letter of advice from the Queen, who began: 'My dear brother. To see so much, I rue my sight that views the evident spectacle of a seduced King, abusing Council, and wry-guided Kingdom. My love to your good and hatred of your ruin breeds my heedful regard of your surest safety...For your own sake play the King, and let your subjects see you respect yourself, and neither to hide or to suffer danger and dishonour'.

'And that you may know my opinion, judgement, and advice, I have chosen this nobleman, whom I know wise, religious and honest; to whom I pray you give full credit, as if myself were with you'. [Tytler, ix.124-6].

King James had a different opinion of Lord Zouche: see 13 April 1594.

Dec 23, Dover, Sir Robert Sidney to Lord Burghley, explaining the reasons for his long stay at Dover (which had displeased the Queen).

Don Antonio ('the King of Portugal') and many other passengers who had been at Dover many days were also still windbound. [SPF List 5, 377].

Sidney eventually reached Dieppe on 9 January 1594.

Christmas preparations: Thomas Conway, Gentleman Usher, 'altering the house at Hampton Court against Christmas, and making ready the chambers for the plays and dancing'.^T

Dec 26: Sir Robert Carey returned to court from Scotland. King James had an unspecified 'matter of great importance' to tell the Queen, but would only trust Carey's father Lord Hunsdon with it, or one of his sons.

Carey recalled that the Queen, still angry with him for his marriage in August, but knowing that he was at court, said to Lord Hunsdon: 'I hear your fine son that has lately married so worthily is hereabouts, send him if you will to know the King's pleasure'. She would neither speak with me nor see me, but signed a safe-conduct for me. At Edinburgh 'after three or four days spent in sport and merriment' the King gave me a message for the Queen.

Dec 26, Wed Sir Robert Carey at Hampton Court on return from Scotland. Carey: 'I made all the haste I could to court, which was then at Hampton Court. I arrived there on St Stephen's Day in the afternoon. Dirty as I was, I came into the Presence [Chamber], where I found the lords and ladies dancing. The Queen was not there. My father went to the Queen, to let her know that I was returned...With much ado I was called for in; and I was left alone with her'.

*'Our first encounter was stormy and terrible, which I passed over with silence. After she had spoken her pleasure of me and my wife, I told her that she herself was the fault of my marriage, and that if she had but graced me with the least of her favours, I had never left her nor her court; and seeing she was the chief cause of my misfortune, I would never off my knees till I had kissed her hand, and obtained my pardon. She was not displeased with my excuse, and before we parted we grew good friends. Then I delivered my message and my papers, which she took very well, and at last gave me thanks for the pains I had taken. So having her princely word that she had pardoned and forgotten all faults, I kissed her hand, and came forth to the Presence, and was in the court, as I was ever before...After I had stayed all Christmas, till almost Shrovetide, I took leave of her Majesty, and all the rest of my friends'. [Carey, *Memoirs*].*

Dec 28, Queen to Sir John Norris, with instructions about Brest. In Burghley's hand, with a note: 'This letter was written by her Majesty's commandment and by our advice also...But for that her Majesty is presently troubled with a rheum in her eyes so as she could not without pain sign it, she hath commanded us in her name to subscribe it'. [SPF List 5, 268].

Dec 28, Babraham [Cambs], Sir Horatio Palavicino to Sir Robert Cecil: I have sent to Mrs [Mary] Radcliffe the New Year's gifts for her Majesty, and pray God they may be well received. [HT.iv.447: Italian]. Sir Horatio gave a pair of jewelled writing tables, his wife gave a jewelled comfit-box.^{NYG}

Dec 29, Hampton Court, Pass from Lord Burghley for Emanuel Luis Tinoco 'to come from Calais to Dover and thence to the court, touching matters of good importance, and back again'.

Tinoco, a 'distressed Portuguese', had written from Calais [December 21] to Burghley and the Queen for permission to come secretly to reveal many Spanish plots and designs, asking for a safe-conduct 'to throw himself at her Majesty's feet and discover things important for her life and kingdom'. [SP12/246/39,45].

December: William Polwhele's Confession. Polwhele, an English Catholic living abroad, had been incited by one Captain Jaques 'who wished him to come to England to kill the Queen, saying that no action could be more glorious'. 'He said it could only be done when the Queen went to walk, or to sermon; that she might then be shot or stabbed, as she takes no care'. 'Jaques said there were Spaniards, Italians, Burgundians, Irish and English that would take the matter in hand, but he wished Polwhele to have the honour of it...He should go to confession and be gone the next day, and gave him 60 crowns'. [SP12/246/49].
Sequel: 1594 Feb 4,21.

Dec 31: Stationers entered a book published as:

The Shadow of Night, containing two Poetical Hymns. By George Chapman.

The two long poems are *Hymnus in Noctem* (Hymn to Night) and *Hymnus in Cynthiam* (Hymn to Cynthia), an invocation to the Queen; she is 'great Cynthia', 'gracious Cynthia', 'sacred Cynthia', 'Queen celestial', with a 'crystal and Imperial throne', 'mighty Cynthia', 'thrice mighty Cynthia'. (1594).

The first work by Chapman (c.1559-1634), poet and playwright.

1593: Thomas Churchyard published: Churchyard's Challenge.

Dedicated to Sir John Wolley (the Queen's Latin Secretary); and

'To the worthiest sort of People, that gently can read, and justly can judge'.

Churchyard lists 'The books that I can call to memory already printed', including:

'The book called the golden Nut (etc.), dedicated to the Queen's Majesty' (Misery of Flanders, 1579).

'The book of receiving her Highness into Suffolk and Norfolk'. [1578].

'The book before of her Highness receiving into Bristow'. [1574].

'The book called the Worthiness of Wales, to the Queen's Majesty'. [1587].

'The book given her Majesty at Bristow, where I made all the whole devices'.

'The devices of war and a play at Osterley, her Highness being at Sir Thomas Gresham's'. [Two separate works: see note, 10 May 1576].

'The Comedy before her Majesty in the field when she went to dinner to my Lady Jerningham's'. [Costessey, Norfolk, 1578].

'The whole devices, pastimes and plays at Norwich, before her Majesty'. [1578].

'The devices and speeches that men and boys showed within many progresses'.

'The book called a handful of gladsome verses, to the Queen's Majesty at Woodstock'. [1592].

'The book called a pleasant conceit, a New Year's Gift to the Queen's Majesty'. [New Year 1593].

'Aeneas tale to Dido, largely and truly translated out of Virgil, which I once showed the Queen's Majesty, and had it again'.

'A book of a sumptuous show in Shrovetide'. [See 19 Feb 1588].

Verses translated from French are described as 'so apt for the honouring of the Phoenix of our world'.

Churchyard includes: 'A few plain verses of truth against the flattery of time, made when the Queen's Majesty was last at Oxford'. [1592].

These begin: 'Sit silent Poets all,

That praise your Ladies so.

My Phoenix makes their plumes to fall,

That would like Peacocks go'.

[Modern edition of these verses: Nichols, Progresses (2014), iii.677-679].

1593: Thomas Morley, Gentleman of the Chapel Royal 1592-1602, published: Canzonets or Little Short Songs in Three Voices.

24 songs, including, number 8:

'Blow, shepherds, blow your pipes with gladsome glee resounding.

See where the fair Eliza comes with love and grace abounding.

Run, nymphs, apace, go meet her,

With flowers and garlands greet her.

All hail, Eliza fair, the country's pride and goddess!

Long may'st thou live the shepherds' Queen and lovely mistress!'

Morley (c.1557-1602) went on to edit the best known collection of madrigals in honour of the Queen: The Triumphs of Oriana (see end 1601).