

## 1586

At **GREENWICH PALACE**, Kent.

Jan 1, Sat New Year gifts.

John and Nicholas Pigeon, Jewel-house Officers, 'for their attendance at the Tower to provide, set out and deliver her Highness's New Year gifts'.

Treasurer of the Chamber paid in reward a total of £273.16s8d 'as well to divers of her Majesty's own officers and servants as also to divers of the nobility's servants and others for bringing and presenting New Year's gifts to her Majesty on New Year's Day'.

The New Year Gift roll has not survived, but among gifts presented by Edward 3rd Earl of Rutland were gilt standing cups to Lord Burghley and Sir Francis Walsingham, and a mule to 'the Lord Chief Justice of England', cost £9, with 3 yards of black cloth for a foot-cloth for the mule, 45s.<sup>RT(4)</sup>

Also Jan 1: play, by the Queen's Men.<sup>T</sup>

*Jan 1: in Holland: Earl of Leicester was offered Governor-Generalship over the Provinces. ('Sovereignty', which the Queen had forbidden him to accept).*

*Jan 2, The Hague, Lord North to Lord Burghley:*

*'On New Year's Day the deputies of the Provinces came unto my Lord, and with one assent, by the mouth of a principal man, offered him, for her Majesty, the government of Zeeland, Holland, Friesland, and Utrecht, as well in martial matters as in causes civil. They put under his commandment all governors, colonels, admirals, captains, and other officers whatsoever...They offered 200,000 florins a month for this whole year to come...toward the maintenance of the wars, with many other dignities and honours. My Lord gave them great thanks for their great offers, and prayed them to digest it in writing, which when he had considered he would shape them answer'. [SPF.xx.277].*

*A formal written offer was presented on Jan 4, and on Jan 7 Leicester held a conference with the Deputies. [Motley, United Netherlands, i.381]. (See Jan 14).*

Jan 3, Mon Queen's 'reward' to Francis Walsingham: 'By way of her Majesty's reward for answering the diet, apparel and other charges of John Bourke son of Theobald Bourke that killed the traitor James Fitzmorris in Ireland, £40'.<sup>T</sup>

John Bourke, Baron Bourke of Connell, was brought to England in 1580.

Jan 6, Thur play, by Lord Admiral's Men and Lord Chamberlain's Men.<sup>T</sup>

Jan 9, Sun knighting: Bernard Drake, sea-captain (died April 10).

Feats of activity and tumbling, by Mr Stanley's Boys, led by John Symons.<sup>T</sup>

Jan 12, court at Greenwich, Lord Burghley to the Earl of Leicester, of his son, the Governor of Brill: 'My son, Thomas Cecil...went towards the seaside, the second day after Christmas Day, shipped about 60 horses and 200 foot men, beside 60 other servants and followers'.

Henry Killigrew and others 'went anon after. All these have lain at Margate in Kent ever since...saving they have been on to the seas three to four sundry times, and put back, either with change of winds or lack of winds'...

'In Scotland, to outward appearance, all things proceed well...The lords that were banished are restored to their estates and are by the King cleared of the crimes imputed. He hath sent a Gentleman of his Chamber named [William] Keith thereof to advertise her Majesty and to offer all friendship that he can to his power yield to her Majesty; he desireth to have the league that was begun to be finished...Mr [Thomas] Randolph is to go to the Scottish King and so the Treaty, as I think, shall go forward'...

'A gentleman of the Duke of Bouillon...named De Civile came two days past to her Majesty from the Duke'.<sup>LEY</sup>

François de Civille (1537-1610) came from Robert de la Marck, Duke of Bouillon, to inform the Queen of preparations being made by the Prince of Parma, and to offer aid to the States. He was sent to the Low Countries later in January with the Duke of Bouillon's proposal. The States thanked him but declined the offered aid, and he returned early in February to his home in England, where he and his family had lived since July 1585 as Huguenot refugees. [SPF.xx.357]. They returned to France in 1589.

Jan 14, Leiden, Earl of Leicester to Mr Secretary (Sir Francis Walsingham), describing the States' offer on New Year's Day of 'absolute government of the whole provinces', and my 'hearty thanks'. Since then I have been urged to accept the government. All the lords have been with me 'and all the captains, and governors, and magistrates of towns, pressing me most earnestly, if I love her Majesty, if I love the good of England and these countries, to take it'.

This 'must needs be best for her Majesty's service every way. The reasons Mr Davison shall deliver you...who shall shortly be with you'.<sup>LEY</sup>

Leicester failed to write to the Queen for a month. A formal letter to her, drawn up by the Dutch, was taken by William Davison. He was delayed waiting for a wind, did not sail until February 11, and the news preceded him. He eventually arrived at court on February 13.

Jan 14, London, De Quitry (sent for a promised loan for the King of Navarre) to Lord Burghley: 'In the six weeks during which I have been in this Kingdom I have remained in my lodging, without seeing or haunting anybody'...

'For the honour of God, let not her Majesty see such a prince be lost' after 'her oft repeated royal promises'. 'If he must be lost, I desire to go and be lost with him'. 'My business depends upon one of the greatest and most virtuous princesses in Christendom'. [SPF.xx.295-6: French].

Jean de Chaumont, Sieur de Quitry (or Guitry), arrived in Holland on January 26 and waited for Horatio Palavicino, special Ambassador to the German States, to join him, to travel together. They met at Haarlem on March 7.

Jan 20, Greenwich, Paul Melissus wrote Latin verses in commendation of Daniel Rogers (poet and diplomat, later a Clerk of the Privy Council). [SP12/186/32]. Such verses appear in Melissus's poems published in Paris, 1586. Melissus left England in February. He became the Elector Palatine's Librarian in Heidelberg.

Jan 24: Sir Thomas Cecil, Lord Burghley's son, arrived at Brill as Governor. Don Emanuel, Prince of Portugal, arrived at the Hague, with Henry Killigrew, Burghley's brother-in-law, to join the Earl of Leicester. [SPF.xx.325,333]. Sir Thomas Cecil resigned in the autumn.

Jan 25, in Holland, at the Hague: Earl of Leicester was appointed as Governor of the United Provinces of the Low Countries, with absolute authority.

Jan 25, The Hague, Sir Thomas Sherley to Lord Burghley: 'This day, the States have delivered unto their Lordship their commission under their common seal, which they did very solemnly...They first placed his Excellency in a chair under a cloth of state. Then the President of the Council of State made an oration, declaring how much they were bound unto her Majesty for her relief and favour during this time of their affliction. That done, the commission was publicly read. Then they took an oath unto his Excellency and he to them'. [SPF.xx.320].

Jan 26: Earl of Leicester commissioned John Norris to be General of all the English foot soldiers. [SPF.xx.322].

Jan 26, Privy Council to the Earl of Leicester: The Queen has just learnt of the States' offer on New Year's Day of absolute government of their Provinces. 'Her Majesty hath showed herself much offended with this proceeding', as 'they did well know...how often and at all times her Majesty had refused to have any for her to take any such government there' and 'would never consent thereto'... 'She saith, none knew her determination therein better than yourself, whom at your going from hence she did peremptorily charge not to accept any such title and office upon you, and therefore her strait commandment now is that you shall not accept the same upon you, for she will never assent thereto, nor will avow you with any such title'. [SPF.xx.323]. Leicester's reply: February 8.

*Jan 31: Seditious words at Cobham, Surrey.*

*Joan Lister, of Cobham, spinster, said 'The Bishop of Canterbury and the Council make a fool of the Queen's Majesty, and because she is but a woman she ought not to be governor of a Realm. And that the Bishop of Canterbury was but a priest, and that the world would change ere it were long'.*

*Verdict: Guilty; sentenced according to statute. [Assizes, Surrey, 282].*

*January: Thomas Morgan, Agent of the Queen of Scots in France, told her he would continue to serve her 'unless my life be taken away, for the which she of England offered £10,000 sterling, as Monsieur Mauvissière reported out of her own mouth'. [Murdin, 472]. Mauvissière: Ambassador to England 1575-1585.*

*January: Report by Jerome Horsey, of the Muscovy Company, prior to returning to Russia to Emperor or Tsar Feodor, and Boris Godunov, the 'Lord Protector' .*

*'I spent a good time...in providing the Emperor's and Lord Protector's provision, according to commission, as also enquiring of the learned physicians of Oxford, Cambridge and London, their opinions and directions concerning the Empress Irenia in some difficult matters [concerning child-birth]'*

*Horsey had brought the Queen the Tsar's complaints about Sir Jerome Bowes, a previous Ambassador to Russia. 'Sir Jerome Bowes, upon some displeasure of the Queen towards him, practises much malice against me; incenses my Lord of Leicester, now regent in the Low Countries...that I should report at my table such a day to divers dukes and noblemen how that he had cast his wife down a pair of stairs, and so became the Queen's minion; by which he [Bowes] meant to have broken my neck, and the negotiation I had in hand'...*

*'The Earl of Leicester writes to the Queen thereof, prays my questioning and stay. The Queen alters her countenance, swears I should answer it; commands the Lords of her Majesty's Council to examine the cause. Sir Jerome Bowes offers to prove it by one Finch, a by-hanger of his, whom he said I would have roasted in the Moscow for a spy'. [A Russian torture, to be 'roasted' near a fire].*

*'Yet the Queen answered openly "I doubt not but Horsey will prove himself an honest man for all this". The Lord Hunsdon, then Lord Chamberlain, only took Sir Jerome Bowes' part'...*

*'The court and city were possessed of this heinous matter. We were convented [before the Privy Council]. Sir J.Bowes feigned himself sick: the lords sent express messengers to bring him, for so was her Majesty's pleasure. He present, the party's [John Finch's] accusation was so faint, faltering and fearful, ever looking upon Sir J.Bowes what he should say to the lords, that they all seemed displeased. I had four very substantial merchants ready kneeling before them, that were present at all times whilst this Finch was in the Moscow, being but ten days, at any time with me...The lords willed Sir J.Bowes forth of the Council Chamber; bid Finch declare the truth'. He confessed Bowes had made him 'maintain this accusation...saying he was in the way to crush Mr Horsey and his embassy. The lords committed him to the Marshalsea, with weighty irons to be laid upon him; my Lord Treasurer [Burghley] telling him "Though you were not roasted, sirrah, it was pity you had not been a little scorched".'*

'The Lord Chamberlain hied him from the lords to the Queen; Mr Secretary [Walsingham] got another way before him, told her Majesty what had past. She blamed my Lord Hunsdon, who laid the fault upon Bowes, whom the lords told he had discredited himself more than his worth could repair'...

'The Queen forbade him her presence'.

I, 'in the interim...had made my provision of lions, bulls, dogs, gilt halberds, pistols, pieces, armour, wines, store of drugs of all sorts, organs, virginals, musicians, scarlets, pearl chains, plate of curious making and of other costly things of great value, according to my commissions'.

[Horsey, *Travels*, 215-217]. Horsey's leave-taking: March 23.

By Feb 4: new Privy Councillors: John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury; William Brooke, 10th Lord Cobham; Thomas Sackville, 1st Lord Buckhurst.

While Leicester was in the Low Countries 'the Archbishop and Lord Cobham were first sworn Councillors of State, and Thomas Lord Buckhurst was sworn the day after'. [George Paule, *Life...of Whitgift* (1612), 37].

Court news. Feb 5, The Savoy, Roger Manners to the Earl of Rutland: 'Her Majesty is much offended that the Earl of Leicester hath taken upon him the office, name, and title, to be Governor of Holland and Zeeland, which office he hath taken - as it is said - with a solemn oath to the States and they likewise to him'.<sup>RT</sup>

Feb 5, Sir Francis Walsingham to Sir Edward Stafford (Ambassador to France): A new French Ambassador has arrived in Scotland, Baron d'Esneval.

'Whereas Mr Randolph is presently dispatched into that realm to countermine the undermining of the French, we send but words only by him and the other bringeth treasure with him...out of the King of Spain's purse'...

The Queen is greatly offended with Leicester's acceptance of absolute government at the Hague.

'Mr Davison is daily looked for here, by whom such reasons are promised to be sent unto her Majesty to justify the proceedings in that cause as shall fully satisfy her'...

'Her Majesty, finding that her Council by the decease of the late Lord Admiral [the Earl of Lincoln], the Earl of Bedford, and absence of my Lord of Leicester, was now grown somewhat naked, hath lately made choice of my Lord of Canterbury, my Lord Cobham and my Lord of Buckhurst to supply the places of Councillors'.

[*SPF.xx.352*].

*c.Feb 5-c.Aug 15: Thomas Randolph was special Ambassador to Scotland. Randolph had audiences in Scotland, but was based mainly at Berwick, for negotiations which led up to the Treaty of Berwick, July 6.*

Feb 6, Sun knighting, Greenwich: Lord Mayor, Wolstan Dixie, skinner.<sup>M</sup>

The City Chamberlain made the same payments to court officials as at the knighting of the previous Lord Mayor (14 Feb 1585). [*Chamber Accounts*, 82].

Court news. Feb 7, Lord Burghley to the Earl of Leicester, from my house in Westminster: 'To be plain with your Lordship, in a few words, I and other your Lordship's poor friends find her Majesty so discontent with your acceptation of the government there, before you had advertised and had her Majesty's opinion, that although I, for my own part, judge this action both honourable and profitable, yet her Majesty will not endure to hear any speech in defence thereof. Nevertheless, I hope a small time shall alter this hard conceit in her Majesty, whereunto I have already and shall not desist to oppose myself with good and sound reasons to move her Majesty to alter her hard opinion'.<sup>LEY</sup>

*Feb 8, The Hague, Earl of Leicester to Lord Burghley, Lord Hunsdon, Sir Christopher Hatton, and Sir Francis Walsingham:*

*'I have to my great discomfourt received from you her Majesty's great mislike of my acceptance of this government, and that she will by no means avow, but rather disavow wholly, that which is done therein'...*

*'I trust I shall not offend your Lordships, nor her Majesty, to give this simple advice, that it may please her...to revoke me'. I am 'most heartily grieved at her Majesty's heavy displeasure' and 'will withdraw me into some out-corner of the world, where I will languish out the rest of my few, too many, days, praying ever for her Majesty's long and prosperous life'...*

*'I shall now attend her Majesty's further pleasure, not daring write to herself being thus offended'. The Earl also sent Walsingham a letter of self-justification, 'being not only grieved but wounded to the heart'.<sup>LEY</sup>*

*Feb 10, Thur Sir Thomas Heneage at Greenwich prior to special embassy. The Queen was sending Heneage to the Earl of Leicester. Instructions included:*

*'You shall let the Earl understand how highly, upon just cause, we are offended with his last late acceptation of the government of those provinces, being done contrary to our commandment delivered unto him, both by ourself in speech, and by particular letters from certain of our Council written unto him in that behalf by our express direction, which we do repute to be a very great and strange contempt, least looked for at his hands, being he is a creature of our own; wherewith we have so much the greater cause to be offended for that he hath not...by his letters acquainted us with the causes that moved him so contemptuously to break our said commandment...though for our own part we cannot imagine that anything can be alleged by him to excuse so manifest a contempt'...*

*'You shall let him understand that we hold our honour greatly touched by the said acceptation of that government...for that it carrieth a manifest appearance of repugnancy to our protestation set out in print [1 Oct 1585], by the which we declare, that our only intent in sending him over into those parts was to direct and govern the English troops that we had granted to the States for their aid, and to assist them with his advice and counsel for the better ordering both of their civil and martial causes'...*

*'You shall let him understand that our express pleasure and commandment is, upon pain of his allegiance, that, all delays and excuses set apart...he shall make an open and public resignation in the place where he accepted the same absolute government, as a thing done without our privity and consent, contrary to the contract passed between us and their Commissioners'.<sup>LEY</sup>*

*[Feb 10] Queen's letter to Leicester, to be delivered by Sir Thomas Heneage: 'How contemptuously we conceive ourself to have been used by you, you shall by this bearer understand, whom we have expressly sent unto you to charge you withal. We could never have imagined, had we not seen it fall out in experience, that a man raised up by ourself, and extraordinarily favoured by us above any other subject of this land, would have in so contemptible a sort broken our commandment, in a cause that so greatly toucheth us in honour; whereof, although you have showed yourself to make but little account, in most undutiful a sort, you may not therefore think that we have so little care of the reparation thereof as we mind to pass so great a wrong in silence unredressed; and therefore our express pleasure and commandment is that, all delays and excuses laid apart, you do presently, upon the duty of your allegiance, obey and fulfil whatsoever the bearer hereof shall direct you to do in our name: whereof fail you not, as you will answer the contrary at your uttermost peril'.<sup>LEY</sup>*

*Feb 10-June 9: Sir Thomas Heneage was special Ambassador to the Low Countries. Heneage was delayed first by order of the Queen, and then at the coast waiting for a ship and a favourable wind.*

Court news. Feb 11, Leicester House, Thomas Dudley to the Earl of Leicester, with news of the Countess of Leicester: 'It was told her Majesty that my Lady was prepared presently to come over to your Excellency, with such a train of ladies and gentlewomen, and such rich coaches, litters, and side-saddles, as her Majesty had none such, and that there should be such a court of ladies as should far pass her Majesty's court here. This information (though most false) did not a little stir her Majesty to extreme choler and dislike of all your doings there, saying, with great oaths, she would have no more courts under her obeisance but her own, and would revoke you from thence with all speed'...

'The long stay of Mr Davison's coming, and your Honour's forbearing to write to her Majesty all this while...doth greatly offend her, more and more, and in very truth maketh all your friends here at their wits' end, what to answer or say in your behalf'.

Vice-Chamberlain Hatton wishes 'that you would bestow some two or three hundred crowns in some rare thing for a token to her Majesty'.

'There be divers of that side which writeth to their friends here at the court of such things as falleth out there, and so cometh to her Majesty's knowledge by the women, which breedeth some offence, and were better they wrote more wisely, or not at all'.<sup>LEY</sup>

*Anonymous description of the Countess of Leicester's mode of transport:*  
'She is as proud as ever, rides through Cheapside drawn by four milk-white steeds, with four footmen in black velvet jackets, and silver bears on their backs and breasts, two knights and 30 gentlemen before her, and coaches of gentlewomen, pages and servants behind, so that it might be supposed to be the Queen, or some foreign Prince or ambassador'. [c.1584; SP15/28/113].

Feb 13, Queen to the States-General; also to the Council of State:

'Being advertised how that they had presented the absolute government of the United Provinces, she found these their proceedings very strange, and greatly tending to her dishonour, that to be offered unto her subject, which she had refused already...besides that it is against her Protestation published to the world no further to intermeddle in these business than to take in protection her distressed neighbour, without aspiring to any sovereignty'. She has commanded Leicester 'to give over all such government not contained in the articles of the Treaty, assuring them it not to proceed from want of affection or zeal to their cause, but only a mere respect to her honour, which she esteemed dearer than her life'.<sup>LEY</sup>

[Contemporary minute. Delivered by Heneage on March 14].

Feb 13, Shrove Sunday William Davison at Greenwich, sent by Earl of Leicester. Davison to Leicester, Feb 17, London, where he had arrived early on February 13, and within an hour sent to Sir Francis Walsingham to know 'where I might wait on him before my access to the Queen...He returned me answer that your Lordship's long detaining me there had wounded the whole cause, that he thought her Majesty would not speak with me, and yet wished me to come forthwith to the court'...

'The same afternoon I repaired unto him...He let me understand how heinously she took your acceptation of the government, how she had resolved to dispatch Sir Thomas Heneage to command you to resign it up'...

'I was amazed at his discourse, as a thing far from that I looked for, and let him see...what reasons and necessity had drawn, both the States to press your Lordship's acceptance of the government, and yourself at length to yield unto it, assuring him that if her Majesty took the course she pretended, not only yourself should be thereby most unhappily and unworthily disgraced, but the cause withal utterly overthrown, with the perpetual stain of her honour and detriment of her estate. Within a while after he went up to her Majesty, and myself in the meantime to Mr Vice-Chamberlain, whither one of the Grooms of her Privy Chamber came for me'.

'I found her Majesty above, retired into her Withdrawing Chamber, which I took for some advantage. She began in most bitter and hard terms, first against your Lordship for taking that charge upon you, not only without warrant but (that which she urged greatly) against her express commandment, delivered unto you sundry times, as she said, both by her own mouth and confirmed by her Council, as a thing done in contempt of her'...

'In that I had not openly opposed myself against it...I had, as she pretended, greatly deceived her opinion and trust she had reposed in me'.

I made to the Queen a discourse of 'the state of the country before your Lordship's coming', and that the Dutch wished 'to set some person of wisdom and authority at the helm'. I gave a number of reasons why your Lordship had taken the course you did, 'carrying with itself increase both of honour, profit and surety to her Majesty, and good to the cause'...

'Against which, albeit she could in truth reply little, yet could I not leave her much satisfied, at this first meeting, with anything I could allege in your behalf, but, persisting still in her offence, broke many times forth into her former complaints; one while accusing you of contempt, another while of respecting more your particular greatness than either her honour or service, and often times digressing into old griefs which were too long and tedious to write'...

'And thus, after long and vehement debate, for the first night, departed'.<sup>LEY</sup>

Also, Shrove Sunday: play, by the Queen's Men.<sup>T</sup>

*Feb 13: Arthur Throckmorton paid John White 'to give to my Lady Drury for the tortoise she gave the Queen from me, £4.10s, the which I took out of the bag'.<sup>TH</sup>*

Feb 14, Shrove Monday William Davison at Greenwich for second audience. Davison to the Earl of Leicester, Feb 17:

'The next morning...Sir Thomas Heneage was dispatched in great heat, which so soon as I understood of I repaired again unto her and, so much was I perplexed, with tears besought her to be better advised, laying before her the dishonourable, shameful, and dangerous effects of so unseasonable and unhappy a message, and humbly craving at her hands that...she would yet forbear to take a course so violent, not only to the utter disgrace and dishonour of one she had heretofore so highly esteemed...but also to the utter ruin of the cause, loss of her best neighbours and discomfort of her good subjects, with her own dishonour and undoing; and here she fell again into her former invectives'.

I 'took occasion to press her Majesty to receive your Lordship's letter, which the day before she utterly refused. And now, after she had opened and begun to peruse, put up into her pocket, to read, as I think, at more leisure'.

'At length having...prepared her to lend me a more patient and willing ear than she had vouchsafed me the day before, I renewed unto her my former day's discourse in excuse of your Lordship's action...Against all which she had little else to reply than her alleged complaints of the form and manner of your proceeding, confessing that if you had taken the same thing in substance, "which", said she, "the contract offered you", without the title, she would have been for own part better satisfied'...

'I concluded with this humble suit unto her Highness, that she would be pleased...to vouchsafe me her favourable leave to retire myself home to bestow the rest of my days in prayer for her...The same night late she gave order to stay Sir Thomas Heneage till he heard her further pleasure'.<sup>LEY</sup>

Rather than allow Davison to retire, the Queen appointed him her Secretary (jointly with Sir Francis Walsingham), on September 30.

c. Feb 14, Shrove Monday: Barriers (combat on foot), at Greenwich.  
Works: 'setting up of the Barriers in the hall at Shrovetide'.

Feb 15, Shrove Tuesday William Davison at Greenwich for third audience.  
Davison to Earl of Leicester, Feb 17: 'The next morning early I repaired to my Lord Treasurer, whom I met upon the way and followed down to the court'.

Lord Burghley went directly to the Queen, failed to get Sir Thomas Heneage revoked, but insisted in getting his message qualified and that 'he should forbear your public and open disgrace'.

'The same afternoon my Lord Treasurer procured my third audience, before whom I confirmed my former discourse, which I found her Majesty to conceive somewhat better, and the same night obtained leave to retire myself home for some few days. Since, I hear Sir Thomas Heneage is in Kent, awaiting the ship'...

'I find the heat of her Majesty's offence towards your Lordship to abate every day somewhat, and herself disposed both to hear and speak more temperately of you, and when all is done, if things be well carried there, will I trust deal more graciously both with yourself and the cause'...

'The traffic of peace goeth on underhand, as I am advertised; but whether to use it as a second string to our bow...I cannot affirm'.<sup>LEY</sup>

15 Feb 1586-March 1587: Horatio Palavicino was special Ambassador to some of the German States. Palavicino (c.1540-1600), an Italian-born merchant, had been made a denizen of England on 13 November 1585.

He embarked on *The Achates* on February 15, being sent to some German princes to endeavour to persuade them to finance an army in France.

He negotiated a Treaty in January 1587.

[Feb 18], French Ambassador to Sir Francis Walsingham, still complaining about his house in London (as in October 1585):

'I find this house so inconvenient, on account of its small size and ill smells...that I cannot possibly remain in it. If my wife were not close upon her lying-in I should leave it and go into a hostelry tomorrow'.

'I beg you...to show this to her Majesty, by which I humbly pray her to give me another house. That of the Countess of Pembroke is vacant...If her Majesty would do me the honour to order the least of her servants to go to the said lady, I believe she would give up her house the more readily'.

'There are five or six others empty in the town, as those of the Bishop of Winchester, the late Earl of Bedford, Lord Rich, and Madame Gresham, but there are difficulties everywhere, which I believe would be smoothed if she would give orders in the matter'. [SPF.xx.384-5].

The Queen was godmother to Madame de Châteauneuf's child in March.

The Ambassador and his wife were living in Bishopsgate by summer 1586.

Feb 21 [The Hague], Earl of Leicester to Sir Francis Walsingham, of Count Edzard:

'The Count of Emden is stark naught, and the King of Spain's for life, only I wish her Majesty to send someone to his brother Count John, whose heart is almost killed since he was in England, and languisheth in great melancholy, finding so small comfort there, as he saith if her Majesty had given him any good comfort, his brother should never have done anything but what she would'.<sup>LEY</sup>

William Herle was sent to Count Edzard in April.  
Count John, Edzard's younger brother, who had a pension from the Queen, had been in England September-October 1581.



[Feb 22]: Leicester [to Walsingham]: 'Sir, I have met with divers letters and intelligences that the Pope hath greatly laboured some desperate persons to do violence to her Majesty. The Prince of Parma of late' said 'he did not fear the English aid, it would not continue many weeks, meaning her Majesty's life'...

'God hath and will defend her, I doubt not, but get her from London into some country well affected for this summer, and the sooner the better'.

'Woodstock were a good place, and a wholesome, or to Farnham, for it is hard for any suspected persons to come so far but some or other will give knowledge; and as I hear it is meant now to use some stranger, and under colour of merchants, to make suit at the court'...

'Two Jesuits of Bruges...had undertaken a great enterprise in England... to come to the court. I am promised they shall be described to me, but you must...let good watch be laid among the merchants for such two fellows'...

'I beseech you, for God's sake, let no respect of commodious lying about London cause her safety to be neglected, and albeit she is in all places in the hands of God, yet it is good to avoid the most likeliest places for harm'.<sup>LEY</sup>

[Date: Wright, ii.279]. Farnham Castle, Surrey, was included in the itinerary for the Queen's proposed summer progress, but not Woodstock Palace.

Court news. [Feb 24], Paris, Mendoza (Spanish Ambassador to France) to Philip II: 'Don Antonio and his people have been very comfortable hitherto, as the Queen caresses and makes much of him, giving him 1000 or 2000 crowns at a time. At Christmas-tide she presented his sons with a great quantity of silk and cloth of gold'.  
[Span.iii.570].

Wardrobe account, Sept 1585-Sept 1586: 26 yards of silver chamblet, 12 yards of carnation velvet, 22 yards of black velvet, ash colour satin, black satin 'given by us to the late King of Portugale'. [BL Egerton 2806, f.218].

Feb 28, Mon William Davison at Greenwich again with the Queen.

Feb 28, London, Davison to Earl of Leicester: 'Since my second and third days' audience, the storms I met withal at my arrival have overblown and abated daily. Sir Thomas Heneage, notwithstanding, continueth his journey...This day I was myself at the court, and found her in reasonable good terms, though she will not yet seem satisfied to me either with the matter or manner of your proceeding'...

'I have not seen my Lady [Countess of Leicester] these 10 or 12 days... I found her greatly troubled with tempestuous news she received from court'.<sup>LEY</sup>

March: christening. Queen was godmother to the French Ambassador's child. Parents: Claude de L'Aubespine, Sieur de Châteauneuf; wife: Marie de la Châtre.

Nicholas Pigeon, Jewel-house Officer, was sent from Greenwich to London 'for provision of plate given by her Majesty to Monsieur Châteauneuf, lieger Ambassador out of France, at the christening of his child'. Piers Pennant made ready 'of the Lord Ambassador's child's of France', March.<sup>T</sup>

March 2, Wed knighting, Greenwich: Andrew Noel, of Leicestershire.<sup>M</sup>

March 3: Sir Thomas Heneage reached Flushing, whence he wrote to Leicester asking 'that by your Harbinger I may be appointed some convenient place for myself and my servants; my company in all is not above 18 persons'.<sup>LEY</sup>

William Segar, Portcullis Pursuivant, accompanied Heneage.

Court news. March 5, Coldharbour [London], Henry Talbot to his father the Earl of Shrewsbury, having been with the Queen on March 4:

'Her Highness bade me signify unto your Lordship that she was your physician, and therefore she desired to see her patient whom she wished as well unto as to any man in all her realm, and that your Lordship...should find at your next coming'.  
[Bath, v.41; mis-dated].

March 6, Earl of Warwick to Leicester: 'My dear brother...Our mistress's extreme rage doth increase rather than any way diminish, and giveth out great threatening words against you, therefore make the best assurance you can for yourself. If she will needs revoke you...if I were as you...I would go to the furthest part of Christendom rather than ever come into England again'...

'Take heed whom you trust, for that you have some false boys about you'.<sup>LEY</sup>

March 7, court, Sir Thomas Sherley to the Earl of Leicester, who had sent him to ask for men and money; he had arrived on Friday March 5:

'I find that the Queen continueth near in the same humour of dislike of your Lordship's acceptance of the government there that she was in when Sir Thomas Heneage went hence, and hath hitherto refused to speak with me, or to receive your Lordship's letters...Upon Saturday in the afternoon she did command me by Mr Vice-Chamberlain, that I should deliver such matter as I had to say unto my Lord Treasurer and him, which I did...All your friends do wish your Lordship to write more often unto her Majesty'.<sup>LEY</sup>

*March 10: Payment to Henry Sackford, Groom of the Privy Chamber, 'being forthwith to see certain fallow deer conveyed to the King of Scotland', £40.<sup>T</sup>*

March 14, court, Sir Thomas Sherley to the Earl of Leicester:

'After eight days I spoke with her Majesty, being brought unto her by Mr Vice-Chamberlain into the Privy Chamber, when she used most bitter words against your Lordship for your receiving that government, affirming that she did expressly forbid it unto your Lordship, in the presence and hearing of divers of her Council. I alleged the necessity of it, and your Lordship's intent to do all for the best for her Majesty's service...and that the States...conferred the authority upon your Lordship with incessant suit unto you to receive it'...

'But all my speech was in vain; for she persisted, saying that your Lordship's proceeding was sufficient to make her infamous to all princes, having protested the contrary in a book which is translated into divers and sundry languages'...

'I told her Majesty that the world had conceived a high judgement of her great wisdom and providence, which she showed in assailing the King of Spain at one time both in the Low Countries and also by Sir Francis Drake' and 'to remember that to the King of Spain...the voyage of Sir Francis was of much more offence unto him than this. To that she said she could very well answer for Sir Francis, "but, if need be" said she "the gentleman careth not if I should disavow him". "Even so" said I "standeth my Lord, if your disavowing of him may also stand with your Highness's favour towards him". She 'said she meant not to do harm unto the cause, but only to reform that which your Lordship had done beyond your warrant from her. And so she left me'...

'Upon Friday last [March 11], as her Majesty walked in the garden, I thought to taste her affection unto your Lordship by another means, and stepped unto her, and said that your Lordship being in doubt of falling into a disease that Gooderus [a royal surgeon] did once cure you of...that it would please her to spare Gooderus, and to give him leave to come unto your Lordship for some time. I assure your Lordship it moved her much, and she answered me that with all her heart you should have him...I told her that she was a very gracious prince, that pleased not to suffer your Lordship to perish in your health, though otherwise she took offence against you, whereunto she answered me "You know my mind. I may not endure that my man should alter my commission, and the authority that I gave him, upon his own fancies, and without me"...

'I have ever since, and still will, attend upon Mr Vice-Chamberlain, to know her Highness's pleasure about men and money, but by reason of cold that she hath taken, her Majesty keepeth her chamber these three days...My Lord Treasurer is also lame, so as he cannot go to her, and without him I perceive she will conclude nothing...I have herein declared unto your Lordship things just as they stand...You know the Queen and her nature best of any man'.<sup>LEY</sup>

March 15, court, Lord Burghley to Mr Fanshawe and Mr Osborne, of the murder of Thomas Lichfield (of Highgate, Middx, Groom of the Privy Chamber since 1559): 'I pray you forthwith...to repair to the house or lodgings of Mr Lichfield, who I understand is of late slain by a lewd servant of his own, and to make seizure, and to lock and seal up, all such books, papers, and writings that you shall there find, for that, as you know, certain of them may concern her Majesty'...  
'I pray you advertise me of the manner of his death'. [SP46/34/40].

*Thomas Fanshawe and Peter Osborne: Exchequer officials.*  
*Thomas Lichfield had the keeping of the Queen's musical instruments, and may have had other secret duties. No more is known of his death.*

March 15, Amsterdam, Earl of Leicester to Burghley and Walsingham:  
'Though I see I am and must be disgraced, which God I hope will give me strength to bear patiently, yet let me entreat your Lordship to be a mean to her Majesty that the poor soldiers here be not beaten for my sake. There came no penny of treasure over since my coming hither...They perish for want of victuals and clothing in great numbers. The whole and sound are ready to mutiny'.

PS: 'Praying God her Majesty may do that may be best for herself; for my own part my heart is broken, but not by the enemy'. [SPF.xx.446-8].

March 17, Greenwich, Sir Francis Walsingham to Archibald Douglas:  
'Her Majesty is pleased that the Lord of Lochleven and the Master of Wemyss shall have access unto her this afternoon at two o'clock'...  
'Her Majesty hath also promised to dispatch you presently, so as I hope you shall be ready to depart with these gentlemen'. [HT.iii.134].

Mar 17,Thur Scottish lairds at Greenwich for audience.  
The Laird of Lochleven and James Colville, Laird of Easter Wemyss, a Gentleman of the Chamber of the King of Navarre, returning from France to Scotland.  
Douglas returned to London c.Sept 1 as resident Scottish Ambassador.

March 17, Amsterdam, Earl of Leicester to Lord Burghley: [A long letter of self-pity]. 'The 14th day of this month Sir Thomas Heneage delivered a very sharp letter from her Majesty to the Council of State here beside his message, myself being present, for so was her Majesty's pleasure as he said'...  
'I can be no fit man to serve here, my disgrace is too great'. [SPF.xx.450-2].

March 18, Dutch Council of State to the Queen (contemporary minute):  
'They are very sorry her Majesty is offended with the election of the Earl of Leicester to be absolute governor. They confess her to have just cause of displeasure' but 'most humbly beseech her Majesty to allow of their doings herein'. The Queen replied in April that 'upon their acknowledgement of their fault, she could not but remove her dislike'.<sup>LEY</sup>

Court news. March 19, Sir Francis Walsingham to Thomas Randolph, in Scotland: The Queen will allow £4000 per annum to King James.  
'The Lords of Lochleven and Easter Wemyss have kissed her Majesty's hands and departed hence...There is order taken for sending of 30 bucks to the King which are to be taken of the Earl of Northumberland's parks, and therefore you shall do well to provide that some may be sent to Berwick to guide them the next way to Stirling, where it is said they shall be bestowed'.

[BL Cotton Caligula C.VIII, f.447v].

The arrival of the deer, and the sequel: May 7.

After King James at last signed the articles of the league with England, Thomas Milles sent a hasty and undated letter to the Earl of Rutland:

'I desire to be at court with speed...The King of Scots, after many thwarts and delays made by the French Ambassador, hath signed the articles of the league. I have another copy of the same for her Majesty to subscribe, to send in exchange of his; so that her Majesty, if she likes, may have her will'.

'Marry, he looks by my return to receive the pension...she hath promised, else no bargain; for they are as bare as beggars; and if we refuse, the French ...offer twice as much; but the King saith he had rather have one groat [4d] than a French crown'.<sup>RT</sup> In May Milles took James the Queen's signature for the league. Treaty of Berwick: July 6.

March 19-April: Travellers from Savoy in London. Châteauneuf, French Ambassador, to Walsingham [March 22], London:

'Last Saturday evening four gentlemen arrived with two or three attendants. Coming to see me on Sunday, they told me that they were all subjects of the Duke of Savoy, living near Genoa', and had come from Paris for three weeks.

'They prayed me to arrange for them to see the Queen, to which I said they could easily do so as she was going to or returning from chapel'. [SPF.xx.468].

Court news. [March 20], Paris, Mendoza to Philip II: 'A Scotch ship whilst passing Greenwich fired a salute, and the Queen happened to ask where she had come from. She was told that the vessel had just arrived from Spain, whereupon she ordered the Master to be summoned and asked him from what port he had sailed and what news he brought. He said he had come from Lisbon, and that your Majesty was preparing a great naval force...Some people said it was for Rochelle, others for Flanders, and others for England. When the Queen heard this she turned to Secretary Walsingham who was present, and said a few words to him which the ship-master did not understand; after which she threw a slipper at Walsingham and hit him in the face, which is not a very extraordinary thing for her to do, as she is constantly behaving in such a rude manner as this'. [Span.iii.573].

March 20: Information was given by a native of Ghent, touching the practices of certain Jesuits against the Queen's Majesty, one having come to England to do a desperate enterprise upon her Majesty's person, even as was done upon the Prince of Orange [murdered in 1584]. There is also a design to kill the Earl of Leicester, by poison or other violent means. [SP12/187/50].

Court news. [March 21, from the Bastille, Paris], Thomas Morgan to Mary Queen of Scots: 'Either Raleigh, the *mignon* of her of England, is weary of her, or else she is weary of him; for I hear she hath now entertained one Blount, brother of the Lord Mountjoy, being a young gentleman whose grandmother she may be for her age and his'. [Scot.viii.275; deciphered].

Charles Blount, later 8th Lord Mountjoy (1563-1606).

Robert Naunton's description of Blount's arrival at court several years earlier:

'Lord Mountjoy was of the ancient nobility but utterly decayed in the support thereof through his grandfather's excess...his father's vanity in the search of the philosopher's stone, and his brother's untimely prodigalities'...

'As he came from Oxford, he took the Inner Temple in the way to court, whither he no sooner came but had a pretty strange kind of admission which I have heard from a discreet man of his own'...

'He was then much about twenty years, of a brown hair, a sweet face, and a most neat composure in his person. The Queen was then at Whitehall and at dinner, whither he came to see the fashion of the court'.

'The Queen had soon found him out and with a kind of affected frown asked the Lady Carver what he was. She answered she knew him not, insomuch as enquiry was made one from another who he might be till at length it was told the Queen that he was brother to the Lord William Mountjoy. This inquisition with the eye of Majesty fixed upon him, as she was wont to do and to daunt men she knew not, stirred the blood of this young gentleman, insomuch as his colour came and went, which the Queen observing, she called him and gave him her hand to kiss, encouraging him with gracious words and new looks, and so diverting her speech to the lords and ladies, she said that she no sooner saw him but she knew there was in him some noble blood, with some other expressions of pity towards his house'.

'And then again demanding his name she said "Fail you not to come to the court, and I will bethink myself how to do you good"'. [*Fragmenta Regalia*].

March 21, court, Sir Thomas Sherley to the Earl of Leicester:

'Her Majesty signed a warrant yesterday for four and twenty thousand pounds to be presently sent unto your Lordship, and her Majesty is pleased that your Lordship shall have one thousand men, and perhaps more, out of Ireland'...

'She forbeareth any evil speech of your Lordship openly, ever since I spoke with her Highness'.<sup>LEY</sup>

March 23: Jerome Horsey appointed Agent to Russia, 1586-Sept 1587.

Horsey, a member of the Muscovy Company, who returned from Russia in December 1585, was sent back again to Tsar Feodor, mainly for trading privileges for the merchants. He took a letter from the Queen to Empress Irenia, March 24, sending 'an expert and tried midwife' (who was not required).

'Taking my leave of the Queen received her Highness's letters to the Emperor and Prince Protector, and Letters Patents for my passage, with many good words and gracious promises...I departed well accommodated in company of nine good merchants' ships'.

In Moscow Horsey had audiences with the Tsar, and Boris Godunov, 'the Prince Protector', brother of the Tsarina. When the presents arrived in Moscow, the 'Emperor and Empress...viewed out of the palace window the bull-dogs and lions' with 5000 people following them. Also 'a goodly fair white bull, all spotted over with black natural dapple...gilt false horns, collar of green velvet studded and red rope'. Also 'twelve goodly large mastiff dogs led with twelve men'. Also 'two lions brought forth of their cages (drawn upon sleds) by a little Tartar boy with a wand in his hand, standing in awe of no other'...

Boris Godunov 'spent a whole day in perusing the jewels, chains, pearl, plate, gilt armour, halberds, pistols and pieces, white and red, scarlet velvets, and other curious and costly things provided for him, which he exceedingly well liked of; and the Empress his sister, invited to behold the same, admired especially at the organs and virginals, all gilt and enamelled, never seeing nor hearing the like before, wondered and delighted at the loud and musical sound thereof. Thousands of people resorted and stayed about the palace to hear the same. My men that played upon them much made of'...

'So well liked was all things, and my own picture also taken away, that the Protector sent me all the cost thereof, which was above £4000; three Persian genets with rich saddles...to make choice of which I pleased to ride upon... worth £200; and...sent me 3000 pounds of fine silver coin'...

'The sight of these rarities, bull-dogs, lions, organs, music and other delights, made me continually to be thought upon, with gold wrought handkerchiefs, towels, shirts, canopies, carpets, diets and such dainties as the Lord Protector and his friends' good will and favour did afford'.

[Horsey, Travels, 217, 220-223]. Horsey's return to court: 5 Oct 1587.

Mar 25, Fri Sir Charles Cavendish at Greenwich with the Queen. Cavendish (1553-1617), was son of the Countess of Shrewsbury by her 2nd husband. The Countess ('Bess of Hardwick') and her sons Sir Charles and William Cavendish were feuding with the Earl of Shrewsbury; the Queen several times intervened. Cavendish to Walsingham: 'This afternoon her Majesty sent for me to know wherein things were unperfect between my Lord of Shrewsbury and us, but when I offered her Majesty these notes, they being of some length, her Majesty commanded me to wait of your Honour...I presume to send them here enclosed, that your Honour may the better call to memory what hath proceeded and what remains to be perfected, that...her Majesty may be acquainted with the differences, and by your Honour's means settle peace amongst us, for these tedious civil wars hath not only over-haled our honourable friends, but even ourselves also'. [SP12/207/6].

March 28, court, Sir Francis Walsingham to the Earl of Leicester, of Thomas Vavasour, whom the Earl had sent to the Queen:

'The choice of Mr Vavasour, who is a person very agreeable unto her Majesty, hath wrought in her a better conceit towards your Lordship than any other sent from thence. Besides, the gentleman hath performed the charge committed unto him by your Lordship in so good sort as our storms begin to calm'...

'Her Majesty hath not yet read the letters brought by Mr Vavasour, being troubled with an extreme cold and defluxion into her eyes, so as she cannot endure to read anything'.<sup>LEY</sup> Thomas Vavasour (1560-1620) became one of the Queen's Gentlemen Pensioners during 1586.

March 29, court, Sir Walter Raleigh to the Earl of Leicester:

'The Queen is in very good terms with you, and, thanks be to God, well pacified, and you are again her sweet Robin'.

March 31, Lord Burghley to the Earl of Leicester: After conference with Mr Vavasour 'of the doubtful state of that country, I, in presence of Mr Secretary, used some boldness with her Majesty, and protested to her as a Councillor... that this course that she held against your Lordship was like to endanger her in honour, surety, and profit; and that if she continued the same, I prayed her Majesty that I might be discharged of the place I held, and both afore God and man, be free from the shame and peril that I saw could not be avoided. I used boldly such bold language in this matter as I found her doubtful whether to charge me with presumption, which partly she did, or with some astonishment of my round speech...And then her Majesty began to be more calm than before'...

'Yesterday Mr Secretary and I adventured very boldly to declare our censures of peril to come...and hereupon we obtained a favourable answer'.

Then with Vice-Chamberlain Hatton 'we all three went to her Majesty, and there I told her very plainly that...if she used not speed to content the States and the people of those countries, she would not only lose them, but her honour in the world, and she should find certainly as great danger from those countries as she had looked for comfort. Herewith she was greatly troubled, and...assented to do anything that she might with her honour'...

'We moved her to assent that your Lordship should continue your office for some time, until the state of the matter might be better considered by her'.<sup>LEY</sup>

Mar 31, Maundy Thursday ceremonies and alms-giving.

By John Piers, Bishop of Salisbury, Queen's Almoner; to 52 poor women, each 20s in a red purse and 52d in a white purse.

Alms-giving by the Queen, 1586: Treasurer of the Chamber paid to the Queen's Almoner: 'For her Highness's daily alms to 13 poor men at her Majesty's gates every of them at 5d *per diem*; £20 the month for her Highness's privy alms; given by way of her Majesty's charitable alms to divers poor people on Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, and in the time of Easter, £133.6s8d'.<sup>T</sup>

There were similar payments every year.

By April: John Savage, who had been soldiering with the Prince of Parma's men, arrived in England from France, having sworn to kill the Queen.

Savage later became one of the conspirators in the Babington Plot, joining Anthony Babington and a number of Catholic gentlemen who conspired to kill the Queen, to free the Queen of Scots, and to restore the Catholic religion.

At Savage's Trial (Sept 13), he was charged that in France Dr William Gifford had 'maliciously moved him...traitorously and wickedly to kill and murder the Queen's most excellent majesty, his liege Sovereign and natural prince', and had affirmed it to be 'an action lawful, honourable and meritorious'. Thereupon Savage swore to murder her.

Savage confessed that he had told Dr Gifford 'that he was contented to do anything for his country's good. Then said Gifford "Assure yourself you cannot do a greater good unto your country"...When he had given his oath to murder her, Gifford declared unto him how and in what place her Majesty might be slain'...

'As her Majesty should go into her chapel to hear divine service, Savage might lurk in the gallery, and stab her with his dagger; or if her Majesty should walk in her garden, he might then shoot her through with his dag; or if her Majesty did walk abroad to take the air, as she would often do, rather...accompanied with women than men, and those few men but slenderly weaponed, Savage might then assault her with his arming sword, and so make sure work; albeit in all these cases Savage should be in extreme hazard of his own life, forasmuch as the thing itself was so lawful, honourable and meritorious, and he sure to gain heaven thereby. Thereupon came Savage over into England'. [State Trials, i.1129-1131].

April 1 [Good Friday], Greenwich, Lord Burghley to the Earl of Leicester:

'After that I had yesterday written my letter unto you...I went to London, and coming back this morning, I found by Mr Secretary a change of the former night's resolution altogether very absurd and perilous'.

'And so this morning, at sermon time, we came to her Majesty' and 'after many arguments' she agreed 'that you should continue in your office until the Council of State could devise how to qualify this matter'.<sup>LEY</sup>

April 1, Greenwich, Queen to the Earl of Leicester: 'Right trusty and right well beloved cousin and Councillor, we greet you well'...

'You, as we hear, are greatly grieved, in respect of the great displeasure you find we have conceived against you, and we no less grieved, that a subject of ours, of that quality that you are, a creature of our own, and one that hath always received an extraordinary portion of our favour above all our subjects, even from the beginning of our reign, should deal so carelessly, we will not say contemptuously, as to give the world just cause to think that we are had in contempt by him that ought most to respect and reverence us, from whom we could never have looked to receive any such measure, which, we do assure you, hath wrought as great grief in us as any one thing that ever happened unto us'....

But 'your grieved and wounded mind hath more need of comfort than reproof'.

You are to confer with Heneage and others as to how your title of absolute governor 'may be qualified'; if it is thought a change will be attended with any peril, we will, if necessary, tolerate the continuance of your absolute government for a time.<sup>LEY</sup>

c. April 2-June 28: William Herle was special Ambassador to Emden, The Privy Council had directed Leicester to send Herle to Count Edzard.

Herle returned to the Hague on June 28 'from his embassy, and had a great chain of gold and seven men in liveries'. [SPF.xxi(2).87].

Court news. April 2, London, Monsieur Cherelles to Mary Queen of Scots:  
 'For four or five years past the Queen of England has greatly favoured  
 Sir Walter Rawley, as she still does, but for some days past there has  
 been some anger between them which has much afflicted both of them, and  
 it is said that this has been on account of a gentleman named Blount,  
 brother of my Lord Mountjoy, whom her Majesty has greatly favoured for  
 some months past'. [Scot.viii.299].

April 7, Greenwich, Sir Francis Walsingham to the Earl of Shrewsbury:  
 'Some few days before Easter her Majesty was driven to keep her chamber,  
 being troubled with a mild defluxion of the rheum, but is now, thanks be  
 to God, in perfect good health'. [Bath, v.68].

April 16, Earl of Leicester to Walsingham, sending Sir William Russell to  
 the Queen: 'This gentleman is worthy to be cherished, for he is a rare man  
 both of courage and government...There cannot be too much good said of him'...

'Touching our present affairs, God hath blessed us with a most comfortable  
 beginning...Her Majesty is taken for the only Messiah of these countries'.

A Dutch commander, Colonel Schenk, 'protesteth to serve no creature but her  
 Majesty. Sir Thomas Heneage told me her Majesty meant to send him a present  
 by him; I have delivered him a chain as brought by Sir Thomas from her Majesty;  
 if you shall hear it is thought too much...I would bear the rest, rather than  
 any mislike should happen'...

'One thing more of greatest weight...Your French Ambassador there is a very  
 naughty man towards her Majesty, and doth dangerous offices. He doth write to  
 many places of her Majesty's mislike of this country's causes...Would God you  
 would use such men there as other princes use evil instruments'.<sup>LEY</sup>

April 16, Utrecht, Dr Thomas Doyley to Lord Burghley, of Leicester:  
 'The 15 his Excellency was royally feasted in the Stathouse, where Mr Coxe  
 surnamed Lancaster dined and supped at the court, and going home to bed died  
 in the streets'. John Coxo or Cock, Lancaster Herald.

April 17, Utrecht, Earl of Leicester to Lord Burghley: 'Lancaster the Herald  
 that came over with me being dead, I have now no Officer of Arms of England, and  
 therefore pray your Lordship to send Somerset or some other, and also one of  
 meaner degree'. Robert Glover, Somerset Herald, was sent.

Also April 17: Leicester knighted General John Norris. [SPF.xx.557,560,612].

April 19, Paris, Sir Edward Stafford to Walsingham, on behalf of the Baron of  
 Corstorphine, returning to Scotland through England, who desires to have access  
 to her Majesty to offer her his services. I have always found him an honest  
 gentleman, and very well affected to the Queen and State. [SPF.xx.565].

April 20: News of impending arrival of a special Ambassador from Denmark.

April 20, Elsinore, Arthur Sendy to Sir Francis Walsingham: 'The embassy  
 which the King intendeth to send to her Majesty...was kept so secret that until  
 six days before the Ambassador was ready to take shipping it was not known but  
 to some especial men of his court; and the King being desirous that they might  
 arrive in England, or if it were possible at the court, before it was known to  
 her Majesty, commanded a restraint to be made of all ships, as well Hollanders  
 as English, that none of them should depart before the King's ships were past,  
 and enjoined them to hold anchor 12 hours after their departure, which was the  
 20th April, when the Ambassador and his company passed by Elsinore to the sea.  
 The Ambassador is Henricus Ramelius...with certain gentlemen and three of the  
 best ships, all things appointed in as great state as this country of Denmark  
 useth; neither hath he sent any embassy, as I understand, in the like sort  
 unto any other prince at any time heretofore'. [HT.iii.139]. Arrival: May 8.



April 21, court, Sir Francis Walsingham to Earl of Leicester, of Augustin Grafigna, an Italian merchant, come from the Prince of Parma with a message to the Queen of his willingness to send 'some well chosen instruments unto her' to make overtures for peace. 'This much have I received from her Majesty'...

'The Lord Chamberlain hath dealt very honourably and friendly towards your Lordship of late, in causing Weldon, sometime Pensioner, to be punished for delivering, as he is charged though by him denied, lewd speeches of your Lordship'.<sup>LEY</sup> The Queen sent Grafigna back; he returned to England in June. Henry Carey Lord Hunsdon, the Lord Chamberlain, was Captain of the Gentlemen Pensioners; Edward Weldon was a former Gentleman-at-Arms.

Apr 21, Thur new appointment: William Dethick, York Herald, was made Garter King of Arms, succeeding his father Sir Gilbert Dethick, who died in 1584; since then Robert Cooke, Clarenceux King of Arms, had been acting Garter King of Arms.

Apr 22, Fri Eve of Garter ceremonies, Greenwich.

At a Chapter held in the Great Closet (a chapel) the Queen appointed a Lieutenant, who went to evening service with the other Garter Knights. Herald: 'There should have been made a new Garter but Clarencius was the stay'. 'Friday night, therefore no supper'. Knights had a voidy (as on 23 April 1585). 'Mr Garter was sworn in' at the Eve of Garter ceremonies in 1587.

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

Queen's Lieutenant: William Somerset, 3rd Earl of Worcester. 10 other Garter Knights. The Queen was in the processions and at the service, in Garter robes.

She dined in the Privy Chamber, the Lords in the Presence Chamber. The Lords later went to evening service. 'The Earl of Warwick was this Feast at the court sick and kept his chamber and had his mess of meat served into his chamber unto him as the other Lords had'.

*The Earl of Leicester celebrated St George's Day with great magnificence at Utrecht, with the Earl of Essex and the Prince of Portugal. Leicester knighted Colonel Martin Schenk, a Dutchman who visited the Queen in 1588.*

*A description of the celebrations, feasting, and pastimes (not mentioned in Leicester's letters), derived from William Segar's eye-witness account, is in Nichols, Progresses, (2014), iii.251-255.*

Apr 24, Sun Final 1586 Garter ceremonies, Greenwich.

The Knights of the Garter went to morning service.

'At 12 o'clock her Majesty came forth and went into the Great Closet being Sunday and there she stayed until the Lords had offered, and so put off their mantles at the Quire door and the Feast ended. And the Lords came up and waited on her Majesty to the Privy Chamber'. No new Knights were elected.

[Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 468].

April 25, court, Sir Francis Walsingham to the Earl of Leicester:

'The news brought by Sir William Russell was very welcome unto her Majesty, yet ...she still harpeth after peace, both in respect of charges, as of some doubt she hath that somewhat will be attempted against her own person'...

'I have let my Lords [of the Council] here understand how unkindly your Lordship taketh it that you hear so seldom from them, and that since your charge there you never received any letter of advice from them. They answer, as it is truth, that, her Majesty retaining the whole direction of the causes of that country to herself, and such advice as she receiveth underhand, they know not what to write or to advise. She can by no means...endure that the causes of that country should be subject to any debate in Council, otherwise than as she herself shall direct'.<sup>LEY</sup>

April 26, court, Sir Francis Walsingham to the Earl of Leicester (after the Queen suddenly changed her mind again about Leicester continuing to have authority as absolute governor):

'There was only called unto the resolution the Lord Treasurer [Burghley] and I. He moved her to stay the resolution until Sir Thomas Heneage's return...and...protested unto her that, if she did go forward with the resolution, it would utterly overthrow the cause. She grew so passionate in the matter as she forbade him to argue any more'...

'I conjecture...it may grow upon a hope of a peace, for that, as I am secretly informed, there is a safe-conduct sent over unto Champagney, either for himself or some other that shall secretly repair into this realm'...

'God give your Lordship patience to bear these crosses'.<sup>LEY</sup>  
[Champagney, Governor of Antwerp, was in England only in 1576].

April 27, Greenwich, Queen to Sir Thomas Heneage:

'We find it very strange, that...the title of absolute governor' has not yet been 'qualified', by 'some resolution taken in that behalf between the Council of State, our cousin of Leicester, and you'. You are to confer with him and with the Council of State as to how authority can be reserved to him 'under the title of our Lieutenant-General', not 'absolute Governor'.

We greatly 'mislike' that you delayed in delivering our letters to the States, and then assured them that England would not make peace with the King of Spain without their knowledge and assent.<sup>LEY</sup>

Also April 27, Queen's handwritten letter to Sir Thomas Heneage:

'What phlegmatical reasons so ever were made you, how happeneth it that you will not remember, that when a man hath faulted and committed by abettors thereto, that neither the one nor the other will willingly make their own retreat. Jesus, what availeth wit when it fails the owner at greatest need? Do that you are bidden, and leave your considerations for your own affairs; for in some things you had clear commandment, which you did not, and in other none and did, yea, to the use of those speeches from me that might oblige me to more than I was bound, or mind ever to yield. We princes be wary enough of our bargains, think you I will be bound by your speech to make no peace for mine own matters without their consent? It is enough that I injure not their country, nor themselves, in making peace for them, without their consent. I am assured of your dutiful thoughts, but I am utterly at squares with this childish dealing'.

Heneage noted 'This above is the copy of her Majesty's letter written with her own hand to me'.<sup>LEY</sup>

April 28, Earl of Leicester to Sir Francis Walsingham, praising Count Hollock (an alternative name for Count Philip of Hohenlohe).

Leicester had written, Jan 14: The Count 'hath only one fault, which is drinking'; Jan 22: 'A chain of £200 would be well bestowed upon him'.

He now wrote: 'The Count Hollock of all men hath deserved most just commendation, whom I pray God her Majesty may in some honourable sort remember; for he hath given over service of the States, and will serve none but her Majesty... He is both a valiant man and a wise man, and the painfulest that ever I knew'..

'If he had her picture in a tablet, which might be worth £200, would content him as much as £1000 in money. He hath, for her Majesty's sake, greatly left his drinking'.<sup>LEY</sup>

April 29: Stationers entered a book published as: *The English Mirror*.

'A Regard wherein all estates may behold the Conquests of Envy: Containing ruin of common weals, murder of Princes, cause of heresies, and in all ages spoil of divine and human blessings, unto which is adjoined Envy conquered by virtues. Publishing the peaceable victories obtained by the Queen's most excellent Majesty, against this mortal enemy of public peace and prosperity, and lastly A Fortress against Envy'. By George Whetstone.

Dedicated to the Queen.

First, two acrostic verses, spelling 'Elizabetha Regina', beginning:

'Envy in vain thou warrest with our Queen,  
Light of the West, which through the world is seen'.

Dedication: 'To the most virtuous Princess, our gracious sovereign Lady Elizabeth...be heaped the true rewards of her Majesty's most precious virtues'.

'Most virtuous Queen', I reverently 'lay before your judging eyes this simple Mirror, my richest present. And gracious Sovereign, although the same be unattired with gold, pearl, and precious stones, of which I have no plenty to give, nor your Majesty any want to receive, your searching judgement will nevertheless find that it presenteth the beauties of virtue without flattery, and the deformities of vice in no shadows'...

'The true God, whom your Majesty sincerely serveth, hath seated your glory above all the Princes upon earth, as the visible image of himself, partly in respect of the happiness which many millions from your divine virtues possess, but principally for that mercy is the chief of your holy works'...

'Your Majesty (as God's Almoner) being settled in Solomon's throne... plentifully distributing divine and earthly blessings upon afflicted kingdoms'..

'Most gracious Lady...I fearfully have armed this profitable book with the shield of your royal protection...Your Majesty's loyal and humble subject, therein happy'. With a second Dedication 'To the most Honourable the Nobility of this flourishing Realm of England, accomplishment of all noble desires'.

Divided into three books, with separate title-pages.

'The Second Book of the English Mirror, entitled *Conquered by Virtue: Publishing the blessings of peace; the scourge of traitors; and glory of Queen Elizabeth's peaceable victories; accompanied with many other comfortable regards for good subjects*'. With 'A Sonnet of triumph to England'.

Second Book's Dedication: 'To the reverend Divines'.

'The Third Book of the English Mirror. Entitled *A Fortress against Envy*. Builded upon the counsels of sacred Scripture, laws of sage Philosophers, and policy of well governed Common weals. Wherein every estate may see the true offices, the worthiness and (by abuse) the disgrace of his vocation. A work safely and necessary to be read and regarded of every good subject'.

Dedication: 'To the right honourable the Magistrates'. 249p. (London, 1586).

George Whetstone (1550-1587), poet, author of *Promos and Cassandra*, a play which became a source for Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure*, was interested in social and legal reform. He was killed in a duel in the Low Countries, 1587.

April: Preparations for annual horse-race, Croydon, Surrey.

Works made numerous payments, including: 'making a new frame with a floor in it for the Queen's Majesty, the noblemen and ladies to stand in to see the race run with horses near Croydon'; loads of timber; nails; water-carriage of the frame from King's Bridge to Lambeth and back again; land-carriage of the frame from Lambeth to Croydon and back again; reward to the Constable of Lambeth for taking of carts, 2s6d; wages of carpenters, sawyers, labourers, purveyors, and a clerk.

Total £16.11s8d, pay-book ending 30 April 1586. Despite these preparations the Queen is not known to have visited Croydon in 1586.

c. April: 'Baron de la Fage' at Greenwich for audience.  
 Baron de la Fage (an assumed name) had been captured in March in a ship called *The Providence of God*. [SP12/187/26].

Sir George Carew to Earl of Leicester, Sept 14, London, warning the Earl of a man who had been for some time at his camp in Holland: 'At my being in Ireland at Easter last he came out of Bayonne in France, being bound for England... He pretended that he left his country to do her Majesty service, whereof she being advertised willed the Lord Deputy immediately to send him over well accompanied, because he reported himself to be a baron, by the name of Anthony Baron de la Fage; who committed him unto me to conduct unto the court'.

'The services that he pretended were many, and made goodly shows' but all 'were but mere fictions and untruths invented by him to insinuate himself into the Queen's favour, to find some fit opportunity to do violence to her person'.

'When her Majesty had heard him at large, she commanded me to thank him for his intelligences of the practices which the King of Spain did intend against her, but...she was far from the believing of any of those devices which he had discovered unto her. He, finding his services rejected, fell into melancholies and great rages, because the Queen...refused to speak with him any more'...

'I discovered him to be no baron, and that his name was, as he said, Anthony de la Motte'. He had fled from France after killing a man seven years before, and had been travelling under an assumed name.

'He confessed unto me that he was allured in Spain with great sums of money to do violence unto her Majesty's person, which he could not attain unto to execute but by pretending to do her some special service. All this I discovered unto her Majesty, with a confession under his own hand; who, notwithstanding, in respect he was a stranger, gave him leave under her passport to depart'...

'He may be corrupted to do some villainous enterprise upon your person, being an apt man to such a purpose...By his name you shall never know him, for in every good town he gets a new one. His qualities are very pleasing. Well languaged, he hath a fine subtle wit, good speech, and professeth religion... The Queen did say long since that she would write unto you of it, which without doubt she would have done, if she had believed the party'. [Carew, iv.492-3].

*Edward Barton (Agent in Turkey) wrote on 23 November 1588 [\*to Walsingham]:  
 A Frenchman, calling himself Baron de la Fay, came here recently and turns Turk. He greatly praises her Majesty and the favour shown him at her court, and secretly told me that his sole aim was to save his country from Spain by provoking the Grand Signor against the Spanish King. I do not credit him, for all speak ill of him, and he has neither language, credit, money, friends or countenance to set him forth. He affirmed that he discovered to her Majesty certain dangerous practices of the King of Spain against her, being sent with letters to the Earl of Leicester, which he delivered to him. [SPF.xxii.335].*

[May 1], Paris, Mendoza to Philip II, of Don Antonio, former King of Portugal, in London: 'The Queen has given him 3000 crowns to pay certain debts. She has also assigned him a yearly pension of 8000 crowns...a little more than the 6000 sun-crowns they gave him here. The French King and his mother greatly praise the English Queen's reception and treatment of him'. [Span.iii.579].

[May 2], Paris, Mendoza to Juan de Idiaquez (King Philip's Secretary):  
 'I am advised from England by four men of position who have the run of the Queen's house that they have discussed for the last three months the intention of killing her. They will on the first opportunity advise me when it is to be done, and whether by poison or steel'. [Span.iii.579; deciphered].

May 4, Leiden, Holland: Geoffrey Whitney completed:  
'A Choice of Emblems, and other Devices, for the most part gathered out  
of sundry writers, Englished and Moralized. And divers newly devised'.  
Dedicated to the Earl of Leicester.

A collection of 248 emblems, being mottoes with illustrations and explanatory verses. The first is an emblem for the Queen, praising her support of the reformed Church: 'Te stante, virebo' ['As long as you stand, I shall flourish'].

The final emblem, addressed to Leicester, ends: I 'pray the Lord your Honour to preserve, Our noble Queen, and country, long to serve'.

Whitney (c.1548-c.1600) had dedicated the manuscript of his book to Leicester, 28 Nov 1585, presenting it before he 'passed the seas into the Low Countries'. He passed the seas himself, was persuaded to have the book printed, and revised and enlarged it. It became the best-known emblem book. (Leiden, 1586).

May 5: death. Sir Henry Sidney (1529-1586), K.G., Lord President of Wales and twice Lord Deputy of Ireland, died at Ludlow, Shropshire. His heart was buried at Ludlow Church. Funeral: June 21, Penshurst, Kent. The widowed Lady Sidney (Mary Dudley, Earl of Leicester's sister) died in London on August 9. St Olave Hart Street Church: Aug 22: 'The old Lady Sidney...was carried from hence to be buried at Penshurst'. Their son Philip died in Holland, Oct 17.

New Lord President of Wales: Henry Herbert, Earl of Pembroke (son-in-law).

May 6, Paris, Sir Edward Stafford to Walsingham: Yesterday a friend 'heard wagers laid against the Queen's life; and among the rest, one offered to lay all he had that either with poison or stroke she would be made away within these four months...A great many evil disposed minds are bent upon her'. [SPF.xx.607].

May 7: King James and the Queen's gift of deer. The Queen had given orders in March for 30 bucks to be sent to the King.

May 7, Edinburgh, Thomas Randolph to Walsingham: The King went suddenly to Falkland 'which indeed was but to see the deer that her Majesty sent him to be taken out of the carts, and to be put into the Park...Now that her Majesty hath furnished this King with deer sufficient to make him pastime for this summer, he hath prayed me that by your Honour her Majesty may be moved to lend him for the space of two months a couple of her Majesty's Yeomen Prickers and a couple of the Grooms of the Leash; he prayed me also to put your Honour in remembrance of some horses and geldings'. [Ellis (2), iii.121,123].

Randolph to Archibald Douglas, Aug 5, Newcastle: 'I have sent the King two hunting men, very good and skilful, with one footman that can whoop, holler and cry, that all the trees in Falkland will quake for fear'. [Murdin, 558].

Treasurer of the Chamber made annual payments to 'The Hunts', including in 1586 the Master of the Buckhounds (Earl of Leicester), Sergeants and Grooms of the Buckhounds, and three Yeomen Prickers (huntsmen).

There were also payments to 'The Leash', comprising a Yeoman of the Leash, a Groom of the Leash and four Children of the Leash.<sup>T</sup>

May 8-30: **Chancellor of Denmark**, special Ambassador, at Crosby Place, London. King Frederick II sent Henrik Ramel (1550-1610), Chancellor for Foreign Affairs, to propose that Denmark mediate in peace negotiations between England and Spain.

Ramel's ships arrived at Greenwich on May 6. He wrote to Walsingham, 'in haste on the royal ship', that as soon as he has found a convenient lodging, for which his servants are enquiring, and has recovered a little from the discomforts of the somewhat tempestuous voyage, he will ask for audience. [SPF.xx.608: Latin].

John Pigeon, Keeper of the Standing Wardrobe in the Tower of London, there 'made ready certain lodgings' to receive him.<sup>T</sup> On May 8 he was received at the Tower by Lord Cobham, and escorted through Tower Street to Bishopsgate Street 'and so to a fair and large house called Crosby Place, where he was lodged'.<sup>HOL</sup>

May 8, Sun Queen and the dispute between Earl and Countess of Shrewsbury. George Talbot, 6th Earl of Shrewsbury and 'Bess of Hardwick'.

'Certain things pronounced by her Majesty, in the presence of we whose names are underwritten, by her Majesty's commandment are ordered to be performed by the Earl of Shrewsbury in the causes of controversy betwixt him and the Countess his wife'. At Greenwich. Present: Burghley, Lord Chancellor Bromley, Walsingham.

c. May 10: Chancellor of Denmark at Greenwich for first audience. Ramel 'was of goodly personage, somewhat corpulent...very eloquent...and learned not only in...Latin, French, Italian, and German, but also in divers sciences'.. 'He had attendance done him convenient for his person, both by water and by land; the Queen's Majesty's barges and servants employed about him to and from London, the court then being at Greenwich; whither always when he came the nobility of England failed in no point of courtesy that might be showed, which he seemed (as he could no less) very acceptably to take'... 'In the English court he might (and no doubt did) mark the magnificence of her Majesty, in all respects admirable'.<sup>HOL</sup>

May 12, Greenwich, Queen to the Earl of Shrewsbury, expressing her 'earnest desire' that 'unkindness' and 'variance' between him and his wife and her younger sons should be 'by our mediation brought to some good end and accord'. 'We should not suffer in our realm two persons of your degree and quality to live in such a kind of divided sort'. After consultation, we have 'pronounced our order', which is enclosed. [Bath, v.69-70].

Court news. May 13, Lord Burghley to Sir Thomas Heneage, in Holland: 'I have advised her Majesty to permit my Lord of Leicester to continue in the government of those countries...and that you, being sick, might return... but her Majesty will neither allow of the one nor of the other, but she saith that you shall go back and do that she hath commanded you'... 'Her mind is, that...it might be devised there by authority of the States how my Lord might forbear the title and absolute authority of the Governor of those Provinces, and yet, remaining with the title and authority of her Majesty's Lieutenant-General, to have...authority...to order, govern, reform, and direct the martial affairs in like sort as his Lordship now may do'. You are to return when you bring report of the conclusion reached. 'This matter hath been more cumbersome and more severe to me and others that hath at sundry times dealt therein with her Majesty than any whatsoever since I was a Councillor'.<sup>LEY</sup>

May 14: Queen's gift to 'the young Baron of Connell...towards his charges and expenses in his voyage repairing presently into Ireland', £30.<sup>T</sup> John Bourke, 2nd Baron Bourke of Connell; see May 22, Council placard.

May 15, Sun Chancellor Ramel 'had his answer at Greenwich' from Lord Burghley and other Privy Councillors.<sup>B</sup>

May 17: *Earl of Arundel at Star Chamber hearing before Council and Judges. Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel (1557-1595), in the Tower since April 1585.*

May 20, Holborn, Brian Lascelles to the Earl of Shrewsbury: on May 17 'was brought unto the Star Chamber the Earl of Arundel, to answer to such contempts and offences as he had committed against her Majesty and her laws. Who answered but slenderly for himself, for that there was such manifest proof by his own confession, and letters against him; but excusing himself (with humility, and non-intendment of evil, as he made protestation) requiring the honourable persons there present to be means for him for her Majesty's gracious favour'. [Lodge, ii.285-6]. Arundel remained in the Tower. Trial: 18 April 1589.

May 21: Earl of Rutland paid to Peter van Lore [jeweller] 'for a brooch of her Majesty's picture in an agate, set with 53 diamonds', £80.<sup>RT(4)</sup>

May 22, Greenwich: Council's placard for the Baron of Connell 'repairing into the Realm of Ireland with her Majesty's good liking, to be provided of six post-horses from place to place unto the seaside where he shall embark, and there of convenient shipping for his safe and speedy transportation'.<sup>APC</sup>

The young Baron's money was taken to pay his debts; he remained in England, where he had been brought from Ireland in December 1580.

May 22: John Ballard, conspirator, reached London from France.

At the Trial of several of the Babington Plot conspirators on September 15 it was stated that in Paris on April 2 Mendoza (Spanish Ambassador to France), Charles Paget, and John Ballard (seminary priest) 'did confer in what place this realm of England most aptly might be invaded, and what aid and assistance might be procured for the same, and how...Mary Queen of Scots might be delivered from the custody wherein she was. And that thereupon it was resolved by the counsel of Morgan, a most notorious traitor, that the said Ballard should pass into this realm of England, to understand what help might be procured, and to prepare ports to land the enemies for to invade the realm, and to prepare ways and means how Mary Queen of Scots might be delivered'.

Thereupon John Ballard went over to England, arriving in London on Whit Sunday, May 22. [State Trials, i.1141,1213].

May 23, Arnhem, Earl of Leicester to the Queen (another long letter of self-pity): 'Most gracious lady, consider my long, true, and faithful heart toward you, and let not this unfortunate place here bereave me of that which above all the world I esteem there, which is your favour and your presence...I do humbly and from my heart prostrate at your feet beg this grace at your sacred hands, that you will be pleased to let me return to my home service with your favour'.. 'At Arnhem, most humbly kissing your Majesty's feet'. [SPF.xx.656].

May 24, Whit Tues Chancellor Ramel at service, dinner, bear-baiting, Greenwich. The Danish Ambassador 'being at the court was accompanied with certain English lords to her Highness' Chapel and placed not far from her Excellency, did hear divine service so melodiously said and sung, both by voice and instruments of consort, as a man half dead might thereby have been quickened. The Gentlemen of the Chapel, with the rest of the Choir, bending themselves both with skill and zeal that day to honour their Prince according to their place. The Bishop of Salisbury and others distinctly reading part of divine service'...

'Now when this solemnity was ended her Majesty departed, and so did the Ambassador, attended upon and accompanied unto the place appointed for dinner: where, standing near unto a fair window fronting into the open court, he might (being in communication now with one, and then with another English lord)... behold the royal service of her Majesty, very personable gentlemen...carrying covered dishes all of silver and gilt, very beautiful, themselves in velvet and silk...The trumpets sounding, and the drums playing...A passing gallant sight to behold'.

'When dinner was done, the Ambassador was made partaker of such courtly recreations as for that time were fit...everything was done with purpose to delight...And as the better sort had their convenient disports, so were not the ordinary people excluded...For upon a green, very spacious and large, where thousands might stand and behold with good contentment, there bear-baiting and bull-baiting (tempered with other merry disports) were exhibited; whereat it cannot be spoken of what pleasure the people took'.

'Now the day being far spent...the pastimes ended...the Ambassador withdrew unto his lodging by barge to Crosby Place'. [Holinshed, Chronicles].

Edward Bowes, Master of her Majesty's Game at Paris Garden, brought the Game before the Queen on Tuesday in Whitsun week.<sup>T</sup>

May 26, Thur: Chancellor Ramel and John Stubbs.

Mary (Vere), Lady Willoughby de Eresby, gave birth on May 22 to a daughter, at Willoughby House, Barbican. The father, Peregrine Bertie, 13th Lord Willoughby (former Ambassador to Denmark), was abroad.

May 26, Earl of Rutland's accounts: 'Given to the Ambassador of Denmark's trumpeter', 40s.<sup>RT(4)</sup>

John Stubbs (Willoughby's secretary) to Lord Willoughby, June 6:

'Before the birth, my Lady purposed to honour and banquet the Ambassador of Denmark by the occasion of bidding him gossip [godfather]'

It was thought best 'to acquaint her Highness therewith, because the Ambassador, having few days of abode, was to bestow them at her Majesty's special appointment. The Queen...liked that he should be banqueted but not gossiped. The reason appeared plainly, for that she had appointed his departure the very next day, so as my Lady could do neither the one nor the other'

Instead Stubbs, with Somerset Herald (Robert Glover), went to Crosby Place on May 26 and made a speech to Ramel in Latin, certifying her Ladyship's 'good meaning toward him', to which he answered 'very readily in good Latin'.

Lady Willoughby's child was christened at the parish church on May 30. One godmother, the Countess of Huntingdon, named her Sophia [after the Queen of Denmark], the other two godparents Katherine [after her grandmother the late Duchess of Suffolk], 'and so was it named'. [Ancaster, 31-32].

Katherine (or Catherine) Bertie married (1609) Sir Lewis Watson; she died in childbirth in 1611; her monument is at Spilsby Church, Lincolnshire.

c. May 29: Chancellor Ramel at Greenwich to take leave.

Nicholas Pigeon, Jewel-house Officer, was 'sent from the court at Greenwich to London for plate given to Herr Henrik Ramel, Ambassador from the King of Denmark, for chains given to certain gentlemen accompanying him'.<sup>T</sup>

Ramel received 813 ounces of gilt plate; Christopher Mounck, Admiral of Denmark, also received gilt plate; gold chains were given to Captain Durant, Captain Rostock, and Ebbe Mounck.<sup>PS</sup>

May 30: Chancellor Ramel left for Denmark, arriving there on June 16.

When Ramel journeyed to England his large retinue included 9 trumpeters and 8 instrumentalists (with skills as musicians, dancers, tumblers and actors); several of the actors were in a troupe of English players at the Danish court. On June 17 payments began to be made by the King to two new English groups, who sailed in one of Ramel's ships. They were William Kemp and his boy, who stayed two months, and five others including George Bryan and Thomas Pope, who stayed three months. Kemp, Bryan, and Pope later became colleagues of Shakespeare. [Gunnar Sjogren, 'Thomas Bull and other English instrumentalists in Denmark in the 1580s', *Shakespeare Survey*, 22 (1969), 119-125].

May 30: John Savage, who had sworn to kill the Queen, received letters from France, from Gilbert Gifford and Dr Gifford (cousins), and Thomas Morgan, 'whereby they did persuade and provoke the said Savage to execute and fulfil his said purpose and determination'. 'But then he fell acquainted with the most notorious conspiracy of Babington, whereby was another plot devised, that there should be six which should kill the Queen...He had promised and vowed to do that himself. But Babington told him he should be one'. [State Trials, i.1129,1131].



May 31, Greenwich: Commissioners for a league with King James to be:  
Edward Manners, 3rd Earl of Rutland; William 2nd Lord Eure; Thomas Randolph.<sup>APC</sup>

June-July, at Berwick: Commissioners met to conclude a league between England and Scotland. Scottish Commissioners: Francis Stewart, 5th Earl of Bothwell; Robert 5th Lord Boyd; Sir James Hume. Treaty of Berwick: July 6.

June 5: Meeting of conspirators, at St Giles's Fields, Middlesex.

Anthony Babington, John Ballard, Robert Barnwell, Thomas Salesbury, John Savage, and Chidioc Tichborne, 'did falsely, horribly, traitorously and devilishly conspire' not only to depose the Queen 'but also her to kill and slay; and sedition, insurrection and rebellion to stir up and procure, and the government of this realm and the true and Christian religion therein planted to subvert...and for to raise and levy war within the realm'.

At further meetings of conspirators John Ballard declared that 'an army of the Pope, and the King of Spain' would invade the realm; Babington conspired to deliver Mary Queen of Scots out of custody; frequent conferences were held as to how to bring about these 'traitorous practices'. [State Trials, i.1132-4].

Others drawn into the conspiracy included some connected with the court: Edward Abington and Thomas Abington, sons of John Abington, formerly Cofferer of the Household; Edward Jones, son of Queen Mary's tailor; Charles Tilney, a Gentleman Pensioner. Thomas Salesbury was an Esquire for the Body.

Court news. June 8, Lord Burghley to Sir Francis Walsingham:

'Yesterday in the afternoon her Majesty was at my chamber for that I was not then able to repair to her. There I had much pain with labour...to satisfy or rather to pacify her Majesty's discontentment with her charges in the Low Countries...I had long speeches hereof, too long for me to write, for I was fully wearied at this speech'. [SP12/190/10].

June 10, Burghley to the Earl of Leicester: 'I am here at Westminster, being Friday, and have heard that Sir Thomas Heneage came to her Majesty yesternight and...that her Majesty is very well contented with him and his message'.<sup>LEY</sup>

June 10-September: Voyage to the Azores by John Evesham.

Captain Evesham sailed from Plymouth on June 10 with two of Sir Walter Raleigh's ships, *The Serpent* and *The Mary Spark*; they returned in late September, with a high-ranking prisoner, Don Pedro Sarmiento, who was presented to the Queen.

[Hakluyt, iv.278-9].

[June 14], Paris, Mendoza to Juan de Idiaquez, of men who had sworn to kill the Queen: 'The four men who had taken the resolution...have again assured me that they are agreed that it shall be done by steel when opportunity occurs. One of them is confessed and absolved every day, and says that there is no need for the others'. [Span.iii.585].

Court news. June 14, Chelsea, Earl of Shrewsbury to John Manners, at Haddon: 'As yet I have been but twice at the court...I am very graciously used at her Majesty's hands, which makes my journey the pleasanter. And for my return as yet I cannot guess at because I do not know whither the progress will go'.<sup>RT</sup>

June 15, Chelsea, Earl of Shrewsbury to Sir Francis Walsingham, desiring him to favour his suit to the Queen against the Countess, that she may be banished from court. He refers to 'her devilish disposition', and is ashamed to think of his choice of such a creature, 'that wicked woman'.

Causes why he should not cohabit with her (undated). 'It appeareth by her words and deeds that she doth deadly hate him, and hath called him knave, fool and beast to his face, and hath mocked and mowed at him'. [SP12/207/15,20].

*c. June 16: death. Dowager Marchioness of Winchester died at Chelsea, Middx. She was Winifred (Brydges), widow of (1) Sir Richard Sackville; (2) John Paulet, 2nd Marquis of Winchester. Funeral: July 12, Westminster Abbey. Her monument is in St Nicholas Chapel.*

*June 17, The Savoy, Roger Manners to John Manners, of the Earl of Shrewsbury: 'Your great Earl is very well, save that he is more stout against his lady than ever he was, and will in no wise be reconciled'.<sup>RT</sup>*

June 18: Queen's protection for one year for John Calthorpe, to whom she granted a licence in April 1585 to hold a Lottery for £5000 to dispose of a large armoury. Despite letters from Privy Councillors and from the Queen herself, recommending it to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Livery Companies, it met with very slender response, so the Councillors considered it advisable to order the drawing of as many prizes as would be conformable to the amount of money subscribed for the Lottery, which was not above one quarter of the sum ordained by Letters Patent for the whole armoury. The Queen therefore finding that the course intended for Calthorpe's advantage has turned almost to his utter undoing has granted him her protection in order that he may dispose of the remainder of the armoury to his best advantage, provided that he send no part thereof out of the realm.<sup>P</sup> (See June 29).

*June 20: Slanderous words at Southwark, Surrey. Thomas le Ballewe, of Southwark, yeoman (a Huguenot refugee from France), said 'The Papists in our country say that your Queen is a whore and that she hath had two children. At which words they present rebuked him, but he spoke the more earnestly, uttering the said speeches after that a three or four times'. Verdict: Guilty; to be imprisoned for 3 months, to be pilloried and lose his ears unless he pays 100 marks; and to be remanded in gaol for 6 months. [Assizes, Surrey, 290].*

June 24, Thur knighting, Greenwich: Richard Molyneux, of Lancashire.<sup>M</sup>

June 24, Greenwich, Sir Francis Walsingham to the Earl of Leicester: 'To acquaint your Lordship with the late coming of Augustin Grafigna and Bodenham from the Prince of Parma with some overture of a peace, though but in general terms...He meaneth to send over hither some personage of quality if the matter go forward...Bodenham seemeth to have some further directions, and a letter for her Majesty's self'...

PS. 'The Prince of Parma, in his letter to her Majesty, which I have seen, doth use the matter in such sort as though such as have been dealers in this peace had sought the same at his hands in her Majesty's name, which is taken most offensively against both the Prince and the ministers; for her Highness protesteth that she never gave any such commission'.<sup>LEY</sup>

William Bodenham, an Englishman, had private meetings with Councillors.

*June 25, City of London Chamberlain paid 13s4d 'to Robert Sheperd fisherman (by the hands of Mr Water Bailiff) for a sturgeon fish by him taken in the Thames and presented to the Queen'. [Chamber Accounts, 92].*

June 26, Greenwich: Queen granted the Earl of Oxford £1000 per annum. The Earl, who had wasted his estates, had petitioned the Queen for an annuity, with the support of Lord Burghley, his father-in-law. [Nelson, 301].

June 28: William Herle returned to the Hague from a special embassy to Emden, remained in Holland and was sent in July as 'lord ambassador' to Utrecht. [SPF.xxi(2),116]. Herle came to the court at Windsor on August 23.

June 29: 'A Lottery for marvellous rich and beautiful armour was begun to be drawn at London in St Paul's Churchyard, at the great west gate (a house of timber and board being erected there for that purpose) on St Peter's Day in the morning, which Lottery continued in drawing day and night, for the space of two or three days'. [Stow, *Annals*].

July 3, Greenwich, Lord Burghley to Sir Francis Walsingham:  
'Her Majesty dislikes the proceedings in the Treaty with Scotland, and would needs have a good round letter written to the Commissioners. She also desires all letters to be sent to her during your absence'. [SP12/191/4].

July 6: **Treaty of Berwick**, between England and Scotland.  
Offensive and Defensive Alliance, binding one another to defend the Protestant religion in each Kingdom, and to protect the other from invasion.

King James's mother the Queen of Scots was not mentioned in the Treaty, nor in the months of negotiations leading up to it.

Sir James Hume, Captain of Edinburgh Castle, a Commissioner, came to swear to the league before the Queen at Windsor in August. [Scot.viii.589].

After the Treaty, for the rest of the reign, King James received an annual 'gratuity' from the Queen, taken from London to Scotland by various special ambassadors or agents. During 1586 Roger Aston took the King £4000.

[July 6], Anthony Babington to Mary Queen of Scots, 'Most mighty, most excellent, my dread Sovereign Lady and Queen, unto whom I owe all fidelity and obedience'. A long letter with plans for invasion, for 'the deliverance of your Majesty, the dispatch of the usurping competitor'...

'Myself, with ten gentlemen of quality, and a hundred followers, will undertake the delivery of your person from the hands of your enemies; and for the dispatch of the usurper, from obedience of whom, by the excommunication of her, we are made free, there be six noble gentlemen, all my private friends, who for the zeal they bear to the Catholic cause, and your Majesty's service, will undertake the tragical execution'. [State Trials, i.1174-76].

The Queen of Scots replied to Babington on July 17, unaware that their letters were being intercepted by Sir Francis Walsingham's agents.

July 8, Queen to the Prince of Parma, complaining about Augustin Grafigna and William Bodenham, and denying that she was seeking a treaty with Spain without the Dutch. [Italian: translated, Harrison, 176-8].

July 8, court, Roger Manners to the Earl of Rutland, at Berwick:  
'The wars continue betwixt the Earl of Shrewsbury and the Countess. The Countess is humble in speech and stout in actions'.<sup>RT</sup>

July 9, court, Walsingham to the Earl of Leicester, sending a gentleman with details of the newly discovered plot: 'I dare make none of my fellows here privy thereunto. My only fear is that her Majesty will not use the matter with that secrecy that appertaineth, though it import it as greatly as ever anything did since she came to this Crown, and surely, if the matter be well handled, it will break the neck of all dangerous practices during her Majesty's reign'.

'I pray your Lordship make this letter a heretic after you have read the same'. [Not burnt, but parts were crossed out. BL Cotton Galba C.IX, f.290].

July 10: Seditious words at Wivenhoe, Essex. Edward Burgess, the Vicar, said 'Let us also commend in our prayers my Right Reverend sister Elizabeth...and being afterward demanded what his meaning was to say the Queen's Majesty was his sister...he said that he was King Henry's son and that the Queen was his sister both by father and mother'. Verdict unknown. [Assizes, Essex, 287].

July 11, Mon *visit*, Barn Elms, Surrey; Sir Francis Walsingham.  
Barnes manor-house, called Barn Elms; leased by Walsingham (c.1532-1590),  
the Queen's Principal Secretary; 2nd wife: Ursula, died 1602.

Lambeth Church: 'To the ringers for ringing the 11th of July when the  
Queen removed from Greenwich to Barn Elms, 2s6d'.

July 11, Barn Elms, Sir Francis Walsingham to the Earl of Leicester: The Queen  
'seemeth to be disposed to make Mr Davison my assistant in the place I serve'...

'The 5th of this present Captain Haggerston arrived here, who departed hence  
the day following. He had access unto her Majesty, and was very graciously used  
by her'. 'Our Treaty in Scotland was concluded the 6th of this present, and the  
Commissioners dismissed with good contentment'.<sup>LEY</sup>

Captain Haggerston was on his way from Holland for aid from Scotland.

William Davison became joint Secretary, with Walsingham, Sept 30.

July 11, Mon **PUTNEY**, Surrey; Mr [John] Lacy.<sup>T</sup>

Wandsworth Church: 'Paid the ringers at the Queen's coming to Putney, 10d'.

July 12, Tues **HAMPTON COURT**, Middlesex. Crown property.

St Margaret Westminster: 'Paid the 12th day of July to the ringers for ringing  
when the Queen's Majesty went from Greenwich to Hampton Court, 6d'.

Kingston Church: 'For ringing when the Queen came to Hampton Court and when  
she went away two several times, 12d a time, 2s'. [Date of 2nd visit unknown].

John Wynyard, Keeper of the Standing Wardrobe and Privy Lodgings at Hampton  
Court, his men and eight labourers 'to carry, hang, make ready and furnish all  
the Queen's Majesty's Privy Lodgings there for her Highness and certain other  
attending upon her Majesty', July.<sup>T</sup>

c. July 15: **RICHMOND PALACE**, Surrey.

Work at Richmond included making 'a new room to lay the Queen's herbs in'.

*July 16, Winchester, Bishop of Winchester (Thomas Cooper) to Sir William More,  
of Loseley, Surrey: I have heard that the Queen is preparing to come in progress  
and would come to 'my three houses, Waltham, Winchester and Farnham; since which  
time I hear no alteration thereof. And forasmuch as by the gestes [itinerary]  
I gather that within these 10 or 12 days she meaneth to be at your house, if  
that purpose hold, I heartily desire you by this messenger to send me word what  
opinion you have thereof, and whether you heard of any other direction. I would  
be loth to be at any charge to prepare furniture, or other provision, and not to  
be used in the end. The scarcity of things is such and the state of the time so  
queasy as I cannot but have some suspicion that her Majesty will not go so far  
abroad at this time'. [Loseley MS 11, no.14].*

See 'Proposed progresses: 1586' for the itinerary for a proposed long progress  
in Surrey, Sussex, and Hampshire, planned to start at Richmond on July 12.

The itinerary included Petworth, Sussex, and Woking, Surrey.

Petworth: Earl of Northumberland's Steward's Household accounts:

[1586] 'Paid to the cooper...for 6 hogsheads for the brewer at that time her  
Majesty should have come to Petworth, 6s'. [Camden Soc. (1962), 203].

Woking royal manor-house: 'Stopping sundry chinks in the Queen's lodgings'.<sup>W</sup>

July 17, Mary Queen of Scots to Anthony Babington: [A long letter approving  
of the conspirators' plans, and setting out in detail how she could be rescued].

PS: 'Fail not to burn this privately and quickly'. [State Trials, i.1177-81].

Like their other letters this was intercepted, and was deciphered by one of  
Walsingham's agents, Thomas Phillips, who sent his version to Walsingham marked  
with a gallows, the customary warning to the Posts to make great haste.

c. July 17: Robert Barnwell, one of the Babington Plot conspirators, at Richmond. At Barnwell's Trial, September 14, he was asked by Sir Christopher Hatton: 'Didst not thou come to Richmond, and when her Majesty walked abroad didst not thou there view her and all her company, what weapons they had, how she walked alone? and didst traverse the ground, and thereupon coming back to London didst make relation to Babington how it was a most easy matter to kill her Majesty, and what thou hadst seen and done at the court?... Her Majesty did know that thou didst come to that end, and she did see and mark thee how thou didst view her and her company; but had it been known to some there, as well as unto her, thou had never brought news to Babington'. [State Trials, i.1139].

c. July 18: Earl and Countess of Shrewsbury at Richmond with the Queen. Burghley, Lord Treasurer, was present at their reconciliation.

July 18, London, Thomas Screven to the Earl of Rutland, at Newark, Notts: 'It is given out that her Majesty hath reconciled the great Earl and his wife, which was solemnly done in her Highness's presence, when the Lord Treasurer used some large speech in commendation of that most gracious and Christian act. And so we now say, the Earl and she lovingly together will shortly into the country, and make it appear to the world that all unkindnesses are appeased'...

'In common opinion more likely were the wars in the Low Countries to take end than these civil discords between him and her. But God be thanked for all and send them much joy of their new marriage'.<sup>RT</sup>

July 19, Queen to the Earl of Leicester: 'Rob, I am afraid you will suppose by my wandering writings that a midsummer moon hath taken large possession of my brains this month, but you must needs take things as they come in my head'...

'When I remember your request to have a discreet and honest man that may carry my mind and see how all goes there, I have chosen this bearer [Thomas Wilkes]'...

'I have fraught him full of my conceits of those country matters, and imparted what way I mind to take, and what is fit for you to use. I am sure you can credit him, and so I will be short with these few notes' [on Dutch affairs]...

'Now will I end, that do imagine I talk still with you, and therefore loathly say farewell, [eyes], though ever I pray God bless you from all harm, and save you from all foes, with my million and legion of thanks for all your pains and cares. As you know, ever the same. E.R'. [SPF.xxi(2). 94].

July 20, Richmond, Roger Manners to John Manners, of the Earl of Shrewsbury:

'The peace betwixt your great Earl and his wife is made by her Majesty as greatly to the honour of the Countess as may be. And if it be not to his honour and liking there is none to blame but himself'.<sup>RT</sup>

July 21, Richmond, Lord Burghley to Earl of Leicester: 'For that her Majesty perceiveth you are very desirous to be advised and directed by her for your government in that place, which is accompanied with many great difficulties at this time, therefore, after long debate had before her Majesty, it was thought most necessary to send one specially from her Majesty unto your Lordship, having named two or three, but in the end her Majesty made choice of Mr Wilkes... who is instructed not only by some writings, as memorials, delivered unto him, but also by long speeches of her Majesty herself, which she hath recorded in her own tables, and nevertheless caused him to put the same more at length in writing, so that he cometh very well informed of her Majesty's mind'.<sup>LEY</sup>

July 21-Sept 15: Thomas Wilkes was *special Ambassador* to the Low Countries. Wilkes, a Clerk of the Privy Council, was frequently sent on embassies.

Leicester wrote to Walsingham, August 7: 'Wilkes hath exceedingly wisely and well behaved himself. Her Majesty doth not know what a jewel she hath of him'.<sup>LEY</sup>

21 July 1586-9 Sept 1588: Thomas Cavendish's Voyage round the world.  
Thomas Cavendish sailed from Plymouth on July 21 in *The Desire*, accompanied by *The Content* and *The Hugh Gallant*. He returned to Plymouth on 9 Sept 1588.

July 22, court, Sir Francis Walsingham to Thomas Phillips (at Chartley, the decipherer of letters to and from the Queen of Scots): 'At your return you shall from her Majesty's self understand how well she accepteth of your service'...

'At your return come as quietly as you may'. [*Paulet*, 245]. (See July 30).  
In May Phillips had been granted a pension of 100 marks, later increased to 400.

July 22: Return of Richard Hawkins.

Hawkins, son of Sir John Hawkins, had sailed in September 1585 with Drake on a voyage to the West Indies and Florida. He landed in Devon, and from Exeter on July 22 two Justices of the Peace asked Walsingham to inform the Queen that Hawkins 'with as much speed as he may for life, mindeth to repair unto her Grace, and to declare such news of his General's doings as shall be most acceptable unto her Highness and joyful to the land'. Drake and his fleet had 'overcome and spoiled' parts of the West Indies and Florida.<sup>RT</sup>

July 26: Sir Francis Drake landed at Plymouth.

July 29: *Anthony Babington received the incriminating letter from the Queen of Scots written on July 17, approving of the conspiracy.*

July 29, London, John Joye to John Manners: 'The arrival of Sir Francis Drake suppresseth all other speeches, and nothing occupieth and entertaineth time so much as the talk of his infinite treasure brought in, which some think is not so great'.

July 30, The Savoy, Roger Manners to John Manners: 'Sir Francis Drake is returned with all his navy, and as it is thought with great riches. Surely he hath done great hurt to the King of Spain, and won great credit to himself'.<sup>RT</sup>

July 30, Sat visit, Barn Elms, Surrey; Sir Francis Walsingham.  
Works: 'making presses etc. at Barn Elms, Sir Francis Walsingham's house, at the time of her Majesty's being there...by one paybook made by the space of one day ending the 30th of July 1586', 37s6d.

*Thomas Phillips, the decipherer, was probably presented to the Queen. On July 27 he left Chartley for London. July 30, court, Walsingham to Phillips 'at his father's house near Leadenhall': I would be glad to speak with you sometime this afternoon at Barn Elms. [Scot.viii.541,551].*

July 30, Chelsea, Earl of Shrewsbury to John Manners:  
'My wife's cause hath troubled me very much...My wicked wife, her tittling in her Majesty's ear...living to plague me'.<sup>RT</sup> [HT.iii.158].

Aug 2, Tues Draft Proclamation (683): Ordering Arrest of the Babington Conspirators. They 'keep themselves hidden and remain lurking in corners'...  
'The portraits of their faces, agreeable even to such living portraitures' as they 'caused to be made in the city of London, shall be in open places of the city of London published, and shall also be dispersed to sundry other places of the realm'. Anthony Babington had commissioned portraits.  
Motto on a group portrait: *Hi mihi sunt comites, quos ipsa pericula dicunt*.  
[These are my companions, whom the very dangers declare].

According to Camden's *Annals* the portraits were shown to the Queen, for her to recognise any conspirator who came to court.

Aug 3: Arrest warrants were issued.

August 4: *First arrest in the Babington Plot.*

11 a.m: John Ballard was arrested, and taken to prison.

At Chidiok Tichborne's Trial on September 14 evidence was given that after Ballard's arrest Anthony Babington, in search of Tichborne 'went to a barber's without Bishopsgate, where were his own, Tichborne's and Savage's pictures'.

At John Savage's Trial, Sept 13, evidence was given that: 'Then came Babington to Savage, saying "Ballard is taken, all will be betrayed, what remedy now?" Then said Savage "No remedy now, but to kill her presently". "Very well" said Babington "then go you unto the court tomorrow, and there execute the fact".

"Nay", said Savage "I cannot go tomorrow, for my apparel is not ready, and in this apparel shall I never come near the Queen". "Go to", quoth Babington, "here is my ring, and all the money I have, get the apparel and dispatch it".

'But the same night Babington...continued his other plot, that six should ride to the court and do it. But the next day Babington, suspecting somewhat, fled, and all was discovered'. [State Trials, i.1131, 1138].

Aug 4,Thur, Richmond: 'A passport for Elias, the Prince of Moldavia's son, to pass quietly with his retinue and furniture to the seaside, and to be furnished of things necessary in the way and of shipping at the seaside'.<sup>APC</sup>

Aug 7,Sun Earl and Countess of Shrewsbury at Richmond.

By the Queen's command Lord Chancellor Bromley and Lord Treasurer Burghley had set down orders in another attempt at reconciliation.

'The sum of these things being reported to her Majesty by the Lord Chancellor and Lord Treasurer, her Majesty called the Earl and his wife unto her, and in many good words showed herself very glad thereof, and thanked the Earl, for that she knew he had conformed himself to this good act for her sake and at her request...And with many good comfortable speeches required them both to proceed and persevere in this godly act of reconciliation. And so they both showed themselves very well content with her Majesty's speeches, and in very good sort departed together, very comfortable in the sight of all their friends, both lords and ladies, and many others of the best sort'. [HT.iii.166].

Aug 9, Queen to Sir Amias Paulet, instructing him to send up to court the two secretaries of the Queen of Scots, and to remove Mary from Chartley, in order to seize her correspondence. Letter and instructions drafted by Sir Francis Walsingham. William Waad, a Clerk of the Privy Council, had arrived at Chartley on August 3 to confer with Paulet on the best method of doing this; they decided to remove Mary 'under the colour of hunting'. [Paulet, 248-256].

August 10: *The Queen left Richmond. John Cotton, of the Removing Wardrobe of Beds, with two labourers and his horse, attended at Richmond 'to take down and send away such wardrobe stuff...as remained behind by reason of want of carts there after her Majesty removed from thence to Windsor'.<sup>T</sup>*

Aug 10,Wed dinner, Staines, Middlesex. [At an inn].  
Simon Bowyer made ready 'for her Majesty at Staines'.<sup>T</sup>

Aug 10,Wed **WINDSOR CASTLE**, Berks.

The Castle was regarded as the Queen's safest residence. At Windsor she was received in state, with a short speech by the Mayor, Edward Hake, who presented a written petition on behalf of the town. [Nichols, *Progresses* (2014), iii.280].

Aug 12: *Funeral: St Margaret, Westminster: Edward Sutton, 4th Lord Dudley. His son Edward (1567-1643) became 5th Lord Dudley. The widowed Mary (Howard), Lady Dudley, 3rd wife, married (c.1587) Richard Mompesson; she died in 1600. Her monument, with Mompesson, is in St Margaret, Westminster.*

Aug 14: Anthony Babington was captured at Harrow, Middlesex.

August 15-16: Celebrations for capture of Babington and other 'traitors'.  
 'For joy of whose apprehension the citizens of London on the 15th...at night, and on the next morrow, caused the bells in the churches to be rung, and bonfires in their streets to be made, and also banqueted every man according to his ability, some in their houses, some in their streets, with singing of psalms and praising God for preserving her Majesty and people of this land'. [Stow].  
 Allhallows Staining: 'To the ringers for joy the traitors were taken, 6d'.  
 St Benet Gracechurch: 'For bread and drink to the ringers August 16, 6d'.  
 St Botolph Bishopsgate: 'For bread and drink for the ringers when Anthony Babington and the rest of the traitors were taken, 20d'.  
 St Margaret Westminster: 'Three books of prayers for the Queen's Majesty, 6d. For ringing the 16th day of August for joy of taking the traitors, 6d'.  
 St Mary Aldermanbury: 'For bread, drink, etc, bestowed on ringers the 15th of August for joy of the apprehension of Babington and other traitors, 3s2d'.  
 Eltham Church, Kent: 'To the ringers when the traitors were taken, 6d'.  
 Kingston-upon-Thames Church, Surrey: 'For ringing and candles when the traitors were taken, 9d'. Lambeth Church, Surrey: 'For ringing and for wood to make a bonfire when the traitors were taken, 16d'. St Peter's parish, Herts: 'To ringers at the day of the apprehension of the rebels, 12d'.

Aug 16: The Queen of Scots, who was unaware that the Babington Plot had been discovered, was arrested whilst hunting in Sir Walter Aston's park, and was moved to his house at Tixall, Staffordshire, for ten days; her possessions at Chartley were searched and letters and ciphers were found.

The arrest was arranged by Sir Amias Paulet.

Aug 18, Windsor, Queen to the Lord Mayor and Citizens of London 'assuring you that we did not so much rejoice at the escape of the intended attempt against our person, as to see the great joy our most loving subjects took at the apprehension of the contrivers thereof'. We wish this to 'be communicated in some general assembly to our most loving subjects the commoners of that city'.

Read openly in London Guildhall on August 22. [Elizabeth, Works, 285].

Aug 18, from my house at Strand, Lord Burghley to the Earl of Leicester:  
 'I doubt not but Mr Secretary doth at large acquaint you with the discovery of the late traitorous conspiracies, the authors whereof, as far forth as we do esteem, we have, saving only two, Thomas Salesbury and Edward Abington, both which are fled, but pursued'. [Both were captured].

'My Lord Chancellor and I are here continuing at London daily occupied first in procuring their apprehension, and now in examining, etc'.<sup>LEY</sup>

c.Aug 19: Queen Elizabeth to Sir Amias Paulet (Mary's Keeper):

'Amias, my most faithful and careful servant, God reward thee treble-fold... for thy most troublesome charge so well discharged. If you knew, my Amias, how kindly, besides dutifully, my grateful heart accepteth and praiseth your spotless actions, your wise orders...performed in so dangerous and crafty a charge, it would ease your travails and rejoice your heart...I cannot balance in any weight of my judgment the value that I prize you at'...

'Let your wicked murderess know how with hearty sorrow her vile deserts compelleth these orders; and bid her from me ask God forgiveness for her treacherous dealings towards the saver of her life many a year, to the intolerable peril of her own; and yet, not contented with so many forgivenesses, must fall again so horribly'...

'With my most loving adieu and prayers for thy long life, your most assured and loving Sovereign, as thereby by good deserts induced'. E.R.



*A number of versions of the Queen's letter to Sir Amias Paulet exist; undated, but it is known that she wrote to Paulet on August 19, and on August 22 Paulet wrote to Sir Francis Walsingham of her Majesty's 'good acceptance of my poor service, as hath appeared by her most gracious letters'. [Paulet, 260,267-8].*

Aug 19, Windsor, Nicasius Yetsweirt (the Queen's French Secretary) to Sir Francis Walsingham, of the Queen's 'assured good opinion she had of you all manner of ways, and of your great care and diligence you ceased not to use in her affairs, with many other good and gracious words'.

The Queen gave directions for lodging and guarding Mary's secretaries, who were being brought to Walsingham's own house. [Paulet, 259-260].

Aug 21, Sun French Ambassadors at Windsor with the Queen. Charles de Prunelé, Baron d'Esneval, French Ambassador to Scotland, on his way to France; with the resident or 'lieger' Ambassador to England, Châteauneuf.

D'Esneval told the Queen he was 'unwilling to pass through her country without kissing her hands'. Aug 21, Windsor, 9 p.m, Nicasius Yetsweirt to Walsingham: 'This afternoon the French Ambassador resident here and M.d'Esneval, who is come out of Scotland, had audience, and her Majesty told me that she never saw a man more perplexed than the lieger Ambassador here, for when he was about to speak every joint in his body did shake, and his countenance changed, and specially when this intended enterprise was somewhat mentioned by her Majesty'.

[Scot.viii.625. Paulet, 262].

Aug 21, court at Windsor, Roger Manners to his brother John Manners:

'For news I know none, and if I did it is not good to write of these perilous causes...The Almighty God be ever praised for the preservation of her Majesty'..

'My Lord of Rutland is looked for here this day'...

'The Earl of Shrewsbury would fain be in the country. He saith he will rule my lady, but she saith little and yet plainly thinketh to govern him'.<sup>RT</sup>

Aug 21, night: William Waad at London on return from Chartley.

Waad had assisted in the move of the Queen of Scots and the search of her possessions. He went to Windsor to report to the Queen and to take Mary's coffers and writing-desks to court, where they were opened in the presence of the Queen and some of the Council.

Jewels were found, including one with 'the picture of the Queen of England' and one with 'the picture of the Queen of Scots'. [Paulet, 265,271].

The Earl of Shrewsbury, formerly Mary's Keeper, told John Manners, Aug 26: 'I was at the opening of all the trunks'.<sup>RT</sup>

Aug 22: Stationers entered: 'A prayer meet to be said of all true subjects for our Queen Elizabeth, and for the present state'. In English and French.

Aug 23, Tues William Herle at Windsor on his return.

Herle landed at Dover on August 21 after special embassies to Emden and Utrecht, and wrote from Temple Bar to Lord Burghley on August 22. [SPF.xxi(2).138].

Aug 24: Prophecy of the Queen's death. Simon Yomans, of Gloucestershire, lamenting the dearth of corn and victuals, had uttered a prophecy that there would be three battles during the next twelve months; the Queen would be slain; four peers would rule; thereafter there would be a merry world. [SP12/192/50].

Aug 24: Stationers entered: 'A new ballad of rejoicing for the revealing of the Queen's enemies'.

Aug 25, Stationers entered to Christopher Barker (the Queen's Printer):  
The Queen's letter to the Lord Mayor and Citizens of London (August 18), and  
'An order of prayer and thanksgiving for the preservation of her Majesty and the  
Realm from the traitorous and bloody practices of the Pope and his adherents'.

The Order of Prayer and Thanksgiving includes a Preface reflecting on  
'the great peace and quietness wherewith God hath continually blessed this  
noble Realm of England...With what peril of violent death, by means of wicked  
Popish practices, our gracious Sovereign hath maintained the truth [of the  
Gospel]...The Almighty most miraculously hath preserved her Highness from all  
treason hitherto intended against her most Royal person, and kept our blood  
from flowing in every street like water, our Cities and Houses from sacking,  
and the whole Land from extreme ruin'. [Liturgy, 595].

Aug 25: St Ethelburga Bishopsgate: 'For two books the 25th of August, 4d'.

Aug 26: St Benet Gracechurch: 'For two books of the traitors August 26, 4d'.

Court news. Aug 26, Lord Burghley and Sir Francis Walsingham to Sir Amias  
Paulet (at Chartley, to which the Queen of Scots returned on August 25):

'The Queen's Majesty' being informed 'of the unsoundness of that country,  
doth think meet to have the Queen, your charge, removed from thence to some  
other place of more safety, and for such purpose hath thought upon Fotheringhay  
Castle, in Northamptonshire, and wills us particularly to consider of such  
things as are necessary for the said remove'.

'Whereupon we have directed our letters unto Sir Walter Mildmay to view the  
said castle and to certify us of the state thereof, and how the household may  
there be furnished, both of necessary provision of wood and meat, and of a  
convenient quantity of beer by some brewer in the town of Fotheringhay, or  
otherwise', and pray you to send there 'one of the Wardrobe, to consider in what  
sort the stuffs and hangings that are now with you may furnish some convenient  
lodging for the said Queen, for that it is not meant she shall henceforth have  
that scope and liberty that heretofore she hath enjoyed, but remain in the state  
of a prisoner, with some regard nevertheless of her degree and quality'.

[Paulet, 272-273]. Sir Walter Mildmay lived at Apethorpe, Northants.

Aug 27: Stationers entered: 'A joyful song made by a Citizen of London in  
the behalf of all her Majesty's subjects touching the joy for the taking of  
the traitors'. Thomas Deloney wrote 'A most joyful song, made in the behalf  
of all her Majesty's faithful and loving Subjects, of the great joy which was  
made in London at the taking of the late traitorous Conspirators which sought  
opportunity to kill her Majesty, to spoil the City, and by foreign invasion to  
overrun the Realm'. 'To the tune of O man in desperation'. Deloney describes  
bell-ringing, bonfires, good cheer at tables in the street, singing of psalms.

'When our noble gracious Queen did understand this thing,  
She writ a letter presently, and sealed it with her Ring.  
A Letter such of royal love, unto her Subjects' cares,  
That moved them from watery eyes to shed forth joyful tears.  
O noble Queen without compare, our hearts doth bleed for woe,  
To think that Englishmen should seek thy life to overthrow'.

Aug 28: St Margaret Patten: 'For two prayer books from the Bishop, 6d'.

1586: St Mary Woolchurch Haw: 'Paid to the Summoner for a book of prayer  
which came from the Lord's Grace of Canterbury, 6d; paid to the Summoner for  
two prayer books for the Queen from the Lord of London, 4d'. [Bishop Aylmer].

St Olave Jewry: 'Paid for two prayer books set forth for the Queen Majesty's  
deliverance, 4d'.

Aug 29, Camp at Elten in Cleveland, Earl of Leicester to Lord Burghley, of his continued fears for the Queen's safety: 'Your Lordship and I and others have often earnestly dealt with her of the peril likely to arise to her by the favours and access given to known Papists in court...Knowing the devilish plots laid by the Papists against her person I earnestly pray your Lordship to call incessantly upon her to give strait order for restraint of all Papists and evil affected to the State from her presence and court...There is no right Papist in England that wisheth Queen Elizabeth to live long, and to suffer any such in her court cannot be but dangerous'. [SPF.xxi(2).140-141].

Aug 30, Tues Privy Council meeting, Windsor, after a (false) report that French forces had landed in Sussex. Sir Francis Walsingham listed the defensive measures to be taken. These included: 'To send one to Portsmouth to look well to that town. To remove presently the Scottish Queen...To look to the French Ambassador. To warn our friends in Scotland to look to themselves...To cause certain ships to be put in a readiness...9000 troops to be sent into Sussex. 15,500 troops to attend her Majesty's person'. [Read, Walsingham, iii.223].

Aug 31, at York: Thanksgiving. 'My Lord Mayor and his Brethren conferred with Master Dean [Matthew Hutton] as touching a sermon, and a general Communion to be made, in praise of God, that her Majesty escaped the hands of certain traitors which conspired her Majesty's death. Whereupon on Wednesday the last of August 1586 the said Master Dean did make a famous sermon in York Minster. And the same day the Lord Mayor, his Brethren and the most of the inhabitants of the said City were at the said sermon and there communicated; and in the afternoon another sermon was made. And all the same day was observed as holiday'.

'And in the afternoon the streets were strewed with flowers and herbs, and green boughs set up in the said streets, and the houses' sides towards the said streets hanged with fine carpets and coverings; and every man supped in the said streets at his own door, with all their plate set forth in the said streets, with great rejoicing and singing of psalms and ringing of bells'.

'And after supper bonfires did begin to be made, and did continue burning till 9 and 10 o'clock in the evening of the same day'. [York Records, viii.124-5].

c.Sept 1: Archibald Douglas arrived as resident **Ambassador** from Scotland.

Douglas had fled from Scotland to England in 1581, and spied for England in Paris, 1581-1586; in March 1586 he returned to Scotland to stand belated trial for complicity in the murder of the King's father in 1567; he was cleared.

Thomas Randolph to Archibald Douglas, Aug 30, London: Your coming is now so longed for and looked for. Your house is 'princely prepared' and all in readiness. [HT.iii.170]. Douglas came to live in a house in Lime Street.

Archibald Douglas's mission is described in 'King James's Secret: negotiations between Elizabeth and James VI relating to the execution of Mary Queen of Scots, from the Warrender Papers', edited by R.S.Rait and A.I.Cameron (1927); details are from this source (with spelling Anglicised), unless stated otherwise.

Douglas had instructions to express gratitude for what King James described as the Queen's private 'approbation of his claim' to the English throne, to ask for help in maintaining order in Scotland, and for advice on the King's marriage (since to the King's regret the Queen was not inclined to marry him herself).

Douglas had audiences with the Queen at Windsor during September, at which he passed on messages from King James. He had new instructions (Sept 2) to say 'how glad the King is that this matter [Babington Plot] is come to light'; and (Sept 8) James could not consent to the taking of his mother's life, but would be 'content how strictly she be kept and all her old knavish servants hanged'.

Court news. Sept 4, Sir Francis Walsingham to Sir Amias Paulet, of the Queen's pleasure 'how she would have you to deal with that lady [Queen of Scots]... to whom...she hath no disposition that there should be any great favour showed, and we are now here in consultation to have her brought directly to the Tower, as a thing which is thought most necessary, and afterwards proceeded against according to the statute made in the last Parliament'.

A decision is to be made for Fotheringhay or the Tower. [Paulet, 285-7].

Sept 4, Lord Burghley to Sir Christopher Hatton, from my house at Westminster, concerning the two secretaries of the Queen of Scots: 'I think Nau and Curle will yield in their writing somewhat to confirm their Mistress's crimes, but if they were persuaded that themselves might scape, and the blow fall upon their Mistress, betwixt her head and her shoulders, surely we should have the whole'. [Bardon Papers, 43]. Both later made confessions implicating Mary.

Sept 7, Wed: *Queen's birthday* celebrations. William Fleetwood (Recorder of London) to Lord Burghley, from the Guildhall: 'At the sending away of my man this Wednesday morning all the bells of London do ring for joy that upon the 7th of this month, being as this day anno 25 H.8, her Grace was born. There will be this day but specially great feasting at supper. I have been bidden out this night to supper in six or seven places'. [Wright, ii.309].

Allhallows London Wall: 'For a book of prayer for the Queen and prayers against the traitorous practices, 12d; ringing on the Queen's birthday, 12d'.

Allhallows Staining: 'Ringers upon the Queen's Majesty's birthday, 10d'.

St Dunstan in the West: 'For two books of prayers for the Queen delivered by the Summoner, 8d; for ringing upon the Queen's birthday, 16d'.

Norwich, St Margaret: 'Paid and allowed in bread and beer for the ringers the 7th of September for the birth of the Queen's Majesty, 18d'.

Norwich, St Peter Mancroft: 'To Shinglewood the Clerk for ringing the birthday, 2s; paid to him for ringing the day of the deliverance of the Queen's Majesty from her enemies, 2s8d'.

Salisbury, St Thomas: 'Ringing the Queen's birthday, 2s. A prayer book for the Queen at my Lord's commandment, 2d'. John Piers, Bishop of Salisbury.

At Windsor Guildhall: Edward Hake, the Mayor, made to the townspeople a lengthy 'Oration containing an Expostulation as well with the Queen's Highness faithful subjects for their want of due consideration of God's blessings enjoyed by means of her Majesty: as also with the unnatural English, for their disloyalty and unkindness towards the same their Sovereign'. He declared:

'Brethren and friends: this 7th day of September witnesseth unto us that there is a Heaven. This day telleth us there is a God. This day, I mean the Birthday of our Elizabeth (whom the highest hath upholden to see therein the approaching day that changeth the year of her most happy reign), this day, I say, hath offered to assure our senses that from God, not from man, from heaven, not from earth, hath been our defence...Princes have conspired, nations have combined, subjects have become traitors, have rebelled, but God hath protected'.

[London, 1587. Modern edition: Nichols, *Progresses* (2014), iii.258-280].

When the Queen left Windsor she sent thanks for two orations which Hake had made, on August 10 and on her birthday.

Court news. Sept 8, Lord Burghley to Sir Francis Walsingham, concerning the location for the trial of the Queen of Scots:

'Yesterday the Tower was flatly refused, and instead of Fotheringhay, which we thought too far off, Hertford was named...And so I will write to Sir Walter Mildmay for to stay brewing and provisions of coal'...

'The Queen hath agreed upon nine Earls beside Councillors and upon eight or nine Barons to hear the cause. Hertford shall be meeter for such an assembly than Fotheringhay can be'...

'We stick upon Parliament, which her Majesty misliketh to have but we all persist, to make the burden better borne and the world abroad better satisfied'.

'Nau offered on Tuesday to have opened much, and instead thereof he hath only written to have a pardon as yesterday because it was the Queen's birthday'.

[*Ellis (1)*, iii.5].

Sept 10, London, Sieur de Buzenval (King of Navarre's Agent) to Sir Francis Walsingham: An expert on gems 'has today gone to court with a confidant of Don Bernardino [de Mendoza], who passes as his valet. One of our church named Mallard accompanies them, as they pretend to traffic in rings and jewels. I do not think he is malicious, but is deceived by them. It would be well when they reach Windsor you should send for him, and also for the other two, and act as you think best for the Queen's safety'.

PS. 'The strangers being arrived wish to see her Majesty when she goes in public to her service, and possibly to speak to her about the jewels. It will be well to be on your guard'. [SPF.xxi(1).655].

Mendoza described the man as a Flemish heretic sent for by a Councillor to bring him some jewels he wished to buy; on arrival at court he was immediately arrested, and examined by four Councillors. [Span.iii.649-650].

Sept 10, Windsor, at night, Burghley to Walsingham: 'Here we are still in long arguments, but no conclusions do last, being as variable as the weather... For the bringing of the Scottish Queen to some apt place where her cause and herself might be heard there hath been arguments these three days, but yet no conclusion. Of our part, when the Tower was rejected we all did choose Hertford Castle, but her Majesty after a full day..changed her opinion, excepting against it that it was too near London. Then Fotheringhay followed, and that she thought too far from this court, to have her Council and lords so far from her'.

'Then many other places were named, as Grafton, Woodstock, Northampton, Coventry, and Huntingdon where Mr Cromwell's was for the Queen of Scots [Hinchbrooke, Sir Henry Cromwell's house], but none of these are allowed, either for lack of strength for her keeping, or for a spacious place to have her cause heard, or for lack of lodging for the assembly'...

'I cannot limit a day certain for the assembly of the nobility. As for any order for Parliament, I think there will be tomorrow a change'. [SP12/193/28].

*Sept 10: King James sent Roger Aston to congratulate the Queen on the discovery of the conspiracy, and Archibald Douglas was told that the King's opinion was that his mother should 'be put in the Tower, or other firm manse, and kept from intelligence; her own servants taken from her, and such as be culpable punished rigorously'.*

*During September the King remarked that his mother 'might well drink the ale and beer which herself had brewed', that her life was not in danger, and that 'it was meet for her to meddle with nothing but prayer and serving of God'.*

*Sept 11: Nottingham Chamberlains: 'The 11th of September we paid unto the ringers of the parish of St Mary's for ringing for joy that the Queen scaped the danger of her enemies the Pope and his adherents, 10s'.*

*1586. Prescott Church, Lancs: 'Spent upon certain persons in ringing for joy that the conspiracy was prevented and the traitors revealed, 12d'.*

*Salisbury, St Thomas: 'Ringing the Queen's Majesty's escape was from the treason conspired, 6d'.*

*Sept 13,14,15: Trials, at Westminster, of Anthony Babington and 13 other conspirators. All were found guilty of high treason and sentenced to death.*

Sept 15: Proclamation (684): Calling a new Parliament for October 15.

Sept 15,Thur Thomas Wilkes at Windsor on return from the Low Countries. Wilkes had been a special Ambassador for seven weeks.

Sept 15, Windsor, Lord Burghley to the Earl of Leicester:

'Mr Wilkes is come, whereby her Majesty falleth into consideration of the state of those countries'...

'We of the Council are thoroughly occupied, some at London, some here, and some abroad, to deal partly in trial of traitors, in searching for more'...

'The Queen of Scots is likely to come to Fotheringhay Castle the 27th hereof, and I think a number of the Councillors and others of the nobility shall have commission...to hear and judge her cause there, so as in the next Parliament, to begin upon a new summons the 15th of October, further order may be taken with that Queen according to part of her deserts'.

'Your Lordship and I were very great motives in the traitors' eyes, for your Lordship there, and I here, should first, about one time, have been killed; of your Lordship they thought rather of poisoning than slaying. After us two gone, they purposed her Majesty's death, but God our defender hath graciously prevented their malice'.<sup>LEY</sup>

Sept 15, Burghley to Sir Christopher Hatton, of a location for Mary's trial:

'Now her Majesty misliketh of Woodstock and any other place but Fotheringhay, so as by her commandment I have sent both to Sir Amias Paulet and to Sir Walter Mildmay, the one to carry her away, the other to provide for her bestowing'.

'How long this determination will last I know not'.

Sept 16, Windsor Castle, Burghley to Hatton: 'Her Majesty hath determined Fotheringhay to be the place for the Scottish Queen and her case to be heard. Order is given for her remove'. [Bardon Papers, 49,51].

Sept 18, Windsor, Sir Francis Walsingham to Archibald Douglas (Scottish Ambassador): I see no possibility of your obtaining an audience for three or four days 'her Highness being at this time very much troubled'. [HT.iii.174].

Sept 18,Sun French Ambassador at Windsor for audience.

At an audience during 1586 the Queen said to Châteauneuf:

'Mr Ambassador, you have great and secret communication with the Queen of Scotland, but believe me that I know everything which is done in my kingdom; and as I was a prisoner in the time of the Queen my sister, I know what devices prisoners employ to gain over servants and have secret communications'.

[From a memorial by Châteauneuf concerning the Babington Conspiracy, his own correspondence with Mary Queen of Scots, and her methods for sending secret letters. *Turnbull*, 356].

[Sept 21], court, Archibald Douglas to the Master of Gray:

'The French Ambassador hath been on Sunday here at court'.

The Queen told him that nothing shall be done against the Queen of Scots 'but lawfully and with sufficient proof'.

She appointed me to put my arguments before Lord Burghley and Walsingham, telling me 'There is of my Council such that hath persuaded me that if I should do justice against the mother I should do nothing else but advance the son... What speech to use of this matter I leave to thyself, or if none at all I can be contented'. She is sending bucks and horses to King James. [HT.xiii.308-9].

This was the first news James had that his mother was likely to face trial.

Sept 21-22: *Executions of fourteen Babington Plot conspirators, near where they had met to hatch their plots.*

Thomas Deloney wrote 'A proper new Ballad briefly declaring the Death and Execution of fourteen most wicked Traitors, who suffered death in Lincoln's Inn field near London'. 'To the tune of Weep, weep'.

John Worsley and William Newall, two of the Messengers of her Majesty's Chamber, received £43 for their expenses 'in the searching, finding out and apprehending of Babington, Barnwell, Tilney, two Abingtons, Savage, the two Bellamys and Ballard, a seminary priest'. Payment, 22 December 1590.<sup>T</sup>

Sept 22, in Holland: **Battle of Zutphen.**

During a skirmish with the Spanish forces Sir Philip Sidney's thigh-bone was broken by a musket-shot. As he was riding from the field past the rest of the army 'he called for drink, which was presently brought him; but as he was putting the bottle to his mouth he saw a poor soldier carried along, who had eaten his last at the same feast, ghastly casting up his eyes at the bottle. Which Sir Philip perceiving, took it from his head before he drank and delivered it to the poor man, with these words, "Thy necessity is yet greater than mine". And when he had pledged this poor soldier he was presently carried to Arnhem'. [Fulke Greville, *Life of the renowned Sir Philip Sidney* (1652), written c.1612].

Greville's epitaph at St Mary's, Warwick (1628): 'Servant to Queen Elizabeth, Counsellor to King James, Friend to Sir Philip Sidney'.

Sept 22: *Earl of Rutland's Steward (at Belvoir): 'Given to a keeper at Windsor that brought hither half a stag from her Majesty to my Lady, 10s'*.<sup>RT(4)</sup>

Sept 23, London, Sir Dru Drury to Lord Willoughby: 'Our dread Sovereign is in good health of body, and goeth or rideth every fair day abroad'. [Ancaster, 36].

September: visit, New Lodge, Windsor Forest.<sup>T</sup> Royal hunting lodge.

Sept 23, Windsor, Thomas Wilkes to Edward Norris: 'Most of the Lords and others of the Council...are to resort presently to Fotheringhay Castle, there to proceed to the attainder of the Scottish Queen, and a Parliament is summoned to begin the 15th of October next to confirm her attainder and take order for other things concerning the Realm'. [SP12/193/58].

Sept 25: Mary Queen of Scots arrived at Fotheringhay Castle, Northants, after being moved from Chartley, Staffs, to stand trial nearer London.

Sept 27: At Westminster the Privy Council held a meeting with lords named as Commissioners at the Trial, who were to assemble at Fotheringhay in October.

Sept 28, *Earl of Leicester to Sir Francis Walsingham, after the Battle of Zutphen: It was 'the most notable encounter that hath been in our age, and will remain to our posterity famous...Besides the overthrow the enemy had, we took three of their cornets, whereof two I send her Majesty, the other a knave cut in pieces, a present the enemy is ten times more grieved at than for the loss of twenty captains'*.<sup>LEY</sup> Leicester made two knights: William Hatton; Henry Unton. The cornets (standards of a troop of cavalry) were brought to court on Oct 12.

Sept 29, Falkland, Master of Gray to Archibald Douglas:

'His Majesty is very well content with all your proceedings, but chiefly touching his bucks and hunting horses'.

'As for his mother...I can assure you he is content the law go forward, her life being saved, and would gladly wish that all foreign Princes should know how evil she has used herself towards the Queen's Majesty there, and that she receives favour only through her clemency'. [Murdin, 569].

Sept 30, Fri new appointments: William Davison was made the Queen's Secretary [jointly with Sir Francis Walsingham], and a Privy Councillor.

John Wolley, the Queen's Latin Secretary, was made a Privy Councillor.<sup>APC</sup>

September-November: Don Pedro Sarmiento at Windsor for audiences.

Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, founder and governor of the Spanish settlement in Patagonia. In September John Evesham, with two of Sir Walter Raleigh's ships, returned from his voyage to the Azores. The English had captured a Spanish ship, and 'a gentleman of Spain named Pedro Sarmiento, Governor of the Straits of Magellan, which said Pedro we brought into England with us, and presented him to our Sovereign Lady the Queen'. [Hakluyt, iv.278-9].

Don Pedro told Raleigh of the supposed golden city of El Dorado.

London newsletter, Nov 10, of the anxiety for peace negotiations: Sarmiento 'takes this letter, and they are treating him with much distinction...

The Queen summoned him to Windsor, where he conversed with her and all the principal members of the Council, and as he is the most influential person they have approached upon the subject...they are making much of him'. [Span.iii.654].

Venetian Ambassador in Paris, to the Senate [Nov 28]:

'Don Pedro Sarmiento, a Spanish gentleman of great importance, reached Paris last week. He has been a prisoner for four months in England, and has now been liberated without any ransom. They say he had long audiences of the Queen, and is armed with her passport, as he has to travel through Huguenot country; that he is charged by her to speak for the peace'. [Ven.viii.226]. Sequel: Dec 29.

Oct 1: death: Adolph, Duke of Holstein (1526-1586), K.G., who was elected a Knight of the Garter on his visit to England, March-June 1560.

Oct 1/23: christening. Queen was godmother to 'Sir Dru Drury's daughter'.<sup>T</sup> Parents: Drury, Gentleman Usher of the Privy Chamber; 2nd wife: Catherine (Finch). Francis Coot went from the court at Windsor to London to make ready, October.<sup>T</sup> Queen's gift: one gilt bowl with a cover.<sup>PS</sup>

3rd daughter: Frances Drury; married (1607) Sir Robert Butler.

Oct 1, Windsor Castle, Lord Burghley to the Earl of Leicester, of

'The greatest matter here in hand...this great conspiracy...It was intended not only against her Majesty's person, and yours, and mine, but utterly to have overthrown the glory of Christ's church, and to have erected the synagogue of Antichrist'.<sup>LEY</sup>

Oct 2, Sun Privy Council sent letters to thirteen counties 'for the putting in a readiness a certain number of men to serve for the guard of her Majesty's person, whereof of every 100, 20 were appointed to be armed pikes, 40 shot, the rest bows and bills'. London is to make ready 6000 men.<sup>APC</sup>

Oct 2, Earl of Leicester to Sir Francis Walsingham: 'There be certain persons desired to be sent to her Majesty, one of the States, which is Menin, another of the Council, which is Valck...Menin is the abler man every way, and I think the better affected to her Majesty. I did give him a chain, one of those you sent; he was no little proud man to think himself remembered of her Majesty'.<sup>LEY</sup>

Two Dutch Deputies came to England with Leicester late in November.

c.October 4-December 2: Edward Wotton was special Ambassador to France.

Wotton was instructed to tell King Henri III of the 'dangerous conspiracy', and to take copies of incriminating letters to and from the Queen of Scots.

These included letters to Anthony Babington, and to Mendoza in France.

'Delivery of Scots King into the King of Spain's hands. Gift of the Crown of England to the Spaniard by her testament'. [SPF.xxi(1).105].



Oct 5, Wed Scottish Ambassador at Windsor for audience.  
 Archibald Douglas to King James, Oct 16, describing this and previous audiences:  
 'So far as may concern the interceding for the Queen your Majesty's mother's  
 life, I have divers times and in every audience travailed with this Queen in  
 this matter...She could give no answer thereunto unto such time as the law hath  
 declared whether she was innocent or guilty'. She was 'earnestly pressed' that  
 the law should proceed against Mary. 'Both Papist and Protestant' had pressed  
 for this and 'I have been constrained to enter in some dealing with both, where-  
 with I made her Majesty acquainted...Such of the Papists as I did deal with went  
 immediately and told her Majesty what I had spoken to them, who...sent for me  
 and declared to me my own speech that I had uttered to them'. [Rait].

Oct 6, Thur Commissioners at Windsor to take leave.

The Commissioners named for the Trial of the Queen of Scots were 42 lords  
 and Privy Councillors and seven Judges; 36 of these went to Fotheringhay.

Oct 6: The Queen wrote to the Queen of Scots (in French as customary),  
 informing her that noblemen, Privy Councillors, and Judges were being sent to  
 try her for knowledge of and assent to an attempt on her life; Mary is required  
 to answer as if it were to the Queen herself. [Elizabeth, Works, 287-8].

*October: Fotheringhay preparations for the Trial of the Queen of Scots.*

*Richard Brackenbury and his men 'being sent by her Majesty's commandment  
 from the court at Windsor to Fotheringhay, there to attend and put all things  
 in order for the lords that were sent in commission for causes touching the  
 Scottish Queen, for their abode and attendance there and returning back again,  
 32 days, October and November 1586', f85.6s8d.<sup>T</sup>*

Oct 6: Stationers entered a pamphlet, published as:

*'A Short Discourse: Expressing the substance of all the late pretended Treasons  
 against the Queen's Majesty, and Estates of this Realm, by sundry Traitors, who  
 were executed for the same on the 20 and 21 days of September last past, 1586.  
 Whereunto is adjoined a Godly Prayer for the safety of her Highness's person,  
 her Honourable Council, and all other her obedient Subjects'.*

*By Thomas Nelson. Dedicated to Sir Owen Hopton, Lieutenant of the Tower.  
 With 'A Godly Prayer given to her Majesty' (rhyming couplets).*

*'Verses written upon the Alphabet of the Queen's Majesty's name, and given  
 to her Highness'. (Acrostic, beginning 'Eternal God, who guideth still your  
 Grace'). Verse. 4p. (1586).*

Oct 7, in Holland: Leicester moved from Zutphen to Arnhem, to be with the  
 injured Sir Philip Sidney. Before leaving Zutphen he made 14 knights, including  
 John Burgh; George Digby; George Fermor; Henry Goodere, Captain of his Guard;  
 William Knollys; Henry Norris; Robert Sidney; Roger Williams.

Oct 8, court at Windsor, William Davison to Lord Burghley, who with Francis  
 Walsingham was among the first of the Commissioners to arrive at Fotheringhay:

I have just seen 'a Dutchman, newly come from Paris, who was familiar with  
 the Queen Mother's jeweller, who adviseth her Majesty to beware of one that will  
 present her a petition on her way to chapel, or walking abroad'. I advise that  
 you should write to the Queen 'to pray her to be more circumspect of her person,  
 and spare to show herself publicly'. I conclude, 'being specially commanded  
 by her Majesty to signify to you both how greatly she doth long to hear how her  
 Spirit and Moor [Burghley and Walsingham] do find themselves after so foul and  
 wearisome a journey'. [BL Harl 290, f.180].

Oct 10, Windsor, Davison to Walsingham: As to the Queen of Scots, I fear that  
 her Majesty 'will keep the course she held with the Duke of Norfolk [in 1572],  
 which is not to take her life without extreme fear compel her'. [SP12/194/30].

Oct 10, Earl of Leicester to Sir Francis Walsingham:

'I have written very earnestly, both to her Majesty and to my Lord Treasurer, and partly also to yourself and Mr Vice-Chamberlain, for the furtherance of justice on the Queen of Scots, and believe me, if you shall defer it either for a Parliament or a great session, you will hazard her Majesty more than ever, for time to be given is that the traitors and enemies to her will desire'...

'Be you all stout and resolute in this speedy execution, or be condemned of all the world for ever. It is most certain, if you will have her Majesty safe, it must be done; for justice doth crave it beside policy'...

'Haste, written in my bed upon a cushion, this 10th, early in the morning'.<sup>LEY</sup>

Oct 11, Dumfries, Master of Gray to Archibald Douglas:

'The King's Majesty hath commanded me to write to you very earnestly to deal for his mother's life...I write to you as he has commanded me...but if matters might stand well between the Queen's Majesty there and our Sovereign, I care not although she were out of the way. His Majesty has written to me that if ye receive not a good answer at this time touching his mother he will send me'...

'Remember I pray you his horses, and bucks, and hounds'. [Lodge, ii.288-9].

Oct 12, Wed, at Fotheringhay: The Queen's letter of October 6 was delivered to the Queen of Scots. Initially she refused to appear to stand trial.

12 Oct 1586-July 1587: Thomas Wilkes was a Councillor on the Dutch Council of State, replacing Henry Killigrew. He took £30,000 to pay the English forces.<sup>LEY</sup>

Oct 12, Wed Queen received standards taken at the Battle of Zutphen. Henry Martin brought 'two guidons or cornets of the enemy's to present to her Highness...from the Earl of Leicester lying then at the siege of Zutphen'.<sup>T</sup>

Oct 12, William Davison to Walsingham: 'Here is this morning arrived one of her Majesty's Trumpets from my Lord of Leicester...Two of their cornets are sent hither to her Majesty, to whom they would have been most welcome hath it not been mixed with the report of Sir Philip Sidney's hurt which doth appear much to trouble her, although the messenger do assure us from my Lord that there is no danger or doubt for his leg much less of his life'. [SP12/194/37].

Oct 13, court, Sir Thomas Heneage to the Earl of Leicester: Yesterday Martin brought news of the battle, and also of the 'grievous hurt of your noble nephew, to whom her Majesty presently hath sent this bearer, both to carry her gracious letters of her Highness's own hand to comfort him, and to bring her word again how he doth as soon as he can...Ere I parted from her Majesty yesterday I left her very well pleased with...the valour and the victory of the noble and gentlemen, whom she doth exceedingly commend, and after showed to such of her Council as now be here from Fotheringhay the two cornets that were taken, and I delivered to her Majesty from your Lordship'.<sup>LEY</sup>

Oct 13: Edward Burnham was 'sent with letters in post by her Highness's express commandment from the court at Windsor...to the Earl of Leicester and Sir Philip Sidney knight then being at Utrecht in the Low Countries'.<sup>T</sup>

Oct 13, Apethorpe [Northants], Sir Christopher Hatton [to the Queen, who had sent him some 'little dainty'; one of her names for him was 'mutton']:

'May it please your sacred Majesty, your princely goodness towards me is so infinite as in my poor wit I am not able to comprehend the least part thereof'.

'I must therefore fail in duty of thankfulness as your mutton and lay all upon God with my humble prayers to requite you in heaven and earth in the most sincere and devout manner that through God's grace I may possibly devise'...

'God in heaven bless your Majesty, and grant me no longer life than that my faith and love may EVER be found inviolable and spotless to so royal and peerless a princess'. [SP12/194/40].

Oct 13, at Fotheringhay: *The Queen of Scots* persisted in refusing to appear to stand trial, despite a plea by Sir Christopher Hatton for her to appear to clear herself. He said "Believe me, the Queen herself will be much affected with joy, who affirmed unto me at my coming from her, that never anything befell her more grievous, than that you were charged with such a crime".

Next day Mary agreed to appear. [State Trials, i.1171-2].

Oct 14, Windsor, William Davison to Sir Francis Walsingham: The first 'answers of the Scottish Queen' (refusing to appear before the Commissioners) came to her Majesty 'yesternight from my Lord Treasurer, to whom she caused me to write a few hasty and scribbled lines at midnight for the stay of the sentence against the said Queen until your return to her Majesty's presence to make report what you have done, notwithstanding by your general verdict there she be found guilty of the crimes whereof she standeth charged'. [SP12/194/43].

Oct 14-15, at Fotheringhay: **Trial** of the Queen of Scots for high treason for conspiring to murder Queen Elizabeth and to replace her on the throne.

Much evidence was given concerning the Babington Plot, and the letters between Mary and Babington were read, and extracts from confessions by the conspirators and by Mary's two secretaries. [State Trials, i.1172-1188].

Oct 15, at Burghley, Lord Burghley to William Davison:

'This Queen of the Castle was content to appear again afore us in public to be heard, but in truth not to be heard for her defence, for she could say nothing but negatively, that the points of the letters that concerned the practice against the Queen's Majesty's person were never by her written, nor of her knowledge; the rest for invasion, for escaping by force, she said she would neither deny or affirm. But her intention was, by long artificial speeches, to move pity, to lay all the blame upon the Queen's Majesty or rather upon the Council, that all the troubles past did ensue'...

'I am assured the auditory did find her case not pitiable, her allegations untrue, by which means great debate fell yesternight very long, and this day renewed...We had great reason to prorogue our Session, which is done till the 25th, and so we of the Council will be at the court the 22nd'...

'By her Majesty's order judgment will be given at our next meeting, but the record will not be perfected in five or six days, and that was one cause why if we should have proceeded to judgment we should have tarried five or six days more; and surely the country could not bear it, by the waste of bread specially, our company being there and within six mile above 2000 horsemen'.

The Earl of Cumberland has left to inform the Queen. [Ellis (1), iii.12-13].

Oct 15 [Fotheringhay], Sir Francis Walsingham to the Earl of Leicester:

The Queen of Scots 'hath been publicly charged not only to have been privy and assenting to the murder of her Majesty, but also in encouraging of those that should have been executioners. The matter was so sufficiently proved, especially by the testimony of her two secretaries under their hands and delivered upon their oaths, as she had no other defence but a plain denial; so as in the opinion of her best friends that were appointed Commissioners she is held guilty. We had proceeded presently to sentence but that we had a secret countermand and were forced under some other colour to adjourn our meeting until the 25th of this month at Westminster'. [Read, Walsingham, iii.54].

Oct 15, Sat: Parliament assembled. The Archbishop of Canterbury and others prorogued it until October 27, when it was prorogued again until October 29.

Oct 17: in **Holland: death. Sir Philip Sidney** (1554-1586), Governor of Flushing, died at Arnhem, of his wound received at the Battle of Zutphen.

He was son-in-law of Sir Francis Walsingham, and nephew of the Earls of Leicester and of Warwick; his wife Frances had been with him since June.

Will (September 30), 'sore wounded in body'. Bequests include: 'I give to her Majesty my most gracious Sovereign one jewel worth £100, which I pray Sir Henry Goodere my good cousin and friend to present to her royal Highness as a remembrance of my most loyal and bounden duty to her Majesty'.

Codicil, dictated October 17. Bequests include: 'I give to my beloved and much honoured lord the Earl of Essex my best sword... I give to my noble lord the Lord Willoughby one other sword the best I have'.

The States of Zeeland asked to have the honour of burying Sir Philip and raising a monument to him at their expense, but his corpse was brought to Flushing to lie in state until November 1, when with great ceremonial it was embarked for England in a pinnace draped in black, *The Black Pinnace*.

Oct 18, court at Windsor, William Davison to Archibald Douglas (Scottish Ambassador), of the Queen: 'On Monday [Oct 24] she intendeth to remove to Richmond. On Saturday the Lords will be returned from Fotheringhay'.

Endorsed: 'Post of London, see this letter delivered to my Lord Ambassador at his house in Lime Street according to the direction'. [HT.iii.182].

Oct 22, Sat Councillors at Windsor on return from Fotheringhay.

Oct 22, Windsor, Lord Chancellor Bromley to the Earl of Shrewsbury:

'This day I came hither to the court...repairing to her Majesty to do my duty after our long and tedious journey'. [Bath, v.74].

[Oct 24, Mon] dinner, Colnbrook, Bucks.<sup>T</sup> [At an inn].

Oct 24, Mon **RICHMOND PALACE**, Surrey.

Oct 24, Roger Aston to Archibald Douglas: King James was very glad that judgment was not given at his mother's trial. 'The only thing he craves is her life, all other things to be just as her Majesty pleases, her life only saved'.

Oct 25, Tues: In the Star Chamber at Westminster the Commissioners who had tried the Queen of Scots met again. Sentence was pronounced.

Sir Francis Walsingham to Sir Edward Stafford, Oct 27, Barn Elms: In Star Chamber 'after a repetition made by the Queen's learned counsel of that which had passed before in this matter, the Scottish Queen's two secretaries were brought forth before the Lords, and openly affirmed as much *viva voce* as they had before deposed in writing, which brought a great satisfaction to all the Commissioners, inasmuch that albeit some of them, as you know, stood well affected to her, yet considering the plainness and evidence of the proofs, every one of them after this gave their sentence against her, finding her not only accessory and privy to the conspiracy but also an imaginer and compasser of her Majesty's destruction'. [Wright, ii.320].

Oct 26, Westminster, Lord Burghley to the Earl of Shrewsbury, of the Star Chamber sentence: 'It was ordered that against Monday next [Oct 31] the process with this sentence should be put in writing in form of a record, to the which it is meant that we all should put to our names and seals. Tomorrow the Parliament shall be prorogued until Saturday, at which time her Majesty will come from Lambeth to Westminster and so return to Lambeth and tarry until Monday forenoon, and then having allowed of the Speaker she meaneth to return to Richmond'.

Oct 27, Lord Burghley to the Earl of Shrewsbury:  
 'This forenoon the Lords of Parliament appeared and did adjourn the Parliament until Saturday, and on Monday the Speaker is to be presented'. [*Bath*, v.75-6].

*Oct 27: Lambeth churchwardens paid:  
 'To Dennam for casting the loam out of the palace into the churchyard the 27th of October against the Queen's Majesty's coming to Lambeth, 8d'.*

*Oct 28-31: Queen's proposed stay, Lambeth Palace, Surrey.  
 Francis Coot made ready 'at Lambeth the Archbishop of Canterbury's house'.<sup>T</sup>  
 The Queen suddenly changed her mind about opening Parliament in person, remained at Richmond, and was absent from the whole Parliament.*

**Oct 29, Sat Opening of Parliament.**

The Lord Chancellor, Sir Thomas Bromley, 'declared unto the whole Assembly that her Majesty was so hindered by great and urgent occasions as she could not be present, yet had notwithstanding given full authority to three members of the Upper House in her Majesty's name and stead to begin the said Parliament'.

Parliament was opened by Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Burghley, and Henry 4th Earl of Derby, as three Commissioners representing the Queen.

The Lord Chancellor stated that Parliament was summoned for 'no usual causes, not for making of laws, whereof her Majesty thought there were more made than were duly executed' nor for subsidies. 'But that the cause was rare and extraordinary, of great weight, great peril and dangerous consequence. Then he declared what dangerous practices had been contrived of late, and how miraculously the providence of God had by discovery thereof...preserved her Majesty, the destruction of whose sacred person was most traitorously compassed and imagined. Here he showed what misery the loss of so noble a Queen would have brought to all estates; and said that although some of them had suffered according to their demerits, yet one remained that by due course of law had received her sentence, which was the chief cause of this assembly and wherein her Majesty required their faithful advice'. [D'Ewes, 376-377].

Court news. Oct 30, Barn Elms, Walsingham to Archibald Douglas: 'Her Majesty is pleased to give you audience tomorrow afternoon. Therefore it may please you to be at the court by two o'clock after dinner, to the end you may return home by water the same night, for you shall be hardly provided of a lodging at Richmond this Parliament time, considering such noblemen as be courtiers have already taken up all the convenient lodgings thereabouts'. [HT.iii.189].

Oct 31, Mon Scottish Ambassador at Richmond for audience.  
 Archibald Douglas informed King James of Queen Elizabeth's 'good mind towards his mother', but that the decision as to her fate would rest with Parliament.

*Oct 31, in Parliament: The Speaker of the Commons, John Puckering, was presented in the Upper House to the three Commissioners.*

*Oct 31: Lucas J. Waghenaer (c.1534-1606) a Dutch mariner and pilot, published in 1584 a book of sea-charts for pilots: Spiegel der Zeevaerdt. He dedicated to the Queen part 1 of the Latin translation: Speculum Nauticum (Leiden, 1584-85).*

*Anthony Ashley, a Clerk of the Privy Council, made a translation dedicated to Sir Christopher Hatton, The Mariners Mirror of Navigation (London, 1588).*

*For many years English sailors referred to their charts of the coasts of northern and western Europe as 'waggoners'.*

Nov 3, Thur, in the Commons: Vice-Chamberlain Sir Christopher Hatton, by the Queen's command, repeated the cause for summoning Parliament, which was 'to consult for such matters as the like were never erst heard of'. He related 'the horrible and wicked practices and attempts caused and procured by the Queen of Scots so called, merely tending to the ruin and overthrow of the true and sincere religion established in this Realm, the invasion of foreign forces into this Realm, rebellion and civil wars and dissension within this Realm; yea and withal (which his heart quaked and trembled to utter and think on) the death and destruction of the most sacred person of our most gracious Sovereign Lady the Queen's Majesty, to the utter desolation and conquest of this most noble Realm of England'. He thought good 'that speedy consultation be had by this House for the cutting of her off by course of justice'.

Other Members of Parliament spoke in similar terms. [D'Ewes, 393].

Nov 3, Barn Elms, Sir Francis Walsingham to Earl of Shrewsbury: 'Yesterday I received news to my infinite grief of the death of Sir P. Sidney. Her Majesty hath lost a rare servant and her realm a worthy member'. [Bath, v.76].

Nov 4: Thomas Gorges, a Groom of the Privy Chamber, took the Queen's licence for Leicester to return, ostensibly on being summoned to attend Parliament.<sup>LEY</sup>

Nov 4, Westminster, Lord Burghley to Leicester (taken by Thomas Gorges): 'Yesterday all we Commissioners perfected our sentence against the Scottish Queen...but I fear more slackness in her Majesty than will stand either with her surety or with ours. God direct her heart to follow faithful counsel'.<sup>LEY</sup>

Nov 4, Richmond, William Davison to Leicester:

'Her Majesty was so much afflicted with sorrow when she dispatched Mr Gorges, for the loss of her dear servant, and your Lordship's dearest nephew'.

She sends instructions for what is to be done before your return.

[PS] 'Your Lordship's presence here were more than needful for the great cause now in hand'. [Wright, ii.321-323].

Nov 4, Fri, in the Commons: further speeches against the Queen of Scots, e.g. by Job Throckmorton: 'If I should term her the daughter of sedition, the mother of rebellion, the nurse of impiety, the handmaid of iniquity, the sister of shamefastness; or if I should tell you that which you know already, that she is Scottish of nation, French of education, Papist of profession, a Guisian of blood, a Spaniard in practice, a libertine in life: as all this were not to flatter her, so yet this were nothing near to describe her'...

'She ought indeed to die the death'. [Parl.ii.229,231].

Nov 5, Sat: Sir Philip Sidney's corpse was brought to Tower Wharf and thence to the Minorities, London. Sidney had been Joint Master of the Ordnance, whose official residence was the Minorities. Nov 5, Richmond, William Davison to Sir Francis Walsingham (Sidney's father-in-law, at his house, Barn Elms):

'Her Majesty would have visited you this morning, but that her heart will not serve her for fear of redoubling both your and her griefs'. [SP12/195/3].

'So general was the lamentation for him, that for many months after it was accounted indecent for any gentleman of quality to appear at court or city in any light or gaudy apparel'. [John Phillips, *Life and Death of Sir Philip Sidney* (1587)]. Funeral, St Paul's Cathedral: 16 February 1587.

The widowed Frances (Walsingham), Lady Sidney (c.1567-1632), married:

(1590) Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex;

(1603) Richard Bourke, 4th Earl of Clanricarde.

Nov 5, in Parliament: Lord Chancellor Bromley and Lord Burghley addressed the Upper House on 'the foul and indirect dealings practised by the Queen of Scots against her Majesty and the whole Realm'. [D'Ewes, 379].

Nov 5, Paris, Sir Edward Stafford to Secretaries Walsingham and Davison:  
 In mid-October a boat returned 'which carried and landed at the North Foreland [in Kent] a man who has gone to kill the Queen'. He 'is one of four who have sworn to die or perform it, and each to attempt it, whatsoever become of those who went before'. He is taken to be a Welshman, two of the other three are Scotsmen, and the fourth a Frenchman...The business was contrived at Brussels...

'They were resolved by a Jesuit that to save the Queen of Scots they might lawfully do it, and that if anything was violently done to the Queen of Scots they might revenge it; whereupon they all took the sacrament that if the Queen of Scots died, they would revenge her death or all die, one after the other; and if she were not dead before they came, then as soon as the Queen had resolved that she should die, they would see if they could make away with her first; but if the Queen of Scots' death was not resolved upon, they would let their attempt fall through'. [SP15/29/152].

Nov 7, Mon, in Parliament: A Committee of Lords and Commons conferred 'about the great matter of the Queen of Scots, the chief and only cause of the summons of this Parliament'. 'They agreed upon a form of petition, which by both the Houses should be presented unto her Majesty'. [Lords Journal]. Presented Nov 12.

Nov 8, Tues, in Parliament: The judgment and sentence pronounced on the Queen of Scots were read to both Lords and Commons.

Nov 10: Scottish special Ambassador at Richmond, during two months in England. William Keith was sent by King James to intercede for the Queen of Scots, and to request that the King's title to the English Crown be not prejudiced by his mother's sentence for treason. He arrived in London on November 5, staying with Archibald Douglas. His mission is described in Rait and Cameron's King James's Secret, from which some details are taken.

Nov 10, Thur Scottish special Ambassador at Richmond for first audience. William Keith, with Archibald Douglas, had a preliminary meeting with the Queen.

Nov 12, Westminster, Lord Burghley to the Earl of Shrewsbury:  
 Keith came 'to require her Majesty to forbear any further proceeding against the Queen of Scots until the King his master may be informed further of her crime, and to send some of his Council hither. Secondly he requireth that nothing be done to the prejudice of any title of the King'.

'The latter is granted. The former can hardly be granted without her Majesty's peril and discontentation of all the Parliament, where the sentence against her is already confirmed, and petition ready this day to be exhibited at Richmond... to require her Majesty that execution may follow'. [Bath, v.77].

Nov 12, Sat Parliamentary deputation at Richmond with the Queen. Lord Chancellor Bromley and Speaker Puckering made eloquent speeches requesting the Queen to publish the sentence against the Queen of Scots and to proceed to her execution, and listing the dangers which would follow if this was not done. The Queen gave her thanks to Parliament, but concluded her speech in reply: 'To your petition I must pause and take respite before I give answer. Princes, you know, stand upon stages, so that their actions are viewed and beheld of all men; and I am sure my doings will come to the scanning of many fine wits, not only within the realm, but in foreign countries. And we must look to persons abroad as well as at home. But this be you assured of: I will be most careful to consider and to do that which shall be best for the safety of my people and most for the good of the realm'. The Queen added as an afterthought that the reason for her not coming to Parliament was 'the grief which I should have continually to hear of these causes'. [Parl.ii.379-380].

Nov 14, Richmond, Lord Burghley to the Earl of Shrewsbury:

'There was with her Majesty at Richmond 26 Lords temporal, the two Archbishops and four other Bishops from the higher house, and 40 of the Commons house, authorised by both the houses to exhibit a petition to her Majesty containing an affirmation of the sentence of the Scottish Queen to be just and lawful, and an earnest petition to publish the same and also to proceed to execution'.

'The Lord Chancellor for the Lords, and the Speaker for the Commons, in two several orations expressed the same largely. And her Majesty made a princely, wise and grave answer not only to the admiration of all that heard it, but to the drawing out of tears out of many eyes. The conclusion was that she would... commend herself to be directed by God's spirit'.

'This day her Majesty hath determined to send to the Scottish Queen the Lord of Buckhurst, having with him Mr Beale, the Secretary of the Council in the North...They shall declare to her how the sentence is passed, confirmed in Parliament and now required to be fully executed, so as the Queen of Scots is to resort to God to expect what it shall please him to inspire into our Queen's heart concerning this cause. Sir Dru Drury as I think is gone this day to assist Sir Amias Paulet'. [Bath, v.77-8].

Nov 14, Mon, in the Commons: Speaker Puckering reported the Queen's reply to the Petition. Sir Christopher Hatton told the Commons of 'something then omitted and forgotten by her Majesty...and which he himself that morning was commanded by her Majesty to signify to them: which was that her Highness, moved with some commiseration towards the Scottish Queen in respect of her former dignity and great fortunes in her younger years, her nearness of kindred to her Majesty, and also of her sex, could be pleased to forbear the taking of her blood, if by any other means to be devised by her Highness's great Council of this Realm the safety of her Majesty's own person and of the State might be preserved and continued without peril or danger of ruin and destruction'.

Nov 15, Tues, in the Upper House: Lord Chancellor Bromley reported the Queen's reply, and that on November 14 she asked him to require the Lords to consider 'if some other course might be taken, without proceeding to the extremity of execution, which her Highness could better like of'. [D'Ewes, 402,379].

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

*St Dunstan in the West*: 'To the ringers on the Queen's Majesty's day as hath been accustomed, 5s'.

*St James Garlickhithe*: 'Paid for ringing of bells and candles upon the day of her Majesty's reign, 2s'.

*St Margaret Patten*: 'For ringing for the Queen the 16th and 17th November 1586, 16d; for candles the said two nights, 4d'.

*St Margaret Westminster*: 'For two books of prayer for the Queen's day, 6d'. 1586: To William Piercy, painter, 'For making of the Queen's Majesty's arms in colour, 5s'.

*St Martin in the Fields*: 'For ringing at the change of her Majesty's reign, to six men, 6s'.

*St Mary Woolchurch Haw*: 'Paid to the ringers on the 17th day of November being for the Queen, 1s; paid at the same time for a pound of candles and for a long white stick, 8½d'.

*Brewers' Company* fined two of the Company 'for absence on the Queen's day at Paul's, 3s4d'.



Heckington Church, Lincs: 'For bread and ale for the ringers of the Anniversary day of the Queen's Majesty, 4s'.

Loughborough Church, Leics: 'Paid to the ringers upon St Hugh's Day, 3s4d'.

Maidstone, Kent, Chamberlains: 'To the ringers on the Queen's day being the 17th of November, 3s4d; to John Hayward for staff torches and wax candles spent on the Coronation day, 6s8d; Thomas Squire for fireworks then made, 11s; paid by the appointment of Mr Mayor which was given in reward to our Captain's man when he sent an ox at the Coronation day, 2s8d; paid Wilkins carpenter for making the scaffold for the children, and nails, 4s; 6 links, 18d; to John Hayward at the Queen's day at night when the venison was eaten, 20s'. [Maidstone school-children performed a pageant on a stage or scaffold, 17 Nov 1586, 1587, 1588].

Norwich Chamberlains: 'To the Waits on the day of the Coronation, 10s'.

Oxford Chamberlains: 'Paid to the Preacher on the Coronation day, 10s; for service the same day, 14d'.

Rowington, Warwicks: 'On St Hugh's Day at night for candle and victual, 3s4d'.

St Peter's, Herts: 'To ringers on St Hugh's Day being Coronation day, 6s'.

Salisbury, St Thomas: 'Ringing Coronation day of the Queen's Majesty, 8s; ringers' breakfast the same day, 2s'.

Sheffield Burgesses: 'Given to the ringers on the Queen's holiday, 1586, 5s'.

Staplegrove Church, Somerset: 'For bread the Crownation day, 14d; for cheese, 6d; for beef, 12d; for drink, 14d'.

At Berwick-upon-Tweed, Northumberland:

'A prayer and thanksgiving to God for the blessed prosperous and peaceable reign of that gracious and famous Queen Elizabeth, made in Berwick and sung there in triumph, the 17 of November 1586'.

By Stephen Barraclough, contrasting Hebrew and Roman sacrifices after victories with the thanksgiving to God in England.

'First Lord we thank thee for because thou hast so bounteous been,  
 In giving us a gracious Prince, a good and godly Queen,  
 Whom thou hast set in royal seat, to work thy holy will,  
 Wherein she reigns triumphantly, God keep her therein still...  
 We thank thee that thou hast preserved our Queen from all annoy,  
 And lent her many a happy year to reign in perfect joy.  
 And hast not only brought her foes continually to shame,  
 But also eight and twenty years kept her in royal fame...  
 Thou hast our little nation blest with such tranquillity  
 With such great plenty and such peace as none possess but we...  
 Let not the raging rascals rude, of bloody Popish band,  
 Molest our noble gracious Queen, or this her little land.  
 Lord hear the trumpets of our hearts, how they do sound and say  
 God save our Queen Elizabeth, God keep her night and day'.

[BL Egerton 2877, f.104v-105].

Accession Day Tilt preparations. Works: 'rearing and setting up the Judge-house in the Tiltyard; mending the Tilt pale with boards, posts, rails, and painting them'. Also repairs to the Cockpit and 'Banquet-house and terrace'. Tilt-list: College of Arms MS M.4, f.34.

The Queen took the precaution of remaining at Richmond.  
 She next stayed in Westminster in October 1587.

Nov 17,Thur **Accession Day Tilt**, Whitehall, 1586. 10 pairs.

Sir Henry Lee	v	Earl of Cumberland
Lord Thomas Howard	v	Earl of Essex
Henry Grey	v	Fulke Greville
Sir William Drury	v	Sir Philip Butler
Robert Carey	v	William Gresham
Ralph Bowes	v	Robert Knollys
Henry Noel	v	Henry Brouncker
Thomas Vavasour	v	Edward Wingfield
Thomas Gerard	v	John Chidley
Edward Wynter	v	Robert Alexander.

Fees to Heralds, for first coming to the tilt: Earl of Essex, £10; John Chidley, 20s.

As 'a remembrance of Sir Philip Sidney' three Latin verses were composed, the third being 'upon the mourning horse'. [Chambers, *Sir Henry Lee*, 272].

c.Nov 19,Sat Scottish Ambassadors at Richmond for audience.

William Keith undertook the plea for Mary's life, and Archibald Douglas the 'matter concerning the title'. They were given little hope for her life.

The Queen asked King James to judge 'whether she, innocent, or his mother, guilty, should suffer the death', saying that Mary's supporters, and all the Papists, would continue plotting to kill her and place Mary on the throne.

As for the title to the Crown, the Scots were later informed that the Queen wished them to have a meeting with 'some of her learned counsel'. [Rait].

Nov 19, at *Fotheringhay*: Lord Buckhurst and Robert Beale arrived to inform the Queen of Scots of the sentence which had been pronounced against her. They left on November 21 to return to court.

19 Nov 1586-4 Jan 1587: *French special Ambassador, Bellièvre, in London.*

To plead for Mary's life King Henri III sent one of his wisest and most experienced Councillors, Pomponne de Bellièvre (1529-1607).

On November 19 Châteauneuf wrote that Bellièvre had arrived that day; by November 20 William Keith had met him, and had sent a messenger to Scotland to urge that 'a solemn ambassador may be sent hither with speed' to join Bellièvre in a protest. The French sent to the court at Richmond to request audience.

A description of Bellièvre's embassy, and of its aftermath, by an anonymous member of his suite, is translated in *State Papers, Scotland*, ix.416-422, and is the source for his audiences and dispatches, unless stated otherwise.

*Note*: Bellièvre dated his dispatches by new style dates, which has resulted in varying dates being given for his audiences; to accord with English usage the dates are given here in the old style dates used in England and Scotland, ten days behind the calendar used in France and other Catholic countries.

Nov 21: Stationers entered: 'A ballad of the Commons cry of England against the Queen's Majesty's enemies'.

Nov 22,Tues: Douglas and Keith were invited to Lord Burghley's house for a 'homely dinner' and to receive their answer concerning the King's title.

Burghley, Walsingham, Attorney-General Popham, and three Judges made long speeches affirming that nothing had been done to hurt or prejudice the title.

Nov 23,Wed Earl of Leicester at Richmond on return from Low Countries. From London he 'went late that night to the court of Richmond'. [Stow].

The Earl had delegated his political power to the Dutch Council of State, and his military command of the English troops to Sir John Norris, and of foreign troops to Count Hohenlohe. [SPF.xxi(2).232].

Nov 24, Thur Second Parliamentary deputation at Richmond with the Queen. Representatives of the Lords and Commons reported, in answer to requests from the Queen (November 14 and 15), that after days of debate they saw no alternative for the safety of the realm but for the Queen of Scots to be executed; they pressed for her execution.

The Queen made a lengthy speech setting out the dilemma in which she found herself, as to granting their petition, finally declaring:

'For answer unto you, you must take an answer without answer at my hands. For if I should say I would not do it, I should peradventure say that which I did not think, and otherwise than it might be. If I should say I would do it, it were not fit in this place and at this time, although I did mean it'.

'Wherefore I must desire you to hold yourselves satisfied with this answer answerless'. [Parl.ii.385].

Nov 25, Richmond, William Davison to Walsingham, to stay the interview of the new arrived French Ambassador with her Majesty, it being reported that some of his attendants had died of the plague since his arrival in England.

Also, 2nd letter: To arrange for the Ambassador to bring only such attendants to the audience as he would be personally responsible for, in consequence of the recent attempts against her Majesty's person. [SP12/195/23,24].

Nov 26, Sat Scottish Ambassadors at Richmond for audience.

William Keith and Archibald Douglas presented the Queen with a letter from King James. This letter (not extant) made her very angry.

She 'uttered some hard speeches', accused James of threatening her, and spoke of Mary's execution as an answer to threats. The Ambassadors urged that menacing passages in the letter were only to let the Queen know what was being said in Scotland. Finally she promised to receive messengers from James. [Rait].

Nov 27: *Joachim Ortell (resident Dutch Agent) informed Walsingham of the arrival with the Earl of Leicester of two Deputies from the States, Jacques Valck and William van Nievelt. 'Monsieur Treslong is also arrived and lies at Raphael the Dutch Postmaster's house'. [SPF.xxi(2).245].*

*More Deputies arrived in January 1587: first audience January 28.*

Nov 27, Sun French special Ambassador at Richmond for first audience.

'M.Bellièvre, Grand Président des Finances de France, came to the court and had audience'.<sup>TH</sup> With Châteauneuf, the resident Ambassador.

Bellièvre to Henri III [Dec 8], London:

'The Queen received us in public, in her Presence Chamber, attended by most of her nobles, the lords of her Council, and many others. When we began to explain to her what it had pleased your Majesty to command us to say, she made the Earl of Leicester retire, who was near her. The other Councillors...withdrew themselves also, and she alone heard me'.

Bellièvre made a long oration expounding propositions made by the King.

The Queen 'made reply upon nearly all the points and upon good terms in the French language. And as though possessed by some passion, which appeared in her countenance, her Majesty declared that the Queen of Scotland had always pursued her, and that it was the third time that she had sought to make an attempt upon her life by an infinity of means; which she had borne too long with much patience; and that nothing had ever touched her heart so keenly as this last accident, by reason whereof she had spent more sighs and tears than she had done on the occasion of the loss of all her kinsfolk'.

Because I 'had put before her many examples drawn from history, she told me that she had read and seen much of books...and that she had never found nor heard tell of such an act as that which had been designed against her and pursued by her own kinswoman, whom the King her brother-in-law could not and ought not to support in her malice, but should rather aid her to bring her speedily to justice as an example; saying that she...knew what it is to be a subject and a sovereign...that she had found treason where she had every confidence...and in place of gratitude enterprises to overthrow her'.

She told me that 'in a few days she would send me back to the King'.

Nov 29, Tues Scottish Ambassadors at Richmond for audience.

William Keith begged the Queen to stay proceedings against Mary until he had heard again from King James. The Queen said how grieved in mind she was, but she dare not let it be known to her people 'that she bore any favour to her'.

'She did swear by the living God that she could be contented to give one of her own arms to be cut off so that any means could be found out that they might both live in assurance [safety]...As for the Parliament House...she could not refuse to make the decree given by the judges to be published'. [Rait].

Court news. Nov 30, Westminster, Lord Burghley to the Earl of Shrewsbury:

'Here are Ambassadors from France and Scotland to press her Majesty to stay further proceeding against the Scots Queen. From France a very grave counsellor named Bellièvre, one of great estimation for his wisdom and virtue, and so commended by all men. He hath had once audience and used much speech to move her Majesty, but he was answered that if the French King understood her Majesty's peril, if he loved her as he pretendeth, he would not press her Majesty to hazard her life'.

'The Scots Ambassador, one Mr Keith, being but a young man, useth great earnestness but with small reason'...

'The sentence was subscribed yesterday by all the Commissioners that were here at Parliament...On Friday our sentence shall be published...which will trouble our Ambassadors'. [Bath, v.78].

Nov 30, The Savoy, Burghley to William Davison, having sent the Proclamation, engrossed in parchment, to be altered according to her Majesty's pleasure.

It will require a declaration of the fact [deed] by the Scottish Queen, and of her Majesty's grief for the same. [SP12/195/28].

Nov 30: Dr Bartholomew Clerke, lawyer, who had been in the Low Countries as a Councillor on the Dutch Council of State, gave a written opinion concerning the Queen's proceedings, 'being commanded to say what course seems to him best to take in the affairs of the Low Countries, now her Majesty is so far embarked'.

He advised a campaign defending four Provinces. [SPF.xxi(2).247-9].

Dec 1, Richmond, Secretary Davison to Walsingham: The Proclamation is to be signed tomorrow, to be proclaimed on Saturday [Dec 3]. [SP12/195/40].

Dec 2, Fri Edward Wotton at Richmond on return from France.<sup>TH</sup>  
Wotton had been on a special embassy for two months.

*Dec 2: Parliament was informed that the Queen had agreed to publish by Proclamation the sentence against the Queen of Scots.*

*Parliament was prorogued to 15 February 1587.*

Dec 3, court, Sir Francis Walsingham to Thomas Wilkes: The Earl of Leicester 'received very gracious usage and welcome at her Majesty's hands. Notwithstanding the arrival of the two Deputies, Valck and Nievelt, the Earl doth persuade her Majesty to proceed first in the great cause'. [SPF.xxi(2).251].

Dec 3, Sat Archibald Douglas at Richmond for audience.

The Scottish Ambassadors had received orders to discover if the Queen and Council would hear any 'overture' for saving Mary's life.

Douglas to King James, Dec 8: Bellièvre had 'alleged many examples of surety that had happened unto Princes through using of clemency, with the inconveniences that had followed rigorous dealing... This Queen made answer that... she hath used such clemency that she saved the other's life, when as her own subjects did crave it, and in recompense thereof she hath conspired her death'.

'I earnestly requested' the Queen to receive 'overtures or offers' for her own safety if she spared your mother's life.

'She made answer to me at the first as she had done to the French Ambassador that she wished to God that such overture could be made that might save both their lives. In the end she... did ask of me what overture could be devised whereby her life might be made sure'. I asked her to wait until the King could send 'a special ambassador'...

'She would not promise to delay any proceeding against her in the meantime', but affirmed that 'no man in the world should cause her to subscribe any warrant for taking away of her life', but also that 'she believed necessity would force her to let justice proceed'.

'I returned from court with my Lord of Leicester in his coach, where it was his pleasure to utter long speech to me that it was your Majesty's greatest welfare that this Queen should do justice against the Queen your mother... Divers other speeches he did utter that were comfortable toward your Majesty's title and the good usage that he would procure to be done unto your Majesty by this Queen during her life-time... True it is he doth govern this court at this time at his pleasure'. Leicester asked whether the King would break the League with the Queen; Douglas assured him he would never break it. [Rait].

Dec 4, Richmond, Earl of Leicester to Thomas Wilkes:

'I have had a most gracious welcome at her Majesty's hands as ever I had since I was born'. [SPF.xxi(2).257].

Dec 4, Sun, Richmond. Proclamation (685): 'Declaring of the Sentence lately given against the Queen of Scots'. With a long explanation of the reasons which have caused Queen Elizabeth to 'yield' to declare the sentence.

Dec 5, Mon French special Ambassador at Richmond for second audience.<sup>TH</sup> Bellièvre considered that his mission had failed, and requested a safe-conduct to go home. He returned to London, awaiting the Queen's answer to Henri III.

Dec 6: Bellièvre sent a letter to the Queen, at Richmond, asking for time to obtain further instructions from King Henri III 'upon the greatest matter which within our memory has been put to the judgement of men'.

Dec 6, Tues: Public Proclamation of the Sentence on the Queen of Scots.

'The Lord Mayor of London, assisted with divers earls and barons, the Aldermen in their scarlet gowns, the principal officers of the city... with... fourscore of the most grave and worshipfullest citizens, in coats of velvet and chains of gold, all on horseback, in most solemn and stately manner, by the sound of four trumpets about 10 o'clock in the forenoon made open and public Proclamation and declaration of the sentence lately given by the nobility against the Queen of Scots... being openly read by Master Sebright, Town Clerk of London, and with loud voice solemnly proclaimed by the Serjeant of Arms of the said city in four several places, to wit, at the Cross in Cheap, at the end of Chancery Lane in Fleet Street over against the Temple, at Leadenhall corner, and at St Magnus corner near London Bridge'.

'During which time, the like solemn Proclamations were made with great solemnities in the county of Middlesex, namely in the palace at Westminster, without Temple Bar, and in Holborn, by the Sheriffs of London and Middlesex, assisted with sundry noblemen, gentlemen of good account, and the justices of Peace of the said county, to the great and wonderful rejoicing of the people of all sorts, as manifestly appeared by their eager running after the portly train, their thronging to hear the same published, their ringing of bells, making of bonfires, and singing of psalms in every street and lane of the city'.<sup>HOL</sup>

Dec 6: Arthur Throckmorton noted: 'Mary Stuart Queen of Scots proclaimed traitor by Proclamation and all the bells rung in the City of London for joy'.<sup>TH</sup>

Allhallows Staining: 'To the ringers when the Queen of Scots was proclaimed traitor, 8d'. St Christopher le Stocks: 'Paid for ringing when Babington with the other traitors were apprehended and were taken and also when the Queen of Scots was proclaimed conspirator to the Queen and our realm, 3s4d'.

Dec 6, Tues Scottish Ambassadors at Richmond for audience.

At night-time on December 3 William Keith had received a vehement letter from King James, 'whereupon great stir hath arisen here'. That night Archibald Douglas secretly revealed its contents to Walsingham, who in turn informed the Queen; next day the Scots asked for audience, obtained on December 6.

At first Keith gave the Queen only the sense of King James's letter, which he had been instructed to let her see. She insisted upon reading it.

King James to William Keith, Nov 27: 'I perceive...the Queen my mother continueth still in that miserable strait that the pretended condemnation of that Parliament has put her in. A strange example indeed, and so very rare, as for my part I never read nor heard of the like practice in such a case'.

'I am sorry...that the Queen hath suffered this to proceed so far to my dishonour, and so contrary to her good fame as by subjects' mouth to condemn a sovereign prince descended of all hands of the best blood of Europe'.

'King Henry the Eighth's reputation was never prejudiced in anything but in the beheading of his bedfellows, but yet that tragedy was far inferior to this'...

'I am presently upon the directing of a very honourable embassy thither... and therefore fail not to insist with the Queen that all farther may be stayed while [until] their arrival, which shall be as soon as possibly they may post thither...Fail not to let her see all this letter'...

'Before God I already dare scarce go abroad, for crying out of the whole people, and what is spoken by them of the Queen of England it grieves me to hear, and yet dare not find fault with it except I would dethrone myself, so is whole Scotland incensed with this matter'.

After the Queen read the King's letter, wrote Keith, she 'took such a chafe as you would wonder', and, wrote Douglas 'she conceived such passion as it was a great deal of work to us all and to the Earl of Leicester to appease her'...

'It was her pleasure to say that she would not make answer in anger, and therefore she would defer it till the morning'.

At eleven p.m. the Scots received answer from Lord Burghley that the Queen wished them to understand that if Keith had not delivered 'so strange and unseasonable a message, as did directly touch her noble Father, herself, and all the estates of her present Parliament, she would not have misliked nor denied the King's request'. She would allow his proposals to be sent to Keith and Douglas, but could not directly promise not to proceed to the execution. [Rait].

Dec 7: *Walsingham informed the Scots that the Queen would permit King James to send 'some gentleman', to arrive within 10 or 12 days.*

Dec 7, London, Sieur de Buzenval to Walsingham: 'The bells of this town have so stunned M.de Bellièvre that he is pressing for his congé'. [SPF.xxi(1).157].

[Dec 8], London, Bellièvre and Châteauneuf to King Henri III:  
'The Earl of Pembroke, the Mayor and Aldermen of London, were present at the Proclamation, and at the same instant all the bells in this city began to ring; this was followed universally throughout the realm, and they continued these ringings for 24 hours, and also made many bonfires of rejoicing'.

Dec 8, Thur Queen sent a verbal message to Bellièvre that she would grant a delay of 12 days before proceeding to the execution of the judgment. The Vicomte de Genlis was sent to obtain instructions from Henri III and to inform him of events in England. An answer came in 14 days.

Dec 10: Draft of death-warrant for the Queen of Scots.  
Secretary Davison's description, 1587: After petitions from Parliament, and Proclamation of the Sentence, the Queen ordered Lord Burghley to draw up the warrant for the execution. It was left with me 'to cause it to be engrossed and brought unto her to sign', but she 'thought good to forbear the signing thereof, because the French and Scotch ambassadors were here intercessors for the Scots Queen's life...I retained it in my hands unrepresented for the space of some five or six weeks at the least'. [Nicolas, Davison, 257].  
Burghley's draft warrant, Dec 10: illustrated: Pryor, No.38.

Dec 10, Richmond, William Davison to Sir Francis Walsingham: Lord Burghley has spoken to her Majesty in your particular suit, and apparently with good success. Also of your public services; to whom, under God, her Majesty owed the preservation of her life, which she could not nor might in honour forget. [SP12/195/54]  
During December Stephen Fulwell, Jewel-house Officer, went from Richmond to the Tower 'to provide a chain of gold carried to London to Mr Secretary'.<sup>T</sup>

Dec 15, Holyroodhouse, King James to the Earl of Leicester:  
'How fond and inconstant I were if I should prefer my mother to the title let all men judge. My religion ever moved me to hate her course, although my honour constrains me to insist for her life'.

Dec 16, Holyroodhouse, King James to the Queen: asking for proceedings against his mother to be delayed until 'my overtures be heard, which the Master of Gray shall bring unto you'. [Akrigg, 78-79].

Dec 17, at Shrewsbury, Shropshire: 'The Sheriff proclaimed in Salop the Queen of Scots traitor, being tried by examination to be in confederacy with the former conspirators, as Babington and his associates, for conspiring her Majesty's death, who were executed; and the said traitor the Scottish Queen hath judgment to die, and for joy thereof the Bailiffs and Aldermen caused bonfires and bell-ringings, with assembling themselves in their best array in banqueting and rejoicing the same, praising God with triumphant sound of trumpet'.

'Spent by Mr Bailiffs and others the worship of the town, and the Under-Sheriff, with divers others, at the Proclamation made against the Queen of Scots, 6s11d'. [H.Owen and J.B.Blakeway, A History of Shrewsbury, 2 vols, (London, 1825), i.384-5].

Dec 19, Queen of Scots to Queen Elizabeth, asking for public execution; burial in France with her ancestors; that no false reports will be spread as to the faith in which she will die; free passage for her servants. She will return a jewel to her. 'Your sister and cousin wrongfully a prisoner, Marie Royme'. [Translated: Strickland, Mary, ii.200-205].

Dec 20: Norwich, St Margaret: 'Paid and allowed in bread and beer for the ringers the 20th of December when the Proclamation was ended concerning the Queen of Scots, 10d'.

\*Dec 20, Tues dinner, Clapham, Surrey.<sup>T</sup>

\*Clapham manor-house, owned by Dr Bartholomew Clerke (c.1537-1590), lawyer; wife: Eleanor (Haselrigg), widow of Thomas Smith, of Mitcham, Surrey.

Dec 20, Tues **LAMBETH**, Surrey; Lord Burgh.

Lambeth Marsh house owned by Thomas, 5th Lord Burgh (c.1558-1597);

wife: Frances (Vaughan), a former Maid of Honour, died 1647.

St Margaret Westminster: 'For ringing for the Queen's Majesty when she came from Richmond to my Lord Burgh's, 6d'.

St Martin in the Fields: 'Paid the 20th of December for ringing at her Majesty's coming to Lambeth, 10d'.

'The Queen lay at Lambeth at my Lord Burgh's and removed from Richmond to Greenwich'.<sup>TH</sup>

Dec 21, Wed **GREENWICH PALACE**, Kent.

Dec 23, Greenwich, Earl of Leicester to Sir Francis Walsingham, of the former King of Portugal: 'Tomorrow King Antonio comes hither'...

'There is a letter come from the Scottish Queen that hath wrought tears, but I trust shall do no further harm, albeit the delay is so dangerous'.<sup>LEY</sup>

Dec 25, Greenwich, payment of £10 to John Greenwood and Nicholas Young, who were 'sent in her Majesty's special service by commandment of the Archbishop of Canterbury and Mr Secretary Walsingham two several times from the court at Richmond into the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk to make search for and bring up to the court certain seditious books cast up on land in divers places on the sea coasts within the said counties'.<sup>T</sup>

Christmas 1586-Shrovetide 1587: Acrobats, at Greenwich.

Works made 'a table 12 foot long x 6 foot broad for the Tumblers'.

Dec 26, Mon play, by the Queen's Men.

Dec 27, Tues play, by Earl of Leicester's Men.<sup>T</sup>

Dec 28, Wed French special Ambassador at Greenwich for final audience.

As soon as Bellièvre received an answer from the King of France he sent to ask for audience at Greenwich, where the Queen 'was keeping the feast of Christmas according to the old almanac'. His audience was delayed by the festivities.

*Anonymous description:* At his audience in the Presence Chamber Bellièvre made further 'remonstrances and propositions' from the King of France, which the Queen heard patiently, and then asked whether he was charged to use such language to her. He asserted that he had express written commandment to do so. 'She then made those who were in the hall go forth and there remained there only herself...Messieurs de Bellièvre, de Châteauneuf and one of his people, where they remained a good hour in conference'. Bellièvre was unable 'to draw from her any assurance of the life of the Queen of Scotland' but she promised to send an ambassador to the King, with her decision.

Bellièvre took leave of the Queen and 'the lords of her court'.



[Dec 29, Paris], Mendoza to Philip II, with news of Don Pedro Sarmiento, a Spaniard at court in September-November, who had been captured by Huguenots on his way to the King. As this delayed him Mendoza informed the King of his instructions: 'The Queen told him that she greatly desired peace with your Majesty, and wished him to tell you so. The Treasurer [Lord Burghley] repeated this to him', saying that 'if old scores were forgotten, and your Majesty would be a good friend again, the Queen would withdraw the English from Holland and Zeeland', asking him 'to convey this to your Majesty verbally'. Sarmiento had received 'an ample passport' for any envoy the King might wish to send. 'He had several conversations with Walter Raleigh, the Queen's favourite'. [Span.iv.1-2].

c.30 Dec 1586-30 Jan 1587: Scottish special Ambassadors in London. Patrick, Master of Gray (c.1559-1611), with Sir Robert Melville (1527-1621).

They had instructions to plead for Mary's life, and to propose that she could either be sent out of England, with hostages as a pledge that she would not plot against the Queen's life, or that she could be imprisoned more strictly and sign a bond that if she plotted against the Queen she would submit to any 'ignominy or punishment' inflicted on a rebel, and renounce 'all rank and privileges of a Sovereign Prince'. With the Ambassadors came George Young, Clerk of the Privy Council of Scotland. Archibald Douglas and William Keith met them at Ware in Hertfordshire for a conference, and rode back to London with them.

The Master of Gray informed King James that on December 29 'We came to London, where we were no ways friendly received...never man sent to welcome or convey us. The same day we understood of Mr de Bellièvre's leave-taking, and...we sent our excuses by Mr George Young'.

Sir Robert Melville stated that they arrived on December 31, that Bellièvre 'had taken leave of her Majesty the day before our coming' and 'stayed five days after our coming'.

Châteauneuf, writing on January 1, stated that the Scots arrived December 30, and sent a gentleman [Young] to visit him and Bellièvre on December 31, and that Bellièvre was departing without seeing Gray and Melville.

Arthur Throckmorton noted that Gray and Melville arrived in London Dec 31.<sup>TH</sup> [The Scottish Ambassadors' mission is described in Rait and Cameron's King James's Secret, from which the details are taken].

1586: R.C. [Robert Cecil]: 'The Copy of a Letter to the Right Honourable the Earl of Leicester...With a report of certain petitions and declarations made to the Queen's Majesty at two several times, from all the Lords and Commons lately assembled in Parliament. And her Majesty's answers thereunto by herself delivered, though not expressed by the reporter with such grace and life as the same were uttered by her Majesty'.

This was translated and published in several languages.

The Queen had herself much amended the draft of her replies to Parliamentary delegations urging the execution of the Queen of Scots, November 12 and 24.

Part of the draft, in the British Library, is reproduced by Felix Pryor, Elizabeth I: Her Life in Letters (2003), No.37.

1586: Georges de la Motthe, a French refugee, dedicated and presented to the Queen a 'Hymne', being a poem in French decorated in colour with miniature portraits of her, with birds, animals, flowers, emblematic devices. A portrait of the Queen has a French sonnet on the reverse. [Bodleian Library].

[Portrait: frontispiece of E.C.Wilson's England's Eliza (1966 ed)].

1586: Janus Dousa dedicated to the Queen: *Odarum Britannicarum*.  
 Latin verses by the Governor of Leiden, a prolific poet. (Leiden, 1586).  
 Jan van der Does (1545-1604), had been in England in summer 1585 with other  
 Deputies from the Low Countries. The Earl of Leicester arrived in Holland in  
 December 1585, and in January 1586 he purchased the Governor's portrait for £4.  
 [Elizabeth Goldring, Robert Dudley, 301].

1586: Arnold Eick dedicated to the Queen: *Elogium...Roberti, comitis  
 Leycestrii...Cum Elogio...Philippi Sidnei*.  
 Latin verses honouring the Earl of Leicester and Sir Philip Sidney.  
 (Utrecht, 1586).

1586: Lodowick Lloyd wrote 'Certain English Verses, presented unto  
 the Queen's most excellent Majesty, by a Courtier. In joy of the most happy  
 disclosing of the most dangerous conspiracies pretended by the late executed  
 Traitors, against her royal person, and the whole Estate'. Six pages, headed:  
 'The Triumphs of Trophes, in Saphic verse of Jubiles', e.g.  
 'To take thy life the man of sin doth strive  
 in vain, O Queen, when Angels thee defend'. (London, 1586).  
 By L.L. Lodowick Lloyd dedicated several works to the Queen.

1586: John Norden dedicated to the Queen:  
 'Mirror for the Multitude, or Glass, Wherein may be seen, the violence, the  
 error, the weakness, and rash consent, of the multitude, and the dangerous  
 resolution of such, as without regard of the truth, endeavour to run and join  
 themelves with the multitude. With a necessary conclusion, that it is not the  
 name or title of a Protestant, Christian, or Catholic, but the true imitation  
 of Christ, that maketh a Christian'.

Frontispiece of the royal coat of arms, above a verse:

'Enforce oh Lord in zeal all breasts,  
 Effectually to honour her:  
 Who ruling, each man gains his right,  
 In nought she shows a mind to err'.

Dedication: 'To the right famous and most virtuous Princess Elizabeth...  
 defendress of the true Catholic faith, be constant perseverance therein,  
 a joyful reign over us, God's protection from her foes, and after this life a  
 glorious reign with the King of Kings'.

An Epistle Dedicatory ends by praying that the Queen's subjects 'may under  
 your sacred government suck the sweet of the saving truth, without fear of  
 receptivity in Romish Babylon'.

Also an Epistle 'To the Christian Reader'. (London, 1586).  
 This anti-Papist work refers to 'the false traitor Parry' (executed in 1585),  
 and to 'Barnwell, Ballard, Babington, and Bellamy, with the rest of that  
 rebellious rout, a multitude of miscreants, a cursed crew of cormorants'.

This was entered by the Stationers on 5 December 1586.  
 It was the first of several devotional and topographical books which John Norden  
 (c.1547-1625) dedicated to the Queen.

1586: William Paulet, 3rd Marquis of Winchester (c.1532-1598), of Basing, Hants, dedicated to the Queen:

*'The Lord Marquis Idleness: containing manifold matters of acceptable device, as sage sentences, prudent precepts, moral examples, sweet similitudes, proper comparisons, and other remembrances of special choice. No less pleasant to peruse than profitable to practise'.*

*'Compiled by...Lord William Marquis of Winchester that now is'.*

*Dedication: 'To the high, mighty, and his right gracious Sovereign Lady, the Queen's most excellent Majesty'...*

*'Myself having passed the morning tide of my Time (wherein I should have conversed with the learned for my better instruction) only in the vain disports and pleasures of the field. And now at the Sun setting looking back to view the benefit received thereby, do find the seed of pleasures to render no fruit, and so by defect of learning ensueth the effect of Idleness, being merely nothing'..*

*'As Idleness is the mother of ignorance, so is it the nurse of aspiring and disloyal minds...My deceased grandfather...your Majesty's late officer and servant, being a precedent unto his to shun Idleness and to perform their duties with all loyalty and obedience, passed many years in Court'...*

*'Because Time requireth me to render an account (as whose Idleness hath been greater than of sundry others)...I do confess my error therein accordingly as the title of this Pamphlet giveth testimony'...*

*'Your Majesty's most humble and loyal subject, Winchester'.*

*Paulet wrote a second dedication: 'To the friendly Readers', explaining that 'I observed the former idle time in reading and perusing the learned and wise, whose sentences and good sayings I so greatly affected that I did not only read them, but also committed many of them to writing, which being done only for my own recreation and benefit...was earnestly requested by divers my loving friends to make the same more manifest to the world by committing it to the press'...*

*'Basing this viii of November. Your loving friend, Winchester'.*

*39 brief chapters, from 'The beginning of things' to 'Many pretty sayings'. 94p. (London, 1586).*

*The Queen stayed at Basing with the Marquis in 1591; his grandfather William Paulet 1st Marquis of Winchester was Lord Treasurer, 1550-1572.*

1586: Michael Renniger dedicated to the Queen:

*A Treatise containing two parts.*

1. *'An Exhortation to true love, loyalty, and fidelity to her Majesty'.*

2. *'A Treatise against Treasons, Rebellions, and such disloyalties'.*

*In this anti-Papist tract Renniger describes the wild rejoicings for the Queen's preservation, adding that 'one thing passeth all that we have seen: the loving affections of faithful subjects to her Majesty'. (London, 1587).*

*This was entered by the Stationers on 10 Dec 1586.*

*Michael Renniger (c.1528-1609), a Royal chaplain from c.1559, describes himself as 'one of your Majesty's old sworn servants of household'.*

1586: Anon: A godly Ditty to be sung for the Preservation of the Queen's most excellent Majesty's Reign. (London, 1586).

Concluding:

'All English hearts rejoyce and sing,  
That fears the Lord and loves our Queen.  
Yield thanks to God, our heavenly King,  
Who hitherto her guide hath been.  
With faithful hearts, O God! we crave  
Long life on earth her Grace may have!

[Refrain] We laud and praise  
His name always,  
Who doth our Queen defend.  
And still we pray  
God, night and day,  
To keep her to the end...

A Judith just she still hath been,  
A loving prince to subjects all.  
She is our good and gracious Queen.  
Lord bless her, that she never fall  
In any danger of her foes,  
But safely keep her Lord from those!...

Let bells ring out, let joy abound,  
Let earth and air be filled with noise.  
Let drums strike up, let trumpets sound,  
Let music sweet show forth our joys.  
And let us all with one accord,  
To see this day, joy in the Lord'.

1586: Anon: 'Verses of Praise and Joy, written upon her Majesty's preservation. Whereunto is annexed Tichborne's lamentation, written in the Tower with his own hand, and an answer to the same'.

The verses of Praise and Joy end:

'Live Sovereign Lady, live Elizabeth  
Health of thy Country, help to all our hearts.  
Seld seen, thou reign'st a maiden and a Queen,  
Long may'st thou live, and heaven be thy home'.

Chidioc Tichborne's 'Elegy': 'My prime of life', with an answering poem. Also a verse in Latin and English to the Queen, beginning:

'Reign, live, and blissful days enjoy,  
Thou shining lamp of th'earth'. 5p. (London, 1586).

[Tichborne's 'Elegy' quickly became famous, and continues to be reprinted].

c.1586: A portrait of the Queen as the personification of Peace was painted, depicting her holding an olive-branch, with a sheathed sword at her feet.

In the background is a courtyard where a courtier talks to two ladies. This has been traditionally identified as Wanstead, Leicester's Essex house. By Marcus Gheeraerts the Elder, who worked in Flanders from 1577-1586. Reproduced in *Elizabeth*, ed. Susan Doran, 193-4.