

1565

At **WHITEHALL PALACE.**

Jan 1, Mon New Year gifts (an incomplete Roll).

Among more than 98 gifts to the Queen:

by Sir Gilbert Dethick, Garter King of Arms: 'A Book of all the Arms of the Knights made since the beginning of her Highness reign';
by Sir John Mason, Treasurer of the Chamber: 'In a purse of black silk and silver knit 30 of French crowns, £9'; and two books in Latin, viz. a Life of Plutarch, and a translation from Plato.

by Robert Cooke, Chester Herald:

'One pedigree of the Queen's Majesty from William Conqueror' [1066];

by Lewis Stockett, Surveyor of the Works:

'One table painted of the tomb for King Henry the Eight';

by Levina Teerlinc: 'A house painted and thereabout certain personages, in a case of walnut-tree';

by Petruccio Ubaldini, an Italian: 'A Book of the seven Psalms in Latin, covered with blue satin';

by Armagil Waad: 'A half picture of metal of Sigismund King of Poland set in wood'.^{NYG}

Sir Thomas Chaloner (Ambassador to Spain) on 30 Nov 1564 from Madrid sent Sir John Mason an Elegy in verse, with an Epistle, asking him to present it to the Queen on New Year's Day, 1565. Latin verses. 15p. [SPF.vii.252].

Court news. [Jan 1], Sir William Cecil to Sir Thomas Smith, Ambassador to France: 'Yesterday, being Sunday, the Spanish Ambassador presented to her Majesty a writing signed with the hand of the Duchess of Parma...and this day he shall receive the like from her Majesty, so as by calculation the inter-course [trade with the Low Countries] shall be made open on New Year's Day, and our Commissioners must be ready at the seaside about the 26th of January'...

'On Saturday the French Ambassador was here with the Queen's Majesty' partly 'to know her pleasure for the offers made by the King his master to choose my Lord of Leicester and any other to be named by her Majesty to be of his Order. Whereunto her Majesty did resolve to have my Lord of Leicester to be chosen; but for the second place she would hereafter advise to the King her pleasure... Now whilst I am writing I understand...that upon instance made by my Lord of Leicester her Majesty will name my Lord of Sussex for the second person'...

'The Earl of Lennox's friends wish that the Lord of Darnley might marry with the Scottish Queen, and I see some device to bring the Queen's Majesty not only to allow thereof, but also to move it to the Queen...But I see no disposition thereto in her Majesty, but she rather continueth her desire to have my Lord of Leicester preferred that way'...

'I see the Queen's Majesty very desirous to have my Lord of Leicester placed in this high degree to be the Scottish Queen's husband; but when it cometh to the conditions which are demanded I see her then remiss of her earnestness'...

'This day the Proclamation is made [for opening up trade]'.

'The Queen's Majesty is now fully recovered of her cold, and cometh abroad'...

'The Queen's displeasure continueth still towards my Lord of Hertford and the Lady Catherine, and my Lord Keeper [Bacon] remaineth yet as he did, absent from court. My Lord of Arundel is now at liberty to go and to be visited by whom he will, but yet he cannot come to her Majesty's presence'. [Wright, i.181-5].

Court news. Jan 2, London, Spanish Ambassador, De Silva, to Philip II:

'I wrote to your Majesty that this Queen had suffered from fever and had been very ill but was now recovered. I was with her on the 24th, and she complained of pains in the stomach and all over the body, and she has since been indisposed with a very bad catarrh with some fever. She is now better again and has come out into the Presence Chamber, but Leicester tells me she is very thin'.

'The changes of weather have been such that it suddenly turned from heat to a cold so intense that the river here is frozen over and people walk upon it as they do the streets. Natives say they have never seen such a thing before, and it is very trying for the weak'.

Jan 2 (2nd letter): The Queen has had 'an attack of the pains in the head to which she is subject...The physicians who attend her consider her constitution a weak and unhealthy one...She is not considered likely to have a long life'.

The King of France's offer of the Order of St Michael 'has done Leicester more harm than good, as the jealousy of him has increased'. [Span.i.400-401].

January 5: Danish Ambassador at Whitehall.

King Frederick II of Denmark, at war with Sweden, sent Dr Albert Knopper to notify the Queen that he intended to close the Baltic Sea to shipping in summer 1565 in order that the King of Sweden should not receive supplies.

Dr Knopper was in London for about a month.

Jan 5, Sat Danish Ambassador at Whitehall for audience.

Dr Albert Knopper informed the Queen of his King's intention to close the Baltic Sea to shipping. The Baltic was a important trade route for English ships and the Queen opposed this proposal. [HMC 45th Rep. 23,48].

Jan 7, Sun Tournament: Tilt: 12 pairs; and Tourney on foot; at Whitehall.

Jan 8, De Silva to Philip II: 'They had arranged a joust of 12 a side for Twelfth Day, but it rained so heavily that the affair could not come off until the next day (yesterday), when the morning turned out bright and fine'...

'The Queen sent word that I was to go, which I did, feeling sure that the French Ambassador would not be there, as I had sent word to him that the Queen desired my presence, as he usually does when he goes to the palace, to avoid our being there together. I went early, as they requested me, and Secretary Cecil and the Chamberlain put me in the Gallery from which the Queen generally sees the feasts. There were three or four compartments divided by cloths, and they took me into one adjoining that of the Queen, and adorned in the same way as hers. Soon afterwards the Queen came and entered the compartment where I was, calling me to her'.

'I was with her at the window until the entry, and a good number of the jousts had run when she said she would be glad if I would go again into the compartment I was in before she came, as she wished to entertain the French Ambassador for a short time, he having come, and she did not wish us to be both there together, but would call me again. I went as desired, and after the Frenchman had been there a little while he went away and the Queen called me to her again'.

'I was with her until the end of the joust when she went indoors to warm herself, taking me with her, and told me that the French Ambassador had wished to come, but that she being a woman and not adroit enough to settle points of precedence, had not thought well to have us both in her presence at the same time'.

'She then asked me to stay and sup with the Earl of Leicester, so that I might see the whole of the entertainment, as she wished to rest for a short time. I therefore went with Leicester to his lodgings, where the principal people of the court sat down to supper, and afterwards was taken to the Presence Chamber, and from there to the Privy Chamber, where I was with the Queen for a short time'.

'About 8 o'clock she descended to the first hall, which had been prepared, and there after dancing for a while they had a tourney on foot, which lasted till about 11. The Queen then sent for the challengers and their opponents and thanked them for what they had done, whereupon I left her in her apartments'.

[Span.i.403].

January 16-March 26: Earl of Leicester, Thomasso Baroncelli, and the Queen.

Leicester exchanged letters in Italian with Baroncelli, an Antwerp merchant, who was to supply an arquebus for hunting, and any armour required; his daughter was born in January, with Leicester as a godfather by proxy.

Jan 16, court, Leicester to Baroncelli: The patterns of bodices which you have sent me for the Queen are beautiful, but not what she wants, having several of that make. She wants the kind used in Spain and Italy, worked with gold and silver. I will send the pattern and measure of the armour.

Jan 26, Antwerp, Baroncelli to Leicester: I have named my daughter Elizabeth in memory of the favours I have received from the Queen. The Prince of Orange has charged me with sending four horses to you.

Jan 29, Baroncelli to Leicester: I send the Queen a present of a little book, and ask for a pattern for armour (to be made in Antwerp) and whether it is required for your Lordship or the Queen.

Feb 21, Baroncelli to Leicester, thanking the Earl for his present of a silver-gilt cup for his god-daughter Elizabeth. I will go to Brussels and find the best armourer I can; the armour is to be painted by a painter from Florence.

Pray beg her Majesty to let me have two lines to say how she was pleased with the book I sent her. I will send the 'jerkens' which she wishes for. If she had sent me a pattern I should have tried to supply her before now.

March 25, Baroncelli to Leicester: I send two suits of armour, a suit of horse armour, and a dagger of exquisite workmanship worthy of the Queen's inspection.

On March 26 an engraver of armour left Antwerp with the suits, some drawings, and the Earl's sporting arquebus. [KL.iv.165; Pepys, 44,46,50-51; SPF.vii.289,320,548].

Jan 17, Westminster, Privy Council: 'This day upon a lewd manner of usage committed yesterday night in the court in the Marchioness of Northampton's chamber by a servant of Dr Julio named Griffith, who is presently in the Porter's Lodge, to the great disturbance of the said Marchioness, it was ordered that the said Griffith should be sent to the prison of the Marshalsea'.

Jan 22: Council ordered that 'Dr Julio should, both for himself and his servant remaining in the Marshalsea, be a suitor to the Lady Marchioness of Northampton, as well for his own purgation as also for his servant's delivery, and what her Ladyship shall think convenient to be done herein the Lords will upon the understanding thereof take such further order as shall be meet'.

Jan 27: 'Dr Julio's man to be brought to the Marquis of Northampton'.^{APC}

Dr Julio was appointed Physician to the Queen's Household in 1573.

Jan 25, Thur visit, Hackney, Middlesex.

St Botolph Aldgate London churchwardens: 'Paid the 25th day of January when the Queen's Majesty passed by to Hackney, 6d'. Note: The Queen may have ridden into the country for hunting, but it may be relevant that the most prominent resident of Hackney was the Countess of Lennox, mother of Henry Lord Darnley.

Darnley left for Scotland on Feb 3; he married the Queen of Scots in July.

Jan 25, Queen to the Archbishop of Canterbury (Matthew Parker), of the need for uniformity in 'ecclesiastical and civil policy...without diversities of opinions or novelties of rites and manners'.

'We, to our no small grief and discomfourt do hear that...in sundry places of our realm of late...there is crept and brought into the church by some few persons...an open and manifest disorder and offence to the godly wise and obedient persons, by diversity of opinions and specially in the external, decent, and lawful rites and ceremonies to be used in the churches'...

'We...mean not to endure or suffer any longer these evils thus to proceed, spread, and increase in our realm, but have certainly determined to have all such diversities, varieties, and novelties amongst them of the clergy and our people...to be reformed and repressed and brought to one manner of uniformity'.

The Archbishops and Bishops are to confer, and then to enforce uniformity. [Parker, 223-6]. The Act of Uniformity, 1559, had incorporated rules on clergy vestments. The controversy, partly about vestments, is dubbed 'the Vestiarian controversy'. Bishop of London's report: February 14.

Jan 29, London, Dr Knopper, Danish Ambassador, to Sir William Cecil, informing him that the King would permit English merchant ships to use the Baltic if they agreed to convey no merchandise nor munitions to Sweden. He asks him to notify the Queen or the Council, and to forward their answer to him. [HT.i.316].

Court news. c.Jan 30, French Ambassador, De Foix, to Catherine de Medici: 'The Queen of Scots has begun to marry her four Maries, and says she wishes to be one of the number'...

'Lord Darnley has at last had leave from the Queen of England to go to Scotland, and should set off in two or three days, very honourably accompanied. From this your Majesty can conjecture that the Earl of Leicester has no hope of marrying the Queen of Scots, yet Queen Elizabeth has offered to favour the marriage by giving the Earl a Dukedom with an income of £2000 sterling... and to declare the Queen of Scots her successor'.

'As the Queen sees that she cannot arrange marriages as she wishes she is ready to prorogue Parliament, which should be held in April, and she makes no mention of seeing the Queen of Scots'. [Teulet, ii.190].

The 'Four Maries' as small children accompanied the Queen of Scots to France, and as adults returned with her to Scotland as her attendants and friends.

They were: Mary Beaton, Mary Fleming, Mary Seton, and Mary Livingston, who married John Sempill on 6 March 1565, Shrove Tuesday.

January: Privy Purse payment: 'For the expenses and charges of Robert Green the Queen's Fool into the country in January' and to his servant 'for wages and board-wages at sundry times', £17. The Privy Purse account, 1559-1569, also includes payments to a tailor 'for apparel and other necessaries' for Robert Green and his servant, £111.13s9d. [TNA E351/2791].

January: play, by Westminster School.
Revels made payments for: 'airing in January for certain plays by the Grammar School of Westminster and the Children of Paul's'. [Revels, 117].
The Children of Paul's played at court on Feb 2.

Westminster School rehearsed Latin plays by Terence and by Plautus, but only Miles Gloriosus by Plautus is stated to have been seen by the Queen. There is a list of 'The expenses of two plays', Heautontimoroumenos of Terence, and Miles Gloriosus of Plautus 'played by the Children of the Grammar school in the College of Westminster and before the Queen's Majesty'. [Terence: The Self-Tormentor; Plautus: The Vain-glorious Soldier].

Expenses included: 'At the rehearsing before Sir Thomas Benger for pins and sugar candy, 6d; the second time at the playing of Heautonti. for pins; at the playing of Miles Gloriosus in Mr Dean's house for pins; to Mr Secretary's armourer to furbish again certain armour borrowed of him; at the playing of Miles Gloriosus before the Queen's Majesty for pins half thousand, 6d; to Mr Taylor's man for going up and down to divers places in London; to a woman attiring the children; for buttered beer for the children being hoarse; for one Plautus given to the Queen's Majesty and four other unto the nobility, 11s'. Total payments: 59s9d. [Benger was Master of the Revels, John Taylor the school Choirmaster. J.T.Murray, English Dramatic Companies 1558-1642 (1910), 168-9].

Feb 2, Fri play, by the Children of Paul's.^T

Feb 3: Henry, Lord Darnley (c.1545-1567), son of the Earl and Countess of Lennox, left for Scotland, having licence from the Queen to go into Scotland for three months. The Earl of Lennox was already in Scotland, both permitted to go there ostensibly to take care of their estates.

The Countess remained in England, and was much at court.

Feb 5, Edinburgh, Thomas Randolph, English Agent, to the Queen, describing audiences with the Queen of Scots, who spoke of marriage, saying "Not to marry, you know it cannot be for me; to defer it long, many incommodities ensue".

Of your Majesty she said "How much better were it that we two being Queens so near of kin, neighbours, and living in one Isle, should be friends and live together like sisters, than by strange means divide ourselves to the hurt of us both!"...

'I requested her...to let her mind be known how she liked the suit for my Lord of Leicester..."My mind towards him is such as it ought to be of a very noble man, as I hear say by very many; and such one as the Queen your mistress, my good sister, doth so well like to be her husband, if he were not her subject, ought not to dislike me to be mine. Marry! what I shall do, it lieth in your mistress's will, who shall wholly guide me and rule me". [Scot.ii.120-122].

Feb 6, Edinburgh, Randolph to Earl of Leicester: 'That matter which I have in hand, I am assured, if it take effect, shall turn your Lordship to the greatest honour that you can be called unto, except you marry with the Queen's Majesty'..

'This Queen is now content to give good ear unto the Queen's Majesty's suit in your behalf. By reports, she hath heard so much good of your Lordship that she judgeth you worthy of any place of honour, yea, to be husband to any Queen: she wisheth you also a kingdom of your own'.

But the Scots complain of 'your great negligence to woo a Queen without labour or travail, cost, charge, message, token, no not so much as once signification of your own goodwill...It is no small honour for this Queen to have such a princess as my Sovereign to be a suitor; your Lordship is right happy if so easily you may come by her'. [Wright, i.186-8].

Feb 7: Cornelius Lanoy (alchemist) to the Queen: Memorial offering to produce for her 50,000 marks of pure gold annually. Feb 9: He has acquired great skill in the transmutation of metals; he repeats his offer. [SP12/36/12,13: Latin].

Feb 8, in Ireland: Earl of Ormond had been attacked by the Earl of Desmond, who had been taken prisoner. Ormond asked Sir William Cecil for letters from the Queen requiring them to repair to England. The Queen sent orders for both Earls to come to her presence, together with 'Lords' McCarty More and O'Sullivan.

All reached Liverpool on April 23, and were escorted to London. [SP Ire]. Thomas Butler, 10th Earl of Ormond; James FitzGerald, 14th Earl of Desmond.

See May 12 (Council); and for More and O'Sullivan see June 24.

Feb 8: Dr Knopper, Danish Ambassador, received a gold chain from the Queen, prior to leaving England. [SPF.vii.296].

Feb 14: 'Varieties in Service and the Administration used'. Report drawn up by Edmund Grindal, Bishop of London, pursuant to the Queen's order (Jan 25). 'Some say the service and prayers in the chancel, others in the body of the church; some say the same in a seat made in the church, some in the pulpit with their faces to the people; some keep precisely to the order of the book, others intermeddle psalms in metre; some say in a surplice, others without a surplice; the Table standeth in the body of the church in some places, in others it standeth in the chancel; in some places the Table standeth altarwise, distant from the wall a yard, in some others in the middle of the chancel, north and south; in some places the Table is joined, in others it standeth upon trestles; in some places the Table hath a carpet, in others it hath not; administration of the Communion is done by some with surplice and cap, some with surplice alone, others with none; some with chalice, some with a communion cup, others with a common cup; some with unleavened bread, some with leavened; some receive kneeling, others standing, others sitting; some baptise in a font, others in a basin; some sign with the sign of the cross, others sign not; some with a square cap, some with a round cap, some with a button cap, some with a hat'. [Henry Gee, *The Elizabethan Prayer-Book and Ornaments* (1902) 164].

Feb 14, Wed French Ambassador at Whitehall for audience.

De Foix had been instructed by Catherine de Medici, the Queen Mother, to begin negotiations for the marriage of her son King Charles IX (1550-1574) with Queen Elizabeth; he first raised the subject at this audience. He had several audiences during which this marriage was discussed in some secrecy.

Feb 15: Sir William Cecil made a speech to the French Ambassador at the Ambassador's house, summarised by Cecil as:

The Queen being 30 years of age and the King only 15, there is too great inequality between for there to be much hope of offspring but for few years. In case they had heirs, the seat of Government would be in France, and England would be ruled by a Viceroy. France, from its position, is more subject to wars with its neighbours than England. The King of France might wish to assimilate the Government in England to that of France, and so take away the liberties of the people, of which they have more than any other nation. [SPF.vii.300].

Feb 17, christening. Queen was godmother to 'Mr Baptist's child'.^T

Parents: John Baptist Castilion, a Groom of the Privy Chamber; wife: Margaret Allen, widow, daughter of Bartholomew Compaigne of Florence.

Feb 17: St Margaret Westminster register: baptised: Valentine Castilion. Valentine, a second son (1565-1641), married (1607) Eleanor Pratt.

Feb 18, Sun play of the Muses, and masque of Hunters, by Sir Percival Hart's sons. 'Cities and towns and the Emperor's palace...and other provisions for a play made by Sir Percival Hart's sons with a masque of Hunters and divers devices and a rock or hill for the nine Muses to sing upon'. [Revels, 117].

Sir Percival Hart (c.1496-1580), of Orpington and Lullingstone, Kent, and Tower Street, London, was described as 'a jolly courtier and Knight Harbinger to the Queen'. [Stow, *Survey of London*].

Also Feb 18: knighting: Lord Mayor, Richard Mallory, mercer.

[College of Arms Partition Book I].

February-April: christening. Queen was godmother to 'Lord Grey of Wilton's child'.^T Parents: Arthur, 14th Lord Grey of Wilton; 1st wife: Dorothy, illegitimate daughter of Richard 9th Lord Zouche.

Child: Elizabeth Grey; married Francis Goodwin.

Mar 2, Fri evening visit, York House; Sir Nicholas Bacon.
York House, Charing Cross, official residence of Sir Nicholas Bacon (1510-1579), Lord Keeper; 2nd wife: Anne (Cooke) (c.1528-1610), sister of Lady Cecil, being daughters of Sir Anthony Cooke.

With a Latin tragedy, *Massinissa and Sophonisba*, and masques.

Court news. March 3, London, De Foix to Charles IX: 'I went yesterday to speak to the Queen...Two days before...when I asked for an audience with her, Cecil's brother-in-law the Lord Keeper, who is in favour again with the Queen, sent to ask me to have supper at his house the same day as I had my audience. This was why when I left the court I was accompanied by many lords, who were also invited to his house. After supper the Queen came by water, and a table was at once covered with a large quantity of *confitures*'...

'A Latin tragedy called *Sophonisba* was played in her presence, and afterwards there were many masques during which the Queen did me all possible honour, and as I was seated near her she spoke to me very often'.^{BT}

Mar 6, Shrove Tues Tournament: Tilt, and Tourney on horseback.

Three Challengers: Earl of Leicester; Earl of Sussex; Lord Hunsdon; who took the names of two of King Arthur's Knights, and Sir Guy of Warwick.

Sir Sagremor; Sir Guy 'in his place the Lord of Hunsdon'; Sir Lancerock.

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| | | 22 Defendants, mainly Gentlemen Pensioners. |
| Sir Sagremor | v | Lord Abergavenny; Lord Harry [Seymour]; Sir Walter Hungerford; Edward Hungerford; [Robert] Colshill; [Thomas] Warcop; [Edmund] Powell; [Lancelot] Bostock. |
| Sir Guy | v | Lord Windsor; Henry Knollys; Henry Cobham; [Thomas] Markham; Henry Norris; Thomas Cornwallis; Mr Serjeant Porter [Thomas Keys]; Mr Alphonsus. |
| Sir Lancerock | v | [1st opponent was to have been Lord Hunsdon]; Charles Howard; Thomas Leighton; [Thomas] Cecil; Francis Harvey; [Henry] Macwilliam; Robert Wiseman. |

*Sir Guy was probably to have been the Earl of Warwick, who claimed descent from Sir or Earl Guy of Warwick, a legendary hero formerly as well-known as Robin Hood. Lancerock: Lamerock, one of King Arthur's Knights.
[Score-cheque: College of Arms Portfolio].*

Also a play: 'Juno and Diana'. A debate on marriage.

By the Gentlemen of Gray's Inn; also: masques: Satyrs; Gentlemen.
Revels: 'Diana, Pallas'; 'chariots for the goddesses...heavens and clouds'.
Shrovetide: Revels prepared 'four masques, two of them not occupied nor seen'.

De Silva to Philip II, March 12, describing the events of March 6:

'The party of the Earl of Leicester gave a supper to the Queen in the palace, which was the wager their opponents had won of them on the previous day'.

'The French Ambassador with Margaret [Countess of Lennox] and other of the principal ladies supped with the Queen, as is usual on similar occasions'.

'There was a joust and a tourney on horseback afterwards. The challengers were the Earl of Leicester, the Earl of Sussex, and Hunsdon. The Queen sent for me to be with her during the entertainment...The tourney was a good one, as such things go here, with four and twenty horsemen between challengers and opponents. When it was ended the Queen entered her apartments, asking me, if I was not tired, to stay and see the rest of the rejoicing for the day. She left Viscount Montague and her Vice-Chamberlain with me until the Earl of Leicester disarmed, when the rest of the guests and I went to his apartments to supper'

'When this was ended we went to the Queen's rooms and descended to where all was prepared for the representation of a comedy in English, of which I understood just as much as the Queen told me. The plot was founded on the question of marriage, discussed between Juno and Diana, Juno advocating marriage and Diana chastity. Jupiter gave a verdict in favour of matrimony, after many things had passed on both sides in defence of the respective arguments'.

'The Queen turned to me and said "This is all against me".

'After the comedy there was a masquerade of satyrs, or wild gods, who danced with the ladies, and when this was finished there entered 10 parties of 12 gentlemen each, the same who had fought in the foot tourney, and these, all armed as they were, danced with the ladies - a very novel ball, surely'.

'After this the Queen went up to her apartments again where they had spread a very large table in the Presence Chamber with many sorts of cakes, *confitures*, and preserves, and in one part of it there were herrings and other small fishes in memory of the principle of Lent. The Queen asked whether I would eat anything, and on my replying that I would not she laughed and said "I understand you very well and will not cheat you, 12 o'clock has struck", and with that she entered her chamber, not very tired to all appearance, although the entertainment had been so long'. [Span.i.404-405].

Mar 7, Ash Wednesday sermon, Whitehall: Alexander Nowell, Dean of St Paul's.

Nowell attacked John Martial's *Treatise of the Cross*, which was dedicated to the Queen without her permission. (See 12 Oct 1564).

'Mr Nowell, Dean of Paul's, preached at Westminster before the Queen's Majesty, where he so handled his matter that the Queen's Majesty spoke to him out at a window and bade him go to his text'. [Stow, *Memoranda*].

March 8, Archbishop of Canterbury (Matthew Parker) to Sir William Cecil:

'For pure pity I took home to dinner with me Mr Dean of Paul's yesterday; he was utterly dismayed'. [Parker, 235].

March 8, at my house, Dean Nowell to Cecil: 'The very occasion of my speaking yesterday against the book of late dedicated to the Queen's Majesty was the unreverent impudence of the author thereof, not abashing to dedicate so lewd a book to so learned a Prince, and which is more, a book so dishonest in many places of it, to his most gracious Sovereign'...

'Though it fell out somewhat otherwise than I, so long accustomed to my Sovereign's gracious patience with me, could well foresee; yet what error soever was admitted in the utterance thereof, I do enjoy the testimonies of sound doctrine, recorded as well in the Scriptures as the ancient Doctors, and the conscience of a good intent, and most humble reverence towards my most gracious Sovereign, as knoweth God'. [Strype, *Parker*, iii.94].

Court news. March 12, London, De Silva to Philip II:

On Ash Wednesday the Queen 'went into a great courtyard where on occasions such as this the sermon is preached, so that the people on all sides may hear, as great crowds go, although the Queen tells me that more go to see her than to hear the sermon. The preacher was the Dean of St Paul's...After preaching for some time he began to speak ill of a book written by a Catholic, who is in Louvain, in praise of the Cross, and went on to abuse images. As soon as he commenced the Queen said "Do not talk about that".

'The preacher, as I am told, could not have heard her and went on, whereupon the Queen raised her voice and pointedly said to him "Leave that, it has nothing to do with your subject, and the matter is now threadbare".

'The preacher was confused, spoke a few words more, and finished his sermon, and the Queen left apparently very angry, as I am told, many of the Protestant hearers being in tears, whilst the Catholics rejoice'. [Span.i.405].

March 14, Antwerp, Richard Shacklock's translation, A Pearl for a Prince.
Translation of an Epistle addressed to the Queen in 1563 by Jerome Osorio.

'An Epistle of the Reverend father in God Hieronymus Osorius Bishop of Arcoburge in Portugal, to the most excellent Princess Elizabeth by the grace of God Queen of England, France, and Ireland. Translated out of Latin into English by Richard Shacklock Master of Art and student of the Civil Laws in Louvain'.

Two stanzas by the Translator, ending:

'This pearl of great price Osorius hath sent
 To a peerless princess our excellent Queen
 ELIZABETH of England most royal Regent,
 God grant her Grace take it as the giver did mean.
 Though precious pearls plenty shall in England be seen,
 If counterfeit pearls being set apart,
 This Catholic pearl take place in her heart'.

Address 'To the Reader', from Antwerp, March 14: The book is named by the translator 'A precious pearl for a prince'. He gives his causes for translating it, although 'I was not ignorant that our base tongue could not attain to the majesty of Osorius's Latin'.

'A Pearl for a Prince' begins: 'I was, I assure you (most noble Princess) heretofore sufficiently provoked to the love of your Majesty and Highness, when I heard say how much you did prevail in wit, how greatly you had profited in Greek and Latin, and how you did join your Princely dignity with liberal learning and knowledge. But after that certain men brought me word, that you willingly did read my works, my former goodwill was so much increased toward you, as in words I am not able to utter'.

[Marginal note: 'His book entitled De vera nobilitate'].

Other marginal notes in the first pages include:

'A woman wisely ruling is more to be marvelled at than a man';

'A wider window of winning immortal fame opened to our Queen of England than to any Prince heretofore';

'Great danger in unskilful ruling the ship of the English commonweal';

'A most vehement and Godly exhortation to our redoubted Queen'.

The translation concludes: 'Follow the footsteps of holy men, and persuade yourself that to be the right way, which Godly men endued with excellent virtue, continency, and pureness, being highly in the favour of God, inspired and taught with the Holy Ghost, have trodden before you; not that which men blinded with self-love, leaning only to their own wit, headlong in foolish hardness, overwhelmed with wickedness, and divided from the unity of Catholic church, do persuade you to follow. The which thing if you will do, you shall uphold and increase the riches of your Realm, and that which is much more worth, you shall with great glory ascend into the Kingdom of Heaven. Jesus Christ the fountain of all goodness, the Lord of all might, long preserve your Grace in health, with increase of all honour and Princely advancement'.

Shacklock adds an attack on Dr Walter Haddon, who had published an answer in Latin to Bishop Osorio.

March 16: Trade Commissioners left for Bruges.

Anthony Browne, 1st Viscount Montagu; Dr Walter Haddon; Dr Nicholas Wotton.

Appointed as Commissioners to meet the Duchess of Parma's Commissioners at Bruges to attempt to resolve commercial differences.

They were 'sent into Flanders to treat'.^B They left on March 16, sailed from Dover to Dunkirk on March 20, arrived at Bruges on March 24. Matters in controversy mainly related to alleged infringements of a trade Treaty of 1495.

The negotiations proved difficult, and the conference adjourned on Sept 29. The Commissioners returned to England in November, resuming the conference at Bruges in April 1566.

March 17, *Thomas Randolph to Sir William Cecil, after he informed the Queen of Scots of Queen Elizabeth's resolution to refuse to take any measures regarding Mary's right of succession to the English throne, until she had made up her own mind whether she would marry or not. If Mary chose to accept Leicester as a simple earl, and trust to Elizabeth's after munificence, she would not have any reason to repent. Randolph heard that his audience, which put an end to all negotiations, was followed by a passionate fit of weeping. [Tytler, vi.317].*

March 20: *Sir William Cecil noted: 'Likelihood that the Queen of Scots will marry the Lord Darnley'.^B*

Godfrey Goodman: 'No sooner did Queen Mary see the Lord Darnley but she instantly fell in love with him; and the rather because, next after her own title, his title was next to the Crown of England. He was a very comely handsome gentleman, but had no head-piece'. [Goodman, i.76].

Mar 20, Tues Spanish Ambassador at Whitehall for audience.

March 24, De Silva to Philip II: After discussing other matters, I said "They say that your Majesty is going to marry the King of France". She held down her head a little and laughed...She said "I wish to confess to you, as it is Lent, and you are my friend. Marriage was suggested to me with the King my brother-in-law [Philip II]; the King of France has proposed as well as the Kings of Sweden and Denmark, and I understand the Archduke Charles also: the only person who has not been mentioned to me is your Prince". [Don Carlos].

"The reason", I said "appears clear. The King my master no doubt is convinced that your Majesty does not wish to marry". She replied "If I could today appoint such a successor to the Crown as would please me and the country I would not marry, as it is a thing for which I have never had any inclination. My subjects however press me so that I cannot help myself"...

"There is a strong idea in the world that a woman cannot live unless she is married, or at all events that if she refrains from marriage she does so for some bad reason, as they said of me that I did not marry because I was fond of the Earl of Leicester, and that I would not marry him because he had a wife already. Although he has no wife alive now I still do not marry him... But what can we do? We cannot cover everybody's mouth, but must content ourselves with doing our duty, and trust in God". [Span.i.409-410].

March 24: The French Ambassador's secretary conferred with Sir William Cecil on the projected marriage between the Queen and King Charles IX.

De Foix reported that: 'Cecil said it would be very difficult for the Queen to give a prompt decision, as it is a question of marriage, which is a thing of great importance, and of the marriage of a Queen'...

'Although there are a good number of her Councillors at court, she wishes to take the advice of several absent lords, such as the Duke of Norfolk, who although he is young, is said to be of good understanding and good counsel, could do much in this kingdom, and is of great esteem and reputation, and the Earl of Shrewsbury, who is said to be wise, shrewd, and of much experience'.

Cecil asked 'why the French are so pressed for time, seeing that the King has no need of haste, being as young as he is?'. The secretary said that the King has other designs in hand, which depend on the Queen's response and decision.

Cecil said that on March 23 a Scottish courier [John Beaton] had come to ask for a safe-conduct for William Maitland of Lethington to go to France [via England]. [Teulet, ii.191-2: dispatch of March 31].

March 26: Sir William Cecil informed the French Ambassador: There is no necessity for an immediate answer as to marriage. In view of the inconveniences which arose through her sister's marriage, it is necessary that the Queen should consult some of her nobility. She therefore desires delay. In the meanwhile she promises to keep free of any engagement.

On March 27 De Foix replied that at an approaching meeting at Bayonne the King of Spain is expected to propose the King's marriage with a daughter of the Emperor. King Charles IX is going to Bayonne to meet his sister, the Queen of Spain. [SPF.vii.391].

Court news. March 30 [Edinburgh], Thomas Randolph to Sir William Cecil:

'It concerns me and grieves me to inform you that there fly almost daily so many posts and packets like fowls in the air, bringing such news and reports unto this country out of your court, that they that willingly believe anything that of England is evil spoken of lack no matter to clatter at their pleasure, or add what they can invent. The first tale is that the Queen's Majesty openly reproved the preacher, and willed him to return to his text or hold his peace. The next, that her Majesty for three days together wore a pair of beads with a crucifix hanging at them. The third that Bonner in his defence at his arraignment said that there was never a lawful bishop in England'...

'I have been so many times told that England is in uproar upon the controversy of caps, tippetts, etc. that openly I am fain to reprove as many as speak of it. ...It is here whispered by one that this day arrived, that marriage is intended between France and England'...

'Bothwell has as grievously offended this Queen for words spoken against the Queen's Majesty, as those that he spoke of herself, calling her "Cardinal's whore". She has sworn to me upon her honour that he shall never receive favour at her hands'. [The Queen of Scots married the Earl of Bothwell in 1567. Edmund Bonner, former Bishop of London, had been in prison since 1560].

March 31, Edinburgh, Thomas Randolph to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, of a tale told by the Earl of Atholl of the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Leicester:

'Lately the Duke's grace and my Lord of Leicester were playing at tennis, the Queen beholding of them, and my Lord Robert being very hot and sweating took the Queen's napkin out of her hand and wiped his face, which the Duke seeing said that he was too saucy, and swore that he would lay his racquet upon his face. Hereupon rose a great trouble and the Queen sore offended with the Duke'...

'We lack no news, for what is most secret among you is sooner at this Queen's ears than some would think it should be out of the Privy Chamber door where you are!...Bothwell said in France, both the Queens could not make one honest woman; and for his own, if she had taken any but a Cardinal it had been better borne with'. [Scot.ii.139-140].

April, was published by Thomas Harding, Doctor of Divinity, dedicated to the Queen: A Confutation of a Book entitled An Apology of the Church of England. Dedication (10p): 'To the right mighty and excellent' Queen.

'Having written a confutation of a book entitled An Apology of the Church of England...for sundry causes I have been moved of the same to make a present unto your most excellent Majesty. First, whereas that book containeth many great errors concerning the necessary doctrine of faith, beside divers untruths and slanders touching sundry estates and persons, to no small dishonour of our country and offence of godly and honest hearts: the same being both commonly preached in your realm and to the whole world set forth under the name of the Church of England: it seemed to me convenient the confutation thereof be offered to that personage to whom God hath given the rule and government of England. Next, your learning and wisdom being such as the world knoweth, I am persuaded that my travail shall be well understood, and therefore right so accepted'...

'Furthermore, your good inclination towards the ancient and catholic religion, which the authors of that Apology with an odious term do call Papistry, encourageth me not a little unto your Majesty to offer this gift and service'.

'Of which your good inclination...appear most evident arguments... Your princely word commanding a preacher, that opened his lewd mouth against the reverent use of the cross in your private chapel, to retire from that ungodly digression unto his text of holy scripture [on 7 March 1565]. Your well understood liking of the soberest preachers...specially on Good Friday last openly by word of thanks declared, when one of a more temperate nature than the rest in his sermon before your Majesty confessed the real presence. Your gracious permission unto your whole people to see, to hear, to have, and to read the defences and proofs of the Catholic faith against the unequal petitions of the contrary part. Your earnest zeal and travail to bring (if it might be) those disordered ministers unto some order of decent apparel...Your advised stay from hasty and sharp persecution, your quiet bearing of your sword within the scabbard, being so loudly cried upon of hot preachers to draw it forth...Very many others your loving and faithful subjects...conceive comfort and hope of a better estate for matters of religion to be seen in the church of England'...

'Now if your Majesty will vouchsafe to read this Confutation, you shall see the crafty and untrue dealings of those who call themselves Gospellers disclosed, their chief grounds overthrown, their best proofs disproved, their manifest lies detected, their sundry errors confuted, the truth declared'...

'If, in so small a book as that is, they shall be found to have uttered no small number of errors, lies, and slanders: your excellent wisdom may thereof judge what store of such stuff is like to be found in the whole lump of their new divinity...As your policy shall permit it, first bridle it as you may, then...reform and root it out...So shall you of the world procure to yourself thanks and fame immortal, by reducing your people now straggled in hearts by difference of doctrines unto a unity of minds in the bond of peace'.

The book is divided into six Parts. 700p. (Antwerp, 1565).

Thomas Harding (1516-1572) was much criticised by Protestants for dedicating such a book to the Queen, confuting An Apology by John Jewel Bishop of Salisbury (1562). In response Jewel preached against it at Paul's Cross in May and July, and dedicated to the Queen in 1567 A Defence of the Apology.

April 2: death. Lady Marquis of Northampton died 'in her lodging within the court of Whitehall at Westminster'. Elizabeth (Brooke) (1526-1565), 2nd wife of William Parr, Marquis of Northampton. Funeral: April 27, St Paul's Cathedral. List of her gifts of jewels and plate begins 'The border of pearl and the heart with the marigold with a black chain to the Queen's Majesty'. [HT.MS 3/69].

'A proper new Ballad in praise of my Lady Marquis, whose Death is bewailed.
To the Tune of New lusty gallant'.

'The fairest flower of my garland Was caught from court a great while ago,
For, under the roof of sweet Saint Paul, There lieth my Lady buried in clay...
Me thinks she should be still in place, A pitiful speaker to a Queen,
Bewailing every poor man's case, As many a time she hath been seen...
Her comely clothing plainly clad, Her face so sweet, her cheer so good...
Reason saith, now she is dead, Go seek and serve as good as she...
Yet will I come to court and see...Faint hearts fair ladies never win'.

[By William Elderton, 1569. Reprinted: Seventy-nine Ballads].

April 10, Bordeaux, Sir Thomas Smith to Cecil: 'I am right glad that my Lord Keeper is so well restored to her Majesty's favour, and wish myself to have been at the tragedy of Massinissa and Sophonisba [March 2]. It was in Latin I suppose or else the French Ambassador was not much the wiser for it'. [SP70/77/144].

Apr 11, Wed Spanish Ambassador at Whitehall for audience.
 De Silva to Philip II, April 14: I referred to gifts, including camels, which Catherine de Medici is sending to the Queen, and spoke of past English victories against the French. I 'cited to her a proverb which is very commonly used in their histories here...which says "When the Ethiopian is white the French will love the English". She seemed pleased that I should know this. She said "what should you think if one of these days you were to find yourself attached to a Queen of France...Suppose it was I?"...
 'The preachers to the Queen have greatly modified their sermons...since the scene which I described'. [Nowell's sermon on March 7]. [Span.i.416,418].

April 15, Bordeaux, Sir Thomas Smith to the Queen, of a private audience with Charles IX and Catherine de Medici, the Queen Mother, on April 13, when he informed them that his Queen could not 'accord so suddenly as their Ambassador required' with the proposed marriage with the King (who was born in June 1550).

'The Queen Mother said that the difficulties are three. The first of the age, which is not to be made; if she likes the age of her son, he will find no fault with hers. "No", quoth the King, "I find no fault. I would she could be as well content with me as I with her age".

'The next is that if the marriage should follow she should sometimes be constrained to be here..."Is there none of her kind", she said, "whom for that while she may credit to govern?...She has wisdom enough to appoint wise men; and this is but for a time"...

'The third is...the discontentment of her people, and that the nobility should take it evil also, whereof she sees no cause. For what honour (she asked) can she and her realm have more than to join with this realm? Which done, what realm or prince is able or will adventure to have to do against it? She writes herself Queen of France, which is now but a title. This way she shall be Queen indeed, and have rule in effect'.

The Queen Mother wished to have Queen Elizabeth's decision before she and the King left to see his sister the Queen of Spain at Bayonne about May 12, where an offer might be made to the King of some Spanish noblewoman.

'The King said "Madame, I would have the Queen of England if I could, and then you may give good answers to the other". Smith said to the Queen Mother that for so small a space he did not doubt she could keep the matter in suspense. Her son shall have choice. If he had seen his mistress he would not care whom he saw after. The Queen Mother said that is what everybody tells her; and from what she sees painted, she must say she has no good painters. And she would herself send a painter over. "No, Sire", quoth Smith; "if he will see the truth he must send his eyes over". The King said he did not understand him. Smith said that when he comes into Normandy or Picardy he must disguise himself, and see whether men say true or no. The Queen Mother said he did but seek delays'...

'Other talk passed to persuade that the King was not too young' and 'he must have some resolution by the time they come to Bayonne'. [SPF.vii.334-6].

April 15, Berwick, Thomas Randolph to Sir William Cecil, of 'the familiarity used unto Lord Darnley by this Queen, which breeds no small suspicion that there is more intended than merely giving him honour for his nobility, or for the Queen's Majesty's sake, by whom it is said he was so well recommended'.

'It is now commonly said...that this Queen has already such good liking of him that she can be content to forsake all other offers, give off all suitors, and content herself with her own choice'...

'I would that our Queen was void of the suspicion that is here of her spoken to my face that the sending of Darnley home was done of purpose to match this Queen meanly, to some further end than to live in amity'. [Scot.ii.142-3].

April 15-May 8: Scottish special Ambassador in London.

William Maitland, Laird of Lethington, Secretary of the Queen of Scots. Lethington arrived on April 15 to seek the Queen's approval of Lord Darnley's intended marriage to the Queen of Scots. He brought Darnley's mother, the Countess of Lennox, a letter from Mary. De Silva asked De Foix 'What kind of man is Lethington? A sort of Scotch Cecil', he replied. [Span.i.412].

Lethington had a number of audiences with the Queen. Sir William Cecil noted that he came 'to obtain the Queen's goodwill for the Lord Darnley's marriage, at which time he treated of the Earl of Leicester's marriage [to the Queen of Scots]; but he [the Earl] liked it not, but moved for the Duke of Norfolk, which he [Norfolk] then refused'.^B

April 16: Wardrobe account includes apparel for 'Jack Green our Fool': two hats lined with crimson taffeta; one hat trimmed with 14 feathers of different colours, and silver spangles; a pair of hose of russet cloth; a pair of boot-hose of green cloth trimmed with red silk; two pairs of green cloth stockings; red cloth stockings stitched all over with yellow silk. [Arnold, 201,206].

Apr 17, Tues Duke of Norfolk arrived at Whitehall Palace. De Silva to Philip II, April 21: 'The Duke of Norfolk entered London on the 17th instant with a worthy company. As he is a Councillor he is lodged in the palace. They say the object of his coming is to be here when the Order of St Michael arrives for him and the Earl of Leicester, which is expected' or 'to be present at the Feast of the Garter which is shortly to take place, and that other principal nobles are expected for the same reason'. [Span.i.418]. Leicester and Norfolk received the Order of St Michael in 1566.

Apr 19, Maundy Thursday ceremonies and alms-giving. By the Queen, with Edmund Guest, Bishop of Rochester, Queen's Almoner; to 31 poor women, each 20s in a red purse and 31d in a white purse.^T Privy Purse account: 'Ready money delivered to her Majesty's own hands... in a crimson taffeta purse, in pieces of gold', £100.

Apr 20, Good Friday sermon, Whitehall: Edmund Guest, Queen's Almoner. Text: 1 Corinthians 11:24: 'When he had given thanks, he broke it [bread] and said, Take, eat: this is my body, which is broken for you: this do in remembrance of me'.

Court news. April 21, London, De Silva to Philip II: 'The Queen performed the customary ceremony on Holy Thursday. They tell me she did so with great dignity and devotion, dressed in black as usual and with her head-dress covered with pearls and precious stones. After she had washed the poor women's feet she deliberately traced a very large and well-defined cross and kissed it, to the sorrow of many persons who witnessed it...but to the joy of others'. [Span.i.419].

Apr 22, Easter Day Countess of Lennox (Lord Darnley's mother) 'was commanded to keep her chamber at the Whitehall'.^{HOL}

April 23, Easter Monday, St George's Day. Garter ceremonies were deferred until April 29-May 1.

[April 23] 'From the court this Easter Monday at night', Barbara Gilgate (one of the Queen's attendants) to her brother Philip Gilgate:

'The preachers hath made the most excellent sermons in the court this Lent as hath been heard at any time, and yet some of them scant well liked of the higher powers, for the Dean of Paul's made a very good sermon one day [March 7] and the Queen gave him a marvellous nip in the midst of his sermon. She opened her window and bade him turn to his text again for that was no part of his matter. It was thought to be long of some other that stood by and not of herself, yet for all that they were more earnest than they were before'.

[The writer goes on to comment on Lord Darnley and the Queen of Scots].

'Now come to the court my Lord of Lethington who hath always been a messenger between the Queen of Scots and our Queen. It is thought he is come for to ask the Queen's goodwill. I assure you the Queen is very much troubled therewith and so is all the court. My Lady his mother is in the court but she is commanded to keep her chamber'. [Bodleian Ashmolean MS 1729, f.109].

Court news. April 26, London, De Foix to Catherine de Medici:

'On April 15, when Lethington arrived, there also arrived letters to the Queen from Randolph, her Agent in Scotland, reporting that the Queen of Scots is betrothed to Lord Darnley, the Earl of Lennox's son, and that only the church ceremonies remain. This Queen was very greatly discontented, for it seemed strange to her that a Queen should marry a subject...She is so displeased that she wishes to send the Countess of Lennox to the Tower...and for the time being has confined her to her chamber. She is resolved to prevent the marriage, and is sending Sir Nicholas Throckmorton to Scotland, to persuade the Queen of Scots that she is not obliged to commit herself to this marriage, and that it will bring neither honour nor profit'. [Teulet, ii.193-4].

Court news. April 26, De Silva to Philip II, of the Countess of Lennox:

'Lady Margaret sent word to me that she had gone to the Queen's chamber and that her Majesty refused to speak to her, and afterwards sent an order that she was not to leave her apartments, giving her to understand that she was to consider herself a prisoner, as she had received letters from a foreign Prince without her permission, and without conveying the contents to her. Lady Margaret answered that it was true she had received a letter from the Queen of Scotland by her Secretary, and had gone to the Queen's chamber for the purpose of showing it to her Majesty, who had refused to speak to her'...

'Lady Margaret also advised me that the negotiations for the marriage of her son with the Queen of Scotland were progressing favourably...This Queen is greatly incensed about the affair, as she thinks the Queen of Scotland's party in this country will be strengthened greatly by it...I am advised that this Queen is endeavouring to get Darnley to return, and has even written to him herself, hinting that she will marry him if he will come back'...

'This Queen was again pressing the idea of the marriage of Lord Robert with the Queen of Scotland'...

'I was praising lately to the Queen the ceremony she performed on Holy Thursday, and the sermon of her Bishop-Almoner...to which she answered "Many people think we are Turks or Moors here, whereas we only differ from other Catholics in things of small importance". I said "And those things your Majesty will soon amend". "And you will see it", she replied'.

De Silva describes the Good Friday sermon. [Span.i.420,424-5].

Apr 27, Fri hunting, and visit to the Earl of Leicester. Durham Place, Strand; Crown property. April 28, De Silva to Philip II: 'The Queen went hunting yesterday, and the Earl of Leicester's horse fell with him, hurting his leg. The Queen went to visit him yesterday'. [Span.i.428].

Apr 28, Sat French Ambassador at Whitehall for audience.
 De Foix to the Queen Mother, May 10: 'The Queen spoke of the Queen of Scots, saying among other things that she never thought she would have sunk so low as to marry the Earl of Lennox's son...I remarked that this marriage seemed convenient for her, Queen Elizabeth, as he is her subject and near relation, from whom one would hope for much friendship and help; and if he had any bad intentions he has neither kinsmen in this country, nor power, nor means of doing her harm. To which she said that she was offended at this manner of proceeding'. [Teulet, ii.194].

Apr 29, Sun Eve of Garter ceremonies, Whitehall.
 At a Chapter of Garter Knights the Queen appointed a Lieutenant, as customary.

Apr 30, Mon Garter ceremonies, Whitehall.
 Queen's Lieutenant: Thomas Howard 4th Duke of Norfolk. The Queen was in the processions and at the service. She dined in the Presence Chamber, with the Duke of Norfolk and William Paulet 1st Marquis of Winchester.

May 1, Tues Final 1565 Garter ceremonies, Whitehall.
 Chapter of Garter Knights held in the Privy Chamber. No new Knights elected.
 Feast for Knights at Windsor: June 3.

Also May 1: Council meeting, after the news that the Queen of Scots intended to marry Lord Darnley. The Council 'with one assent think it would be unmeet, unprofitable, and perilous to the sincere amity between the Queens and their realms, and move her Majesty not to accord thereto', but to offer the Queen of Scots 'a free election of any other of the nobility either in this whole realm or isle, or in any other place, being...agreeable to both the realms'.

A copy of this was given to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, who was to be special Ambassador to Scotland. [Scot.ii.150].

Court news. May 2, De Foix to Catherine de Medici: 'Your Majesties will have opposed to you here three Ambassadors who will do all they can to hinder your plans'. [De Silva, Lethington, and an Ambassador coming from the Emperor].

'The Queen continues to be discontented with the marriage of the Queen of Scots, principally, as I have learnt, because of her desire to elevate the Earl of Leicester. As Lethington assures her that his mistress is not committed to the marriage, she is sending Sir Nicholas Throckmorton to Scotland to divert her from it, offering the Earl to her on very advantageous terms, or else the Duke of Norfolk. I understand that, in letters which the Countess of Lennox received last Friday, they write that the marriage is made, and that the Queen of Scots treats Lord Darnley as if he were her husband, watching all night beside him during his illness'. [Teulet, ii.195].

May 3, Thur: christening. Queen was godmother to 'Mrs Harington's child'.^T
 Parents: James Harington of Exton, Rutland; wife: Lucy (Sidney), sister of Sir Henry Sidney of Penshurst, Kent.

Queen's Deputy: Bridget, Countess of Rutland (widow of the 2nd Earl).
 At the French Church, Threadneedle Street, London. The Clerk noted in French that on Thursday May 3: 'There was no service in our church because Sir Henry Sidney had asked us to have the church for that day for the baptism of his sister's child by Mr Goffe, an English minister, one of those who does not wish to wear the square cap nor the surplice. The Queen was to be godmother, but having heard of this minister she sent another with surplice and square cap, who carried out the baptism wearing a chasuble and without making a sermon. My Lord Warwick was present, and my Lady Rutland representing the Queen'. [Huguenot Soc. xxxviii (1937), 109. John Gough, Rector of St Peter Cornhill; the Queen replaced him on this occasion because of her views on clerical vestments].

James Harington's child died in infancy. Harington, who was knighted on June 24, had married Lucy Sidney by 1539, and according to their epitaph in Exton Church they had 18 children. Names and spouses of eight daughters and three sons who lived to maturity are listed by Collins, i.79.

Court news. May 5, De Silva to Philip II: 'I thought well to take the opportunity of Leicester's accident [whilst hunting] to visit him'...

'I sent word to him that I was coming, and my messenger had to wait awhile as the Queen was with the Earl before dinner'. [At Durham Place, Strand].

When I went later I told him 'you can never complain that I have not...urged your suit with the Queen'. He said "The Queen will never decide to marry me, as she has made up her mind to wed some great Prince, or at all events no subject of her own, but there is no one abroad for her to marry except your Prince or the Archduke". [Span.i.429].

May 5: *Sir Nicholas Throckmorton left for Scotland as special Ambassador to the Queen of Scots, with instructions including:*

'To procure a dissolution or stay of the marriage with Lord Darnley. To procure that the Queen of Scots would marry with the Earl of Leicester or some other; and if he find it so far passed as it cannot be revoked, then he shall not use any other speech but to disclose how much it shall discontent her Majesty'.^B

May 5-August 14: **Emperor's Ambassador** in London and at court.

Adam Zwetkovich, Baron of Mitterburg, one of Emperor Maximilian II's Councillors and his Chamberlain, arrived in London on May 5.

Baron Zwetkovich came to continue negotiations in private for a marriage between the Queen and the new Emperor's brother, Archduke Charles of Austria (negotiations begun by Baron Breuner in 1559, which another envoy, Allinga, attempted to resume in January 1564). He was to discover whether the Queen was now disposed to marry, and what was said about her morals, virtues, sentiments and reputation. He was expected to return the deceased Emperor Ferdinand's Garter insignia, as was customary.

First meeting with the Queen: May 13.

The Baron's Instructions, and reports to the Emperor, are translated by Victor von Klarwill, ed. Queen Elizabeth and some Foreigners, (1928), 205-254.

Details of his embassy taken from this are denoted by ^K.

By May 7: French special Ambassador in London.

King Charles IX (1550-1574) sent Castelnau de Mauvissière to propose marriage, and to bring gifts. He made a slow journey. Feb 7, Toulouse, Sir Thomas Smith to the Earl of Leicester: 'Mauvissière hath started for England with a costly litter, fair mulets and camels for a present to the Queen'. [Pepys, 49].

Mauvissière recalled: 'Besides my general instructions to cultivate a good understanding between the two Crowns, I had a particular commission from the King, to offer his service to her Majesty, and propose a match betwixt them; in order to abolish the old enmity that was betwixt both nations, and establish them upon a foot of lasting friendship'. [Mauvissière, Mémoires (Paris, 1621), quoted from a translation: Memoirs (London, 1724), 288].

May 8: Lethington left for Scotland. He arrived at Berwick on May 11 with Sir Nicholas Throckmorton.

c. May 8, Tues visit to Earl of Leicester; Durham Place, Strand.

May 9, London, Mauvissière to Catherine de Medici:

'The Earl of Leicester sent to invite me to dinner, and after I had spent the whole day receiving much honour from the Queen and all the lords, he gave me supper as well in the garden, with various lords and ladies, and after supper the Queen came to walk there'.

'She called me to her, doing me the honour of talking to me of many things, and of the Emperor's Ambassador, who arrived three days ago (but has not yet had audience)...She spoke freely to me of marriage with the King...saying that this would be a great honour for her, esteeming and praising the King as the greatest and most virtuous prince on earth...although she was afraid of not having anything worthy of so great a King, except a small kingdom, goodness, and chastity...and if she was a poor maiden, she would never marry, but she wished to take pity on her subjects and her country'...

'I have never seen her more beautiful nor prettier, and I promise you that no fifteen year old girl, who thinks herself beautiful, could vie with her at all. She has great and rare virtues and a great kingdom'...

'She told me that she will send [John] Somers'. [Chéruel, 38-40].

The Queen gave Mauvissière a gold chain.^{NYG}

Mauvissière recalled, of the King's offer of marriage:

The Queen 'made all the acknowledgements imaginable for this offer, and declared herself wonderfully obliged to the King and Queen Mother for the great honour which they had done her; but that she found one difficulty in it, to wit, That her good brother the most Christian King (for these were her own words) was too great, and too little. And explained herself by saying, That as he had a very large and noble Kingdom, it could never be expected that he would consent to live in England, and her subjects loved to have their Kings and Queens constantly reside amongst them. And as to the other point, of his being too little, she said, That he was too young, and she past thirty, calling herself an old woman. Which was her constant manner of speaking, since her Accession to the Throne; though there was not a lady at court that surpassed her either in wit or personal perfections. And after a great many compliments upon the occasion, she desired, That the King and Queen Mother might consider better of it, and rest assured, that she took the proposal as a singular honour'.

'But as I was very intimate with the chief noblemen of the court, some of them told me that a match with the Duke of Anjou [second son, Henry, born in 1551]... would be more proper: because he might with more ease reside in England, and the French would make less difficulty of parting with him, than the English would with their Queen. For which reason they looked upon such a match to be more convenient than the other, and would serve as well to unite the common interest of both Kingdoms. Having transmitted these accounts to the King and Queen Mother I then set out for Scotland, being instructed to wait upon that Queen'.

I met Mary's new lover, Lord Darnley. [Memoirs, 289].

[c. May 9]: Warrant to the Master of the Great Wardrobe for 'seven sumpter cloths for the camels of white and green cloth embroidered with sundry colours...and bordered about with blue cloth...Lined with canvas embroidered with the Queen's Arms...with a border of roses and fleurs-de-lis'. [TNA LC 5/33, p.205].

Court news. May 10, London, De Foix to Charles IX, having been kept waiting six days by the Queen without an answer to his offer of marriage. She said that "It is true that the world was made in six days, but it was by God, to whose power the infirmity of man is not to be compared".

As to the new Ambassador: 'The Ambassador arrived here five days ago. He is staying with the Spanish Ambassador...He is about 50 years old, shrewd, prudent, and experienced, and speaks five or six languages well including French'.^{BT}

Court news. May 10, London, De Foix to Catherine de Medici, Queen Mother:

'Lethington left two days ago to return to Scotland, and Throckmorton set off three days previously, sent to know the truth about Lord Darnley's marriage, and, if it is not concluded, to hinder it by proposing to the Queen of Scots, on behalf of Queen Elizabeth, the choice of three men, who are the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Arundel, and the Earl of Leicester'.

'The Countess of Lennox remains a prisoner in her chamber, and constantly tells her friends that the marriage is made; but Lethington denied it and gave assurances that his mistress had not gone so far that she could not draw back, if it was agreeable to the Scottish nobility and the Queen of England'.

'As Lethington was on his return journey he came to see me...He told me that when Throckmorton returns this Queen will decide what to do. She assured him that if the Queen of Scots will do as she wishes she will have from her more than she asked for or hoped for; and she sent Lethington a diamond worth 600 crowns'. [Teulet, ii.196-7].

May 12, Sat visit, Greenwich Palace, Kent.

Lambeth Church: 'Paid for ringing the 12th of May when the Queen's Majesty went to Greenwich and came again to Westminster the same day, 12d'.

Anthony Light, Gentleman Usher, made ready at Greenwich and prepared 'a banqueting-house for the Queen's Majesty', May.^T

May 12, Westminster: Council order that the Earls of Ormond and Desmond (summoned from Ireland after a 'fray' between them) 'until the matter wherewith they stand charged shall be thoroughly examined and ordered, shall forbear to come to the Queen's Majesty's presence and...unto her Majesty's court, unless it be to speak with some of her Highness's Privy Council, and in that case to resort directly to their chamber without seeking them abroad' and 'shall also forbear to resort to the City unless it be to speak with any of the Privy Council at their houses, and in case they shall desire to take the air they may for that purpose walk abroad in the fields at times convenient'.^{APC}

May 12, Danzig, Christopher Marquis of Baden to the Queen, informing her of the desire of himself and his wife, the Princess Cecilia of Sweden, to visit her in their return from Sweden. May 12, Cecilia to the Queen, with thanks for her letters and presents. [SPF vii.363: Latin].

The Marquis's German title was Margrave, but he was customarily referred to in England as Marquis. The Queen replied on June 27.

May 13, Sun Emperor's Ambassador at Whitehall with the Queen.

Baron Zwetkovich: 'On my arrival I was advised to attend Divine Service with the Queen, as this would please both her and the people and arouse great hopes. And so on the 13th of May I accompanied the Queen from her apartments to the Chapel...They had arranged a special choral service for me...and the Earl of Sussex interpreted the hymn and anthems. The Queen thanked me, asked me how I liked it and gave me the book which I accepted' for the Emperor.

In conversation with me she said in Italian "I have heard that you will dine with the Earl of Leicester. I beseech you to regard and honour him as my own brother, for thus do I love him and will love and regard him all my life long: for he deserves it".

May 14: The Baron began negotiations with Sir William Cecil.^K

May 19: John Somers was appointed *special Ambassador* to France.

Somers joined the resident Ambassador, Sir Thomas Smith, to give an answer to the French proposal for the Queen to marry King Charles IX.

The English found difficulties in the King's Catholic religion, and in his youth (he was born on 27 June 1550).

May 20, Sun Emperor's Ambassador at Whitehall for audience.

Baron Zwetkovich: The Queen 'gave me to understand that a commencement is again to be made with the matrimonial negotiations' with Archduke Charles, but that 'I should keep this a secret, as she had not said anything about it to her Councillors'. The Queen recalled the earlier stages of the negotiations, and why the Archduke had not come to England. She complained that the late Emperor's insignia of the Order of the Garter had not yet been returned, as was customary. [It was eventually returned].

As to marriages, she 'told me in private that she could have had the King of Spain, the King of Denmark, the King of Sweden and the King of France; that she could still have the King of France, but had no predilection for the Spaniards and Frenchmen'.

She said 'she had been resolved to die a maid, and did not the Crown of England compel her to marry to the profit of England, she would verily abide by her purpose; she would fain vindicate herself...against all the slander that had been cast at her'. She had told Baron Breuner (in 1559) 'a thousand times that she would take no man whom she had not seen;...she still was and ever would be of the same mind...She knew very well how the King of Spain had cursed the painters and envoys when he first beheld Queen Mary, and she would not give Archduke Charles cause to curse'.

An unnamed prince [King Charles IX] had requested the Queen 'not to promise herself to anyone until she had heard what he had to offer'. She had given him a year's time. She did not wish the Baron to speak to her Councillors 'for not one of them knew anything about it'.^K

May 21, Edinburgh, Thomas Randolph to the Earl of Leicester, of the Queen of Scots, this 'poor Queen', who is 'so altered with affection towards the Lord Darnley, that she hath brought her honour in question, her estate in hazard, her country to be torn in pieces. I see also the amity between the two countries like to be dissolved and great mischiefs like to ensue...Woe worth the time! (and so shall both England and Scotland say) that ever the Lord Darnley did set his foot in this country. The Queen in her love is so transported, and he grown so proud that to all honest men he is intolerable...What shall become of her, or what life with him she shall lead, that already taketh so much upon him as to control and command her, I leave it to others to think'. [Scot.ii.166].

May 22, Tues visit to Tower of London.

George Tyrell with four Yeomen and Grooms made ready for the Queen at the Tower of London.^T Baron Zwetkovich: She inspected the 'Tower and Arsenal'.

May 23, Wed Emperor's Ambassador at Whitehall with Councillors and Queen.

Baron Zwetkovich was summoned to consult with the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Leicester and Sir William Cecil, and was informed that the Queen had granted him permission to speak to Councillors about the marriage negotiations.

They discussed the Queen's insistence on seeing any suitor before marriage, and other conditions for a marriage. The Baron also spoke to the Queen.^K

May 24: Earl of Sussex showed Baron Zwetkovich and the Spanish Ambassador over 'the Tower and Arsenal...We saw the armoury and the great cannon and we also witnessed a wrestling bout between twelve men of the Queen's bodyguard. Having shown me all this by command of the Queen'.^K

George Tyrell made ready 'for the Emperor's Ambassadors at the Tower of London' and bought '15 dozen of rushes at 2s per dozen'.^T

May 25: Earl of Sussex took the Baron and De Silva 'to see how bears and bulls and wolves are baited in England, and also a mule baited by an ape'.^K

c.May 26: Emperor's Ambassador at Whitehall for audience.

Baron Zwetkovich: The Queen sent for me, and said that proposed marriage Articles would be shown me by Secretary Cecil or another Councillor.

'She then called God to witness that she was willing to marry only for the sake of the realm. She would prefer to die a maid and end her days in a convent, for she verily never had any desire to marry'.

I answered that 'all the Princes of Austria had conducted themselves in wedlock as good Christians...The Queen was pleased to hear this'.

She asked 'whether the gold pennies had any resemblance to His Princely Highness, and I told her that in my opinion he was scarcely to be recognised on the pennies, but I hoped that my courier would on his return bring a likeness of His Princely Highness, for a portrait of him was being made'.^k

Court news. May 26, London, De Foix to Catherine de Medici:

'From Scotland I learn that Sir Nicholas Throckmorton is on his way back, and will be here in three or four days, and that the Queen of Scots has answered him that those whom he offered her in marriage, on behalf of the Queen of England, were not more worthy than Lord Darnley'...

'She has deferred the marriage...until the beginning of July, and meanwhile will send a person of quality to this Queen to explain her full intentions'.

'On May 15 Lord Darnley was made knight, baron, and earl, and took oaths to the Queen of Scots. I am assured that this Queen will be very ill content with these oaths, which bind one of her own subjects, without her licence or permission, to serve the Queen of Scots against everyone, thus departing from the allegiance owed to the Queen of England'. [Teulet, ii.202].

May 30: Secretary Cecil dictated to Baron Zwetkovich in Latin the Articles proposed for a marriage to Archduke Charles.^k

Similar to the Articles for Queen Mary's marriage to Philip II, 1554.

May 31, Thur Emperor's Ambassador at Whitehall with the Queen.

Baron Zwetkovich delivered to the Queen for her perusal a Latin letter which he was sending to the Emperor; she kept it for a day. 'I had also seen her dancing in her apartments some Italian dances, half pavane and half galliard, and she also played very beautifully upon the clavichord and the lute'.^k

The Spanish Ambassador was also at Whitehall. Summary from London, June 8: On Ascension Day the Queen summoned De Silva 'in whose presence she played privately on a lute and a spinet, which she does very well'. [Span.i.435].

June 1, Fri Emperor's Ambassador at Whitehall with the Queen.

Baron Zwetkovich: 'In the afternoon under the pretext that I should see the tomb of the old Queen of England, the Earl of Sussex took me to Westminster Abbey, and in the Queen's name informed me that she meditated sending someone to Your Imperial Majesty to see the Archduke Charles'...

'On our return from the Abbey I was summoned to the Queen in the garden'. She declared that before any ambassador came to discuss Articles of Marriage 'she must first see the Archduke', and 'she would much rather that the Archduke came incognito than all the ambassadors. For many other highly reputable Princes had as woovers come incognito to England and again departed unknown'.

'I here interjected that...my Prince was of such great eminence that he could not possibly come incognito'. 'She went on that many persons would be going to the Netherlands to the wedding of Parma, and everyone would think that but another Prince had also come to attend this wedding'.^k

The Prince of Parma married in Brussels on November 11.

Also June 1: Sir Nicholas Throckmorton at Whitehall on return from Scotland.

June 1, Geneva, Dr Beza to Sir William Cecil: I dedicated my labours on the New Testament to the Queen in December 1564, but have not been able to send the book. I now send several copies. [SPF.vii.379].

3 Sept 1566, Geneva, Dr Beza to Dr Henry Bullinger, in Zurich: 'Our own church...is so hateful to that Queen that...she has never said a single word in acknowledgement of the gift of my Annotations'. This is 'because we are accounted too severe and precise' and because 'during the life-time of Queen Mary two books were published here in the English language, one by master Knox against the government of women, the other by master Goodman on the rights of the magistrate. As soon as we learned the contents of each, we were much displeased, and their sale was forbidden in consequence'. [Zurich, 248].
Dr Theodore Beza went on to dedicate other works to the Queen.

June 1, Venice, Pietro Bizzari dedicated to the Queen: Varia Opuscula. Latin. First book, De Optimo Principe [Of the best Prince], is dedicated to the Queen. Second book, 'Of War and Peace', is dedicated to the Queen of Scots.

There are orations addressed to the Earl of Bedford, Sir William Cecil, and Lethington. Most of the book comprises verses addressed to various rulers, to numerous English and Scottish statesmen and courtiers, e.g. Robert Dudley, Nicholas Bacon, Nicholas Throckmorton, and men and women of the Russell family.

Also verse 'epigrams' in praise of Queen Elizabeth. 312p. (Venice, 1565).
Bizzari sent De Optimo Principe to the Queen: August 1.

June 3, Sun French Ambassador at Whitehall for audience. De Foix, report to Catherine de Medici [June 4]: 'On the 3rd the Ambassador went to the Queen...He found her playing chess in the Privy Chamber. Because he had heard that she was very angry that the Queen of Scots was to marry the Earl of Lennox's son, he wanted to profit by the occasion and said that the game of chess was an image of the actions of men, where when one lost a pawn it seemed a small thing, but very often it led to the loss of the whole game. To which the Queen responded that she well understood that Lennox's son was only a pawn, but he would check-mate her if she did not take good care. After this, having left off the game and taken the Ambassador aside, she complained greatly of the disloyalty of the Earl and his son'. De Foix went on to enlarge on the dangers posed by the marriage, and the advantages of the projected marriage between the Queen and the King of France. [Teulet, ii.203-4].

Court news. June 3, Sir William Cecil to Sir Thomas Smith, of 'the rumour of the marriage' between the Queen of Scots and Lord Darnley:

Lethington 'came hither to obtain the Queen's Majesty's consent, but he found great offence. Sir Nicholas Throckmorton was sent to declare the discontentment of her Majesty, and means how to break it; he returned on Friday well rewarded, but he could not dissolve it, although he saith it is misliked of all the substance of the realm, and she herself confesseth that if it was to be done she would be otherwise advised'. She 'will send one of hers hither (which shall be Mr Hay) to declare to the Queen's Majesty some reasons on her behalf'...

'The Emperor's Ambassador is not idle in his matter, but presseth the match for the Archduke discreetly and diligently; one great obstacle is that the Queen's Majesty will needs see before she marry...Her Majesty remembereth her promise to remain free until she have well answered the French King'...

'The Lord of Leicester furthereth the Queen's Majesty with all good reasons to take one of these great Princes. Wherein surely, perceiving his own cause not sperable [hopeful], he doth honourably and wisely'.

[PS]. 'Great means is made for Sir Nicholas Throckmorton to be of the Privy Council, and so I wish you both'. [Wright, i.197-199].

Sir Thomas Smith became a Councillor in 1571, Throckmorton never.

*June 3, at Windsor: Feast for Knights of the Garter.
Queen's Lieutenant: George Talbot 6th Earl of Shrewsbury.*

June 4: Sir William Cecil propounded questions to the Privy Council.

'1. What perils might ensue to the Queen's Majesty and her realm, upon the marriage of the Queen of Scotland with Lord Darnley?

2. What was meet to be done to avoid the same?'

'The perils...were reduced by some Councillors to only two.

First: That by this marriage, the Queen's Majesty being unmarried, a great number in this realm...might...depend upon the success of this marriage of Scotland, as a mean to establish the succession of both the Crowns in the issue of the same marriage, and to favour all devices and practices that should tend to the advancement of the Queen of Scots'.

Second: 'Both in this realm and in Scotland the Papists would most favour, maintain, and fortify, the marriage of the Lord Darnley, and would, for furtherance of their faction in religion, devise all means and practices... to disturb the estate of the Queen's Majesty, and the peace of the realm'.

'It is also to be remembered...that in every corner of the realm the faction that most favoureth the Scottish title is grown stout and bold, yea, seen manifestly in this court, both in hall and chamber'. [Tytler, vi.338-9].

Court news. June 4: De Foix: The Emperor's Ambassador 'has been to speak to the Queen on five separate days'.

Also on June 4 Baron Zvetkovich reported in Latin to the Emperor, to announce speedily that the Queen had said 'that she had formerly purposed by all means to remain single, but in consequence of the insistent pressure that was brought to bear upon her by the Estates of her realm, she was now resolved to marry'...

'The most important originator and warmest advocate of this business is the Earl of Leicester'.

The Baron also sent a long letter in German describing his audiences, and that 'I have through several persons made diligent enquiries concerning the maiden honour and integrity of the Queen, and have found that she has truly and verily been praised and extolled for her virginal and royal honour, and that nothing can be said against her'. She speaks publicly with the Earl of Leicester 'as with a dear brother, but that she desires to marry him or entertains any but the purest affection is quite out of the question'.

As for the King of France: 'The Queen's Jester spoke the truth when he said in English (The Queen interpreted it for me into Italian) "She should not take the King of France, for he was but a boy and babe; but she should take the Archduke Charles and then he was sure that she would have a baby boy".'

In a postscript: 'Seeing that there is some likelihood of the affair having a favourable issue, would it not be advisable for His Princely Highness to give the Queen some present as a token of his adoration? I do not know that anything would give more pleasure than half a dozen Turkish palfreys, large and of good breed. They would have to be larger than those she already owns'.^k

The Baron sent off a courier; an answer was brought on July 17.

June 10, Whit Sunday Baron Zwetkovich at Whitehall with the Queen.

De Silva to Philip II, June 16: 'On Whit Sunday the Emperor's ambassador went to the palace and attended service with the Queen, and dined with the members of the Council. After dinner he went again to the Queen, and he tells me she asked him "Are you sure the Archduke will come?" and that he replied that the Emperor would consent to his doing so...seeing the vow which she said she had made. The Archduke's great desire to see her would also help in getting over this difficulty. Upon this she blushed, and said that as regards the other conditions, if they were well pleased with one another, they would soon be settled'.

She said "They tell me that the public opinion is that this marriage will certainly take place", to which he replied that...if the Queen did not marry in this country there was no one else but the Archduke whom she could choose... as the ages of the other marriageable princes were unsuitable'. She then said

"I have never said hitherto to anybody that I would not marry the Earl of Leicester", whereupon the envoy said that she had told Breuner [in 1559]... that she would not. "But", she replied, "Lord Robert was married then".

The Baron 'was not very well pleased with his interview'. [Span.i.436-7].

June 12, Westminster, Council: 'The quarrel and fray between the Earl of Ormond and Mr Butler, his brother, and the Yeomen of the Guard, yesterday night at Westminster was heard by the Lords of her Majesty's Privy Council', who ordered that the Earl of Ormond and his brother Edward Butler should be committed to the Fleet. 'A letter to the Warden of the Fleet to receive them of Mr Wingfield, the Gentleman Usher, and not to suffer them during their remaining in his custody to go abroad'. Three Yeomen of the Guard are committed to the Marshalsea Prison 'as principal offenders in the fray'.^{APC} (See June 14 and 16).

June 12, Louvain, Thomas Stapleton dedicated to the Queen: 'The History of the Church of England. Compiled by Venerable Bede, Englishman. Translated out of Latin into English by Thomas Stapleton, Student in Divinity'.

Preface (15p): 'To the right excellent and most gracious' Queen. Stapleton has 'set pen to paper for defence of true religion, in these perilous times of schism and heresy...As in the writing I have good cause to remember that Truth purchaseth hatred, so...I cannot forget that a young scholar, and base subject, attempteth to talk with a right mighty Princess and his learned Sovereign'. But 'respect of the profit which may arise hereby to the deceived consciences of my dear countrymen, your Highness's subjects, my regard to God's honour and zeal to the truth, do make me less to fear the displeasure that may ensue...Your Highness's most gracious Clemency, and known good affection to be informed of the truth, emboldeneth me to present particularly to your most Royal Majesty that which I publish to the whole Realm's commodity'...

'Thought I most convenient that the general history of the realm of England should first be commended to the princely head and Sovereign governor of the same...The matter of the History is such that...your Highness shall clearly see as well the mis-informations of a few for displacing the ancient and right Christian faith, as also the way and mean of a speedy redress that may be had for the same, to the quietness of the greater part of your Majesty's most loyal and lowly subjects' consciences....It shall appear in what faith your noble Realm was christened, and hath almost these thousand years continued: to the glory of God, the enriching of the Crown, and great wealth and quietness of the realm...Your Highness shall see in how many and weighty points the pretended reformers of the church in your Grace's dominions have departed from the pattern of that sound and catholic faith planted first among Englishmen by holy St Augustine our Apostle...described truly and sincerely by Venerable Bede'...

'I have gathered out of the whole History a number of diversities between the pretended religion of Protestants, and the primitive faith of the English church, and have annexed them straight joining to this our simple Preface'...

'I have published a short and necessary discourse to meet with the only argument of such as will pronounce this whole book to be but a fardel [bundle] of papistry, a witness of corrupted doctrine...I have proved that the faith of us Englishmen all these 900 years could not possibly be a corrupted faith, traded up in superstitions, blindness, and idolatry, as it is falsely and wickedly surmised of many, but that it is the true and right Christianity, no less than the first 600 years, and immediate succession of the Apostles'...

'The pretended faith of Protestants' is 'but a bastard slip proceeding of another stock (as partly of old renewed heresies, partly of new forged interpretations upon the written text of God's word) and therefore not to be rooted in your Grace's dominions...It is of us your Highness's most lowly and loyal subjects to be wished and daily to be prayed for at the dreadful throne of God's deep mercy, that it may please his goodness so to direct the heart of your Highness, so to inspire with his heavenly grace the most gracious meaning of your Majesty, that it may wholly and perfectly be bent to the restoring of the one catholic and Apostolical faith of Christendom...Amen'.

With a Preface to the Reader, Louvain, June 12. 380p. (Antwerp, 1565).

The Venerable Bede (c.AD 673-735), monk, theologian, prolific author (now *St Bede*), related the history of English Christianity in *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*. Its first translator Thomas Stapleton (1535-1598) lived in the Low Countries from 1559; he became known for his many learned and controversial treatises on the issues which divided Catholics and Protestants.

June 14,Thur: Council 'to the Warden of the Fleet, to set the Earl of Ormond at liberty, giving him first commandment to attend this evening upon the Lord Chamberlain [Lord Howard] and Mr Controller [Sir Edward Rogers] at the court'.^{APC}

c.June 15: Duchess of Parma's Commissioners at Whitehall, during several weeks in England. June 1, Brussels, Duchess [Regent of the Low Countries] to the Queen, sending three Commissioners to inspect registers relative to tonnage and other duties. They are: Jean aux Troyes, Councillor in King Philip's Grand Council; Jean de la Porte, also a Councillor, and Advocate Fiscal in the Council of Flanders; and Dr Nicolas van Enneren, Doctor of Law. June 2, Bruges, John Fitzwilliam to Cecil: Nicolas van Enneren is a 'lewd person'. He is 'without any honesty or conscience or any good fame of the world, only a sower of sedition and discord between princes and all other estates'. Fitzwilliam wrote again on June 3 complaining about and warning of Van Enneren. [KL.iv.206,208].

June 16, De Silva to Philip II: 'I took the Commissioners sent by the Duchess of Parma to the Queen to ask her Majesty to give facilities for the commencement of the negotiations they have in hand'. [Span.i.437].

June 16,Sat Council order for three Yeomen of the Guard to be discharged from the Marshalsea Prison.^{APC}

Also: 'The variance between the Earls of Sussex and Leicester'.^B

[June, court], Earl of Sussex to the Queen, complaining of Leicester: 'I being here upon your Highness' commandment...unarmed utterly, there be drawn unto him great bands of men with swords and bucklers [shields]...Therefore... I humbly beseech your Majesty either to command all your own servants to attend only upon yourself, and all his to unarm and...to depart, whereby your Majesty in present force may be able to overrule us both; or else that your Highness will cause me upon your warranties to be surely conveyed out of your court into my barge, where I may after shift for myself'. [SP 12/36/66; see June 20].

Court news. June 17, Earl of Ormond to Sir William Cecil: The Queen has 'conceived some displeasure against me, by means of the late brawls which the Guard made on my brother and me [on June 11], not a little to my grief, which I know without some sinister reports she would not have done'. [SP63/13/62].

June 18, Queen to the Queen of Scots: 'For divers good causes we have expressly commanded the Earl of Lennox and his eldest son Henry Lord Darnley, as our subjects, to return hither without delay, and we require you to give them their safe conduct for their speedier coming'. [Scot.ii.178].

June 18, London, De Foix to the Queen Mother: 'The Queen has ordered the Earl of Lennox and his son to return here, and if they do not do so, will declare them to be rebels, and as such, in accordance with treaties, will require the Queen of Scots to send them back to her'. [Teulet, ii.208].

June 20, Wed 'The two Earls of Sussex and Leicester accorded in the Queen's Majesty's presence'.^B

When Adam Zwetkovich came for the Archduke's marriage 'there arose very grievous quarrels in the court between the Earl of Sussex which highly favoured the marriage, and Leicester who in respect of his own hopes privily opposed it ...And surely Sussex injuriously condemned him as a new upstart'...

'Hereupon the whole court was divided into factions...and the Earls, if at any time they went abroad, carried with them great trains of followers with swords and bucklers...But after a few days the Queen reconciled them, and buried their malice rather than took it away'. [Camden, Annals].

June 20, Wed Countess of Lennox, mother of Lord Darnley, was taken by Sir Francis Knollys and the Guard to the Tower of London by water.

De Silva to Philip II, June 25: 'The night before the arrival of the Queen of Scotland's Ambassador the Queen sent Secretary Cecil and the Chamberlain to tell Lady Margaret that she had delayed sending her to the Tower until the coming of the Scotch Ambassador, but seeing that he did not arrive she should not avoid any longer sending her thither, and told her to be ready by the time the tide rose...The Vice-Chamberlain with six of the Guard went and took her to the Tower in one of the Queen's barges with two or three women, knowing very well that the Scotch Ambassador was to arrive on the morrow'.

'This imprisonment has not given general satisfaction, as Lady Margaret is held in high esteem here, and is very popular'. [Span.i.441].

An inscription in the Queen's House in the Tower gives June 20 as the date when the Countess was 'committed prisoner to this lodging for the marriage of her son my Lord Henry Darnley and the Queen of Scotland. Here is their names that do wait upon her noble Grace in this place'. 3 men and 2 women; 1566. The Countess was released in February 1567 after her son's murder in Scotland.

June 21-28: Scottish special Ambassador in London.
The Queen of Scots sent John Hay, her principal Master of Requests, to endeavour to persuade Queen Elizabeth to 'have a liking' to her intended marriage to Lord Darnley, and to procure the Countess of Lennox's release. [Scot.ii.175].

June 23, Sat and June 24: John Hay at Whitehall for audiences.
De Silva to Philip II, June 25: 'The Scotch Ambassador came to see me this afternoon...He told me he had conversed with the Queen the day before yesterday, and yesterday again, on the subject of the marriage of his Queen with Lord Darnley, and that she took it in such a way that she flew into a rage directly the subject was introduced. She said she was greatly displeased at the match, because it had been arranged without her consent, and for other reasons'.

She refused to allow Hay to visit and take letters to the Countess of Lennox, saying that 'when she was in prison before [in 1562] she was let out by her on her solemn oath that she would not allow her son to marry without her consent, and she had deceived her'. The Ambassador told the Queen 'that there was nothing more for him to do but to depart'. [Span.i.441-2].

Hay's final audience: June 26.

June 24, Sun **Peerage creation: Earl of Clancare;** at Whitehall.

Donald McCarty More was created Earl of Clancare in Ireland. His only son Teig McCarty More accompanied him to England and to the court.

'Donald MacCarty More, a great and mighty Lord of Ireland, upon his knees delivered into her hands very large territories, that receiving them back again from her, he might hold them in fee to him and his heirs male lawfully begotten. And for default of such heirs he granted them to the Crown of England'.

'She of her courtesy most graciously embracing him (as she was a Princess born to win the love of men), did in her wisdom invest him solemnly with the honour of Earl of Glencarn and his son Teig with the title of Baron of Valentia, gave them gifts, and bore the charges of their journey'. [Camden, *Annals*].

The Earl of Clancare died in 1597, having previously resigned his title; his son, who had the courtesy title Lord Valentia, predeceased him, childless.

Also June 24: knightings: James Harington, of Exton, Rutland;
Owen O'Sullivan, of Ireland. [College of Arms Partition Book I].

June 26, Tues John Hay at Whitehall to take leave.

De Silva to Philip II, July 2: 'The Scotch Ambassador was with the Queen on the 26th June to take leave of her and came to see me on the 27th...He told me he had found the Queen somewhat mollified, but he did not know whether it was a feint. She said that his Queen had deeply offended her, who looked upon her as a sister and loved her more than a daughter, by deciding to marry without even letting her know, and above all, with one of her subjects'. [Span.i.442].

Hay left on June 28. He returned to Edinburgh on July 6 'very evil at ease and melancholy for the evil success of his long journey'. [Scot.ii.179].

June 27, Wed **GREENWICH PALACE,** Kent.

St Botolph Aldgate: 'Paid the 27th day of June for ringing when the Queen went to Greenwich, 6d'. Baron Zwetkovich and De Silva accompanied the Queen.

June 27, Greenwich, Queen to the Marquis and Marchioness of Baden, in Latin, with thanks for their presents; she will be glad to see them. [SPF.vii.399].

Lady Cecilia of Sweden and the Marquis reached London on September 11.

Court news. June 28, De Foix to Catherine de Medici: 'A sister of the King of Sweden named Madame Cécile, married to the Marquis of Baden, is at a port from where she has written to the Queen that she will embark with the first favourable wind to come to visit her. Some think it is to treat for the Queen's marriage to her brother the King, and that she will be here in a month'...

'Several days ago, in the Queen's chamber, a little hand-written book was found, replying to one which some months previously had been written in favour of Lady Catherine Grey. It shows the right which the Queen of Scots has to the Crown of England'.

'Around eight days ago Lord Howard, the Lord Chamberlain, took leave of his daughter to send her to Madame de Montmorency. She is being escorted by Mr Killigrew, to present her'. [Teulet, ii.211].

Henry Killigrew recalled being sent 'by her Majesty's commandment, as my Lord Chamberlain told me, to carry Mistress Frances Howard to Madame de Montmorency; which I did at my own charges'. [Howard, 186].

Frances Howard was 21; she returned in October 1568. In 1569 she became a Gentlewoman of the Privy Chamber, and in 1585 married the Earl of Hertford.

June 30, Sat French Ambassador at Greenwich for audience.

Baron Zwetkovich: 'On the 30th of June the French Ambassador again had an audience of the Queen and again received a refusal in the matter of the marriage with the King of France. He is therefore much displeased'.^K

July 2, De Silva to Philip II: 'There has arrived at this court a servant of the King of Sweden bringing to the Queen from his master some sables as well as some for the Earl of Leicester and the Admiral'. The King's sister has married the Marquis of Baden 'they say on condition that he should bring her here to see this Queen, and they are now at Emden waiting for ships to be sent from here to bring them over. It is suspected that she is coming to try again to bring about the marriage of her brother with the Queen. She will have no lack of husbands'.

July 9, London, De Silva to Philip II: 'The Queen is still at Greenwich... She will come hither on her way to Richmond within seven or eight days, and will be present at the marriage of the son of her Vice-Chamberlain, who is called Knollys, with the daughter of Ambrose Cave, of the Council. She is rich and an only child...The Queen will be at Richmond twelve or fifteen days, and thence will make a progress as usual, visiting the houses of some of her subjects without going very far off'.

As to Cecilia, at Emden: 'They have sent her two well-fitted ships, one large and the other small'. [Span.i.445-6].

July 14, Sat **WHITEHALL PALACE.**

St Botolph Aldgate: 'Paid for ringing when the Queen went from Greenwich to Westminster the 14th of July, 4d'.

July 14, London: *Cornelius Lanoy (alchemist), dedicated to the Queen a Latin letter on the Philosopher's Stone, with details of ingredients required for its manufacture.* [Printed in *Theatri Chemicum* (Strasbourg, 1661), vi.501-507].

July 16, Mon supper, tourney, masques; at Durham Place, Strand.

The Queen attended celebrations following the marriage of Henry Knollys (1541-1582), eldest son of Sir Francis Knollys, Vice-Chamberlain, and Katherine (Carey), a first cousin of the Queen, to Margaret Cave (c.1549-1606), daughter of Sir Ambrose Cave, Privy Councillor, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. Works did 'reparations' at Durham Place from April-July, and paved the street.

De Foix, the French Ambassador, dined at Durham Place, leaving after dinner. The Spanish Ambassador and the Emperor's Ambassador were at the supper attended by the Queen, which was followed by dancing, a Tourney and two masques.

De Silva to Philip II, July 23: 'As we were on the point of going to the palace to accompany the Queen thither Ambrose Cave, the father of the bride, who had invited me, came to ask me to be kind enough to stay at home and not go to his feast because he having invited the French Ambassador to dine with him in the expectation that after dinner he would return home, the Ambassador had learnt that the Queen was coming later to sup, and that an entertainment was to take place, and insisted upon staying to see it. Cave was anxious that no question of precedence should arise between us'.

De Silva insisted on going, whereupon Cave said that in that case the Queen would not come to his house. De Silva and Baron Zvetkovich went to the palace and waited in the Privy Garden for the Queen. The situation was explained to her; she said "I will soon settle it", and called for Sir William Cecil and Sir Nicholas Throckmorton; soon afterwards the French Ambassador left.

'The Queen stayed through the entertainment, and the Emperor's Ambassador and I supped with her in company with the bride and some of the principal ladies and the gentlemen who came with the Emperor's Ambassador. After supper there was a ball, a tourney, and two masques, the feast ending at half-past one'.

[Span.i.451-2]. Queen became godmother to Henry Knollys' child (Oct 1576).

A monument to Henry and Margaret is in Stanford-on-Avon Church, Northants.

July 16: **secret marriage.**

Lady Mary Grey (c.1545-1578), daughter of Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk (who was executed in 1554), married Thomas Keys, Serjeant Porter of Westminster Palace, Deputy Master of the Horse; widower with adult children; died 1571.

Lady Mary was sister of 'Queen' Lady Jane Grey (executed in 1555), and of Lady Catherine Grey (who herself married secretly in 1560); as a cousin of the Queen she was in the line of succession to the Throne, and was required to obtain the Queen's consent before marrying.

After the marriage became known to the Queen the couple confessed that 'the day of the marriage was the day that Mr Knollys was married'; it was at 'about 9 o'clock at night by candle-light...in the Serjeant's chamber by the Watergate at Westminster'. (See August 19-23,29).

July 17, Emperor's messenger arrived. July 23, De Silva to Philip II: The messenger arrived on July 17 with his reply concerning the marriage of Archduke Charles with the Queen. Sir William Cecil and the Earl of Sussex discussed his conditions, the first being that Charles was to have the free exercise of the Catholic religion. They advised Baron Zvetkovich not to anger the Queen but to tell her 'that the Emperor will be willing for the Archduke to come, so that if he pleases her he can remain and if not he can return, but the Emperor wishes first to send Commissioners to settle the terms and conditions to be ready in case she is satisfied with the Archduke personally'. [Span.i.452-6].

July 17, Tues visit to Katherine Astley, Westminster.
The Queen's visit was on the day before Mrs Astley's death.

De Silva, July 23: 'Her Majesty went to see her the day before, and I am told she is greatly grieved'. [In cipher: 'And what a heretic she was'].

July 17, Tues **RICHMOND PALACE**, Surrey.^T
St Martin in the Fields: 'For ringing at the remove of the Queen from Westminster to Richmond the 17th of July, 8d'.

July 18: death. Katherine Astley (also called 'Kat Ashley').
Chief Gentlewoman of the Bedchamber, and a member of the Queen's household since Elizabeth's infancy; wife of John Astley, Master of the Jewel-house.

John Astley (c.1507-1596), married (licence 13 Oct 1565) Margaret Lenton alias Grey, illegitimate daughter of Lord Thomas Grey.
The Queen was godmother to their son John in 1568.

July 21, Sat Count Palatine's envoy at Richmond for audience.
Frederick Count Palatine sent Gallus Tuschelin from Heidelberg, begging her not to credit the rumours spread against him; he is anxious to preserve the bond of mutual religion between them. [SPF.vii.398].

De Silva to Philip, July 23: 'A Frenchman has arrived from the Count Palatine. He had audience of the Queen the day before yesterday and I am told was with her for over two hours'. He 'is here to try to hinder the marriage of the Archduke', and told the Queen 'that the Archduke is a greater Catholic than his father'.

De Silva, July 29: 'The Count Palatine's man...came to satisfy the Queen that the Count had not changed his religion...and to assure her of this fact he sent her two books, one of which is called a *Confession of Faith* and the other a *Catechism*, which he presented to her together with a letter from the Count saying in the last paragraph that he has been informed that she is going to marry, and he thinks she does wisely in doing so as it is high time she did. He says if there is anyone in his part of the country who would please her, he will be pleased to negotiate in the matter. They tell me that she replied thanking him for his advice, but not another word'. [Span.i.455-6,458].

Also July 21: Scottish messenger, Andrew Beaton, arrived from France.
De Silva, July 23: On July 21 'arrived here a brother of the Scotch Ambassador in Paris' with letters from the King asking the Queen to liberate the Countess of Lennox'. [Span.i.455]. Shortly after, another brother, John Beaton, came from the Queen of Scots.

July 22, Sun Emperor's Ambassador at Richmond for audience.
The first audience after a messenger brought a reply from Emperor Maximilian.
July 23, London, Baron Zwetkovich to the Emperor: 'Some few days ago a lady of the name of Ashley died here. The Queen visited her before her death, for she it was who had the upbringing of the Queen. Her decease grieved the Queen so much that she did not command me to appear until the 22nd of July. On this day I apprised her of Your Imperial Majesty's resolve, in order that she might forget her sorrow. She, however, informed me that in such an important matter she must have time for consideration, and I left her in a somewhat more joyous mood'.^K

July 23, De Silva to Philip II: 'The Emperor's Ambassador went to see the Queen and was with her for a long time and showed her what the Emperor had written...The Queen thanked him warmly for the Emperor's reply...but the question of arranging beforehand all the points of the treaty presented many difficulties' and 'it seemed very difficult to her for a husband and wife to live in the same house but practise different religions'.

She 'decided at last that as the business was so important she would consult the Council and give an answer later'. [Span.i.452-6].

July 23, Mon Duchess of Parma's trade Commissioners at Richmond to take leave.
July 23, De Silva to Philip II: 'I went to Richmond with the Commissioners from the States of Flanders who went thither to take leave of the Queen on their departure. After they had done so and kissed her hand - which she gave very liberally - the Queen took me aside and said she had been much grieved by the death of the lady [Katherine Astley]...who brought her up'. [Span.i.456].

Court news. July 23, De Silva: The Earl of Leicester 'seems lately to be rather more alone than usual, and the Queen appears to display a certain coolness towards him. She has begun to smile on a Gentleman of her Chamber named Heneage, which has attracted a good deal of attention. He is married to a servant of the Queen, and is a young man of pleasant wit and bearing and a good courtier, as the Queen herself has told me. Many people think however that it is all make-believe and simply devised to avoid jealousy, as this young man has been a great intimate of Lord Robert's'...

'Great importance is attached here to what is passing in Malta [invaded by Turks], and the Queen has ordered a general prayer for victory'. [Span.i.454-5].

Thomas Heneage, a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, was described by Camden as 'a man for his elegancy of life and pleasantness of speech born for the court'. He became Vice-Chamberlain, Treasurer of the Chamber, and a Privy Councillor; he was knighted in 1577, and died in 1595. His 1st wife was Anne Poyntz.

July 24, Tues Queen went hunting with French Ambassador, Paul de Foix.
De Silva, July 28: 'The French Ambassador had been with the Queen after I had left [on July 23], and went hunting with her the day after'. [Span.i.457].

July 25: Council summoned the Earls of Desmond and Ormond to be at Richmond on July 27, bringing witnesses 'touching the late conflict' between them.^{APC}

The Earl of Desmond made submission to the Queen on September 12, to abide her judgment in the sundry treasons, murders, etc. laid to his charge; the Earl of Ormond made similar submission on September 24. [SP63/14/65,73].

Court news. July 28, Baron Zwetkovich to Emperor Maximilian:

'The Queen has been warned by the Count Palatine of Heidelberg through a French nobleman...that this marriage with His Princely Highness would involve the ruin of her religion'...

'The French Ambassador was, I hear, at court lately for the purpose of persuading the Queen not to marry His Royal Highness but the Earl of Leicester, in which event his King would, whenever she demanded, faithfully stand by her at all times'.

'It is also said that the Queen of Scotland is going to marry Darnley tomorrow, the 29th of July, and that proclamation thereof has been made by trumpet'.^k

July 28, in Edinburgh: Henry Lord Darnley was proclaimed King of Scotland.

July 29, in **Edinburgh: marriage. Mary Queen of Scots** married Lord Darnley, son of the Earl and Countess of Lennox. Although Mary had him proclaimed King, the Scottish Parliament never granted him the Crown Matrimonial (to his great annoyance), so that he never officially had the title King of Scots, although so called. He was often still known as Lord Darnley.

July 29, Sun Emperor's Ambassador at Richmond for audience.

July 29, De Silva to Philip II: 'The Queen and he had a long conversation about the Archduke's affairs, and she began to raise difficulties about the first clause touching religion...The end of it was that he was to discuss the matter with the Council, and he has returned ill-pleased'. [Span.i.458].

Baron Zwetkovich to the Emperor, Aug 6: 'The Queen told me that she had long mused upon the marriage' with Archduke Charles, but 'owing to the religion everything would be in vain, for she most certainly would not marry anyone who was not of her religious persuasion, and that therefore it was useless to speak about it'. She said 'that she was greatly grieved that His Princely Highness was not of her religion. She began to touch upon the other Articles, but always reverted to her first statement and rejected the whole plan. I then expressed my wish to speak to the Councillors, but she replied she would send the elucidation of the Articles through her Councillors'.^k

By July 29: 'A Form to be used in Common Prayer every Wednesday and Friday... to excite all godly people to pray unto God for the delivery of those Christians that are now invaded by the Turk'. With a Preface explaining that Malta 'lying near unto Sicily and Italy, and being as it were the key of that part of Christendom, is presently invaded with a great army and navy of Turks, infidels and sworn enemies of Christian religion...It is our parts, which for distance of place cannot succour them with temporal relief, to assist them with spiritual aid...If they should prevail against the Isle of Malta, it is uncertain what further peril might follow to the rest of Christendom'. [Liturgy, 519-523].

News came a few days later of a Spanish victory over the Turks in Malta.

July 29: St Mary Woolnoth: 'For two books of prayers set forth by the Bishop of London, 2d'. [Bishop: Edmund Grindal].

1565. St Margaret Patten: 'To the Summoner for three books of prayers against the infidels, 6d'.

St Matthew Friday Street, and St Michael le Querne, both paid: 'For three books of prayers for Malta, 6d'.

Abingdon Church, Berkshire: 'For two books of common prayer against invading of the Turk, 6d'.

Canterbury, St Andrew: 'Paid for three books set out with prayers against the Turk, 6d'.

Norwich, St Margaret: 'For a book of the prayer to God against the Turk, 2d'.

July 30-August 27: John Tamworth was special Ambassador to Scotland.

John Tamworth (c.1524-1569), a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, was sent mainly to explain the Queen's disapproval of the marriage of the Queen of Scots.

De Foix, Aug 8, of the Articles proposed to the Queen of Scots by Tamworth, including: The Queen finds the actions of the Queen of Scots very strange; she declares that the offers of marriage made to the Queen of Scots were genuine; she complains about the 'detention' of her subjects, Lennox and Darnley, and of the uselessness of John Hay's embassy to her; she advises the Queen of Scots not to alter the religion in Scotland. [Teulet, ii.212].

Tamworth found himself unwelcome. He had audience on Aug 7, writing on Aug 10 to the Earl of Leicester: 'Mary has refused utterly that Queen Elizabeth should meddle to compound the controversies between her subjects and her; and, as far as I can perceive, as mortally hates her Majesty as she doth them'.

On his way back he was briefly imprisoned on the pretext that he had no passport, as he would not recognise Darnley as King. [Raumer, 65-66].

July 31: Spanish Ambassador's visit to Nonsuch, Cheam, Surrey, built by King Henry VIII, now owned by Henry Fitzalan, 12th Earl of Arundel.

De Silva to Philip II, Aug 6: When the Emperor's Ambassador was at Richmond, 'the Earl of Arundel, who had also gone to take leave of the Queen on his departure for his estates at Arundel for a few days, invited him to see his house of Nonsuch before he left it, and to ask me to accompany him'...

'The Ambassador found he could not spare the time, and I accordingly went on the 31st. The house is excellently embellished and fitted and has beautiful gardens. The Earl has brought water thither, which King Henry could not find'.

Sir Henry Sidney and Lord Lumley, the Earl's son-in-law, 'took me over the house and gardens'. The Earl told me privately 'that he was convinced that the men who surrounded the Queen did not wish her to marry'. [Span.i.459].

July: visits/proposed visits:

George Tyrell made ready at Hampton Court, Middlesex;

Anthony Light made ready at Oatlands Palace, Weybridge, Surrey.^T

Aug 1, Venice, Pietro Bizzari to the Queen, sending *De Optimo Principe*, dedicated to her, with some of his Latin poems. [SPF.vii.420].

Bizzari had given the Queen a manuscript of his book, Christmas 1561.

Aug 2, Thur Emperor's Ambassador at Richmond for audience.

Baron Zwetkovich to the Emperor, Aug 6: The Queen 'sent me word that her Councillors were absent, but that Cecil would provide me with the explanation of the Articles...In the discussion that followed *pro* and *contra* I got the better of her with my well-reasoned arguments, but she concluded by saying that two persons of different faiths could not live peaceably in one house'.

'That I should however see the Articles and come again on the 5th of August to take my leave'.^K

De Silva to Philip II, Aug 6: 'I understood that the Emperor's Ambassador had to discuss his business with the Council as he had told me, but the conversation was with this Queen alone and after a time with Cecil, who gave him an answer in writing to the clauses that the Emperor had sent, and which had been discussed with the Queen', including religion, dowry, and refusing the title of King for Archduke Charles. [Span.i.460].

Aug 3, Wed John Beaton left for Scotland.

De Silva, Aug 6: 'The Queen of Scotland's gentleman...left on the 3rd. He said that this Queen still complained bitterly of his mistress for having resolved to marry after promising her she would not do so without informing her, and above all with a subject of hers'. [Span.i.463].

Aug 5, Sun Emperor's and Spanish Ambassadors at Richmond for audience.
De Silva, Aug 6: On August 5th the Earl of Sussex came to visit both of us.

He advised me 'to go to the Queen with the Ambassador and recommend the Archduke's suit to her again...I accordingly went with him to Richmond'.

Each Ambassador in turn spoke to the Queen, first De Silva, who urged her to conclude the marriage. The Emperor's Ambassador 'was better satisfied than with his previous audience'. He asked the Queen 'to sign in her own name the points upon which they were agreed, but she would not do so...but said the Secretary should sign them. The Ambassador is to return for the paper and take his leave tomorrow and the Queen asked me to go with him'. [Span.i.462-3].

Baron Zwetkovich to the Emperor, Aug 6: 'I adduced my former arguments. I told her that I had hoped when taking leave to obtain a favourable answer from her... Finally she told me...that all the Articles would have to remain exactly as they had been agreed upon and attested between King Philip and Queen Mary'.^K

The leave-taking was postponed; both Ambassadors were invited to Windsor.

Aug 5, Richmond Council's warrant for Sir John Mason, Master of the Posts:

'A warrant unto Mr Mason signifying unto him that in consideration of dearth of all things which have these years past much increased and do yet so continue, it is thought good that he shall allow and pay unto Robert Gascoigne, Post of the Court, at such times as the Queen's Majesty shall make her progress, or be or remain at any of her houses of access except Westminster, St James's, or any house in London, after the rate of 4 shillings by the day; that is to say, 2s by the day over and above his ordinary wages of 2 shillings by the day'.^{APC}

Aug 6: in Scotland: Earl of Moray and other noblemen were declared to be 'rebels'. They were pursued from place to place (see Sept 4, Chaseabout Raid).

*Aug 8, Wed dinner, Ankerwick, Wraysbury, Bucks; Sir Thomas Smith's house. Ankerwycke Priory, Wraysbury; owned by Sir Thomas Smith (1513-1577), absent as Ambassador to France; 2nd wife: Philippa (Wilford), widow of Sir John Hampden; she was also absent. Their main residence was at Theydon Mount, Essex.

Sir Thomas Smith to the Earl of Leicester, Oct 12, Nantes: 'That it pleased the Queen's Majesty to take my poor house at Ankerwick I am most glad, but sorry that it was not mine and my wife's also good fortune, that my wife should be there at that time after our rustic manner to entertain her Highness. Marry that your honour writeth that her Highness was merry there recompenseth all. And I pray God I may once see her Majesty merry there, and your Lordship together. Then I shall reckon my house twice sanctified and blessed'. [Pepys I.443].

Aug 8, Wed **WINDSOR CASTLE**, Berks.

George Tyrell, Gentleman Usher, 'and divers others', made ready at Windsor. Also 'waiting and giving attendance upon the Emperor and Spanish Ambassadors at Windsor'.^T

De Silva to Philip II, Aug 13: 'The Queen had commanded the Emperor's Ambassador to go...to Richmond to take leave and receive his answer [on Aug 7]. This was postponed until the 8th in order that the Queen might bring him here to Windsor with her, as she arrived on that day. I came with him as I was asked... I arrived here at nightfall on the 8th'.

'They wished to give the Ambassador and me separate lodgings, but I had arranged otherwise because as the Ambassador travelled to England by post and has been staying with me he had not the necessary baggage, and I had sent forward what was wanting for his use'.

'The pack mules were at the door of the Dean's house, where they had arranged for the Ambassador to stay, and the Queen no doubt thought on seeing them that they had not given me a lodging, whereupon she was extremely angry, and when she arrived in her chamber she turned to me and said "What! have they not given you a lodging? My people shall learn in a way they will not forget how you are to be treated. You shall occupy my own chamber and I will give you my key".

'She took the key to hand to me, but I calmed her and said that in order not to leave the Ambassador I had told my people to stay in his house'.

'We supped that night with the Earl of Leicester, and after supper he said he would dine with me next day. He had arranged to have his own attendants and butlery in the Dean's house, and so they continued (he and what courtiers are here) to come and have their meals in our company'. [Span.i.465].

Aug 8/9: Sir William Cecil noted: 'The Queen's Majesty seemed to be much offended with the Earl of Leicester, and so she wrote an obscure sentence in a book at Windsor'.^B [Discussion: see the end of this year].

Aug 9, Thur Ambassadors at Windsor with the Queen; hunting.

De Silva, Aug 13: 'The next morning the Earl of Leicester sent to ask if we would go and see the park, in doing which we punished three horses and saw a large quantity of game. We came round by the footpath leading to the riverside through the wood to where the Queen lodges, and when we came to her apartments Leicester's Fool made so much noise calling her that she came undressed to the window. It was morning, and in an hour and a half she came down and walked for a long while talking with the Emperor's man and me about many different things. She always repeats her dislike to marriage, and even to talking of it'.

'She showed me a ring with a fine ruby which she wore, and afterwards handed it to the Ambassador for him to look at. When he returned it he asked her whether she would like him to take it to the Archduke and wished to take it from her, but she would not give it up and said it was too early to send jewels to him'.

'She spoke of the Archduke's visit, and I asked her whether she had noticed amongst those who accompanied the Ambassador and me any gentleman she had not seen before, as perhaps she was entertaining more than she thought...She turned white, and was so agitated that I could not help laughing to see her'.

"That is not a bad way", she said, "for the Archduke to come, if his dignity will allow him to do it, and I promise you plenty of princes have come to see me in that manner". 'After dinner she went hunting, and they killed two fat bucks. The Queen went so hard that she tired everybody out, and as the ladies and courtiers were with her they were all put to shame'. [Span.i.466].

Aug 10, Fri Queen's reply to the Emperor's Ambassador, Windsor.

There are three considerations: 1. The person who shall be approved on account of his gifts of mind and body shall conform to the Queen's religion.

2. The same conditions shall be entered into as at the marriage of Philip II and Queen Mary. 3. It shall be known how much he will bring annually into the kingdom for his expenses, and what his father will leave him. [SPF.vii.427].

Cecil sent the Baron a signed statement in Latin, August 12, Windsor.^K

Aug 10, Antwerp, was printed a translation dedicated to the Queen:

'A most excellent treatise of the beginning of heresies in our time, compiled by the Reverend Father in God Stanislaus Hosius Bishop of Worms in Prussia... Translated out of Latin into English by Richard Shacklock, Master of art, and student of the civil laws, and entitled by him: The Hatchet of Heresies'.

Dedication 'To the most excellent and gracious' Queen Elizabeth.

'Epistle Dedicatory to our excellent Queen'. (10p).

Also an Epistle Dedicatory to the King of Poland, by Hosius, 1557. (15p).

Text: 96p. (Antwerp, 1565).

Aug 11, Sat Emperor's Ambassador took leave of the Queen, at Windsor.^K
Anthony Light made Hampton Court ready 'for the Emperor's Ambassadors'.^T

Aug 13, London, De Silva: 'The Emperor's Ambassador took leave of her and kissed her hand, which she is very free in giving...Thence he went to Hampton Court, accompanied by eight or ten of the Queen's gentlemen who showed him over the house, which is very nicely fitted. He went to pass the night at a house built by Gresham, the Queen's factor'. [Sir Thomas Gresham, Osterley].

'We arrived here yesterday morning...An Englishman accompanies the Emperor's Ambassador to bring back the answer. The Queen has sent him a desk which in my opinion is worth as much as 1000 crowns'. [Span.i.467].

Aug 13, London, Baron Zwetkovich to Emperor Maximilian, to whom he will bring two blood-hounds and an Irish hound. PS. The Queen has just sent 'a present consisting of flasks, cans, cups and goblets all gilt. I believe they are worth one thousand crowns'.^K Queen's gift: gilt plate, 784 ounces, cost £300.^{NYG}

Aug 14: Baron Zwetkovich left for Vienna, accompanied at the Queen's command by Roger L'Estrange. L'Estrange returned on Christmas Eve with the Emperor's answer to the questions taken by the Baron.

Aug 17, Fri French Ambassador at Windsor for audience.

The Queen to Sir Thomas Smith, Aug 21: The Ambassador came to inform me that, notwithstanding that the King had written to me on behalf of the Queen of Scots, moving me to be content with the marriage, and offering to be a mediator between us if there were anything that miscontented me, yet thereby he did not mean to prefer the cause of the Queen of Scots before mine.

I informed De Foix that I do not require any other prince's mediation, and have sent 'an express gentleman' [John Tamworth] to let the Queen of Scots know the points wherewith I am not contented. [SPF.vii.422].

Aug 19, Sun Lady Mary Grey's secret marriage became known to the Queen.

Lady Mary and Thomas Keys had married secretly on July 16. On August 19 they were interrogated for the first time about the marriage. [SP12/37/8-10].

Court news. Aug 20, London, De Silva to Philip II:

'This Queen had in her house a sister of Jane, who was beheaded for claiming the Crown, and of Catherine, who is in prison. She is little, crook-backed, and very ugly, and it came out yesterday that she had married a gentleman named Keys, Serjeant Porter at the palace. They say the Queen is very much annoyed and grieved thereat. They are in prison'. [Span.i.468].

Aug 21, Windsor, Sir William Cecil to Sir Thomas Smith:

'Mr Tamworth was sent to the Queen of Scots upon this occasion: the Scottish Queen hath sent twice hither to require the Queen's Majesty to declare for what causes she did mislike of this marriage, offering also to satisfy the same'...

'The Queen's Majesty is fallen into some misliking of my Lord of Leicester, and he therewith much dismayed. You know how busy men in court will be to descant hereupon. The Queen's Majesty letteth it appear in many overt speeches that she is sorry of her loss of time; and so is every good subject. What shall follow of this God knoweth...If I were as evil disposed as others, I could make a flame of this sparkle'...

'The Queen's Majesty, thanked be God, is well disposed towards marriage. The Emperor's Ambassador is departed with an honourable answer, and himself well satisfied, and common opinion is that the Archduke Charles will come'...

'Here is an unhappy chance and monstrous. The Serjeant Porter, being the biggest gentleman in this court, hath married secretly the Lady Mary Grey, the least of all the court. They are committed to several [separate] prisons. The offence is very great'. [Wright, i.206-7].

Court news. Aug 22, London, De Foix to Catherine de Medici, who had commanded him to favour the Earl of Leicester in his suit to marry the Queen:

'When I had audience I said to the Queen that she knew that for the peace of her kingdom and the contentment of her subjects the best thing to do would be to marry some English lord'.

'She replied 'that she was still not resolved whom to marry', and that 'if she was constrained to do so for the good of her subjects she would marry outside her kingdom; adding that six days ago the King of Sweden had sent her a very sincere letter, in which he informed her that his sister was coming, and had sent ships to bring her here'. [Teulet, ii.217].

Aug 23, Windsor: Privy Council to the Warden of the Fleet, 'to receive into his custody and keep in safe and several [separate] ward, without having conference with any, Thomas Keys, late Serjeant Porter, for an offence which the Queen's Majesty taketh much to heart against him'.^{APC}

Keys was released in 1568; he died in 1571 without meeting Lady Mary again.

Aug 23: De Foix sent Sir William Cecil a book by *Pierre Ronsard*, in whose name he begged that it might be presented to the Queen. [SPF.vii.435].

Elégies, Mascarades et Bergerie. Title-page dedication to the Queen, and an Epistle to her. Also a lengthy verse Elegy addressed to her; an Elegy addressed to the Earl of Leicester; a Bergerie addressed to the Queen of Scots (a verse dialogue, or pastoral masque); with other poems, one to Cecil. (Paris, 1565).

Aug 23, Dublin, Sir Thomas Cusack to Sir William Cecil: 'O'Neill hath sent over the Dean of Armagh with presents to her Majesty, being a wise and discreet gentleman, who can and will declare to your Honour the state of all the North'.

Shane O'Neill to Cecil, Aug 25: I send the Dean to relate the reasons for my attack on Scots on May 2, when 700 or 800 were slain in an endeavour to expel Scots from Ireland. [SP63/14/46,51].

Terence Danyell, Dean of Armagh, left London in November to return to Ireland. Shane O'Neill had been in England himself from January-May 1562.

Aug 24, Queen to the Sheriff of Essex:
With orders to attend Lady Cecilia of Sweden if she lands in Suffolk or Essex, and to conduct her to London.

Aug 26, Queen to Lord Cobham (in Kent; Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports):
Lady Cecilia 'is like to arrive very shortly at Dover...for that we are advertised that she is coming by land from Emden to Dunkirk, where she should be arrived to yesterday'...

'Our will and pleasure is that you put yourself in order to repair unto Dover, as well accompanied as the time shall serve you, both of your own gentlemen and servants, and also of the gentlemen of worship next dwelling about Canterbury and Dover, and within the Cinque Ports...so as you may be as our chief officer there ready to receive and bid her welcome in our name; and so conduct her as far as the boundary of your office doth extend'.

Lord and Lady Abergavenny have been appointed to join in conducting her to Gravesend, and others to conduct her from there to London. [SP12/37/18,19].

Court news. Aug 27, London, De Silva to Philip II: 'Some of the servants of the King of Sweden's sister have arrived in the city, and liveries are being made for the rest who accompany her. She is expected every day and...comes to treat for a marriage between her brother and this Queen'...

'The Queen was showing favour to one [Thomas] Heneage, who serves in her Chamber. Lord Robert and he have had words, and as a consequence Lord Robert spoke to the Queen. She was apparently much annoyed at the conversation... Heneage however at once left the court and Robert did not see the Queen for three days until she sent for him, and they say now that Heneage will come back at the instance of Lord Robert, to avoid gossip'. [Span.i.470].

Aug 29, Windsor: Council to William Hawtrey esquire: 'The Queen's Majesty's pleasure is that he do forthwith repair to the court and take into his charge and custody the Lady Mary Grey, to remain at his house without conference with any, suffering only one waiting woman to attend upon her, without going abroad, for whose charges the Queen's Majesty will see him in reason satisfied'.^{APC}

Lady Mary Grey stayed for two years with William Hawtrey at Chequers, Bucks. Chequers became the official country residence of British Prime Ministers in 1921; it still preserves Lady Mary's 'Prison Room', with an inscription by her, and now also a portrait of her, 1571. [Norma Major, Chequers (1996)].

Aug 30,Thur French Ambassadors at Windsor for audience. Castelnau de Mauvissière, and the resident Ambassador, Paul de Foix.

Queen to Sir Thomas Smith, Sept 1: Upon Thursday last the French Ambassador came to me with Mauvissière, who is sent to the Queen of Scots with advice from the King on how to compound her controversies with her subjects, and who asked me to appoint someone to join with him in this. I replied that John Tamworth had newly arrived from Scotland, sent with like message and intention, to whom the Queen of Scots showed that she had no meaning to satisfy my demands, and refused to listen to any advice. The French have written to Queen Mary, and Mauvissière is waiting ten days for an answer. [SPF.vii.444-5].

De Silva to Philip II, Sept 3, London: On Aug 27 'Mauvissière arrived here, who is the same man that brought the camels and the litter for the Queen [in May]...He is on his way to visit the Queen of Scotland on behalf of his own King and Queen, who ordered him to visit this Queen' regarding the Queen of Scots. 'The French Ambassador told me the same, and...they both went to Windsor'. They 'only had one audience of the Queen and were with her for a very short time, returning to all appearance discontented'. [Span.i.471-2].

Court news. Aug 30, Sir William Cecil to Sir Thomas Smith, of the answer made to the Emperor's Ambassador: 'The Queen's Majesty will marry with none without sight of his person, nor with any that shall dissent in religion; for the rest of the articles they are referred to the Treaty betwixt King Philip and Queen Mary. I think the Archduke will come, but of his religion nobody shall know I think but her Majesty, nor she until he see hope of speeding [succeeding]. The whole nobility to my understanding favour this very much, and my Lord of Leicester hath behaved himself very wisely to allow of it'. [Wright,i.207-8].

August: visits/proposed visits:

George Tyrell made ready at Sunninghill, Berkshire. [Crown property].

Anthony Light made ready at Farnham, Surrey. [Farnham Castle].

George Tyrell made ready at Bagshot Lodge, Surrey.^T [Crown property].

September: proposed visit, Richmond Palace, Surrey. George Tyrell made ready at Richmond 'against her Highness should have come thither'.^T

Sept 2, Lord Cobham to Sir William Cecil, of the arrival of the Lady Cecilia at Dover.

Sept 3, Windsor, Queen to 14 ladies and gentlemen of Kent, to attend the Lady Cecilia on her arrival. [SP12/37/27,28].

Court news. Sept 3, De Silva to Philip II: 'The real ground for the dispute between Lord Robert and Heneage...is the following'.

Sir Nicholas Throckmorton 'who rules Lord Robert, advised him to devise some means to find out whether the Queen was really as much attached to him as she appeared to be...He would find himself in an awkward fix if he failed in his own suit and yet was accused of hindering the Queen's marriage to anyone else. He advised him to do two things, the first pretending to fall in love himself with one of the ladies in the palace and watch how the Queen took it, and the other to ask her leave to go to his own place to stay as other noblemen do'.

'The Earl took his advice and showed attention to the Viscountess of Hereford, who is one of the best-looking ladies of the court and daughter of a first cousin to the Queen, with whom she is a favourite. This being the state of things the dispute with Heneage took place, and Leicester seized this opportunity to ask leave to go. The Queen was in a great temper and upbraided him with what had taken place with Heneage and his flirting with the Viscountess in very bitter words'.

'He went down to his apartments and stayed there for three or four days until the Queen sent for him, the Earl of Sussex and Cecil having tried to smooth the business over, although they are no friends of Lord Robert in their hearts... Both the Queen and Robert shed tears, and he has returned to his former favour'.

[Span.i.470-472]. Lettice Knollys, Viscountess of Hereford, later Countess of Essex, secretly married the Earl of Leicester in 1578.

Sept 4, in Scotland: News of the pursuit or chase of some of the Scottish nobles, dubbed 'the Chaseabout Raid'. The lords had written from Edinburgh to the Queen of Scots in Glasgow, Sept 1, complaining that they are rigorously pursued from place to place, not for any capital crime, but only for seeking the maintenance of true religion which they and most part of the realm profess.

Sept 4, Edinburgh, Thomas Randolph to Sir William Cecil, of the lords opposed to the Catholic Queen of Scots, who is pursuing them with strong forces.

'The Lord of Murray repairs into England' which 'shall be the last refuge... It is requisite to be known what should be said on our Queen's behalf to one side or the other'...

'In the whole world, if there be a more malicious heart towards the Queen my Sovereign than is she that here now reigneth, let me be hanged at my homecoming, or counted a villain for ever'. [Scot.ii.200-203].

Robert Melville arrived in London from the lords on September 17.

Earl of Moray and other lords fled to England in October.

Court news. Sept 10, London, De Silva to Philip II, of Mauvissière, who wished to continue his journey to Scotland: 'He went to see the Queen four days ago and to ask her leave to start. They have detained him on the pretext that the Queen was ill from the 6th to the 9th, for which day they appointed an audience'...

As to Lady Cecilia: 'They have sent to receive her, and have prepared the Earl of Bedford's house for her occupation, with hangings and beds belonging to the Queen. They say that she brings a good train with her'. [Span.i.474-5].

The Earl of Bedford, a widower, was absent as Governor of Berwick; Bedford House was vacant.

Mauvissière had a further audience: September 15.

11 Sept 1565-April 1566: **Lady Cecilia of Sweden** in London.

Cecilia (1540-1627), sister of King Eric XIV of Sweden and of John Duke of Finland, who had been in England in winter 1559-1560; with her husband Christopher Marquis (or Margrave) of Baden.

John Bridges, Yeoman of the Removing Wardrobe of Beds and his men, 'riding from Windsor to London and there making ready the Earl of Bedford's house, and attending upon the Lady Cecilia'. Anthony Light, Gentleman Usher, also made ready the Earl of Bedford's house.^T James Bell dedicated to the Queen an account of Cecilia's 10 month journey to England (see end 1565).

Her Maids of Honour included Birgitta, and Helena Snakenborg, with whom the much older Marquis of Northampton fell deeply in love.

Sept 11, Tues Cecilia of Sweden arrived in London.

De Silva to Philip II, Sept 17: On September 11 'the King of Sweden's sister entered London at two o'clock in the afternoon. She is very far advanced in pregnancy, and was dressed in a black velvet robe with a mantle of black cloth of silver, and wore on her head a golden crown...She had with her six ladies dressed in crimson taffeta with mantles of the same...At Gravesend Hunsdon with six of the Queen's servants awaited her, and at the water-gate of the house where she was to stay she was met by the Countess of Sussex and...the wife of the Chancellor [Lady Bacon], and Secretary Cecil'. [Span.i.475].

Sept 12, Queen to Earl of Bedford, at Berwick; summary: We have determined with all speed to send you £3000. You shall let Moray have £1000 of it in the most secret sort that you can. We have no intention to maintain other Prince's subjects against their Sovereign, neither would willingly do anything to make a war betwixt ourself and that Queen. But we authorise you to let the Scottish lords have 300 men (without notifying them that you have any direction from us). They are to be sent to Carlisle, and covertly to the lords. [SPF.vii.458-9].

When the weakness of the Earl of Moray's faction was discovered these orders were countermanded.

[Sept 13, Thur] dinner, Osterley, Middlesex; Sir Thomas Gresham.^T Osterley House, Isleworth; owned by Sir Thomas Gresham (1519-1579), mercer, the Queen's principal financial agent;

wife: Anne (Ferneley), widow of William Read; she died in 1596.

Sept 13, Thur **WHITEHALL PALACE.**

St Martin in the Fields: 'For ringing at the remove of the Queen from Windsor to Whitehall', 8d.

Sept 14, Fri Queen's first visit to Lady Cecilia, Bedford House, Strand.

De Silva, Sept 17: 'On the 14th the Queen...descended at the lodgings of the Swedish Princess...The latter received her Majesty at the door, where she embraced her warmly, and both went up to her apartments. After the Queen had passed some time with her in great enjoyment she returned home, and the next night - the 15th - the Princess was delivered of a son. The Queen came up to visit her in consequence of her condition'. Yesterday the Queen praised her very much to me 'both for her good looks and elegance, and for the grace and facility with which she speaks English'. [Span.i.475-6].

De Foix to Charles IX, September: 'Because Lady Cecilia was so close to her confinement that she could not travel' the Queen came 'to the Earl of Bedford's house where Cecilia is staying, to visit her, and treated her with all favour, good cheer and honour possible. On the 16th early in the morning she was brought to bed of a son of whom she has made the Queen godmother, and it is said that the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Leicester will be godfathers'.^{BT}

Sept 15, Sat French Ambassadors at Whitehall for audience.
 De Foix and Mauvissière. Sept 18, London, De Foix to Catherine de Medici:
 On Thursday the 13th 'the Queen left Windsor to come to find the King of
 Sweden's sister, who arrived here two days before. She asked me to go to her
 on the following Saturday, the 15th, at Westminster, not being able to give me
 audience sooner because she spent the previous day meeting the King's sister.
 Mauvissière and I went on that day'. The discussion centred on the Queen
 of Scots, and her refusal to allow any 'prince' to 'meddle' in her affairs.
 Mauvissière requested a passport to go to Scotland, to attempt to pacify matters
 between the Queen and the lords now rebelling against her. 'The same day we had
 audience young Beaton arrived from Scotland'. [Teulet, ii.220-221,224].
 The Queen of Scots refused to allow Mauvissière to mediate between her and
 her 'rebellious' subjects. He was back at the English court in mid-October.

Also Sept 15: John Beaton at Whitehall on his way from Scotland to France.
 Beaton was sent by the Queen of Scots to the French court, and because of bad
 weather went via England; he was last in London in July-August.

De Silva, Sept 17: 'He tells me he finds this Queen very dissatisfied,
 and that she received him very differently from former occasions'.
 [Span.i.479]. Beaton was allowed a passport for France.

Sept 17-Oct 1: *Robert Melville in London from Scotland.*
Melville was sent for military aid by Scottish lords angered by their Queen's
marriage, who feared that she would subvert the Reformation in Scotland.
They requested 3000 men, artillery, ships, and money.
Earl of Bedford to Sir William Cecil, Sept 13, Berwick: Melville repairs to
the court 'sent from the Lords with instructions, or rather overmuch knowledge
of their distress; none can remedy it but her Majesty, and without aid of money
and men from her all will go to wreck...They seek God's honour, liberty of
conscience, and the liberty of their country'. [SPF.vii.459].

Sept 20, Padstow, Captain *John Hawkins* to the Queen (on return from a slave-
 trading voyage; he had taken leave of the Queen at Enfield, Middx, July 1564):
 'Pleaseth it your Majesty to be informed that the 20th day of September I
 arrived in a port of Cornwall called Padstow with your Majesty's ship *The Jesus*
 in good safety. Thanks be to God our voyage being reasonably well accomplished..
 Your Majesty's commandment at my departing from your Grace at Enfield I have
 accomplished so as I doubt not but it shall be found honourable to your High-
 ness, for I have always been a help to all Spaniards and Portingals that have
 come in my way...I have also discovered the coast of Florida in those parts
 where there is thought to be any great wealth'. [Illustrated: Pryor, No.16].

Sept 20, Edinburgh, *Thomas Randolph* to Sir William Cecil: You shall shortly
 have with you 'Mr David Chamber, of whom to speak good for virtue, knowledge,
 truth or honesty should be as great a slander unto him as reproof to myself to
 speak against my knowledge, and the opinion of all honest men that ever had to
 do with him...Though he is now a Lord of Session, he was within this year
 servant to Bothwell'. [Scot.ii.211]. *David Chamber* came to the English court
 to speak against the Scottish lords, then went on to the King of France.

Sept 22: Information given by Robert Melville to the Queen and Council.
 The Queen of Scots means the utter subversion of religion and the re-erection
 of Papistry. 'Crafty and wily strangers', Italian and English, occupy the place
 of the native Councillors. A stranger, subject of another realm, has intruded
 himself into the name and authority of King without their consent. As they seek
 redress they are persecuted as traitors. They most humbly beg for the Queen and
 her Council not to let them perish for lack of assistance. [Scot.ii.212-213].

Court news. Sept 24, De Silva to Philip II: 'The Marquis of Baden, husband of Cecilia, was with the Queen for about two hours a few days ago, and they summoned a German he has in his train, who they say is a soldier, and who was with them the next day and passed the whole morning with Cecil. I am told the matter under consideration was the raising of some German troops'. [Span.i.481].

Sept 29, De Foix to Catherine de Medici: 'The lords whom the Queen of Scots is pursuing have sent young Melville to ask for aid. Since September 17 when he arrived he has made great entreaties, on which the Lords of the Council deliberate every day, holding long and frequent Councils'...

'The other Councillors have been summoned. The Duke of Norfolk, the Marquis of Northampton, the Earls of Arundel and Pembroke and some others have come, and on their arrival the Council was found to be divided, and not without suspicion that some of them favour the Queen of Scots. For the same suspicion, on September 22 this Queen summoned the Earls of Northumberland, Westmorland, and Cumberland, whose estates are nearest Scotland'. [Teulet, ii.229,233].

Sept 29, De Foix to Charles IX: 'Lady Cecilia's son is to be christened on Sunday by the Queen, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Duke of Norfolk, and as soon as Cecilia is up, her husband will go home and she will go to Whitehall Palace for a long stay with the Queen'.^{BT}

By September 30: Preparations for christening of Lady Cecilia's child. Herald: 'The back part of the stalls in the royal Chapel, wherein the Gentlemen of the Chapel do sing, was hanged with rich tapestry representing the twelve months, and the front of the said stalls was also covered with rich arras'.

'The upper part of the Chapel, from the Table of Administration to the stalls, was hanged with cloth of gold, and on the south side was a rich Travers for the Queen'.

'The Communion Table was richly furnished with plate and jewels, viz. a fountain and basin of mother of pearl; a basin and a fountain gilt, railed with gold; a rich basin garnished with stones and pearls; a ship or ark garnished with stones; two great lairs garnished with stones, and two lesser lairs garnished with stones and pearls; a bird of agate, furnished with stones; a cup of agate, furnished with stones and pearls; a bowl of coral garnished with pearls; a bowl of crystal with a cover; two candlesticks of crystal; two ships of mother of pearl; one tablet of gold set with diamonds; another ship of mother of pearl; two pair of candlesticks of gold; two great candlesticks, double gilt, with lights of virgin wax; and a cross'.

'Over the said Table, on the wall, upon the cloth of gold, was fastened a front of rich cloth of gold set with pelicans; before the said Table hung reaching to the ground another front of the said suit'.

'Also there was let down from the roof of the said Chapel ten candlesticks in manner of lamps of silver and gilt, with great chains, every one having three great wax lights. Over the aforesaid Table was set on a shelf as high as the window 21 candlesticks of gold and silver double gilt, with 24 lights'.

'On the north side of the quire between the organs and the upper window stood 17 candlesticks double gilt, with 17 lights; and on the tops of the stalls were fastened certain candlesticks with 12 lights, so that the whole lights set there were 83. There was made at the upper ends of the stalls, athwart the Chapel, a rail which was covered with cloth of gold, and which rail was kept by Brackenbury and Morton, Gentlemen Ushers'.

'In the upper part of the said Chapel, afore the Table of Administration, and against the Travers, there was set upon a great mount, the which was eight square and three steps high, a font of silver and gilt, the inside covered with linen cloth, and the outside hanged with rich tapestry'.

'The steps of the font, and all the upper part of the said Chapel underfoot, was laid with carpets, all which was prepared by Light and Tyrell, Gentlemen Ushers, who had the charge thereof'.

'The Vestry was hanged with tapestry, being appointed for that time for the Nursery, where was hanged before the fire a Travers of purple taffeta for the child to stay in till the Queen came, and within the said Travers was set a chair and a cushion'.

Sept 30, Sun Christening of Lady Cecilia's child, Whitehall.

Edwardus Fortunatus, son of Cecilia of Sweden and the Marquis of Baden.

Godparents: the Queen, Archbishop of Canterbury (Parker), Duke of Norfolk. 'The Chapel and all things thus ready and well-furnished, the child came from Bedford House beside Ivybridge, where the lady lay, about 5 o'clock in this manner: First, the Gentlemen of the said Marquis, then a Gentleman Usher before the child bare-headed, then the child borne by Frow Bridget in a white satin frock with a kirtle of cloth of silver, assisted by Mr Roger Manners and Sir Henry Radcliffe, the train borne by the Lady Fitzwilliam, the child covered with a very rich mantle and a rich face-cloth. After the child went divers ladies and certain of the Maidens, all in white kirtles of cloth of silver and frocks of white satin, on their heads caulcs of gold with circlets of pearl set with spangles'.

'In this order they proceeded to the court, where in the hall all along stood the Queen's Guard, with staves and torches in their hands unlighted; and at the hall door the Lord Chamberlain met the child and brought it to the Chapel, and so into the Vestry, and there remained'.

'When the Queen's Majesty had intelligence thereof she came to her Great Closet [a chapel], in like manner as she doth on the Festival Days, the Officers of Arms wearing their Coats of her Arms afore her, and about her Majesty was borne six tapers of virgin wax by six gentlemen, viz. Mr Gibbs, Mr Digby, Mr Delves, Mr Stafferton, Mr Ellis, Mr Worthington [Gentlemen Pensioners]'.

'The Lord Herbert of Cardiff bore the Sword, and the Lady Margaret Clifford the train, assisted by the Lord Chamberlain. She being come to the Closet, service was begun by the Gentlemen of the Chapel and the Cornets'.

'When the service was done, the Queen's Majesty came down to the Chapel and went to her Travers, and there stayed till the font was hallowed by the Bishops of Canterbury, London, Salisbury, and Rochester'.

'Then the child was brought forth and delivered to the Lady Howard of Effingham, assisted by the Earl of Ormond and the other two aforementioned, for that it was very heavy by reason of the jewels and costly attire'.

'Then the Queen's Majesty came forth of her Travers, and went to the font to be the surety or godmother, where there stood the Bishop of London in a white rochet of cambric, who did execute [officiate], and the other Bishops standing by in their ordinary apparel, together with the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Duke of Norfolk, who were sureties or godfathers. Then the Bishop of London (Mr Watts, Archdeacon of Middlesex, holding the book), proceeded and ministered the Sacrament of Baptism to the said child, without any playing or singing, but only ministered and read the Order of Baptism in English, as it is set out'.

'When he came to the name, the Queen's Majesty named the child Edwardus Fortunatus, and when the child was baptised the Queen's Majesty went to her Travers until water was brought, and the Lady Howard delivered the child to the foresaid Bridget, who returned with it into the Travers in the Vestry'.

'The Gentlemen Ushers, viz. Mr Light and Mr Tyrell, came forth of the old Vestry on the south side of the Chapel with water for the Queen to wash, having there received it of the Sergeant of the Ewery, and delivered the towel to the Marquis of Northampton, and the basins to the Earl of Leicester; the Lord Clinton took the assay, and the Earl of Sussex held the under basin'.

'To the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Duke of Norfolk Dr Thomas Benger held the towel, Sir Ralph Bagenal gave the water'.

'Then was brought to the Queen's Majesty a void of spices in a great plate, covered, by the Lord of Hunsdon and Sir Robert Rich. Sir Henry Sidney, Lord President of Wales, brought the cup of hippocras. To the other two gossips [god-parents] the void was brought by Gentlemen Pensioners'.

'Then the child was brought forth to the Queen, and then there was brought forth to her Majesty a cupboard of plate, borne by divers knights and Gentlemen Pensioners, with others, which her Majesty gave to the said child. Then the Archbishop's gift was brought forth by his Steward, being a great standing cup covered, double gilt. Then the Duke of Norfolk's gift, being a cup of gold with a cover, in value a hundred pounds, was likewise brought and borne by Mr Timperley his Controller'.

'Then the Queen's Majesty went from the Chapel in manner as she came to the same, and at the top of the stairs as she went up from the Chapel the said Marquis stood and gave her Majesty and the others thanks for their pains and great gifts'.

'Then the child was carried home in manner as it was brought, with great number of torches lighted, carried by the Guard and the Marquis's own men two and two, for that then it was within night, and the Queen's gifts and the other two gossips were carried before the child by the persons aforementioned, and first the Duke's, then the Archbishop's, then the Queen's, and then the child'.

'The same night divers of the lords went with the said Marquis of Baden to his said lodging of Bedford Place to supper'. [Hearne, ii.691-694].

Queen's gift: gilt plate, 959 ounces at 7s8d per ounce, cost £367.^{NYG}

Queen's reward to midwife and nurses: £20.^T

Oct 1: Queen's answer to the Scottish lords, taken by Robert Melville:

Nothing has happened to her, since coming to her Crown, more grievous than to learn of their dangerous state. But she cannot give them the military aid required without entering into open war. Yet if their Queen's indignation be such that they can obtain no end and preserve their lives she will 'receive them into her protection and save their persons and lives from ruin', intending 'to show herself as a merciful and Christian prince, to defend innocent noble subjects from tyranny and cruelty'. [Scot.ii.216].

Oct 7, Sun visit to Lady Cecilia, Bedford House, Strand.

Oct 8, De Silva to Philip II: 'I had audience yesterday, and found the Marquis of Baden in the Presence Chamber'. The Queen 'called the Earl of Leicester, showing him favour as usual'. We talked 'until the hour arrived for visiting the King of Sweden's sister and the Queen asked me whether I would go. I answered that I would attend her. She went by water and for a time only she and I were together in the cabin of her barge, until at length she called [Thomas] Heneage and spoke to him secretly and very closely and afterwards told me that she was telling him he must learn German...She approached the Swedish Princess with great professions of affection and embraces, and I then went up to speak to her. They remained standing for a time until a stool had been brought for me, and continued with small-talk and professions of attachment to each other'...

'As the Queen was leaving I received advice from the Duchess of Parma of the retreat of the Turkish fleet from Malta, and the Queen, this lady, and the rest of those present appeared to rejoice greatly thereat'...

'Although the Queen went by water on her visit she returned by road in a coach with her Mistress of the Robes, Lady Cobham. She said we are three of us in this coach, and some people would make us out to be four, meaning by that that the Mistress of the Robes was pregnant'. [Span.i.486-7].

[There was no post of Mistress of the Robes until the next reign].

Court news. Oct 11, London, De Foix to Charles IX:

'Melville left September 29 to return to Scotland, having obtained as I hear that the Queen will send the lords 400 arquebusiers; he carried to them £2000 sterling...The arquebusiers have been sent to Berwick, an English border town ...to be used only if the lords are in dire necessity, as Queen Elizabeth does not wish to go to war with the Queen of Scots, nor to abandon all the lords'...

'However she has held musters throughout her Kingdom, and even in this town, on October 5 and 6...more in my opinion for show and ostentation, to put the Queen of Scots in fear, and bring her to agree to some accord'.

As to the christening of Lady Cecilia's son: 'When they brought the child back to his mother's house they carried before him a great show of presents from the godmother and godfathers. The Queen gave him 2000 crowns in a silver-gilt vessel, and each of the other godparents a gold cup with 400 crowns'.

'Lady Cecilia is visited two or three times a week by the Queen, with all possible honour and marks of friendship'.^{BT}

Oct 13, Sat new appointment: Sir Henry Sidney, to be Lord Deputy of Ireland.

Oct 14, Sun supper, on Lady Cecilia's 'Churching Day'; Bedford House.

The Church of England had a special service for 'The thanksgiving of women after childbirth, commonly called the Churching of Women', a month after birth.

Anthony Light made ready 'Bedford House and the Savoy for the churching of the Lady Cecilia of Sweden'.^T [Savoy Chapel].

De Silva to Philip II, Oct 22: On October 14 Cecilia 'went to the ceremony which is called here the purification, and the child was confirmed. There were great rejoicings, and on the previous night she and her husband had sent to invite me to dine, which I did, and stayed to supper as well, because the Queen was coming'.

'The Queen said many gracious words of praise of your Majesty for the succour which only you had sent to Malta, and said she had ordered processions and thanksgivings for the victory to be given all over the country, at one of which, to take place here, she intended to be present'. [Span.i.494].

Also Oct 14, at Bedford House: Challenge for Tournament.

Herald: A Challenge for a Tournament at the Earl of Warwick's marriage 'was notified to all gentlemen both by Proclamation, and also on Sunday the 14th of October, the Queen's Majesty being at supper with the Lady Cecilia of Sweden, being her Churching Day, at Bedford House'.

'After supper York Herald in the Queen's coat of arms entered, and declared that there was a Post come from a strange country with a message to her Majesty and the honourable Princess there; which the Queen commanded to bring in, which York did with a trumpet three times sounding. Then the Post came in and kneeling down before her Majesty declared that four strangers, knights, at the marriage aforementioned would hold Jousts, Tourney, and Barriers against all comers, if it pleased her Majesty and the said Lady Cecilia to give the looking on, which was Edwards of the Chapel in his boots and spurs'. [Hearne, ii.667].

Edwards: Richard Edwards, Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal.

York Herald, 1565-1567: William Colbarne.

'The day was appointed the 4th of November, which was put off to the 11th day of November. At the Tilt with each one 6 courses; at the Tourney 12 strokes with the sword; 3 pushes with the punchen staff [sharp pointed staff] and 12 blows with the sword at Barriers, or 20 if any be so disposed'.

[Stow, Memoranda, 134, with the verse challenge on the court gate].

'A challenge was set on the court gate at Westminster'.
 'You that in warlike ways and deeds of arms delight,
 You that for country's cause or else for lady's love dare fight,
 Know you four knights there be that come from foreign land,
 Whose haughty hearts and courage great hath moved to take in hand,
 With sword, with spear and shield, on foot, on horseback too,
 To try what you by force of fight, or otherwise, can do.
 Prepare yourselves therefore this challenge to defend,
 That trump of fame your prowess great abroad may sound and send.
 And he that best can do, the same shall have the prize.
 The day, the place, and form and fight, lo here before your eyes'.

Court news. Oct 16, Westminster, Sir William Cecil to Sir Thomas Smith:

'There are sundry rumours that the lords here do not accord together, that my Lord of Leicester should not have so great favour as he had; that my Lord of Sussex and he should be in strange terms; that my Lord of Norfolk, my Lord Chamberlain [Howard], my Lord of Hunsdon, etc. should also not allow of my Lord of Leicester, that Mr Heneage should be in very good favour with her Majesty, and so misliked by my Lord of Leicester'. But these lords 'do not so much vary amongst themselves as lewd men do report. To tell you truly, I think the Queen's Majesty's favour to my Lord of Leicester be not so manifest as it was, to move men to think that she will marry with him; and yet his Lordship hath favour sufficient, as I hear him say to his good satisfaction'...

'Mauvissière is returned, and has not profited with the Queen [of Scots]...
 'Of the Lady Cecilia of Sweden...there are sundry opinions, some that she meant to set on foot her brother's former suit of marriage, but perceiving that not to be found probable, some now say that she will further my Lord of Leicester's towards her Majesty'. [Wright, i.208-211].

Oct 16: The rebel Scottish lords took refuge in Newcastle, Northumberland, and decided to send the Earl of Moray to the Queen.

Oct 18, Edinburgh, Thomas Randolph to Earl of Leicester, of the Queen of Scots: 'Herself and all such as belong unto her so evil spoken of that worse cannot be thought than is common in every man's mouth...Her country so evil guided that justice lies dead in all places, and her noblemen chased out of the country...They have no other refuge but to flee unto her by whom their lives have before this been saved, and their country delivered from the government of strangers' [from the French, in 1560]. [SPF.vii.493-5].

Oct 20, Sat Captain John Hawkins at Whitehall.

Hawkins had left on his second slave-trading voyage in October 1564, and landed in Cornwall on September 20. He returned 'with great profit to the venturers of the said voyage, as also to the whole realm, in bringing home both gold, silver, pearls, and other jewels great store'. In his Report he describes the potato: 'Indians...brought down to us hens, potatoes, and pines, which we bought for beads, pewter whistles, glasses, knives, and other trifles. These potatoes be the most delicate roots that may be eaten, and do far exceed our parsnips or carrots'. There is possibly the first description of tobacco: 'The Floridians when they travel have a kind of herb dried, who with a cane and an earthen cup in the end, with fire and the dried herbs put together, do suck through the cane the smoke thereof, which smoke satisfieth their hunger, and therewith they live four or five days without meat or drink'. [Hakluyt, vii.6-52].

Court news. Oct 22, De Silva to Philip II: 'Hawkins...recently arrived from the Indies, conversed with me the day before yesterday at the palace and said that he had been on a long voyage...and had traded in various parts of the Indies with your Majesty's subjects'. [Span.i.496].

October 22: Earl of Moray arrived in London.

James Stewart, Earl of Moray (c.1531-1570), half-brother of the Queen of Scots.

He was banished from Scotland, and had fled into England in mid-October with other exiled noblemen, considered by Mary as rebels, who were now at Newcastle.

Queen Elizabeth sent a courier to order him not to leave there, but he had already reached Hertfordshire, and was permitted to continue to court.

Oct 22, Wed Earl of Moray privately at Whitehall with the Queen.
Moray met the Queen on the night of his arrival.

Oct 23, Thur Earl of Moray at Whitehall for public audience.

Those present included the whole Privy Council, the French Ambassador, and Castelnau de Mauvissière, who was on his way back from Scotland to France.

Oct 23, Privy Council to Sir Thomas Smith: 'He declared, kneeling before her Majesty, that being with divers others entered into the Queen's displeasure... and thereby driven to forsake for a time their native country for their none offence by any of them meant to the Queen their mistress...he presumed... to repair to her court, and most humbly to beseech her to be a mean unto the said Queen their mistress to receive them again into her grace'.

'Her Highness having this far heard him, told him first that she thought it very strange that a man being in his case would presume to come so near unto her and in effect to her presence before she heard any word thereof. Nevertheless ...she thought not amiss to hear him, namely what he could say to such bruits as did run of him and others touching his and their ill meaning and disobedience to their Sovereign Lady...that they had refused to resort to her at her calling... had confederated themselves against her, and finally, that they had levied a force'.

"If this were true" quoth she "it were no prince's part to think well of your doings"...It well appeared her opinion that no subject should be maintained in forgetting his duty...She required him...to declare the whole and perfect truth of the quarrel. He declared how truly he had served his Queen, but had objected to her intended match with Darnley, and did not refuse to come to court when sent for, but heard that 'his life should be in danger'. Shortly after he and others were put to the horn [outlawed]. They were finally driven for safety of their lives into England to seek her Majesty's mediation.

'He testified before God that in all his actions he had no meaning but principally the honour of Almighty God by conserving the state of his religion in Scotland, and next the dignity...of his Sovereign to govern her realm and people in peace and quietness, and so to live with the Queen of England'...

'Her Majesty spoke very roundly to him before the Ambassador that...she would not...maintain any subject in any disobedience against the prince; for beside the offence of her conscience which should condemn her, she knew that Almighty God might justly recompense her with the like trouble in her own realm; and so broke off her speech any further with him'. [Scot.ii.227-228].

Oct 29, Mon **NONSUCH**, Cheam, Surrey; Earl of Arundel.

Nonsuch, owned by Henry Fitzalan, 12th Earl of Arundel (1512-1580).

Lambeth Church: 'Paid the 29th day of October when the Queen's Majesty went to Nonsuch for ringing both at her going thither and coming home, 2s'.

Treasurer of the Chamber paid board wages to 5 Gentlemen Ushers (2s per day each), 4 Ordinary Sewers (20d), and 11 Grooms (12d), for three days 'when the Queen's Majesty was at Nonsuch and no Chamber kept at the court'.^T

Description of Nonsuch, 1562, by Alessandro Magno, a Venetian who also visited Hampton Court and Richmond: 'It is very beautiful, and is set in a lovely spot on a hill. On the outside it is decorated with flowers and figures of marble and stucco, with inscriptions placed at certain points. There are many ornaments, beautiful architecture, and it has a large spacious courtyard in the middle of which a very fine fountain plays continuously. Elsewhere there is a large well-kept garden with a maze and letters and diverse figures worked in topiary with sweet-smelling plants and flowers. There are fish ponds and a park, and everything gives pleasure, and beauty, and all that one could wish for. Indeed it is fit for a prince or a king...Inside, in addition to the marble and the stucco it is beautifully decorated with wall hangings of gold cloth and silk, which are as fine as they could be. The house is equipped with every comfort so that one could not possibly want more. The other two palaces are worth seeing. They belong to the Queen, but they are not to be compared with Nonsuch'. [Magno, 146].

*Oct 31, Wed **WHITEHALL PALACE.**

Nov 1: All Saints/All Hallows. 'Be it had in remembrance that upon All-hallowday...her Majesty wore a gown of black velvet embroidered and set with certain buttons of gold with diamonds, at what time one of the said diamonds fell from the button and was lost off from her Highness' back'. [Lost, 45].

By Nov 4: Prayers were printed after the Great Siege of Malta ended.

'A short Form of Thanksgiving to God for the delivery of the Isle of Malta from the invasion and long siege thereof by the great army of the Turks both by sea and land, and for sundry other victories lately obtained by the Christians against the said Turks'. [Liturgy, 461, 524-6].

Nov 4: St Mary Woolnoth: 'For four little books of service of thanksgiving for the deliverance of Christendom from the Turk, 6d'.

1565. St Michael Cornhill: 'For four books of prayers concerning the delivery from our enemies, 6d'.

Court news. Nov 5, Antwerp, De Silva to Philip II, of the Earl of Moray's audience (Oct 23): 'He entered modestly dressed in black, and kneeling on one knee, commenced to address the Queen in Scotch. The Queen at once told him to speak in French as he understood the language, but he excused himself by saying that he had been so unused to speak it that he had forgotten it and could not express himself in it. The Queen said that though he might not speak it fluently she knew he understood it well, and therefore whatever she wished to ask or say should be in French...The Earl replied at length in Scotch and the Queen turned his speech into French...I was informed that the night before this interview Murray was with her and Secretary Cecil for a long time where no doubt the proceedings of the next day were discussed'.

As to Hawkins: 'He went to Guinea and traded with the Portuguese slavers ...They say he must have had 400 blacks', whom he sold later on the voyage.

I asked Sir William Cecil 'what was the position of matters with regard to Lord Robert and Heneage. He replied that Leicester held his ground as usual, and the talk about Heneage was baseless nonsense. The Queen made a show of it for purposes of her own'.

'The Queen has had the King of Sweden's sister brought to the palace, and still pays her great attention. They tell me she is not proposing her brother's marriage, but is doing her best to urge Leicester's suit with the Queen, praising him highly'...

'On the night before his departure from London the Earl of Arundel invited the Swede and all the court to supper [at Arundel House, Strand], and even the Queen was to go uninvited, as she sometimes does out of compliment, but she was unwell'. [Span.i.500-502, 505].

The Spanish Ambassador, De Silva, was now in the Low Countries, as King Philip had appointed him to represent him at the marriage of the Duchess of Parma's son Alexander Farnese, Prince of Parma, to the Infanta Marie of Portugal.

De Silva left London on October 27 for Antwerp; the marriage was in Brussels on November 11, but the Ambassador was away until late January 1566.

Nov 7, Wed Viscount Montagu at Whitehall, on return from Bruges.

Nov 8, Westminster, Cecil to the Earl of Shrewsbury: 'My Lord Montague came home yesterday, and his colleagues will be here this night. They have, by consent, suspended the treaty until the 15th of March next'. [Lodge, i.435].

Montagu, Dr Haddon, and Dr Wotton suspended their trade negotiations with Spanish Commissioners during the winter, resuming them in April 1566.

Nov 11, Sun Earl of Warwick's marriage, Whitehall Palace.

Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick (c.1530-1590), brother of the Earl of Leicester, married (3rd wife) Lady Anne Russell (c.1548-1604), daughter of Francis 2nd Earl of Bedford (a widower, absent as Governor of Berwick).

'For our six Maids of Honour' Walter Fish, the Queen's Tailor, made gowns 'of yellow satin guarded with green velvet...laid with silver lace'. [Arnold, 100].

Herald: 'Lady Anne lying in the court, she came from her chamber and went to the Queen's Majesty's Great Closet [a chapel], led by the Earls of Oxford and Rutland, being accompanied with divers lords and gentlemen before her, and the Queen's Maids of Honour, and other young gentlewomen after her'.

'The said bride was apparelled in a kirtle of cloth of silver mixed with blue, a gown of purple velvet embroidered about with silver, a caul of gold on her head, her train borne by Katherine Knollys, daughter of Sir Francis Knollys, Vice-Chamberlain. The Maids of Honour were apparelled in yellow satin, guarded with green velvet and laid on with silver lace'.

'And after that the said bride was come to the Closet, the lords returned and fetched the lord bride-groom, he being apparelled in a gown of purple velvet furred with sables and embroidered with gold. The Earl of Leicester followed him in a gown of purple satin, with a broad guard of gold embroidered'.

'After they were both in the Closet the lords went for the Queen, who came to her Closet accompanied with the nobility as accustomed. And after the Queen had been there a while, the bride and bride-groom were there married, the Earl of Leicester giving the bride. After the wedding the service followed, the which ended, the Earl came first forth, and then the bride after, led by the Earl of Pembroke and the Lord Clinton, Lord Admiral; then the Queen's Majesty returned from the Closet as accustomed. The said bride dined in the Council Chamber, which was gorgeously hanged with very rich hangings of arras, at a long board which was set with lords and ladies'. There were one or more masques.

Nov 11: Start of three-day **Tournament**, at Whitehall.

Tilt: 4 Challengers v 23 Defendants. [Challenge on Oct 14].

Challengers: Henry Knollys; Patron: Sir Adrian Poynings.

Thomas Leighton; Patron: Sir Henry Gates.

Christopher Hatton; Patron: Mr Gorges.

Robert Colshill; Patron: Francis Horsey.

Each was preceded by his 'Patron', and was followed by an 'Amazon'.

Defendants: Robert Dudley Earl of Leicester;

Henry Lord Herbert; Arthur Lord Grey of Wilton;

Walter Windsor; Henry Norris; Thomas Markham; Henry Knyvett;

Edward Carey; Anthony Digby; Henry Macwilliam; Thomas Cornwallis;

John Danvers; Francis Harvey; Edward Dyer; Robert Wiseman;

Ralph Lane; Lancelot Bostock; Edmund Powell; Brian Ansley;

William Worthington; Richard Bulkeley; Thomas Gorges; Robert Alexander.

'After the Queen's Majesty being come into the Gallery and the Lady Cecilia, the Challengers came from the Mews, the Queen's Majesty's stables...but first [Richard] Edwards rode to the Queen with a Trumpet, to know the Queen's pleasure whether she would license the strangers to come and do their endeavour'.

'After the which they came, first their Trumpeters with banners of their colours, white, and red, and black'.

'Then Sir Adrian Poynings, his base, as Mr Knollys' was, which followeth his horse, trapped with a rich gilt barb of steel, and he in like manner armed, his visor open, as Patron to Mr Knollys, with a plume of feathers, red, white, and black'.

'Then Mr Henry Knollys' horse, caparisoned of crimson satin, on the same a wreath of white and black sarcenet, made in manner of lozenges, and in every lozenge a raised staff of white tinsel sarcenet, his base on the same sort. Then after him an Amazon apparelled in a long gown, with long sleeves of crimson satin, wrought and garnished as afore, with a sword by her side, and on her face a visor, like a woman with long hair hanging down to her boots; her horse caparison of white tinsel sarcenet laid with black wreaths lozenge-wise, and in every lozenge a red rose of tinsel sarcenet, in her hand a target [shield] of her master's arms. Then a spare horse with a caparison of black tinsel sarcenet, with wreaths of white in manner of lozenges, and in every lozenge a branch of red acorns of tinsel sarcenet'.

'Then Sir Henry Gates as Patron to Mr Leighton, armed and his horse barbed as Sir Adrian Poynings before. And after him the said Thomas Leighton full furnished as Mr Knollys, and after him his Amazon, with a target of his arms in the same manner as before, and after the Amazon the like spare horse'.

'Then Mr Gorges as Sir Adrian Poynings, as Patron to Mr Hatton, and after him his Amazon, and after the Amazon the spare horse, in all things as the other before. Then Mr Francis Horsey, after him Mr Robert Colshill, after him his Amazon, then his spare horse, in all things as before'.

'The said Challengers had their horses, bases, and Amazons all alike. And after they had environed the Tilt, they took the upper end next to the Queen, and there stood, and their targets were fastened up on four posts under the Queen's window'.

'After the Challengers were entered the Tilt-yard, then the Defendants came from Durham Place, being the Earl of Leicester's house, in this manner'.

'First the Trumpets, with yellow scarves of sarcenet; then divers gentlemen as well Pensioners as others; then all the Officers of Arms except Garter, wearing the Queen's coat of arms, with yellow scarves of sarcenet; then the Marquis of Baden, of pleasure, but no Defendant; then the Earl of Leicester, base and caparison of purple cloth of tissue, which bases in a course falling to the ground, and so being the Herald's fees, he had it again, and sent them for it 20 nobles; and after him the other Defendants beforenamed, one after another'.

[bases: deep skirts from waist to knee].

Nov 11: 'At night certain peals of chambers was shot off at the bank over against Westminster, and one of the chambers breaking slew the Queen's chief Master Gunner of England, which was Mr Robert Thomas'. He had been 'desirous to honour the feast and marriage day' of the Earl of Warwick, Master of the Ordnance, had 'made three peals of great chambers', and 'at the firing of the second was unhappily slain by a piece of one of the chambers, to the great sorrow and lamentation of many'. [Stow: Annals; Memoranda]. Burial: Nov 13.

Court news. Nov 12, De Foix to Charles IX, of the Earl of Warwick's marriage:

'The Queen is celebrating the marriage with almost as much magnificence and expense as if he were her brother, with feasting, tourneying, fighting at barriers, masques, and other pastimes'.^{BT}

Nov 12, Mon Tournament: Tilt, second day.

'All the Defendants ran not the first day, for that the day was too short, but they that ran not this day ran the next day, and they came to the Tilt in all points both Challengers and Defendants as the day before. The night done they departed, the Challengers first, and the Defendants next after...They that ran the day before wore no armour but their colours, the others armed'.

Nov 13, Tues Tournament, third day: Tourney, on horseback.

5 Challengers v 23 Defendants.

Additional Challenger: Earl of Warwick, v Thomas Markham only.

'About two o'clock in the afternoon, the Queen being come into her Gallery, the four Challengers came in like manner as the other day into the Tilt-yard, apparelled with bases as the day before, and armed for the Tourney, and so proceeded to the Tilt-yard, at the upper end whereof was prepared the place of Tourney. But before them as foremost rode the Earl of Warwick, armed and appointed as the others. Then when the Challengers were placed, the Defendants came in the like manner as the Sunday before armed for the Tourney. And when they were come and placed, there began the Earl of Warwick and Mr Markham, the said Earl tourneyed no more, but only with Mr Markham. Either of them should have struck four strokes at passage and so joined, but for want of time they struck but two strokes at passage'.

'At which Tourney Mr Henry Mackwilliam was overthrown, horse and all, by Mr Henry Knollys, by reason whereof his horse and harness was fee to the Officers of Arms, and so adjudged by the Earl Marshal and Judges there. But the Earl of Leicester, for that the said gentleman with the rest of the others did furnish themselves, and came in his company, would not suffer him to be at charge, but redeemed the horse and harness for £20'.

'And also whereas both the first and second day there was divers of the gentlemen, as well of the Challengers as of the Defendants, that lost pieces of their bases, feathers, and pieces of their armour, for redemption whereof the owners thereof gave unto the said Officers of Arms certain money, and had the same again. For the said Officers had all that fell to the ground, as their duties of ancient time belonging. After they had all done they departed in the order as the day before. Also this day the Earl of Leicester at his house of Durham Place made a great dinner'. [*Hearne*, ii.666-669: marriage; tournament].

'Judges at this Jousts and Tourney': Lord Chamberlain [*William Lord Howard of Effingham*]; Lord Admiral [*Edward 9th Lord Clinton*]; Edmund 2nd Lord Chandos. The Challengers ran in the order: Hatton, Knollys, Leighton, Colshill. The Heralds' list includes Henry Mackwilliam 'overthrown by push of sword'.

'Sum of the challengers' staves broken, 91; sum of the defenders' staves broken, 77'. [*Score-cheques: College of Arms Portfolio*].

Nov 13: Robert Thomas, the Master Gunner accidentally killed on November 11, was buried with considerable ceremony at St Botolph without Bishopsgate.

His widow Elizabeth died in June 1566. She left 'unto the company of the Queen's Majesty's gunners the ancient [ensign] of black and white sarcenet which was my late husband's'.

Nov 16, Fri: Seven Heralds made partition among themselves of the £20 paid by Leicester at the Tourney; and of '20 nobles paid by Earl of Leicester and 40s paid by certain of the gentlemen for redemption of divers pieces of armour, bases and plumes, being at that triumph stricken to the ground, over and above 19 ells of yellow sarcenet delivered them for their scarves'.

[*College of Arms Partition Book I*].

Nov 17, Sat: **Accession Day** celebrations, in London.

St Botolph Aldersgate: 'For ringing the 17th of November and when the Queen's Majesty passed by, 2s8d'.

St Peter Westcheap: 'To the sexton and others for ringing in memory of the Queen's Majesty's most happy regiment [rule], 12d'.

Nov 23, Sir William Cecil to Roger Ascham, Secretary for the Latin Tongue, giving the Queen's reasons for favouring Lady Cecilia with 'a token of our goodwill', requesting him to turn this into Latin, with a Patent for an annual pension of 2000 crowns for Cecilia. [Trans RHS n.s.xii (1898) 213-4].

Nov 25: A book was dedicated to the Queen, at Stockland Bristol, Somerset, 'by Master Thomas Charnock, student in the most worthy sciences, of astronomy, physick, and philosophy. Containing the work of natural philosophy'.

Dedicatory Epistle to the Queen, to inform her of what Charnock can accomplish toward making the philosopher's stone. Alchemy is false science; true science is the making of the stone.

The rest of the book consists of a dialogue on December 10 between Charnock and 'an Oxford man concerning the science and work of natural philosophy'.

Charnock describes the specific proposals he wishes to make to the Queen, and the benefits she can expect by financing his work in the Tower of London. He goes on to describe the history of alchemy in England, then has a long passage of autobiographical verse. He hopes the Queen will command his book to be printed, will send for him, and he will 'be called by the name of the Queen's philosopher'. 53 folios. [BL Lansdowne MS 703].

Later Charnock noted that he delivered the book to Secretary Cecil, but because the Queen and Council had already set another man [Cornelius Lanoy] at work in Somerset House 'my book was laid aside for a time'. This MS by Charnock (c.1525-1581), remained among Sir William Cecil's papers.

Extracts: Allan Pritchard, 'Thomas Charnock's book dedicated to Queen Elizabeth', AMBIX, vol 26, Part 1, March 1979, 56-73.

Court news. Nov 27, De Foix to Catherine de Medici:

'The friendship and favour of the Queen towards the Earl of Leicester increases daily...Cecil told me that Leicester came to him in his room and said..."I will now tell you plainly that I aspire to the hand of the Queen; and it seems to me that she is not so well disposed to anyone as to myself". I said to her lately "that your Majesty would be well pleased if her Majesty would send Leicester to France, and that the Earl had requested me to represent this to her".

'She sent for the Earl and asked him whether he desired to go to France? He replied that he humbly requested her to give him this permission... The Queen replied, it would not redound to her honour to send a groom to so great a prince. Then however she added, smiling,

"I cannot live without seeing you every day; you are like my lapdog, as soon as he is seen anywhere, the people say that I am coming; and when you are seen, they may say in like manner that I am not far off". [Raumer, 37-39].

November: Sir Henry Sidney, Lord Deputy-elect of Ireland, and Lady Sidney (Leicester's sister) set off for the Welsh coast. They were obliged to wait until January 1566 for a favourable wind to cross to Ireland.

Sidney recalled, in a letter to Sir Francis Walsingham, 1583:

'In my first passage I lost by shipwreck the most of my household stuff and utensils, my wife's whole apparel and all her jewels, many horses and stable stuff, etc'. [Carew, ii.335].

*November/December: Thomas Southwell's marriage, Whitehall Palace.

Thomas Southwell (c.1537-1568), of Woodrising, Norfolk, married (3) Nazareth Newton, Gentlewoman of the Privy Chamber, daughter of Sir John Newton. John Wynyard, Groom of the Removing Wardrobe of Beds, went 14 times 'to and from Westminster to the Tower to fetch certain wardrobe stuff both by land and by water as well to furnish her Majesty's own lodgings as also against the christening of the Lady Cecilia's son, as also against the marriages of the Earl of Warwick and Mr Southwell'. 40s payment, January 1566.^T

The Queen became godmother to Thomas Southwell's child (October 1567).

Dec 1, Berwick, Earl of Bedford to the Earl of Leicester: 'If the Lady Cecilia lies not in my house herself, I pray that order may be given for the removing of her train, which as I hear be but a homely company and in as homely manner do use my house, breaking and spoiling windows and everything'. Dec 7, Bedford to Sir William Cecil: 'I heartily pray you help that my house there may be rid of certain rude guests that spill and spoil everything in the same'. [Pepys, 70]. By Christmas Lady Cecilia was living at the Savoy, Strand (Crown property).

Dec 2, Sun visit, Lambeth, Surrey.

Lambeth Church: 'Ringing 2nd December, when the Queen came to Lambeth, 8d'.

Dec 11, Westminster, Francis Allen to the Earl of Shrewsbury:

'This morning departed the Duke of Norfolk from London towards his country; whom the Earls of Leicester and Warwick, my Lord Chamberlain, and other nobles and gentlemen of the court, accompanied out of the city, and brought him onward on his journey, doing him all the honour they could'.

'The next week it is thought the Queen's Majesty will remove; not, as it was first intended, to Greenwich, but to Windsor'...

'As Mr Hoby goes shortly Ambassador into France, so doth one Mr Man, of Oxford, go into Spain unto King Philip; the Queen, in that respect, hath presently promoted the said Mr Man unto the Deanery of Gloucester'.

'The Marquis of Baden, being gone home into Germany, has left here behind him in the court the Lady Cecily his wife, with whose company and conversation the Queen is so much delighted as she doth not only allow her very honourable bouge of court, three messes of meat twice a day for her Maids and the rest of her family, but also her Majesty hath dealt so liberally with her husband that he hath a yearly pension of 2000 crowns, which he is to enjoy so long as he suffers the lady his wife to reside here in England'.

'Her Highness hath of late, whereat some do much marvel, dissolved the ancient office of the Henchmen' [well-born youths brought up at court]...

'My Lord of Arundel means now at the Spring, for the better recovery of his health, to go into Italy, having already obtained leave so to do'...

PS: 'Your Lordship shall understand that now there is no removing at all, but her Majesty is fully resolved to keep her Christmas here at Westminster'.

[Lodge, i.436-9]. bouge of court: food, drink, candles; mess: for four.

Dec 11: William Brooke, 3rd son of Lord Cobham, was born.

Godparents: Cecilia, daughter of the King of Sweden; Duke of Norfolk; William, Lord Howard of Effingham. [Nichols, Collectanea, vii.353].

Sir William Brooke was killed in a duel in 1597.

Court news. Dec 19, De Foix to Catherine de Medici: 'Leicester has very much urged the Queen to decide upon her marriage by Christmas. She, on the other hand, has desired him to wait till Candlemas [2 Feb 1566] and then she will satisfy him. I know this from good authority, and I have likewise learned, from persons worthy of credit, that she has promised him marriage before witnesses'.

[Raumer, 39].

Court news, of the Earl of Leicester, Thomas Heneage, Thomas Leighton.
 Dec 23, Sir William Cecil to Sir Henry Sidney, Lord Deputy-elect of Ireland:
 'Since your Lordship's departure here was a friendly atonement made betwixt my
 Lord of Leicester and my Lord of Sussex and the like with the Duke of Norfolk
 (it seemed that there was no ground of offence, but mistakings, misreportings
 and strangeness). God give them grace...to believe themselves, and not fond
 reports, for thereof groweth all the restless troubles of this court'.
 'Of late a fond light matter hath happened upon a message sent by my Lord of
 Leicester to Heneage by Leighton for mis-usage of words by Heneage in the fond
 pastime of purposes and commandments played before the Queen, in which pastime
 it seemeth that Mr Heneage used covertly before the Queen's Majesty matter
 of offence to my Lord of Leicester, insomuch as her Majesty showeth herself
 offended with the message, and with Leighton for doing of it, but I trust the
 offence will not long last'. PS. 'This night the Queen's Majesty hath used
 my Lord of Leicester well'. [SP63/15/69].

*Sir Thomas Smith, Ambassador to France, described to the Venetian Ambassador
 there the 'pastime' which led Leicester to take offence with Heneage.
 Smith mis-dated it as taking place on Twelfth Night 1566, no doubt because
 Twelfth Night was the traditional day for naming a temporary 'King of the Bean'.*

Court news. Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory, 19 Feb 1566:
 'I heard lately that Lord Robert was in disgrace with the Queen of England,
 and on asking her Ambassador resident here he confirmed the fact, and narrated
 the cause to me as follows: It being the custom in England on the day of the
 Epiphany to name a King, a gentleman was chosen who had lately found favour
 with Queen Elizabeth, and a game of questions and answers being proposed, as
 usual amongst merry-makers, he commanded Lord Robert to ask the Queen, who was
 present, which was the most difficult to erase from the mind, an evil opinion
 created by a wicked informer, or jealousy? and Lord Robert, being unable to
 refuse, obeyed'.
 'The Queen replied courteously that both things were difficult to get rid of,
 but that in her opinion it was much more difficult to remove jealousy'.
 'The game being ended, Lord Robert, angry with that gentleman for having put
 this question to the Queen, and assigning perhaps a sense to this proceeding
 other than jest, sent to threaten him, through the medium of a friend, that he
 would castigate him with a stick'.
 'The gentleman replied that this was not punishment for equals, and that if
 Lord Robert came to insult him, he would find whether his sword cut and thrust,
 and that if Lord Robert had no quarrel with him Lord Robert was to let him know
 where he was to be found, because he would then go to Lord Robert quite alone;
 but the only answer Lord Robert gave was that this gentleman was not his equal,
 and that he would postpone chastising him till he thought it time to do so'.
 'Shortly afterwards the gentleman went to the Queen, and let her know the
 whole circumstance. Her Majesty was very angry with Lord Robert, and said that
 if by her favour he had become insolent he should soon reform, and that she
 would lower him just as she had at first raised him; and she banished from the
 court the gentleman who had taken his message'.
 'Lord Robert was quite confused by the Queen's anger, and, placing himself
 in one of the rooms of the palace in deep melancholy, remained there four
 consecutive days, and showing by his despair that he could no longer live;
 so the Queen, moved to pity, restored him again to her favour; yet, as the
 Ambassador told me, his good fortune, if perhaps not impeded, will at least
 have been delayed a little, for it had been said that she would shortly
 proclaim him Duke and marry him'. [Ven.vii.374-5].

Dec 24, Mon Roger L'Estrange at court, on return from Vienna.

L'Estrange left in August with the Emperor's Ambassador, Baron Zwetkovich, and now brought a portrait of the Emperor's brother Archduke Charles, and Emperor Maximilian II's reply of November 27, in Spanish, to the Queen's request to meet his brother in person before any marriage.

In so uncertain a matter he desires her to consider that it cannot but be very difficult for his brother to undertake this journey. If there was some certainty that there would be no inconvenience, he desires some assurance that his brother would not be troubled in his religion, and also that he would not be driven to live wholly upon his own income. [SPF.vii.526-7].

The Queen dispatched an envoy with her belated reply on 30 April 1566.

Also Dec 24: Queen at evening prayer, Whitehall Palace.

Herald: 'The Officers of Arms being there present, the Queen's Majesty came to the evening prayer, the Sword borne by the Earl of Warwick, her train borne by the Lady Strange'.

Dec 25, Tues Queen at Christmas Day service with Lady Cecilia, Whitehall.

Herald: 'On Christmas Day her Majesty came to service very richly apparelled in a gown of purple velvet, embroidered with silver very richly set with stones, with a rich collar set with stones; the Earl of Warwick bore the Sword, the Lady Strange the train'.

'After the Creed the Queen's Majesty went down to the offering, and having a short form with a carpet and a cushion laid by a Gentleman Usher, the assay taken by the Lord Chamberlain, her Majesty kneeled down, her offering given her by the Marquis of Northampton; after which she went into her travers, where she abode till the time of the Communion, and then came forth and kneeled down at the cushion and carpet aforesaid; the Gentlemen Ushers delivered the towel to the Lord Chamberlain, who delivered the same to be held by the Earl of Sussex on the right hand and the Earl of Leicester on the left hand'.

'The Bishop of Rochester served the Queen both of wine and bread; then the Queen went into the travers again, and the Lady Cecilia, wife of the Marquis of Baden, came out of the travers, and kneeled at the place where the Queen kneeled, but she had no cushion, but one to kneel on; after she had received she returned to the travers again. Then the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Lord Chamberlain received the Communion with the Mother of the Maids, after which the service proceeded to the end, and the Queen returned to the Chamber of Presence straight, and not to the Closet [a chapel]'.

'Her Majesty dined not abroad; the said Officers of Arms had a mess of meat of seven dishes, with bread, beer, ale and wine'. [BL Add MS 4712, f.24v].

Christmas 1565-New Year 1566:

Two plays at Whitehall, by the Children of Paul's.

Christmas-New Year: visit to Lady Cecilia, at the Savoy, Strand.

With play by the Children of Paul's. Sebastian Westcott, Master of the Children of Paul's, was paid on January 3 for two plays at the court 'and one other also before her Majesty at the Lady Cecilia's lodging at the Savoy'.^T

Helena Snakenborg (1549-1635), one of Cecilia's Maids of Honour, wrote to her mother in Sweden two letters which were intercepted by the Danes, with whom Sweden was at war. They are undated, but were written after Cecilia left England in 1566; the first letter has details relating to 1565, when the much older William Parr, Marquis of Northampton (1513-1571) fell in love with Helena.

The letters, from the Danish archives, are given in translation by C.A.Bradford in Helena, Marchioness of Northampton (1936), 48-55.

Extracts from first letter:

Helena to 'my heart's dearest mother dear': 'When my gracious lady arrived in England she received the warmest welcome. The Queen sent to meet her Ladyship not only her own ladies-in-waiting but her Courtiers - Earls and Barons and Knights - and an infinite number of gentlemen, who paid her Ladyship all the honour in their power. When we were twenty miles from London an Earl met us and accompanied us to our quarters; then there came so many to visit us that there was no end to it. All wished us a hearty welcome to England'.

'When her Ladyship was confined the Queen came to see her each second day, and every day there came ladies and gentlemen from the Queen to ask how her Ladyship was going on. Amongst the gentlemen was a courtier who always came with the earliest arrivals and left amongst the last'.

'When my gracious Lady had been 'churched' [Oct 14] after the baby was born, the Marquis of Northampton (for that was the Courtier's name) talked to my gracious Lady about *me*'. She said 'that my parents would feel honoured in every respect if a Swedish Maid of Honour on her coming to England should get married to the second gentleman in the land'...

'Some time later his Lordship...wanted to know if my heart was inclined in his direction, so I prayed to God for his guidance...and my Lady advised me to give a favourable answer - and so did others I talked with - and when his Lordship spoke to me, I answered him to this effect, that I was a simple maid, what would his Lordship want with one not equal to him in rank? His Lordship said he did not seek for riches: if only God would give him the happiness of my loving heart, he would ask no other wealth. Even if I brought nothing but my shift and gave him happiness it would be a dowry from God'.

Lady Cecilia then gave her consent. 'A day or two after this his Lordship sent my Lady a necklace which she was to pass on to me. It was worth a hundred dollars, and also came a chain worth fifty dollars. So in return, I gave his Lordship my "Yes". As a Christmas gift his Lordship presented me with a dress which cost more than two hundred dollars'.

Helena goes on to describe the events leading up to and after Cecilia's departure from England. For further extracts see 29 April 1566.

[1565]: Anthony Jenkinson took part 'in a disputation before her Majesty with Sir Humphrey Gilbert for proof of a passage by the North-East to Cathay'.

'A discourse written by Sir Humphrey Gilbert, knight, to prove a passage by the North-West to Cathay and the East Indies'.

This includes 'Certain reasons alleged for the proving of a passage by the North-East, before the Queen's Majesty, and certain Lords of the Council, by Master Anthony Jenkinson, with my several answers then used to the same'.

Jenkinson is 'a worthy gentleman, and a great traveller, who conceived a better hope of the passage to Cathay from us to be by the North-East, than by the North-West'.

His reasons are that a fisherman of Tartary had sailed towards the south-east, finding no end of the sea; that a unicorn's horn had been found upon the coast of Tartary, there being unicorns only in India and Cathay; and that there was such a swift current through the *Mare Glaciale* [frozen sea] that anything cast into it was carried out of sight towards the west.

Gilbert rebuts these reasons, and gives many of his own for a North-West Passage, and its advantages for trade. [*Hakluyt*, ii.367; v.92-120].

Anthony Jenkinson left in May 1566 as first Agent to Russia. Sir Humphrey Gilbert drowned in 1583 on his way back from Newfoundland].

1565: Jacopo Aconcio, as 'Jacob Acontius' dedicated to the Queen: Stratagematum Satanae. [Stratagems of Satan]. Latin dedication expressing gratitude to the Queen for an annuity. With an Epistle from London, 1562.

Divided into eight books, arguing for freedom in religion, and denying the right of Church or State to persecute for heresy; the multiplication of sects is the work of Satan. Latin. 411p. (Basle, 1565).

Jacopo Aconcio (c.1500-c.1567), engineer and philosopher, Italian Protestant refugee, lived in England from 1559. In 1560 the Queen granted him an annuity of £60 for his services as a military engineer. His book was placed on the Papal Index of Prohibited Books in 1569, and was not published in England until 1631.

English translations were published as 'Satan's Stratagems, or the Devil's Cabinet-Council Discovered', 1647, and Darkness Discovered, 1651.

*1565: James Bell, a Scotsman, dedicated to the Queen:

'An Account of Princess Cecilia of Sweden, travelling into England'.

'To the most high, mighty, puissant, and virtuous' Queen: 'Two principal causes...moved me to dedicate my rude labours to your Majesty, that is, your wide stretched fame (most gracious Queen) and the wonderful affection of your new Guest the honourable Princess Cecilia towards your Grace...To entreat of... your high magnificence, your excellent gifts of nature, your wisdom, your sage and prudent government (that as an adamant can draw Princes out of their seats from the farthest part of the world) seemed a very honourable endeavour'.

'And as to commend to immortal memory the wonderful zeal and loving desire of so virtuous a Princess' allured by 'the fame of your excellent virtues and Princely qualities, seemed also a praiseworthy enterprise'...

'Princess Cecilia hath not only attempted but achieved so great and long a voyage, as before her time the like hath not been seen...The Queen of Sheba... travelled in comparison a short journey to visit the Court of Solomon'.

After the Dedicatory Epistle, Bell lists all the towns Cecilia 'overpassed', from Stockholm to Calais, and describes her motives for her journey.

When her brother John Duke of Finland returned from the English court in 1560, and recounted his entertainment there, Cecilia was 'no less moved with the report of your noble virtues, than the Queen of Sheba was with the fame of Solomon's wisdom'. It became 'her heart's desire' to see the Queen, and she took great delight to talk of England. 'There came not at any time any Englishman into that country, of any honest name or serviceable behaviour, but that she would receive him herself'...

'She endeavoured herself altogether to be an Englishwoman', and 'within four years' space she hath attained the English tongue...a language not very easy to be learned', though she was 'above three thousand English miles out of England'.

She affirmed that whoever she married 'should solemnly vow to bring her into England within one year'.

After very long entreaty Cecilia's brother King Eric gave permission for her journey, and with the Marquis she sailed from Stockholm on 12 Nov 1564, enduring much hardship and danger over the next ten months (during which she became pregnant). Even when they at last reached Calais they were twice forced back by storms, until attaining 'the wished haven of Dover'. From there 'with easy journey (as being conveyed in your Grace's horse-litter), which she esteemed... the shrine of which the Saint was out, came with good speed to Canterbury'.

There Lord and Lady Cobham 'with the honourable and worshipful of the Shire, received her and conveyed her to Rochester' to an inn; next day to Gravesend, where Lord Hunsdon met her and conducted her by water to Bedford House, where 'she first beheld your Princely countenance, enjoyed the presence of your Royal person; and marvelled at your ornaments of mind, of fortune, and of nature'.

[Edited by Ethel Seaton, Queen Elizabeth and a Swedish Princess (1926)].

c.1565: *Edward Cradock, alchemist, Reader in Divinity at Oxford, wrote a treatise in English verse upon the Philosopher's Stone, dedicated to the Queen in rhyming couplets.* [Bodleian Ashmolean MS 1445].

Note, referring to Sir William Cecil's mention, August 8/9, that: 'The Queen's Majesty seemed to be much offended with the Earl of Leicester, and so she wrote an obscure sentence in a book at Windsor'.

There has been speculation that the following sentence is referred to by Cecil, and that it was a reproof to Leicester:

In the Royal Library at Windsor Castle is a French Psalter of c.1520, with this written on the last page:

'No crooked leg, no bleared eye,
No part deformed out of kind,
Nor yet so ugly half can be
As is the inward, suspicious mind.
Your loving mistress,
Elizabeth'.

Steven W.May, ed. *Queen Elizabeth I. Selected Works*. (New York, 2004), prints this and believes that it was written and signed before the Queen's Accession, after which she signed herself 'Elizabeth R'.

For the case for this 'sentence' dating from August 1565 see Ilona Bell, *Elizabeth I. The Voice of a Monarch* (New York, 2010): 'The Windsor Epigram: Your Loving Mistress'.

There is a parallel case of an inscription by Elizabeth which was certainly written pre-Accession: the British Library has a Bible of 1538 on which she inscribed on a flyleaf a rhyme addressed to Anne Poyntz, one of her attendants:

'Among good things I prove and find the quiet life doth much abound,
and sure to the contented mind, there is no riches may be found'.
Signed: 'Your loving friend [*friend crossed out, replaced by*] mistress'.

On the facing page Anne Poyntz entered another rhyme:
'More swift than swallows flight our young days fly away,
Then age calls for his right and death will have no stay.
Both day by night and night by day our course changes to and fro,
So life by death and death by life shall bring us all to well or woe'.
'Your friend Ane Poyntes'.

William H.Sherman, *Used Books. Marking Readers in Renaissance England*. (Philadelphia, 2008), 77. One or more of these three rhymes may be quotations from unidentified works.

Anne Poyntz (c.1530-1593), married (1554) Thomas Heneage, who became a favourite of the Queen and held a number of important posts. She was from January 1559 an Extraordinary Gentlewoman of the Privy Chamber.