

At **WHITEHALL PALACE**

Jan 1, Sat New Year gifts. Gift roll not extant, but Elizabeth Countess of Shrewsbury (Bess of Hardwick) gave the Queen an embroidered gown made by William Jones, the Queen's tailor (cost over £100). Her other gifts included: Ramsey, the Court Jester, 20s; six of the Queen's trumpeters, 5s each.^{SH}

Jan 1: Queen to Lord Burghley, Lord Howard of Effingham, and Lord Hunsdon: Commission to execute the office of Earl Marshal.^{RT} This post, in overall charge of the College of Arms, was vacant since Earl of Shrewsbury died, 1590.

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

Jan 2, Sun French Ambassadors at Whitehall for audience.^{HD}
Beauvoir, resident Ambassador, with Duplessis-Mornay, who took his leave.
Lord Burghley kept a diary in 1592, shown here as ^{HD}. [HT.xiii.464-6].

Also Jan 2: play, by Earl of Sussex's Men.^T

Jan 6, Thur play, by Earl of Hertford's Men.^T

Jan 6: Allegations against Sir John Perrot, former Lord Deputy of Ireland, noted by the law officers, included: Perrot boasted that he was King Henry's son; he said the Irish had a prophecy that a bird would do them good, and applied it to himself, he having a parrot in his crest; he uttered 'immodest and venomous words' about the Queen; of the Council in Ireland he said he cared no more for them than for so many dogs. [SP12/241/7].

Robert Naunton: 'Sir Thomas Perrot his father was a Gentleman to the Privy Chamber to Henry the Eighth and in the court married to a lady of great honour and of the King's familiarity...If we go a little further and compare his picture, his qualities, his gesture and voice with that of the King's... they will plead strongly that he was a surreptitious child of the blood royal'.
[Fragmenta Regalia]. Perrot's Trial for high treason: April 27.

Jan 6, in *Germany: death*. John Casimir, Count Palatine of the Rhine, K.G., also called Duke John Casimir (1543-1592), who was invested with the Garter on his visit to England in 1579. His nephew, the Elector Palatine, sent envoys to return the Garter insignia, as was customary. (Their audience: July 9).

Jan 7, Westminster: Queen granted a Charter for a term of 12 years to the 'Company of the English Merchants for the Levant', having sole right of trading to Turkey and Venice, and importing small fruits called currants.

The Levant Company was formed by the merger of the Turkey Company and the Venice Company. [Letters Patent: Hakluyt, iii.370-387].

Jan 9, Sun play, by Lord Strange's Men.^T

Jan 14, Fri Aston, messenger, at Whitehall from the King of Scots.^{HD}
Roger Aston, who came to tell the Queen of a 'villainous act attempted here', by the Earl of Bothwell in Edinburgh. He gave details 'of the horrible treasonable attempt against the King's person'. [Scot.x.616,623].

Francis Stewart, Earl of Bothwell (nephew of the Earl who married Mary Queen of Scots) and 60 of his followers had attacked Holyroodhouse (27 Dec 1591) and almost taken King James and his Chancellor prisoner; the people of Edinburgh came to their rescue with 1000 armed men, putting Bothwell to flight.

Jan 15, Sat Earl of Essex at Whitehall on recall from France.
Sir Roger Williams took over Essex's command.

Jan 19, court, Sir Robert Cecil to Sir Henry Unton, Ambassador to France, of Essex: 'My Lord came not until Saturday...His Lordship is in very high grace with the Queen'. [Unton, 276].

Jan 22: Queen's 'reward'. George Zolcher, servant of Duke John Casimir, is licensed to export 700 cloths from the Port of London, paying custom on them as an English subject and not as a stranger [foreigner], the Queen desiring thereby to confer on him a reward of £200. [HT.viii.21]. Zolcher had for many years been carrying messages between Casimir and the Queen.

Jan 25, court at Westminster, Lord Burghley to Sir Henry Unton: 'Monsieur Du Plessis hath been stayed very long at Dover, who carried answer from her Majesty not to his contentment...In the meantime there came thither, two days past, a special messenger from the French King to his Ambassador, with letters from the King renewing his former request which Du Plessis had delivered; but...her Majesty hath continued in her former refusal'...
'I do pray from the bottom of my heart with incessant prayers to Almighty God, the Lord of Hosts, to defend the justice of the King's cause against the mighty tyrants and God's very rebels'.

Jan 27, court at Whitehall, Sir Robert Cecil to Unton: 'My Lord of Essex is exceedingly well settled in her Majesty's grace'. [Unton, 281-2,287].

Jan 30: Seditious words at Finchingfield, Essex. George Binks, of Finchingfield, tailor, said 'That the Pope is supreme head over all Christendom, and that King Philip is right King of England. And that if he the said George Binks should be commanded to do any service in the Queen's behalf, the same would go against his conscience. And that Captain Drake and his soldiers when they have gone forth in the prince's service do rob and spoil the King of Spain of his goods, which is the right King of England'. Not guilty. [Assizes, Essex, 390].

February: proposed visit [dinner], Osterley, Middlesex. [Lady Gresham].
Richard Coningsby made ready at Osterley for her Majesty, February.^T
The Queen arrived to stay at Osterley on April 7.

Feb 4: new appointments: George Baker: a Surgeon to the Queen. £40 p.a.
William Gooderus, principal Surgeon, to be Serjeant-Surgeon. 40 marks p.a.
Ralph Brooke, Rouge Cross Pursuivant, to be York Herald. 20 marks p.a.
Thomas Knight, to be Rouge Cross Pursuivant. £10 p.a.^P [mark: 13s4d].

February 4: Anthony Bacon returned to England after 12 years.
Anthony Bacon (1558-1601), son of Sir Nicholas Bacon, former Lord Keeper, and elder brother of Francis Bacon, had been living abroad since December 1579.

He had ignored pleas from friends and family, especially his mother Lady Bacon, for him to return. In 1584 the Queen had instructed him to remain in south-west France, to furnish information on events there, but in 1586 she sent a man to find him, and he had passports to return to England.

In 1588 Sir Francis Walsingham sent him a peremptory command from the Queen to return home, but Anthony was deeply in debt, was involved in court cases, suffered imprisonment, and remained abroad.

He now returned fearing the Queen's displeasure for his long stay abroad, and in poor health, being lame and a semi-invalid.

Feb 6, court, Sir Edward Hoby to his cousin Anthony Bacon, congratulating him on his return, and offering to meet him privately 'esteeming it not amiss somewhat to confer with you before your repair to the court, which I do think will be best as soon as you come to London. You have many that wish you well here'. [LPL 648/3]. Anthony's ill-health prevented him from going to court, but his brother Francis and several close friends were often there, and his letters, preserved at Lambeth Palace Library, are an invaluable source of court news.

Feb 6, Shrove Sunday play, by Lord Strange's Men.

Feb 8, Shrove Tuesday play, by Lord Strange's Men.^T

Feb 12, court, Lord Burghley to Sir Henry Unton, after the Queen had 'knowledge of the hurt' of the King (wounded about Jan 24 but recovering): 'Her Majesty had been troubled so much with a vehement cold in her head this sevennight's day, as she could not afore yesterday put her hand to the paper, but now...doth friendly reprehend him for his adventures, with advice not to tempt God hereafter with the like'. [Unton, 320].

Feb 14: Will made by William Lilly, 'her Majesty's eldest Yeoman Harbinger in ordinary'. Bequests included: 'To my fellows her Majesty's Harbingers 20 shillings amongst them to make them a breakfast'. Lilly wished to be buried at Bishop's Caundle, Dorset. Burial: Feb 20, St Margaret Westminster.

Feb 19, Queen to the Duke d'Epéron, after sending large amounts of money to King Henri IV: 'Owing neither the East nor the West Indies, we are unable to supply the constant demands upon us; and although we have the reputation of being a good housewife, it does not follow that we can be a housewife for all the world'. [Motley, *United Netherlands*, iii.128].

Court news. Feb 19, Edward Hoby to Anthony Bacon (writing very late at night with news to give you 'a hearty breakfast'): 'It pleased her sacred Majesty much upon the stroke of eleven tonight to call me unto her, and amongst other things questioned with me if I had seen you since you returned. I told her Highness that I had...She was sorry you were in so evil plight, earnestly affirming how that you had been greatly and from good hands recommended unto her'. [LPL 648/6].

Feb 27, court, Sir Thomas Heneage to 'my very friend Sir Henry Unton':

'The best news I can write you is that our best Mistress holdeth her health well...Sir Walter Raleigh hath his commission signed to go on his voyage, and so hath my Lord of Cumberland, but they go not one way; God speed them both'.

Feb 28, Blangy, Sir Henry Unton to the Queen, 'your most sacred Majesty':

'My happiness I confess to be very great to serve so rare and perfect a Sovereign'. This 'doth not only encourage but bind me to sacrifice 1000 lives, if I had them, for your service. I beseech the Almighty long to preserve your Majesty amongst us, and make us duly thankful for so inestimable happiness'.

[Unton, 351, 353].

Feb 28: Lady Raleigh (née Elizabeth Throckmorton), left court prior to the birth of her first child. She had married Raleigh secretly in 1591 without the Queen's knowledge or consent and had continued her attendance at court as a Gentlewoman of the Privy Chamber. Her brother Arthur Throckmorton, who had a house at Mile End, noted: 'My sister came hither to lie here'.TH

Raleigh continued to deny that he was married, and to prepare ships for a voyage to the West Indies; the Queen first gave and then, in May, withdrew permission for him to lead the ships.

March 3: Queen signed the Latin Charter for 'the College of the Holy and Undivided Trinity near Dublin' to be 'the mother of a university'. Trinity College, Dublin, still celebrates the memory of its founder.

March 7, Queen to King Henri IV (in her own hand, in French) of his failure to drive Spaniards out of Brittany, and warning that Dieppe may be besieged: 'I am astonished that your eyes are so blinded as not to see this danger. Remember, my dear brother, that it is not only France that I am aiding, nor are my own natural realms of little consequence to me. Believe me, if I see that you have no more regard to the ports and maritime places nearest to us, it will be necessary that my prayers should serve you in place of any other assistance, because it does not please me to send my people to the shambles where they may perish before having rendered you any assistance'...

'Pardon my simplicity as belonging to my own sex wishing to give a lesson to one who knows better, but my experience in government makes me a little obstinate in believing that I am not ignorant of that which belongs to a king, and I persuade myself that in following my advice you will not fail to conquer your assailants'. [Motley, *United Netherlands*, iii.128-9].

March 10, Chatham, Sir Walter Raleigh to Sir Robert Cecil, of preparations for the Indies voyage, concluding: 'I mean not to come away, as they say I will, for fear of a marriage and I know not what. If any such thing were I would have imparted it unto yourself before any man living. And therefore I pray believe it not, and I beseech you to suppress what you can any such malicious report. For I protest before God there is none on the face of the earth that I would be fastened unto...Yours ever to be commanded, W.Raleigh'. [Latham, no.41].

Mar 12, Sun, Whitehall, Privy Council: 'A warrant by her Majesty's express commandment to commit Mr Edward Darcy, one of the Gentlemen of her Majesty's Chamber, to the Fleet, upon complaint made by Sir George Barnes of some injury offered him'. March 14: 'Mr Darcy was by warrant from their Lordships released out of the Fleet'.^{APC}

The Queen had granted Edward Darcy Letters Patent 'for the view, search, and sealing' of Leather; the City wished the grant revoked.

The Court of Aldermen informed the Council of an assault committed by Darcy upon Sir George Barnes in the Lord Mayor's house at a conference concerning his Patent. Barnes, a haberdasher, was Lord Mayor 1586-1587.

'The matter becoming known to the apprentices and others thereabouts, the Lord Mayor with difficulty defended Mr Darcy (whose life was in danger) and had him conveyed away'. Lord Mayor: William Webb, of the Salters' Company.

Darcy kept his Patent until it was annulled in January 1596 upon the Leathersellers' Company paying him £4000. [Remembrancia I.651; II.142].

Mar 13, Mon Council's 'open placard or passport for Monsieur de la Vigne and Monsieur Signiorett, belonging to Madame Thorey, a noblewoman of France, to pass into that realm, and to see them furnished of post-horses unto Dover or Rye, where they mean to embark to be transported to Dieppe'.^{APC}

The Frenchmen had landed in England en route from La Rochelle to Dieppe with baggage and money for Madame de Thoré. [SPF List 3, 372].

March 14: Queen's gift to 'our servant Henry Noel esquire...in respect of his faithful service unto us done...as of our free gift and reward', £668.15s1½d.^{PS} The nature of the 'faithful service' is not specified.

March 14-April 10: Thomas Wilkes was special Ambassador to France. Wilkes, a Clerk of the Council, went to King Henri IV in his Camp.

The Queen sent a 'special servant of hers well instructed'; about the Siege of Rouen, and the waste of the English forces. [Unton, 376].

March 15, Dieppe, Sir Henry Unton to Lord Burghley, of King Henri IV: 'The poor king must be miraculously defended by God, or else he cannot long subsist. He wanteth means and has need of miracles, and without her Majesty's upholding would quickly perish. She only giveth life to his actions and terror to his enemies'.

March 19, Sir Robert Cecil's instructions or memorandum for Thomas Wilkes, in France: 'Knowing that no place in all France, no, not Paris itself, was of more importance to be recovered than Rouen and Newhaven [Le Havre], the Queen levied and sent over troops with such speed as the like has seldom been seen, being performed within twenty days, sending also a nobleman of her own realm to conduct them, but how contrarily the King took another course to seek other towns and places, and to permit her Majesty's forces to remain about Dieppe almost two months without any use but to spend her Majesty's money and to waste her people, and instead of besieging of Rouen, suffered it to be victualled, manned, and fortified in such sort as experience hath taught the King how difficult, or rather how desperate, it hath been as yet to recover it'...

'And of this error hath followed the opportunity of the Duke of Parma's entering with so mighty an army, and the King's professed disability to fight with him'. [Motley, *United Netherlands*, iii.129].

Mar 23, Maundy Thursday ceremonies and alms-giving, Westminster Abbey. By Richard Fletcher, Bishop of Bristol, the Queen's Almoner; to 58 poor women, each 20s in a red purse and 58d in a white purse.^{T,W}

March 29: birth. Damerei Raleigh, first child of Sir Walter and Lady Raleigh. Arthur Throckmorton noted: 'My sister was delivered of a boy...I wrote to Sir Walter Raleigh, and sent Dick the footman to whom I gave him 10s'.TH

March: 'Passport for the Duke of Holst to go to the Bath, and so into Scotland'.^B Henry Kirkham, gentleman, 'giving attendance with man and horses upon the Duke of Holst at his being here the space of 30 days', £6.13s4d. Payment, Greenwich, June 4.^T Duke of Holstein.

April 4: Scandalous words at Bradwell on Sea, Essex. Ralph Duckworth, of Bradwell, labourer, said in the hearing of John Debanck, Rector of Bradwell: 'The Earl of Derby keepeth the Crown of England, and the Earl of Shrewsbury hath had three children by the Queen of Scots in Stafford Castle, and this is no good government which we now live under, and it was merry in England when there was better government, and if the Queen die there will be a change, and all those that be of this religion now used will be pulled out'. And with these words he struck Debanck on the head with his cudgel. Guilty; to be pilloried with a paper above his head. [*Assizes, Essex*, 391].

By April 7: new appointment: Sir Walter Raleigh: Captain of the Guard.

April 7: Queen's warrant to John Fortescue, Master of the Great Wardrobe, to supply Edward Wyngate, Clerk of the Cheque of the Guard, with liveries, including for 'our trusty and well beloved servant Sir Walter Raleigh, Captain of our Guard...6 yards of tawny medley...with a fur of black budge...given to him for the office of Captain of our Guard'.

Also 'watching liveries' for the whole Guard. [BL Add MS 5750, f.114].

Apr 7, Fri dinner, Hammersmith, Middlesex; Mr Payne.^T
 Palingswick manor-house, Hammersmith; owned by William Payne; died 1626;
 wife: Jane; died 1610. All Saints' Church, Fulham, has their monument;
 Payne left 'an island in the river of Thames called Mackinshaw to the use
 of the poor of this parish on Hammersmith side'.

St Margaret Westminster: 'For ringing the 7th of April, when the Queen
 went from Whitehall, 6d'.

Start of SHORT PROGRESS in Middlesex, Surrey, and Kent.

Apr 7, Fri **OSTERLEY**, Middlesex; Lady Gresham.^{HD,T}

Osterley House, Isleworth; occupied by Lady Gresham, died 1596.

She was Anne (Ferneley), widow of (1) William Read; (2) Sir Thomas Gresham,
 Founder of the Royal Exchange, and formerly the Queen's chief financial agent.

The Queen frequently visited Osterley during Gresham's life-time; this was
 her first known visit since his death in 1579.

April 8, Dieppe, Sir Henry Unton to the Queen: 'I perceive...how willingly
 you vouchsafe to assent to my revocation...I give God thanks that I was so
 happily born your subject, and do live in the time of so rare a Sovereign'.

Brought by Sir Thomas Wilkes (newly knighted by Henri IV). [Unton, 412].

April 10: 'Damerei Raleigh was baptised by Robert Earl of Essex and Arthur
 Throckmorton and Anna Throckmorton'.TH [Arthur's wife, Anna Lucas].

c. Apr 10, Mon **HAMPTON COURT**, Middlesex.^T

Date: Chancery warrants dated at Osterley, April 10; Hampton Court, April 12.

Apr 10, Mon Sir Thomas Wilkes returned from his embassy to France.^{HD}

Wilkes brought a message from the King thanking the Queen for her picture,
 which he would wear during his life, and for her scarf which he wore in all
 his exploits against the enemy. If victorious in a coming battle he meant to
 come to England with 20 horse and would be glad to meet the Queen in some port
 or town near the seaside. [SPF List 3, 373].

April 12, from the Camp, Sir Henry Unton to Lord Burghley:

'The 10th of this month the King raised his siege, being suddenly advertised of
 the Duke of Parma's marching towards his camp with 12,000 foot and 4000 horse,
 who was within 4 leagues of Rouen before we did rise'. [Unton, 413].

Apr 14, Fri **WIMBLEDON**, Surrey; Sir Thomas Cecil.^{HD,T}

Wimbledon manor-house; owned by Cecil (1542-1623), elder son of Lord Burghley.
 1st wife: Dorothy (1546-1609), daughter of John Nevill, 4th Lord Latimer.

April 17: Burghley noted: 'Antonio Perez sent Gil de Mesa, his nephew, to
 England with Châteaumartin'. Rebels in Aragon, Spain, had several envoys with
 Catherine, Princess of Navarre (sister of King Henri IV). Gil de Mesa came to
 explain the affairs of Spain and south-western France, staying several months.
 [SPF List 3, 426]. Antonio Perez was in England himself 1593-1595.

Apr 17, Mon **CROYDON**, Surrey; Archbishop of Canterbury.^{HD,T}

Croydon Palace. John Whitgift, unmarried.

April 18/20: dinner, Beddington, Surrey; Sir Francis Carew.^T

Beddington manor-house; owned by Carew (c.1530-1611), unmarried.

[Apr 21,Fri]: dinner, Sydenham, Lewisham, Kent; Dr Aubrey.
 Richard Coningsby made ready 'Mr Doctor Aubrey's house at Sydenham'.^T
 Sydenham, Lewisham parish. Dr William Aubrey (1529-1595), a Welshman,
 lawyer, a Master of Requests; wife: Wilgiford (Williams).

Description of Dr Aubrey by his great-grandson John Aubrey:

'Besides the great learning and wisdom that this gentleman was plentifully
 endowed withal, Nature had also framed him so courteous of disposition and
 affable of speech, so sweet of conversation and amiable behaviour, that there
 was never any in his place better beloved all his life, nor he himself more
 especially favoured of her Majesty and the greatest personages in the realm
 in any part of his life than he was when he drew nearest his death. He was of
 stature not tall, nor yet over-low...well favoured, well coloured and lovely'...

'He was a good statesman; and Queen Elizabeth loved him and was wont to call
 him "her little Doctor"'. [Aubrey, *Brief Lives*].

Apr 21,Fri **GREENWICH PALACE**, Kent.^{HD}

Works rebuilt the Privy Bridge (private landing-stage) and ornamented it with
 four carved beasts, a lion, a dragon, a greyhound and a bull, holding shields.

The bridge was painted 'a dark lion tawny colour'. [March 1592-1593].

Court news. April 22, Noel Caron (Dutch Agent) to the States-General:

Early in April twelve Spanish ships attempted to break the French King's
 blockade of Rouen. After a combat with the Dutch, eight were captured, two were
 sunk, two set on fire, every man on board of all being killed and thrown into
 the sea. The Queen gave the news to Caron. 'In truth, her Majesty expressed
 herself, in communicating these tidings, with such affection and extravagant joy
 to the glory and honour of our nation and men-of-wars' men, that it wonderfully
 delighted me, and did me good into my very heart to hear it from her'.

[Motley, *United Netherlands*, iii.138].

Apr 22,Sat Eve of Garter ceremonies, Greenwich.

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

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

Queen's Lieutenant: William Cecil 1st Lord Burghley; because of his gout he
 was carried in the procession in a chair. The proceedings were delayed waiting
 for some Knights who could not get into the Conduit Court 'for press of people'.

The Queen, without Garter robes, was in the processions and at the service.
 After there was 'much press of people'.

Apr 24,Mon Final 1592 Garter ceremonies, Greenwich.

New Knights of the Garter elected: George Clifford, 3rd Earl of Cumberland,
 who was at Plymouth, Devon; Gilbert Talbot, 7th Earl of Shrewsbury.

Garter King of Arms (William Dethick) was sent for the Earl of Shrewsbury:
 'He was commanded to go to his lodging into the town in his mantle, and met his
 Lordship by the way and so proceeded before him all the way unto the Presence
 Chamber'. There he was received and led to the Queen 'who with most gracious
 words of affection put on his neck the George, with a blue ribbon, and called
 for a Garter and the Lord Admiral stooped and helped her'.

Shrewsbury was also 'dubbed knight in the Privy Chamber after dinner that day,
 and paid his fees double. £14'. [BL Harl 304, f.166v].

Earl of Cumberland's investiture: May 14.

Both Knights were installed at Windsor on June 20.

April 25: christening. Queen was godmother to Sir Horatio Palavicino's son. Parents: Sir Horatio Palavicino (c.1540-1600), the Queen's chief financial agent, of St Mary Spital, London; wife: Anna (Hooftman, of Antwerp; died 1626).

Queen's Deputy: (Mary) Countess of Shrewsbury. Richard Coningsby was paid for 'riding from the court at Greenwich to London with the travers and other necessaries for the christening of Sir Horatio Palavicino's son and for making ready the church and his house there for the same service', April.^T

Queen's gift: one bowl with a cover of silver gilt.^{PS}

April 25, St Botolph without Bishopsgate register: baptism: Henry Palavicino. 'The Countess of Shrewsbury the younger, deputy for the Queen's Majesty, being godmother. The Lord Treasurer [Burghley] and the Earl of Shrewsbury godfathers'.

Sir Horatio stated in his will that he wished Henry to be one of the Earl of Shrewsbury's pages, with tutors for Latin, fencing, and dancing.

The widowed Lady Palavicino married (1601, 2nd wife) (Sir) Oliver Cromwell (died 1655). Henry Palavicino (1592-1615) married (1606) Catherine Cromwell.

April 27: Trial for high treason of Sir John Perrot.

Perrot (c.1528-3 Nov 1592), a former Lord Deputy of Ireland (1584-1588) and Privy Councillor, was brought from the Tower to Westminster for trial.

At the trial John Puckering, Queen's Serjeant, led the case for the Crown, concentrating first on the charge of using contemptuous words about the Queen.

Evidence was given that Perrot, when Lord Deputy, had called the Queen's Sword of Justice a 'paltry sword'. After receiving a command from the Queen he had said at the Council table in Dublin 'Stick not so much upon the Queen's letters of commandment, for she may command what she will, but we will do what we list'. After other commands he had said 'Nay, God's wounds, I think it strange she should use me thus', and 'This fiddling woman troubles me out of measure'.

When the Queen wrote 'advising him to look well unto his charge, about the time the Spaniards should come', Perrot said 'Ah silly woman, now she shall not curb me, she shall not rule me; now, God's lady dear, I shall be her white boy [favourite] now again; doth she think to rule me now?'.

After another letter he exclaimed 'God's wounds, this it is to serve a base bastard piss-kitchen woman; if I had served any prince in Christendom, I had not been so dealt withal'. ['Here he prayed the Devil might take him body and soul, if ever he uttered such words'].

It was alleged that Perrot asked the Clerk of the Irish Council 'If her Majesty should be distressed, dost not thou think that I am the fittest man in England to have the keeping of her body?'. To the Archbishop of Dublin 'touching the coming of the Spaniards, Sir John said "God's wounds, let them do in England what they can, we shall do well enough in Ireland; if her Majesty were gone, we should do here in Ireland better than they in England should do".

The court then 'proceeded to the Treasons'. At the end the jury found Perrot guilty. 'Judgment was stayed, until her Majesty's pleasure were further known'.

The court adjourned. [State Trials, i.1315-1327]. Sentence: June 26.

April 27: Arthur Throckmorton noted: 'My sister returned to the court and the child went to Enfield'. Arthur paid for a nurse at Enfield for the baby son of Raleigh and his wife Bess, who returned to her attendance on the Queen.TH

May 1: death: Dr John Underhill, Bishop of Oxford (who had not visited his Diocese). Funeral: Oxford Cathedral. John Harington: 'He died (as I heard, at Greenwich), in much discontent, and poverty'. [Nugae Antiquae, ii.200].

c.May 2-21: Bess of Hardwick (Dowager Countess of Shrewsbury) at Greenwich.

May, 1st week: The Countess and most of her retinue went from Chelsea to Greenwich in four boats, one boat being for her horse-litter, newly made in London; seven of the servants rode on hired horses.^{SH}

May 4, Thur 'The Tiltboat of Gravesend, having in the same boat to the number of 40 persons, was overrun by a hoy, so that the greater part of those people were drowned over against Greenwich, the court then being there, at sight whereof the Queen was much afrighted'. [Stow, Annals].

May 6: 'Sir Walter Raleigh set himself under sail at Falmouth towards the Indies'.TH Raleigh had waited two months for good weather.

May 7: 'Sir Martin Frobisher, in a pinnace of my Lord Admiral's called The Disdain, met him and brought to him from her Majesty letters of revocation, with commandment...to leave the conduct of all things in the hands of Sir John Burgh and Sir Martin Frobisher'.

Raleigh continued at sea in The Garland, one of the Queen's ships, until a storm on May 11 off Cape Finisterre, when he turned back. [Hakluyt, v.58].

Sir John Burgh captained Raleigh's own ship, The Roebuck.

May 7: death. Sir Christopher Wray (c.1522-1592), Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench. Funeral: June: Glentworth Church, Lincolnshire, where his monument with his wife remains.

May 8: Stationers entered a book by Andrew Willet, dedicated to the Queen: 'Synopsis Papismi, that is, a general view of Papistry: wherein the whole mystery of iniquity and sum of Antichristian doctrine is set down, which is maintained this day by the Synagogue of Rome, against the Church of Christ, together with an Antithesis of the true Christian faith, and an Antidotum or counterpoise out of the Scriptures, against the whore of Babylon's filthy cup of abominations. Divided into three books or centuries, that is, so many hundreds of Popish heresies and errors. Collected by Andrew Willet, Bachelor of Divinity'. 'To the right virtuous, most excellent and noble' Queen.

'We call to mind...the long flourishing peace which the land under your prosperous government hath these many years enjoyed, the like whereof neither our forefathers have seen, nor other countries known. The notable reformation also of the church'. Your Majesty's father King Henry VIII and brother Edward 'did but begin the foundation of the Temple'...

'What though the Papists fret and storm...saying that the Prince ought neither to give voice in Council for matters of religion, nor make Ecclesiastical laws.. What though another foul-mouthed Jesuit [Robert Bellarmine] doth most impudently slander your Majesty...The whole Church of God from all parts of the world saluteth you, saying, we...do encourage you to go forward'...

'Solomon asked wisdom, and he received both riches and honour withal: none of all these hath God denied to you: the Lord loveth you'...

'I have...in this work set down the body and sum of all Popish opinions whatsoever, wherein we dissent from them, and they from the truth...that men not learned might in one volume find all the controversies of religion, which their leisure would not suffer them to collect themselves'...

'This simple work I have presumed to present to your Majesty as a token of my duty and service, a poor scholar's gift, as a sign of my thankfulness to God and your Majesty, by whom we have both leisure and maintenance to follow our studies ...remembering your Princely and gracious disposition, which hath been wont to accept with great favour and regard the meanest gifts of your subjects, yea hath not refused to receive posies and nosegays at their hands...I beseech your Grace to receive this posy of mine. And now (O noble Queen, our dread Sovereign) the mother of Israel, a nurse to the people of God, be strong and fear not, the Lord fighteth for you...We may now all say, This is the day which the Lord hath made, let us rejoice and be glad in it'. 600p. (London, 1592).

In his Synopsis Papismi Andrew Willet (c.1561-1621), clergyman, a prolific author, surveyed 20 'Controversies' between Protestants and Catholics.

His book sold very well, and there were a series of enlarged editions.

May 11, Buhy, Sir Henry Unton to Sir Thomas Wilkes, a secret message about King Henri IV: 'He threateneth that nothing shall stay him from coming into England within a month...and conjureth me that I shall not let her Majesty know so much, for that he will steal from hence secretly, and go with very few unknown, under the colour of an ambassador sent from himself to her Majesty. He requesteth my stay so long to be his guide, and desireth you to meet him at the sea side, that he may know whether his coming will be grateful'...

'The King would have two ships stayed of those that be here, to carry him over, and commandeth me to handle the matter so as it may be given out to be for my return, and his ambassador to accompany me...He speaketh of nothing to me but of his journey into England, which he saith nothing shall alter'.

[PS]. 'This bearer is ignorant of what this letter mentioneth, and I pray you let it be concealed from all the world but her Majesty'.

[Wilkes was at Bath when this reached him; the Queen received it 'in secret sort'. The King failed to come to England]. [Unton, 449-450,468].

May 14, Whit Sunday Earl of Cumberland invested with Garter, Greenwich.

George Clifford Earl of Cumberland had been elected a Knight of the Garter on April 24, but was then at Plymouth; instead of sending a Herald with the insignia the Queen summoned him to court to invest him in person.

All the Knights were present, but not in their full Garter robes.

'London this Whit Sunday one o'clock in the afternoon', William Gerrard to Serjeant Puckering: 'This Whit Sunday waiting upon my Lady up to Privy Chamber door, and her Majesty ready in all royal sort to go to the Chapel with her honourable train of lords in their collars of esses and ladies most gallant, as the highness and solemnity of the feast day required, even upon the sudden my Lady of Warwick came to my Lady Digby, my mistress', asking her to send Puckering a message 'how well her Majesty rests still affected towards him for her Keeper', but that he 'should keep the same as close and secret as might be'.

The Queen was about to appoint a new Lord Keeper. [BL Harl 6995, f.64].

May 16: Arthur Throckmorton, of Mile End, near London, whose sister had married Raleigh, noted: 'Sir Walter Raleigh came to Plymouth'.

May 19: 'Paid the nurse 14 weeks' wages come Monday next, 28s. Browne and Sir George Carew came to have me seal the writings between Sir W.Raleigh and Elizabeth [marriage settlement]'.

May 21: 'The nurse and the child came hither'.TH

May 21,Sun: Bess of Hardwick left Greenwich. The Bishop of Bristol (Richard Fletcher) lent her his barge to return to Chelsea; the horse-litter had a separate boat, whilst most of the retinue returned on horseback.^{SH}

May 24: Arthur Throckmorton noted: 'My Lord Chamberlain's warrant came for me and my wife. My wife's answer was sent back'.TH

May 25,Thur French Ambassador at Greenwich for audience. Beauvoir pressed the Queen to send King Henri IV further aid for Brittany; she promised to decide by May 27. [SPF List 4, 302].

Aid for the French continued.

Court news. May 25, Sir Robert Cecil to Sir Thomas Heneage: 'The Queen is out of quiet, with her foreign news and her home broils'... 'We say that our Chancellor shall be this day denominated, and that it shall be between the Solicitor [Egerton] and Puckering, of which in my conscience the Queen is not yet determined'. [SP12/242/25].

May 28, Sun new appointment: John Puckering (c.1544-1596), Queen's Serjeant, was knighted, sworn Privy Councillor and made Lord Keeper. *Council Register*:

He 'was by her Majesty made knight in the Privy Chamber and presently in the Council Chamber took Oath of the Supremacy and of a Privy Councillor at the Council Board, and thereupon being placed in the lowest place of the Council... and having signed a letter as a Councillor, he returned to her Majesty in the company of the rest of the Council...into the Privy Chamber, where after some grave speeches and admonitions how to use such a great office to the pleasing of God and to the contentation of all people having any causes afore him, her Highness delivered into his hands the Great Seal to have and keep the same as the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England, and so came down again into the Council Chamber, took the place as Lord Keeper and signed letters accordingly'.

John Popham (Attorney-General), knighted and named to be Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench; Thomas Egerton (Solicitor-General) named Attorney-General.^{HD}

May 28: Arthur Throckmorton noted of Sir Walter Raleigh's child:
'The child and the nurse went to Durham House'.TH [In the Strand].
Damerei is not mentioned again, and apparently died soon after.

May 29: Deer for King James from the Queen's parks.
Robert Bowes had written to Lord Burghley in February 1591 that the King cannot maintain his pastime of hunting next summer without some fallow deer out of England. In February 1592 Roger Aston wrote to Bowes at the King's request to remind Burghley of deer promised last year, and to send for Cuthbert Rayne, an English woodman. By April 14 Bowes had received warrants for 70 deer to be taken in her Majesty's parks within the Bishopric of Durham. On April 28 Bowes started for the parks at Barnard's Castle, Raby, and Brancepeth, to assist Rayne and others to take 70 deer. May 29: The King is grieved with the delay in taking and conveying deer to him, and wants them 'quick or dead'. 'By long and daily travail' 21 male deer were taken, but only 6 are still alive, the rest were so hurt with the nets and the dogs driving them into the nets. Those alive, and the skins of those dead, are to be sent by sea. [Scot.x.643,667,671,677-8].

May 30: 'Sir W.Raleigh came to Ditton'. [Buckinghamshire].

May 31: 'Sir W.Raleigh was committed to Sir R.Cecil's custody'.TH

May: marriage: Hyde-Castilion. Robert Cranmer, Jewel-house Officer, provided 'a gift to be given at the marriage of Mr Baptist's daughter unto Mr Hyde', May.^T Queen's gift: one basin and ewer gilt and one gilt bowl, to Mr Baptist's daughter.^{PS} John Baptist Castilion was a Groom of the Privy Chamber; his daughter Barbara Castilion (1574-1641) married Lawrence Hyde (1562-1642).

Barbara's elder sister Anne had married Lawrence's elder brother Robert.

1 June 1592-December 1595: Thomas Edmondson was Agent in France.
Sir Henry Unton, the Ambassador, was returning to England, leaving Edmondson, his Secretary, in his place until Sir Henry was re-appointed.

June 2-12: Arthur Throckmorton, brother of Lady Raleigh, noted in his Diary:
June 2: 'I was at Durham House with Sir W.Raleigh'.
June 3: 'My sister was committed to Mr Vice-Chamberlain' [Sir Thomas Heneage].
June 4: 'The Pursuivant was sent for me by my Lord Chamberlain and Mr Vice-Chamberlain'; June 5: 'I set towards Northamptonshire'; June 6: 'I came to Paulerspury'; June 10: 'I came back to Mile End'; June 12: 'I was with Mr Vice-Chamberlain'.TH Arthur had a house at Paulerspury, Northants.

No further action appears to have been taken against him, although he was summoned to court on December 26, but he and his wife lost the Queen's favour.

June 3: Lord Burghley's 'cure'. June 3, Bath [Burghley to the Queen]:
 'I received the enclosed from your Majesty's Ambassador this day here at Bath, and...thought it necessary to send the letter itself unto you...I had attended on your Majesty therewith myself but that I am in the midst of my cure and may not break off without my special harm, and to frustrate my recovery'...

'If it shall be your Majesty's pleasure to use my poor service any way in this business...I will not fail to give my attendance'.

Note: This appears to indicate that Burghley was taking the waters at Bath, but the letter, a draft in a clerk's hand, was evidently written when he was close to court and taking a cure at home, facetiously referred to as Bath. He attended Council meetings at Westminster and Greenwich during this week, and on June 5 wrote to Sir Thomas Wilkes from Greenwich that he had been with the Queen that day; he wished Wilkes well in his own cure at Bath. [SP12/242/41,43].

June 8-July: French special Ambassador in England.

June 8: Signor De Fourneaux 'came out of Brittany from the two princes'.^{HD}

He came from the Prince de Dombes and another Prince to inform the Queen that without present aid Brittany would be lost. [SPF List 4, 304].

c.June 8: Lord Home in London. Alexander 6th Lord Home (c.1566-1619) had been travelling abroad since autumn 1591, and was now on his way back to Scotland.

June 8 [London] James Hudson to Burghley: 'The Lord Hume was with the Lord Chancellor at his first arrival and required his Lordship to procure him the honour to kiss her Majesty's hands, which his Lordship promised to do presently, but as yet there is no time appointed for the performance thereof, neither any word returned to his Lordship from my Lord Chamberlain. In the meantime, the voyage being great and long, and through costly countries for travellers, which he has lately performed...I think his Lordship's furnishing waxes low, which calls him on fast to end his journey'. I hope he will be used with like honour and friendship that he had at his last passing by her Majesty and your Lordship.

By June 12 Lord Home was licensed to go to the Borders. [Scot.x.688,700].

June 11-July 19: Bess of Hardwick at Greenwich Palace, again.^{SH}

June 13: death. Henry 9th Lord Scrope (c.1534-1592), K.G., widower, died at Carlisle, Cumberland. Funeral: August 22, Carlisle Cathedral.

His son Sir Thomas Scrope (c.1567-1609) became 10th Lord Scrope. Lady Scrope (Philadelphia Carey) was one of the Queen's attendants.

c.June 15-July: A second French special Ambassador in England.

Nicolas de Harlay, Sieur de Sancy; sent by King Henri IV, at whose request he had accompanied Sir Henry Unton on Unton's return home.

June 16, Fri new appointment: Edward Coke, Recorder of London, was made Solicitor-General.

June 17, Sat Sir Henry Unton at Greenwich on return from France. Unton wished to have audience prior to De Sancy.

*He noted his expenses in returning to court as:
 'For transportation with servants and myself from Fère...to Dieppe, being 60 leagues, £60; for charges of 120 horse, which went with me for convoy, and reward of them, £60; for transportation from Dieppe to Dover of myself and 22 servants, £20; for transportation of my stuff, horses and 16 servants from Dieppe to London, £50; for 23 post-horses from Dover to London, £11.10s'.*

[Unton, 471]. league: 3 miles.

c. June 19, Mon De Sancy at Greenwich for first audience.
De Sancy had met the Privy Council on June 18. [SPF List 4, 304].

Thomas Lake to Sir Thomas Wilkes, June 23: We expect a pacification in France. The King has sent Monsieur De Sancy to acquaint the Queen withal, or else to see how he may be helped at her hands to stand the war. [SP12/242/58].

By June 19, at Windsor: Garter Installation preparations.
John Stephenson, Keeper of the Standing Wardrobe at Windsor Castle, with four labourers for 6 days 'to furnish the lodgings within the Castle with hangings of such wardrobe stuff within his charge against the coming of the Noblemen to be installed of the Garter and also for making ready the Dean's house for the coming of the French ambassador at the same time'.^T

June 19, Fri: Cavalcade of Garter Knights-elect from London to Windsor.
George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland; Gilbert Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury.

Herald's description: The Earl of Shrewsbury was lodged in Gresham House, Bishopsgate, 'whence he rode through the City, accompanied with sundry of his honourable friends, and a numerous and gallant train of attendants and servants, to Charing Cross, where he met George Earl of Cumberland...and thence both together rode towards Windsor, within a mile or two of which place Garter King of Arms [William Dethick] met them and set their attendants in order'.

'And thence the Elect-Knights took their way in goodly equipage through the town into the Castle, the proceeding being thus ordered:

Trumpets, two and two; Gentlemen in blue coats and gold chains; Gentlemen of note; Garter; Gentlemen Ushers; Earl of Ormond; the two Elect-Knights; Baron of Effingham; with their footmen about them; Noblemen, Knights, and Gentlemen of quality. All their servants in the rear'.

June 20, Thur: at St George's Chapel, Windsor, Installation of new Knights of the Garter, by the Queen's two Commissioners: Charles Lord Howard of Effingham (who 'lay in the Castle'); Thomas Butler, Earl of Ormond.

Herald's description: Lord Howard and the Earl of Ormond came 'and carried into the Chapter-house first my Lord of Shrewsbury and there tarried awhile. Then we proceeded to the Choir, Garter carrying his robes and collar on a velvet cushion. And so standing before his stall took his oath. And after was led up to his stall by those two lords, where they put on his robe, hood, kirtle and collar'. [The Earl of Cumberland was installed with similar ceremony].

'Then the service began, which being done the lords according to their degrees came down and offered up the hatchments of Duke Casimir, of George Earl of Shrewsbury, the Earl of Warwick and Sir Christopher Hatton, Lord Chancellor [recently deceased Knights of the Garter]. This being done the Knights according to their ancienty [date of election] offered. And so from thence we proceeded to the Castle where dinner was kept at the lords' charges but the Queen's Officers served there'. [Ashmole, 339; BL Stowe 595, f.45].

June 26: Sir John Perrot at Westminster Hall to be sentenced.
At his trial on April 27 Perrot, a former Lord Deputy of Ireland and Privy Councillor, had been found guilty of high treason; after the Queen had stayed proceedings six times he was brought from the Tower for sentence. He 'made a protestation', extolling the Queen 'to be the only Mirror of Mercy of all the princes in the world; and said, God forbid that ever his heart should imagine Treason, or utter such unreverend speeches of her sacred Majesty'.

After much further protestation of his innocence the Lord Chief Justice pronounced sentence, condemning Perrot to be drawn, hung and quartered.

Naunton: Perrot 'was accused of high treason, and for high words and a forged letter condemned, though the Queen on the news of his condemnation swore by her wonted oath that the jury were all knaves. And they deliver it with assurance that at his return to the Tower after his trial he said, with oaths and fury, to the Lieutenant Sir Owen Hopton "What, will the Queen suffer her brother to be offered up as a sacrifice to the envy of my strutting adversaries?"

'Which being made known to the Queen, and the warrant for his execution tendered...she refused to sign it, and swore he should not die, for he was an honest and faithful man...That which most exasperated the Queen...was... words of disdain'. [Robert Naunton, *Fragmenta Regalia*].

As to Sir John Perrot: 'The Queen began to be appeased towards him... But while he thus had hopes of his life, he fell sick, and died in the Tower'. [State Trials, i.1334]. Perrot died on Nov 3; he was buried on Nov 10 in the Chapel of St Peter ad Vincula at the Tower. Sir Michael Blount had succeeded Sir Owen Hopton as Lieutenant of the Tower in 1590.

June 30, Fri Contract for Aid to Brittany of 4000 men.

Signed by Beauvoir and De Sancy (French resident and special Ambassadors) and by Lord Burghley and three other Privy Councillors. [SPF List 4, 309].

c.June: marriage: Robert West (1573-1594), of the Inner Temple, eldest son of Sir Thomas West (later 2nd Lord De La Warr) married Elizabeth Cock, daughter of Sir Henry Cock, of Broxbourne, Herts. Queen's gift: one gilt bowl with a cover, at marriage of 'Sir Thomas West's son to Sir Henry Cock's daughter'.^{PS}

Queen also gave to Sir Henry Cock's daughter: 'One pair of bracelets of gold containing 22 pieces'. These were a New Year gift to the Queen in 1592.

[BL Add MS 5751A, f.228]. Robert West (a godson of the Queen) died in June 1594; the Queen was godmother to his posthumous son (August 1594).

July 2, Sun De Sancy and De Fourneaux at Greenwich to take leave.^{HD} These two French special Ambassadors returned to France.

July 9: Ambassadors from the Elector Palatine at Greenwich.

Frederick, Elector Palatine, aged 18, sent Philip de Jonge, Baron or Count von Winnenberg, with his father Duke Philip, and Jean Durant, formerly John Casimir's Secretary. They came from the Low Countries, where they had asked the States to assist the Elector with men and money; whilst awaiting a reply they came to England with a similar appeal, and also to return the Garter insignia of John Casimir, who died in January 1592.

Royal watermen: 'Carrying the Countess of Shrewsbury, the Lord Henry Seymour, and the German Ambassador and his company at two several times, April and July 1592'.^T

July 9, Sun Ambassadors from the Palgrave of the Rhine with the Queen.^{HD}

In accordance with custom the Ambassadors returned the Garter insignia of the Elector Palatine's uncle Duke John Casimir, who had died on January 6.

July 10: Jewel-house Officers received from Lord Hunsdon, Lord Chamberlain: 'One Collar of gold of the Order of the Garter containing 22 knots and 22 pieces of roses enamelled within the Garter, having a George of gold hanging thereat...

Sent from the late Duke Casimir'. [Jewels, 1596].

July 12: A book for the Queen by Sion Dafydd Rhys, alias John Davys. Cymraecae Linguae Institutiones, printed at the expense of Sir Edward Stradling of Glamorgan, to whom it was dedicated. A Welsh grammar, in Latin.

July 12, Brecknock, John Davys to Sir Edward Stradling ('my Maecenas'): 'The cause of my long tarrying in London was for the sure settling and placing of the books and perusing every one of them sheet by sheet, that no imperfection might be found in them; which sheets in 1200 and odd books grow to a great number and a tedious perusal. Of these books the Queen's Majesty had one, my Lord Treasurer another, and my Lord of Essex the third, for that these three had just cause to have a consideration of this excellent language. From the Queen I know not what answer was had, for that I came away before I spoke with Mrs Scudamore, who did deliver the book'. Sir Edward's will (1610):

'Whereas there were printed at my expense 1250 British grammars, I do give fifty of them ready bound to my friend Mr Doctor Davys, the author of them'.

[J.M.Traherne, ed. Stradling Correspondence (1840), 314-315].

July 16: French Ambassador took the Palatine Ambassadors hunting at Enfield, Middlesex, and to visit Lord Burghley's house, Theobalds, Herts. They admired its beauty and situation, well laid out gardens, delectable covered walks.

Above all, they most esteemed Burghley's wise and comely grand-daughters (Lady Elizabeth, Lady Bridget and Lady Susan Vere, all still children).

After a fine repast they left Theobalds well pleased. [SPF List 4, 381].

July 18: 'To James Hudson [resident Scots Agent], to be paid over to Thomas and Robert Foulis to the use of the King of Scots, £2000'. [Scot.xiii.742].

July 19, Wed Bess of Hardwick left Greenwich after five weeks. The Countess had been accompanied by her grand-daughter Lady Arbella Stuart.

Queen's gift, July 19, to Lady Arbella: 'A chain of gold containing 23 square pieces, 12 small pearls in a piece, 20 round pieces with 6 small pearls in a piece, and 40 less round pieces with 2 pearls in a piece'.

This was a New Year gift to the Queen in 1590. [BL Add MS 5751A, f.222].

The Dowager Countess's payments included rewards to the Buttery, the Pantry, the Cellar, the gardeners, a cook, and the Porter at the gate.

'Paid for stable room at Greenwich for the litter horses, 4d'; 'for the charge of the house of Greenwich' 3½ days ended the 19th of July, 55s8d.

On July 19 the Countess hired 10 hackneys from Greenwich to Chelsea, 2s4d each; and hired 6 boats, 3s the boat.^{SH}

July 19: Will proved of George Tenacre, servant of John Wolley, a Privy Councillor; formerly servant of the Dowager Countess of Lincoln.

Will made 20 April 1591. With Inventories of Apparel, Books, and 'Jewels, etc', including: 'One scarf of ash colour cypress with two edges of gold and silver that was the Queen's that Mistress Chaworth gave me'.

Bridget Chaworth was a Gentlewoman of the Privy Chamber from 1579; in 1584 she married William Carr.

July 23, Sun Palatine Ambassadors at Greenwich to take leave.^{HD}

Nicholas Pigeon, Jewel-house Officer, provided 'three several gifts given by her Majesty to three ambassadors out of Germany'.^T To Count 'Wittenberg': one basin and ewer gilt; one pair of gilt pots; one nest of 3 gilt bowls with a cover. To Duke Philip...one pair of hanse pots gilt; one gilt bowl with a cover. To Monsieur Durant, Secretary to the late Duke Casimir: one pair of gilt pots; two gilt bowls with a cover.^{PS}

Warrant, July 27, for Frederick Count Palatine of the Rhine to procure 100 broadcloths for his servants' liveries, free of duty. [HT.iv.219].

July 24, court at Greenwich, Mary Harding (attendant on Lady Bridget Manners, Lady of the Privy Chamber since July 1589) to Elizabeth Countess of Rutland (Bridget's mother): 'My lady doth continue in her Majesty's good liking still'.

Mary wrote from Greenwich in an undated letter, possibly of June 1592: 'She is in very great favour with her Majesty and is employed with the nearest service about her; for she carves at all times and is no way at commandment but by her Majesty'.^{RT}

July 26, Wed visit, Blackfriars, London; Sir George Carey. Blackfriars house of Sir George Carey (1547-1603), eldest son of Henry Carey 1st Lord Hunsdon, Lord Chamberlain, the Queen's cousin; wife: Elizabeth (Spencer) (1552-1618), daughter of Sir John Spencer, of Althorp, Northants.

Lambeth Church: 'To ringers when the Queen's Majesty went to Sir George Carey's, 2s'.

Sir Walter Raleigh, following the disclosure of his secret marriage, was under house arrest at Durham House (Crown property), further along the Thames from Blackfriars. Raleigh observed the Queen's visit from his study, which John Aubrey later described: 'Durham House was a noble palace; after he came to his greatness he lived there, or in some apartment of it. I well remember his study, which was of a little turret that looked into and over the Thames, and had the prospect which is pleasant perhaps as any in the world'. [*Brief Lives*].

On July 26 Raleigh, who was in the keeping of his cousin Sir George Carew, (1555-1629), Lieutenant of the Ordnance, was visited by Arthur Gorges.

'London in haste this Wednesday', Arthur Gorges to Sir Robert Cecil: 'I cannot choose but advertise you of a strange tragedy that this day had like to have fallen out between the Captain of the Guard and the Lieutenant of the Ordnance, if I had not by great chance come at the very instant to have turned it into a comedy. For upon the report of her Majesty's being at Sir George Carey's, Sir W. Rawly having gazed and sighed a long time at his study window, from whence he might discern the barges and boats about the Blackfriars stairs, suddenly he broke out into a great distemper, and swore that his enemies had of purpose brought her Majesty thither, to break his gall asunder with Tantalus' torment'..

'He swore to Sir George Carew that he would disguise himself, and get into a pair of oars to ease his mind but with a sight of the Queen, or else he protested his heart would break. But the trusty jailor...refused to permit him.. They fell flat out to choleric outrageous words; with struggling and striving at the doors...and in the fury of the conflict the jailor had his new periwig torn off his crown...At last they had gotten out their daggers'...

'Then I did my best to appease the fury. As yet I cannot reconcile them by any persuasions, for Sir Walter swears that he shall hate him for so restraining him from the sight of his mistress...for that he knows not (as he said) whether ever he shall see her again when she is gone the progress'...

'I pray you pardon my hasty written narration, which I acquaint you with hoping you will be the peace-maker; but good sir let nobody know thereof, for I fear Sir W. Rawly will shortly grow to be Orlando Furioso, if the bright Angelica persevere against him a little longer'.

[PS] 'If you let the Queen's Majesty know hereof as you think good be it, but otherwise good sir keep it secret for their credits; for they know not of my discourse which I could wish her Majesty knew'. Endorsed 26 July 1592.

[H.E. Sandison, 'Arthur Gorges, Spenser's Alcyon, and Raleigh's friend', *Proceedings of the Modern Language Association*, 43 (1928), 657-8].

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

July 28, Fri Dutch Agent at Greenwich for brief audience.

Noel Caron, resident Agent, to the States-General, July 30, of a stormy interview with Lord Burghley on July 27, concerning opposition made by the States to detaching English troops for the service of the French King in Normandy. I requested to have audience of the Queen before she departed into the country. At noon on July 28 Burghley sent word that she was to leave between 5 and 6 o'clock, and that I would be welcome meantime at any hour.

'But notwithstanding that I presented myself at two o'clock in the afternoon, I was unable to speak to her Majesty until a moment before she was about to mount her horse. Her language was then very curt. She persisted in demanding her troops, and strongly expressed her dissatisfaction that we should have refused them on what she called so good an occasion for using them. I was obliged to cut my replies very short, as it was already between 6 and 7 o'clock, and she was to ride nine English miles to the place where she was to pass the night. I was quite sensible, however, that the audience was arranged to be thus brief, in order that I should not be able to stop long enough to give trouble, and perhaps to find occasion to renew our complaints touching the plunderings and robberies committed upon us at sea...I shall attempt to speak to her again before she goes very deep into the country'. [Motley, *United Netherlands*, iii.168-9].

July 28, Fri **MITCHAM**, Surrey; Mr Dent.^T

Mitcham house of John Dent, of the Salters' Company, died 1595;
wife: Alice (Green)(1569-1614); she married (2) Dr Julius Caesar, a judge.

July 29, Mitcham, Lord Howard to Lord Burghley: 'The Queen's Majesty finding herself something pained in her head after yesterday's travel doth determine to stay here at Mitcham till Monday'. [HT.iv.220].

c. July 29, Sir Walter Raleigh (Captain of the Guard) to Sir Robert Cecil:

'I pray be a mean to her Majesty for the signing of the bills for the Guards' coats, which are to be made now for the progress and which the Clerk of the Cheque hath importuned me to write for'.

'My heart was never broken till this day that I hear the Queen goes away so far off, whom I have followed so many years with so great love and desire, in so many journeys, and am now left behind her and in a dark prison all alone'.

'While she was yet near at hand, that I might hear of her once in two or three days, my sorrows were the less, but even now my heart is cast into the depth of all misery. I that was wont to behold her riding like Alexander, hunting like Diana, walking like Venus, the gentle wind blowing her fair hair about her pure cheeks like a nymph, sometime sitting in that shade like a goddess, sometime singing like an angel, sometime playing like Orpheus'...

'Yours not worthy any name or title. W.R'. Endorsed July 1592.

[Latham, no.46].

July 29, Thomas Posthumous Hoby (son of Lady Russell, of Bisham) to Anthony Bacon (her nephew, brother of Francis): 'It is thought that the Queen will be at Bisham, where my Ladyship doth desire to have your company with your brother's'; Aug 4: 'The Queen hath appointed to be at Bisham this day sennight [August 11], where if your health would serve, I think you might with most conveniency attend upon her Majesty'. Aug 14, Twickenham Park, Francis Bacon to Thomas Phillips: 'I have excused myself of this progress: if that be to excuse to take liberty where it is not given'. [LPL 648/124,135; Spedding, i.117].

The Queen arrived at Bisham August 12. Hoby owned a house at Cookham, Berks. For a possible meeting at Cookham or Bisham between the Queen and Lord Hunsdon's mistress (who became a published poet), see 'Aemilia Lanier and Queen Elizabeth at Cookham', by Roger Prior, *Cahiers Elisabethains* 63 (April 2003), 17-32.

July 30, *Drury House, Sir Edward Stafford to Anthony Bacon: 'If you have anything to do with Sir Walter Raleigh, or any love to make to Mistress Throckmorton, at the Tower tomorrow you may speak with them, if the countermand come not tonight'. [LPL 648/123]. They were committed to the Tower a week later.*

July 31, Mon *Mitcham parish register: 'Edward Whitney, the son of Henry Whitney Esquire, was born upon Friday, July 28, the same day that her Majesty came to Mr Dent's house, and was baptised Monday 31, the same day that her Majesty went from hence to Nonsuch. His godfathers were Mr Edward Darcy, Mr Stanhope, and Mrs Scudamore, all of the Privy Chamber'.*

July 31, Mon **NONSUCH PALACE**, Cheam, Surrey; Crown property.

'Her Majesty's house'.^w Keeper: John Lord Lumley, former owner (c.1533-1609).

Lord Lumley was heavily in debt to the Crown, and in January 1592 in lieu of further repayment surrendered Nonsuch to the Queen, whose father Henry VIII had built it. Lord Burghley noted: 'A grant to the Lord Lumley of lands to the value of £534 in recompense of the house and lands at Nonsuch'.^B

At Nonsuch: 'making provision of iron hooks, chains, ladders, ropes, poles and leather buckets against the rage of fire if any such chance should happen'.

There were similar payments for the Queen's houses at Eltham, Kent, and at Woking, Surrey. [Works account, March 1592-1593].

During the 1590s Lord Lumley assembled a series of monuments of his ancestors, which are in the church at Chester-le-Street, County Durham; his own monument and those of his two wives are at Cheam Church.

July 31: *Bess of Hardwick left Chelsea in her new horse-litter to return to Derbyshire; there was a wagon for gold and silver plate, twelve wagons in all, 4 litter-horses, and 44 hackneys. At towns along the way she paid for 'household charges', and gave to bell-ringers, musicians, and to the poor.^{SH}*

The Countess is not known to have met the Queen again. In her will (1601) she made a bequest to her: 'I do give unto her Highness £200 in gold to be bestowed of a cup of gold to be presented to her most gracious Majesty, most humbly beseeching her sacred Majesty to accept that poor widow's mite as a remembrance from her that hath always borne a dutiful and faithful heart to her Highness'.

As she out-lived the Queen and died in 1608 this bequest went to King James.

Aug 3, off the *Azores: a Portuguese carrack, The Madre de Dios, was captured with its rich cargo, including pearls, gold, precious stones, amber, musk, and in particular pepper. August 17, from aboard the Carrack, Sir John Burgh to Lord Burghley: 'I have now taken possession of her in her Majesty's name and right, and I hope...her Majesty shall receive more profit by her than by any ship that ever came into England'. Sept 12, Stepney, Edward Jones to Anthony Bacon: 'There is a carrack of great importance landed in England...It was surprised by Sir John Burgh, who was admiral for Sir Walter Raleigh, and Captain Crosse, that was for the Earl of Cumberland. It is the greatest prize that ever came into England'. [Wright, ii.419; LPL 648/151].*

Court news. Aug 6, London, Beauvoir, French Ambassador, to Lord Burghley: I am to have audience with her Majesty tomorrow at Caron's lodging, when I want to present Caron's request for some pieces of artillery. [SP78/29/12].

Aug 7, Mon visit to Dutch Agent.

Noel Caron, resident Dutch Agent in England, 1591-1624.

Caron had a lodging in London, and probably also in Surrey; later in the 1590s he lived at Streatham and then at Clapham, both in Surrey.

The States of the Low Countries had just summoned him and sent a warship for him; he was in Holland from September-November. [SPF List 4, 131,134].

Aug 7: Sir Walter Raleigh and Lady Raleigh were sent to the Tower, as her brother Arthur Throckmorton noted in French in his Diary. Raleigh's release: September 15; Lady Raleigh's release: December 22. Raleigh remained Captain of the Guard, but did not resume attendance on the Queen until June 1597.

c. Aug 10, Thur dinner, West Molesey, Surrey; Mr Brend.^T
West Molesey manor-house; owned by Thomas Brend (c.1517-1598).

2nd wife: Mercy, died 1597. By his two wives Brend had 18 children, six of whom survived him. His memorial is in West Molesey Church.

Kingston Church: 'Paid to ringers when her Majesty went from Nonsuch, 12d'.
Start of SUMMER PROGRESS in Surrey, Middlesex, Buckinghamshire, Berkshire, Wiltshire, Gloucestershire, Oxfordshire.

An Inventory in Latin made in May 1599 of Thomas Brend's estate included in Surrey one house, newly built, in the occupation of William Shakespeare and others. This was The Globe Theatre, Southwark. Brend's son Nicholas Brend leased the site to Shakespeare and others at an annual rent of £14.10s.

Nicholas's son Sir Matthew Brend pulled down The Globe c.1645, after all theatres had been closed by Government decree.

c. Aug 10, Thur **HANWORTH**, Middlesex.^T

Hanworth manor-house and Hanworth Park were Crown property.

Hanworth manor was granted for life in 1588 to William Killigrew, Groom of the Privy Chamber, and Keeper of Hanworth Park; died in 1622; wife: Margaret (Saunders), widow of (1) Robert Wolman; (2) John Leigh.

Aug 11: Hanworth, Treasurer's warrant.^T

[Aug 11, Fri] dinner, Colnbrook, Bucks. *The Ostrich Inn*.

Richard Coningsby, Gentleman Usher, one Yeoman Usher, 3 Yeomen and 2 Grooms of the Chamber, 2 Grooms of the Wardrobe and one Groom-Porter made ready 'for her Majesty at the Eastridge in Colbrook by the space of 2 days', 39s4d.^T

Aug 11, Fri **ETON COLLEGE**, Bucks.^{T,W}

Richard Coningsby and his nine men made ready Eton College 'by the space of 6 days', 118s.

Stephen Fulwell 'one of the Officers of her Majesty's Jewels and Plate, for the hire of three horses for himself and his two men in fetching of rich plate from the Tower of London for the service of her Majesty this progress, and the same to be conveyed and attended from place to place till her Majesty was removed from Eton College, at which time it was delivered over in charge to the Officers of the Cellar, by the space of 7 days', August 1592, 100s.^T

Privy Council wrote a letter 'at Eton College, dated the 11th'.^{APC}

Eton College payments, Sept 1591-Sept 1592: 'New plastering of the walls where they were broken and whitewashing it against the Queen's coming, 5s; Goodman Bell for 12 load of sand when the Queen came, 4s; George Flame 3 days digging the sand, 3s; Rolfe 2½ days carrying of sand to the cellar and other places when the Queen was here, 20d; Rolfe 3 days ridding away rubbish in the kitchen yard, cleansing the garden ditch and spreading sand, 2s; two men sweeping the hall, galleries, cloisters, and other business when the Queen was here, 3 days, 4s; two men taking down and setting up things in the chambers when the Queen was here, 3 days, 6s; taking down the wall at the Church end when the Queen came and mending of the threshold of the Brew-house gate, 12d; to the Pursuivant and Paymaster of £20 given us by the Queen's Majesty, 10s'.

[Aug 12,Sat] via Great Marlow, Bucks. Great Marlow churchwardens
'Paid John Black for mending the bells when the Queen came to Bisham, 1sld;
for nails and drink the same time, 1s'.

[Aug 12,Sat] dinner, Maidenhead, Berks. *The Lion Inn*.
Richard Coningsby and his nine men made ready 'a dinner house at the
Lion at Maidenhead for her Majesty', 39s4d.^T

Aug 12,Sat **BISHAM**, Berks; Lady Russell.^T

Bisham Abbey. Lady Russell was Elizabeth (Cooke) (c.1540-1609), daughter
of Sir Anthony Cooke, and widow of (1) Sir Thomas Hoby, of Bisham, who died
when Ambassador to France in 1566; (2) John Lord Russell, died in 1584.

Also at Bisham were Lady Russell's daughters:

Elizabeth Russell (October 1575-July 1600), a god-daughter of the Queen;
she became a Gentlewoman of the Privy Chamber;

Anne Russell (June 1578-1639), who became a Maid of Honour; she married
Lord Herbert in June 1600, with the Queen as guest of honour.

Bisham entertainment: 'Speeches delivered to her Majesty this last progress,
at the right honourable the Lady Russell's at Bisham'. (London, 1592).

Elizabeth and Anne Russell took part in the entertainment as Sybil and Isabel,
shepherdesses. [Modern edition: Nichols, *Progresses* (2014), iii.601-609].

Aug 12,Sat Queen's arrival at Bisham: entertainment.

'At the top of the hill going to Bisham, the cornets sounding in the woods,
a Wild Man came forth and uttered this speech'.

'I followed this sound, as enchanted', and 'asked who passed that way? what
he or she? none durst answer, or would vouchsafe, but passionate Echo, who said
She. And She it is, and you are She, whom in our dreams many years we Satyrs
have seen, but waking could never find any such'...

'Some said your portraiture might be drawn, others said impossible; some
thought your virtues might be numbered, most said they were infinite...Virtue
tameth fierceness, Beauty, madness. Your Majesty on my knees will I follow,
bearing this club, not as a savage, but to beat down those that are'.

'At the middle of the hill sat Pan, and two Virgins keeping sheep, and sewing
in their samplers, where her Majesty stayed and heard this':

Pan: 'Pretty souls and bodies too, fair shepherdess, or sweet mistress,
you know my suit, love, my virtue, music, my power, a godhead...How do you
burn time and drown beauty in pricking of clouts, when you should be penning
of sonnets?...I love you both, I know not which best, and you both scorn me,
I know not which most...You are but the Farmer's daughters of the dale, I the
God of the flocks that feed upon the hills...Can you love? Will you?'

Sybil: 'Alas poor Pan, look how he looketh sister, fitter to draw in a harvest
wain than talk of love to chaste virgins, would you have us both?'

Isabel: 'Men must have as many loves as they have heart-strings, and study to
make an Alphabet of mistresses, from A to Y, which maketh them in the end cry,
Ay. Against this, experience hath provided us a remedy, to laugh at them when
they know not what to say, and when they speak, not to believe them'...

Pan: 'What is wrought in this sampler?'

Sybil: 'The follies of the Gods who became beasts, for their affections'.

Pan: 'What in this?'

Isabel: 'The honour of Virgins who became Goddesses, for their chastity'.

Pan: 'But what be these?'

Sybil: 'Men's tongues, wrought all with double stitch but not one true'.

Pan: 'What these?'

Isabel: 'Roses, eglantine, hearts-ease, wrought with Queen's stitch'...

Sybil: 'Prithee Pan be packing, thy words are as odious as thy sight, and we attend a sight which is more glorious than the sun rising'...

'This way cometh the Queen of this Island, the wonder of the world, and Nature's glory...By her it is (Pan) that all our carts that thou seest are laden with corn, when in other countries they are filled with harness [armour]; that our horses are led with a whip, theirs with a lance; that our rivers flow with fish, theirs with blood...One hand she stretcheth to France, to weaken Rebels, the other to Flanders, to strengthen Religion; her heart to both countries, her virtues to all. This is she at whom Envy hath shot all her arrows, and now for anger broke her bow, on whom God hath laid all his blessings'...

'We upon our knees will entreat her to come into the valley, that our houses may be blessed with her presence, whose hearts are filled with quietness by her government. To her we wish as many years as our fields have ears of corn, both infinite; and to her enemies as many troubles as the wood hath leaves'...

'But whist, here she is, run down, Pan, the hill in all haste...to give our mother warning'...

Pan: 'No...trip you to your mother. Here I yield all the flocks of these fields to your Highness: green be the grass where you tread, calm the water where you row, sweet the air where you breathe, long the life that you live, happy the people that you love: this is all I can wish...And here I break my pipe...and follow that sound which follows you'.

'At the bottom of the hill, entering into the house, Ceres with her Nymphs in a harvest cart met her Majesty, having a Crown of wheat-ears with a Jewel, and after this song uttered the speech following'.

'Swell Ceres now...Ceres only Queen of heaven...

With robes and flowers let me be dressed,

Cynthia that shineth

Is not so clear,

Cynthia declineth

When I appear,

Yet in this Isle she reigns as blessed,

And everyone at her doth wonder,

And in my ears still fond Fame whispers,

Cynthia shall be Ceres' Mistress,

But first my carre shall rive asunder.

Help Phoebus help, my fall is sudden;

Cynthia, Cynthia, must be Sovereign'.

'Greater than Ceres, receive Ceres' Crown...To your Majesty, whom the heavens have crowned with happiness, the world with wonder, birth with dignity, nature with perfection, we do all homage, accounting nothing ours but what comes from you. And this much dare we promise for the Lady of the farm, that your presence hath added many days to her life, by the infinite joys she conceives in her heart, who presents your Highness with this toy and this short prayer, poured from her heart, that your days may increase in happiness, your happiness have no end till there be no more days'.

[Aug 14, Mon] dinner, John Hayes/Haynes.^T Hurley, Berks?

Treasurer of the Chamber's original paper account gives the name John Hayes, the parchment copy has John Haynes.

John Hayes was of Hurley, (en route to Hurst), but was a yeoman, who made his will on August 19, sick in body; he had a 'mansion house called Podiers'; he was buried on August 24; an inventory on August 28 of the small house values his goods and chattels at £109.6d.

John Haynes, of a Reading family, was the Queen's Serjeant of the Acaterly.

Aug 14, Mon **HURST**, Berks; Mr Ward.^W

Hurst manor-house; owned by Richard Ward, Sheriff of Berkshire 1591-1592; died 1605; wife: Mary (Appleton), died 1608. Simon Bowyer made ready 'the Sheriff of Berks house at Hurst' and a standing at Hurst.^T

Richard Ward's father, also Richard Ward, was a former Cofferer of the royal Household; the Queen had visited him at Hurst in 1576.

Aug 14: St Margaret Westminster: burial: Thomas Crow.

Richard Topcliffe to Sir John Puckering, the Lord Keeper, Sept 11, London: 'If ever there were a murdering devil in England, looking for an evil purpose and for an evil hour, I think it was this John Douglas that murdered Crow'.

Marginal note: 'I have seen him often at the court'. [SP12/243/8].

Stationers entered, 24 February 1593: 'A sad sonnet of Thomas Crow late one of the Yeomen of her Majesty's Guard, written by one of his fellows'.

Aug 15, Tues **READING**, Berks.^{HD}

Reading Abbey. 'Her Majesty's house'.^W Occupied by Mr Davers.

Richard Davers, esquire, of Reading; married; died 1609.

The Treasurer's original account has 'Mr Davers', the copy has 'Mr Davies'.^T

Mr Davers is named again at the Queen's last visit to Reading, 1601.

St Lawrence's Church: 'Ringing at her Majesty's coming, 22d; for making clean of the street at her Majesty's coming, and for carriage, 20d'.

St Mary's Church: 'To the Queen's Almoners, 5s'. [A fine for not ringing].

*Aug 17: **Count Mompelgart** at Reading.*

At the Count's command his secretary Jacob Rathgeb kept a daily journal in German of his visit, published in 1602. Translated in W.B.Rye, England as seen by Foreigners (1865), 3-53, from which details of the visit are taken.

August 17: Count Mompelgart at Reading, during a month in England. Frederick, Count Mompelgart (1557-1608), later Duke of Wurttemberg.

Count Mompelgart arrived at Dover on August 9, where he dined with the Palatine Ambassadors, 'the young Baron of Winnenberg' and his father Duke Philip, who were 'waiting for a good wind'. He stayed overnight at Sittingbourne, and arrived in London by river from Gravesend on August 10, staying first at the house of the Netherlands Postmaster, called The Dutch Post.

For the next few days the Count was with Beauvoir, the French Ambassador (France had sovereignty over Mompelgart, alias Montbeliard).

He went sightseeing in London, and ordered suits of black velvet for his pages and attendants, whilst the Queen was notified of his arrival.

The Queen sent a coach to bring him to Reading; after a night at Maidenhead, Berkshire, where he was joined by Beauvoir, he arrived on August 17 at Reading, 'a pleasant and rather pretty town', where he stayed in the Mayor's house.

Aug 17, Thur Count Mompelgart at Reading Abbey for first audience.

The Count had arrived in Reading about noon; the Earl of Essex came at once to welcome him in the Queen's name, took him in a coach to dine in his apartments, where he was entertained with 'sweet and enchanting music', and returned with him to his lodging in the Mayor's house. Early in the afternoon the Count was summoned by the Queen and escorted to court, where she was 'in a somewhat mean room, surrounded by her principal councillors and ladies in waiting'.

The French Ambassador Beauvoir introduced the Count. The Queen received him 'in a very friendly and gracious manner, and for some length of time her Majesty conversed with him on various subjects, and that openly and aloud, so that any in the apartment might understand. His Highness's pages, as well as all the rest of us, were allowed to enter, - nay, even great English lords made way for us and put us forward that we might the better see the Queen'.

Aug 18, Fri Count Mompelgart at Reading Abbey for second audience. With Beauvoir, French Ambassador.

The Queen made a speech in French, which 'she understands and speaks very well'. As she 'held Monsieur de Beauvoir in especial favour, after he had been conversing with her Majesty very lively and good-humouredly, he so far prevailed upon her that she played very sweetly and skilfully on her instrument, the strings of which were of gold and silver'.

Despite her age, and that she has 'borne the heavy burden of ruling a kingdom 34 years, she need not indeed - to judge both from her person and appearance - yield much to a young girl of 16. She has a very dignified, serious, and royal look, and rules her kingdom with great discretion, in desirable peace, felicity, and in the fear of God. She has, by God's help and assistance, known well how to meet her enemies hitherto: witness that mighty Spanish Armada'...

'Hence she frequently uses this motto: *Si Deus pro nobis, quis contra nos?* [If God be for us, who can be against us?], which she also did on this occasion when the discourse happened to turn upon that same Spanish defeat'.

After a long conversation the Count took leave, and departed for his lodging, where in the evening he feasted Beauvoir, the Earl of Essex, and other lords.

Later the Reading Cofferer's Account noted payments:

'Two gallons of sack given to my Lord of Essex, 8s8d...Charges riding to the court to certify my Lord of Essex being High Steward, 26s...To Mr Mayor which he laid out at the court when my Lord of Essex was made High Steward, 19s'.

29 Sept 1592-29 Sept 1593 account; Berkshire Record Office.

[Aug 19, Sat] dinner; Mr Plowden.^T [Burghfield, Berks].

Francis Plowden, son of Edmund Plowden, an eminent Catholic lawyer and author who died in 1585, leaving land in Burghfield.

Edmund Plowden's monument remains in the Temple Church, London.

Aug 19, Sat **ALDERMASTON**, Berks; Mr Forster.^W

Sir Humphrey Forster.^T Aldermaston manor-house; owned by Humphrey Forster (c.1551-1605); wife: Margaret (Barrett). Forster was knighted.

Sir Humphrey was son of William Forster, whom the Queen visited in 1568.

August 19: Count Mompelgart and Beauvoir left Reading, the same day as the Queen. 'The country in the vicinity of the royal court is for the most part flat and sandy, and because few succeed in finding accommodation at an inn, they erect tents under which they sojourn, thus presenting the appearance of an encampment. When the Queen breaks up her court, with the intention of visiting another place, there commonly follow more than 300 carts laden with bag and baggage', being two-wheeled carts, drawn by five or six horses.

The Queen deputed an unnamed old lord to escort the Count to Windsor, and to 'amuse him by the way with shooting and hunting red deer', for in the vicinity of Windsor 'there are upwards of 60 parks which are full of game of various kinds, and...the animals can be driven out of one enclosure into another, and so on; all which enclosures are encompassed by fences'. The huntsmen 'live in splendid separate lodges in these parks'. Three deer were killed in the hunt.

Aug 20: Count Mompelgart went to service in St George's Chapel, Windsor, was shown around 'the magnificent and glorious' Windsor Castle, where he 'cut his name in the lead upon the highest tower'.

At Eton College 'there was nothing particular to be seen'.

Eton College payment: 'making forms and tables in Mr Provost's lodging against the Ambassadors' coming, 8s'. [1592-1593 account].

At Windsor John Stephenson with four labourers for four days furnished 'the lodgings within the Castle with hangings and such wardrobe stuff against the coming of two Ambassadors, one out of Germany and the other a French Ambassador, which came from her Majesty's court at Reading'.^T

After an overnight stay at Windsor the Count hunted on his way to Hampton Court, 'the most splendid and most magnificent royal palace of any that may be found in England - or indeed in any other kingdom'.

Count Mompelgart returned to London, leaving on August 25 to visit Oxford and Cambridge. At Oxford he was delayed because his post-horses were tired out and could not be replaced even at double the normal cost.

He visited on August 30 Lord Burghley's Hertfordshire house, Theobalds, 'which is reckoned one of the most beautiful houses in England'.

For his secretary's full description of Theobalds see 10 July 1587. The Count again returned to London, where he went to bear-baiting and to a banquet at Beauvoir's 'beautiful country house' (at Hackney, Middlesex).

The Count left for the Low Countries on September 4, with a horse presented to him by the Earl of Essex, and a passport signed by Lord Admiral Howard for him to be furnished free of charge with post-horses to the seaside.

Numerous editors of Shakespeare's *Merry Wives of Windsor* have surmised that a reference to 'three sorts of cosen garmombles' who have 'cosen all the Hosts of Maidenhead and Reading', alludes to Mompelgart's travels in England, and difficulties with inn-keepers and post-horses. (Act IV, scene v; Quarto, 1602). The play was written c.1599/1600.

In August 1593 the Count succeeded his cousin as Duke of Wurttemberg. He believed that at Reading in 1592 the Queen had promised to have him elected a Knight of the Garter. In 1594 he wrote to remind her, and in 1595 sent a special envoy to her (Jacob Breuning, March-May 1595). He was elected to the Order of the Garter in 1597 and installed in 1604.

[Aug 20]: Francesco Pucci to the Queen, in Italian, sending a little book he has published on the holy war to be made by God. He sends it from Amsterdam for Lord Burghley to present it to her. [SPF List 4, 138].

Pucci (1543-1597), a Florentine theological writer who spent several years in England, was executed in Rome as a heretic.

Aug 23, Aldermaston, payment: 'To John Stanhope, esquire, Post Master of England, upon the Council's warrant dated at Aldermaston 23 August 1592, the sum of 20 marks to be defrayed by his direction about the laying of post-horses at convenient stages betwixt London and the court wheresoever for the better dispatch of her Majesty's services, £13.6s8d'.^T

[Aug 23,Wed] dinner; Mr Fuller.^T [Thatcham, Berks]. Chamberhouse manor-house, Thatcham; owned by Nicholas Fuller, well-known lawyer (1543-1620); he purchased Chamberhouse in 1585, after selling to the Earl of Leicester Aldersbrook manor, Little Ilford, Essex, where the Queen visited him in 1581; wife: Sarah, daughter of Nicholas Backhouse, a London Alderman; her son Nicholas was born at Chamberhouse in December 1592; she died in 1642. Thatcham Church has a monument to her and her husband.

Aug 23,Wed **SHAW**, Berks; Mr Dolman.^{CH}
'Shaw, Mr Dolman's house near Newbury'.^T 'Newbury, Mr Dolman's house'.^W
Shaw manor-house, Shaw-cum-Donnington parish; owned by Thomas Dolman, clothier, died 1623; 2nd wife: Anne.

c. Aug 24: hunting, Donnington Park, Berks.
 Richard Coningsby made ready 'a standing at Donnington Park'.^T Donnington
 Castle and Donnington Park: Crown property. Keeper: Lady Russell, of Bisham.
 'At the court in progress at Donnington'. [Bacon Papers, iii.209].

Aug 25, Fri **HAMPSTEAD MARSHALL**, Berks; Mr Parry.^{T,W}
 Hampstead Marshall manor-house; owned by Thomas Parry (1544-1616);
 wife: Dorothy (Brooke), a Maid of Honour c.1565-1568; died in 1622.
 Thomas Parry was the son of Sir Thomas Parry, who was in the Queen's service
 at Hatfield before her Accession, and who on her Accession became Treasurer
 of the Household and a Privy Councillor, and died in 1560.

[Aug 26, Sat] dinner; Mr Choke.^T [Avington, Berks].
 Avington manor-house; owned by Alexander Choke, died 1608; wife: Joan (Webb).

Aug 26, Sat **RAMSBURY**, Wilts; Earl of Pembroke.^{HD,T}
 Ramsbury manor-house; owned by Henry Herbert, 2nd Earl of Pembroke (c.1539-
 1601); 3rd wife (married at court, 1577): Mary (Sidney) (1561-1621), sister of
 Sir Philip Sidney. The Countess was a poet, translator, and patron of poets.
 Earl of Pembroke's gift to the Queen, during the 1592 progress:
 'One posset bowl or pot with a handle and a spout and a cover of gold, having a
 globe on the end of the handle and therein an agate, and an agate on the cover
 and thereon a red rose'.
 Two other gifts during the progress, by unspecified givers, were:
 'One cup of gold with a cover of cutwork the shank of agate and a small agate
 upon the top of the cover and a white rose over it'; 'one small spoon of agate
 slightly garnished with gold'. [Jewels, 1598-1600].

*The following Dialogue was first printed in Francis Davison's Poetical
 Rhapsody (1602). The date when it was performed is uncertain; it is placed
 here at Ramsbury in 1592, as the Queen is not known to have visited the Earl
 and Countess of Pembroke again (although she several times planned to visit
 them at Wilton), and the pastoral theme also appears at other country house
 entertainments in 1592 at Bisham and Sudeley. Modern edition: Nichols,
 Progresses (2014), iv.80-83 (assigned to August 1599).*

'A Dialogue between two Shepherds, Thenot and Piers, in praise of Astrea,
 made by the excellent lady, the Lady Mary Countess of Pembroke, at the Queen's
 Majesty's being at her house at - Anno 15--'. 20 stanzas, including:

Thenot: 'I sing divine Astrea's praise;
 O Muses, help my notes to raise,
 And heave my verses higher.
Piers: Thou needst the truth but plainly tell,
 Which much I doubt thou canst not well,
 Thou art so oft a liar...
Thenot: Astrea is our chiefest joy,
 Our chiefest guard against annoy,
 Our chiefest wealth, our treasure.
Piers: Where chiefest are, there others be:
 To us none else but only she.
 When wilt thou speak in measure?...
Piers: As heavenly light that guides the day,
 Right so doth shine each lovely ray
 That from Astrea flieth...
Piers: Words from conceit do only rise,
 Above conceit her honour flies.
 But silence, naught can praise her'.

Aug 28, Ramsbury, Michael Stanhope to Sir John Puckering, Lord Keeper:
 'All the news that is here at this instant is of a great carrack of the Spanish King taken [on August 3] by Sir John Burgh, Captain Crosse, and my Lord of Cumberland's men, looked for daily at Plymouth, said to be the richest ship that ever came into England'... 'I write nothing of the entertainment here, which is very honourable'. [BL Harl 6995, f.96].

Aug 29, Tues **BURDEROP**, Chisledon, Wilts; Mr Stephens.^{HD,T}
 Burderop manor-house, Chisledon parish; owned by Thomas Stephens, died 1596. 2nd wife: Dorothy. Thomas Stephens' daughter Mary married Francis Rutland, of Surrey; he died on August 27 and was buried in Chisledon Church.

Aug 30, Wed **LYDIARD TREGOZE**, Wilts; Mr St John.^{T,W}
 'Sir John St John'.^T Lydiard Tregoze manor-house; owned by John St John, died 1594; wife: Lucy (Hungerford), daughter of Sir Walter Hungerford.
 John St John was knighted. There are numerous monuments to the St John family, from 1594 onwards, at St Mary's Church, Lydiard Tregoze.

[August] Marlborough, Wilts, Chamberlains: 'Paid to the Queen's harbinger, at the time of her Majesty's progress, £1. To the Queen's trumpeter, 10s'.

August: Don Emanuel's return. For 'bringing up Don Emanuel the King of Portugal's son with a Portingall gentleman in August last from Margate to London', Mr Cleybrooke of Thanet (Kent) was paid £4 on 17 April 1593.^T

Supposed visit to John Harington, at Kelston, Somerset.

John Harington (1560-1612), a godson of the Queen, knighted in 1599, had a house at Kelston, just west of Bath. The first reference to a visit is by John Collinson, *History of Somerset* (1791), i.128: 'The old house at Kelweston ... was constructed as a proper reception for Queen Elizabeth during a summer's excursion, who here visited her godson in her way to Oxford 1591'.

Richard Warner, in his *History of Bath* (1801), 187, elaborates on this, adding that in 1591 the Queen 'dined right royally under the fountain, which played in the court'. [Footnote: 'Such is the tradition']. 'Elizabeth took the opportunity of visiting Bath'. John Nichols, *Progresses* (1823) iii.250, quotes Warner almost verbatim, but changes 1591 to 1592 (when the Queen visited Oxford).

Numerous authors followed Nichols, but from the itineraries for the 1591 and 1592 progresses it is clear that the Queen never even entered Somerset in those years; her only visit to Bath was in 1574. It may be added that John Harington left numerous anecdotes about the Queen and her favour to him; had she ever visited him he would have been the first to record it.

*September 1592. Touching for the King's Evil, in Gloucestershire.

Dr William Tooker, in a book in Latin dedicated to the Queen, gave a description of countryfolk flocking to her for healing during one of her progresses through Gloucestershire, the Queen saying "Would that I could give you help and succour. God, God is the best and greatest physician of all. He, He is Jehovah, wise and holy, and He will relieve your sickness. To Him you must pray".

[William Tooker, *Charisma* (1597), 108].

From Sept 1-16 dates of visits, and descriptions marked ^G, are from a Gloucester Corporation MS. [*Gloucs Notes and Queries* ii (1884), 379-380].

Sept 1, Fri **DOWN AMPNEY**, Gloucs; Mr Hungerford.^{G,T}
 Down Ampney manor-house; owned by John Hungerford (c.1565-1635). His monument is in the church. 1st wife: Mary (Berkeley) (c.1563-1628), daughter of Sir Richard Berkeley, of Rendcomb, Gloucs, whom the Queen visited on September 6.

Sept 2, Sat via Driffield to Cirencester.

'The Lord Chandos, Sir John Poyntz knight High Sheriff of Gloucestershire and the rest of the knights and gentlemen of the Shire received her Majesty in a fair long plot of meadow in a field in Driffield parish near the highway leading to Cricklade, their trains of horsemen ranked and placed according to their callings, most part having breeches and doublets of silk, and so waited on her to Cirencester, being presented at the town end with a fair cup of double gilt worth £20 given by the town of Cirencester with an oration made in Latin'.^G

Sept 2, Sat **CIRENCESTER**, Gloucs; Sir John Danvers.

Cirencester manor-house; owned by Sir John Danvers (1540-1594); knighted at Salisbury in 1574; wife: Elizabeth (Nevill), daughter of John Nevill, 4th Lord Latimer; she married (2) Sir Edmund Carey, brother of 2nd Lord Hunsdon.

Richard Coningsby made ready 'Sir John Danvers' house at Cicester' and 'a banqueting house at Sir John Danvers'.^T 'Cicester, Mr Davers house'.^W

'Her Highness lodged at Sir John Danvers' new house'.^G

Sept 3, Cirencester, paid to Robert Gascoyne (Post for the Court) 'for laying sufficient posts in such places as are requisite for the furtherance of the said service between the court and London during this progress time', £13.6s8d.^T

Sept 6, Wed **RENDCOMB**, Gloucs; Sir Richard Berkeley.^T

Rendcomb manor-house; owned by Sir Richard Berkeley, died in 1604; wife: Eleanor (Jermy), widow of Robert Roe; died in 1630.

'Sir Richard Bartlett's house'.^W

'The court was removed to Rendcomb the Wednesday night, but the extremity of a great wind all that day was the let [hindrance] thereof'.^G

The Queen also visited Berkeley at Waltham Forest, Essex, in 1590.

In 1598 he dedicated to her *A Discourse of the Felicity of Man*.

His monument is in St Mark's Chapel, College Green, Bristol; his wife's monument is in Rendcomb Church.

Sept 7, Queen's birthday celebrations, e.g. Hornchurch Church, Essex: 'Laid out for six ringers of the birthday of our most gracious Sovereign Lady Queen Elizabeth, 6d'. [On Accession Day ten ringers were paid 10s].

Sept 9, Sat dinner, Whittington, Gloucs; Mr Cotton.^{G,T}

Whittington manor-house; owned by John Cotton.

Sept 9, Sat **SUDELEY CASTLE**, Winchcombe, Gloucs; Lord Chandos.

Sudeley Castle; owned by Giles Brydges, 3rd Lord Chandos (1548-1594);

wife: Frances (Clinton), daughter of Edward Clinton, 1st Earl of Lincoln; she died in 1623. Richard Brackenbury made ready 'the Lord Chandos house at Sudeley Castle' and 'a standing in the park at Sudeley'.^T

Gloucester city chamberlains: 'Given to the Lord Chandos in money for gratification against the receiving of the Queen's Majesty at Sudeley in progress, £6.13s4d; given to the Lord Treasurer of England [Lord Burghley] at Sudeley for gratification of his Lordship's coming in the progress into this country, £7; spent in attending the Lord Treasurer's coming at Cirencester and Sudeley and in delivering the two gifts aforesaid, 40s8d'.

Robert Gascoyne, 'her Majesty's Post for the Court', 'for the payment of divers Posts for her Majesty's affairs laid out by him between Sudeley Castle and Hampton Court', £16.10s8d.^T

Sudeley entertainment. 'Speeches delivered to her Majesty this last progress at...the right honourable the Lord Chandos at Sudeley'. (London, 1592).

Two of the songs were printed in England's Helicon (1600).

Modern editions of the entertainment: Nichols, Progresses (2014), iii.609-616.

Records of Early English Drama: Cumberland, Westmorland, Gloucestershire, 348-356, with extracts from Gloucester Chamberlains' payments.

Sept 9, Sat Queen's arrival at Sudeley: Shepherd's Speech, and gift.

'At her Majesty's entrance into the Castle an old Shepherd spoke this saying':

'Vouchsafe to hear a simple Shepherd, shepherds and simplicity cannot part.

Your Highness is come into Cotswold...These hills afford nothing but cottages, and nothing can we present to your Highness but shepherds. The country healthy and harmless, a fresh air'. You fill 'our hearts with joy, and our eyes with wonder. As for the honourable Lord and Lady of the Castle, what happiness they conceive I would it were possible for themselves to express'...

'This lock of wool, Cotswold's best fruit, and my poor gift, I offer to your Highness, in which nothing is to be esteemed but the whiteness, virginity's colour, nor to be expected but duty, shepherd's religion'.

*Sept 10, Sun Sudeley entertainment: Apollo, Daphne, and a Shepherd.

'Apollo running after Daphne, a Shepherd followed uttering this'...

'A short tale, but a sorrowful, a just complaint, but remediless...

I loved...long I loved...a Nymph most fair, and as chaste as fair, yet not more fair than I unhappy. Apollo, who calleth himself a god...pursued my Daphne with bootless love, and me with endless hate. Her he wooed, with fair words...with great gifts...with cruel threats'...

'At last and alas, this day I fear of all my joys the last...it was four of the clock when she flying from his treason was turned into a tree, which made me stand as though I had been turned into a stone, and Apollo...his sweet voice turned to howling; and there sitteth he (long may he sorrow), wondering and weeping, and kissing the laurel, his late love, and mine ever'.

'Pleaseth your Majesty to view the melancholy of Apollo, my distress, and Daphne's mischance, it may be the sight of so rare perfection will make him die for grief, which I wish, or Daphne return to her old shape, which must be your wonder. If neither, it shall content me that I have revealed my griefs, and that you may behold his'.

'This speech ended, her Majesty saw Apollo with the tree, having on the one side one that sang, on the other one that played.

'Sing you, play you, but sing and play my truth,

This tree my lute, these sighs my notes of ruth [sorrow];

The laurel leaf for ever shall be green,

And chastity shall be Apollo's Queen.

If gods may die, here shall my tomb be placed,

And this engraven 'Fond Phoebus, Daphne chaste'.

'After these verses, the song'.

'My heart and tongue were twins, at once conceived.

The eldest was my heart, born dumb by destiny,

The last my tongue, of all sweet thoughts bereaved,

Yet strung and tuned to play heart's harmony...

Engrave upon this tree Daphne's perfection,

That neither men nor Gods can force affection'.

'The song ended, the Tree rived [split], and Daphne issued out, Apollo ran after, with these words'...

*'Fair Daphne stay, too chaste because too fair,
Yet fairer in mine eyes because so chaste,
And yet because so chaste must I despair?
And to despair I yielded have at last.
Shepherd, possess thy love, for me too cruel'...*
'Daphne running to her Majesty uttered this'.

'I stay, for whither should chastity fly for succour, but to the Queen of chastity?...These tables, to set down your praises...I humbly present to your Majesty, not thinking that your virtues can be deciphered in so slight a volume, but noted...With this vouchsafe a poor virgin's wish, that often wish for good husbands, mine only for the endless prosperity of my Sovereign'.

'The verses written in the tables which were given to her Majesty'.

*'Let fame describe your rare perfection,
Let nature paint your beauty's glory,
Let love engrave your true affection,
Let wonder write your virtue's story,
By them and Gods must you be blazed,
Sufficeth men they stand amazed'.*

*Sept 11, Magdalen College, Oxford, Nicholas Bond (Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University, expecting a visit by the Queen) to Lord Buckhurst (Chancellor):
'I have received your Lordship's letters for venison...The season of bucks will be past before the Queen's coming...We have sent up two to procure furniture for our plays with your Lordship's letter to the Master of the Revels...Mr Savile is gone to the court to try whether their purposes do hold'. [REED: Oxford, i.216].
Thomas Savile, Senior Proctor. The Queen arrived at Oxford on Sept 22.*

Sept 12, court at Sudeley Castle, Privy Council, concerning a pardon for felony: 'For that her Majesty in this time of her Progress doth not willingly hearken to private suits, it is thought good the matter be referred till her return to some standing house'.^{APC}

**Sept 13: Sudeley: proposed entertainment, prevented by bad weather.*

'The third day should have been presented to her Majesty the High Constable of Cotswold, but the weather so unfit, that it was not. But this it should have been, one clothed all in sheep-skins, face and all, spoke this by his interpreter'.

'May it please your Highness, this is the great Constable and commander of Cotswold; he speaks no language, but the rammish tongue'...

A 'shepherds' star, pointing directly to Cotswold, and in Cotswold to Sudeley, made us expect some wonder...that such a one should come, by whom all the shepherds should have their flocks in safety, and their own lives, all the country quietness, and the whole world astonishment; our Constable commands this day to be kept holiday, all our shepherds are assembled, and if shepherds' pastimes may please, how joyful would they be if it would please you to see them'...

'After this speech her Majesty was to be brought among the shepherds, among whom was a King and a Queen to be chosen and thus they began'.

A dialogue between Meliboeus and Nisa, King and Queen of the Bean; and Cutter of Cotswold. Interspersed with a Song: 'Herbs, words, and stones'.

Meliboeus: 'The seventh of September [the Queen's birthday] happiness was born into the world; it may be the eleventh is some wonder...The twelfth the weather inclined to moisture and shepherds' devices to dryness, the thirteenth summer goeth from hence...At four of the clock this day shall appear the world's wonder that leads England into every land, and brings all lands into England'.

'Then espying her Majesty, he and all the shepherds kneeling, concluded thus'.

'This is the day, this the hour, this the star. Pardon dread Sovereign, poor shepherds' pastimes, and bold shepherds' presumptions. We call ourselves Kings and Queens to make mirth; but when we see a King or Queen, we stand amazed...

'For our boldness in borrowing their names, and in not seeing your Majesty for our blindness, we offer these shepherds' weeds, which, if your Majesty vouchsafe at any time to wear, it shall bring to our hearts comfort, and happiness to our labours'.

Sept 14: knightings, Sudeley: Henry Bromley, Sheriff of Worcestershire. John Higford, of Dixton manor, Alderton, Gloucestershire. Thomas Lucy, of Gloucestershire and of Charlecote, Warwickshire. Henry Newton, of Gloucs and Somerset; Henry Winston, of Standish, Gloucs.^G

Sept 14, Thur dinner, Northleach, Gloucs; Mr Parker.^{G,T} Northleach manor-house; leased by Thomas Parker (1528-1628); the church has a brass rhyming acrostic epitaph to his wife Maud (died in child-birth, 1584).

Sept 14, Thur **SHERBORNE**, Gloucs; Mr Dutton.^{G,T} Sherborne manor-house; owned by William Dutton (1561-1618); son of Thomas Dutton, whom the Queen visited at Sherborne in 1574 and 1575; wife: Anne (Nicholas), daughter of Sir Ambrose Nicholas, salter, Lord Mayor of London 1575-1576; she died in 1651.

Sept 14, Newsletter: 'My Lord Treasurer [Burghley] still rules the roost, and hath followed the Queen in this progress'. [Verstegan, 79].

Sept 15, Fri At Sherborne the Queen instructed Sir Robert Cecil and Thomas Middleton to be Commissioner and Treasurer on a Commission sent to Dartmouth to provide for the safety of the carrack taken there as a prize. [HT.iv.227].

Also Sept 15: 'Sir W.Raleigh was delivered out of the Tower'.TH

Raleigh was released from the Tower of London to go to Devon to try to save as much of the carrack's cargo as possible for the Queen and other investors or 'adventurers'. The Queen had adventured £1800 in the voyage.

Sept 16, Sat dinner, Burford, Oxon; Mr Tanfield.^{G,T} Burford manor-house, Burford Priory; owned and built by Lawrence Tanfield, (c.1554-1625), prominent lawyer; wife: Elizabeth (Symonds) (c.1565-1629), daughter of Giles Symonds and Catherine (Lee), sister of Sir Henry Lee. Tanfield and his family's spectacular monument remains in Burford Church.

Sept 16, Sat **WITNEY**, Oxon; Mr Yate.^{G,T}

Sept 17, Sun, court at Witney, Council to Lord Norris (of Rycote, Oxon): 'Whereas the Queen's Majesty doth (by God's grace) intend to be with your Lordship at Rycote about Michaelmas day next [Sept 29], and is informed that there is at that feast a Fair to be kept at Thame, to the which do usually resort many Londoners with wares, which in this time of the general infection within the City of London may be very dangerous, her Majesty's pleasure therefore is the same Fair be put off unto the 15th day after Michaelmas day, and... present publication thereof to be made by the Bailiff of Thame...and that... no Londoner under colour of the said Fair take occasion to resort to that place or to the court at Rycote during the time of her Majesty's stay there'.^{APC}

Sept 18, Mon **WOODSTOCK PALACE**, Oxon.^{HD}

Crown property. Lieutenant of Woodstock: Sir Henry Lee (1533-1611); widower. Simon Bowyer made ready 'Woodstock House' and 'a standing at Woodstock'.^T

Anne (Paget), Lady Lee, was buried at Aylesbury Church, Bucks, 31 Dec 1590. Her monument (dated 1584) exhorts the passer-by 'to strew with crimson flowers this marble stone'. Crimson flowers continue to be placed on the tomb.

Sir Henry Lee's mistress, before 1592 and until his own death in 1611, was Anne Vavasour (c.1561-1627). She was formerly a Maid of Honour, but was obliged to leave court in March 1581 after giving birth there to a son by the Earl of Oxford. By 1590 she married John Finch, but lived with Sir Henry Lee.

Thomas Platter, from Switzerland, visited Woodstock Palace in 1599 and was shown the three rooms in which the Queen had been kept in custody in 1554-1555, with 10 lines of verse written by her on a wall. 'The overseer of the residence told us that when Elizabeth was last at Woodstock, seven years ago, in the above three rooms, with tears in her eyes she related how strict they had been then... And when she entered the garden she wept again'. The young Elizabeth had also written with a diamond on a window: 'Much suspected by me,

Nothing proved can be.

Quod Elizabeth the prisoner'.

[Verses: May, Queen Elizabeth I].

At Woodstock Thomas Churchyard presented *A Handful of Gladsome Verses, given to the Queen's Majesty at Woodstock this progress, 1592*, dedicated to the Queen.

'Royal Prince, this ancient place,	Hath hap to have you here.
Old Woodstock house is glad,	It shall have stone and lime,
That long with ivy hath been clad,	To show the ruin of time.
This seat, nay sure this shrine,	That thousands now doth praise,
That did preserve, by power divine,	The Phoenix of our days...
...Such as never saw,	Your Majesty till now,
Full near the coach do daily draw,	We see wherefore and how.
The people swarm like bees,	When Prince abroad doth ride,
And some climb up to tops of trees,	As soon as she is spied...
So reign good Queen in rest,	Full free from all annoy,
As one the Lord above hath blest,	To be all England's joy'.

[Reprinted in Hazlitt and Huth, ed. *Fugitive Tracts*, 1st series (1875)].

Sept 19, Sun, Woodstock: Privy Council: 'There is a book of orders and remedies against the Plague lately set out by our consent and knowledge'.

Letter to the Bailiffs of Kingston-upon-Thames, Surrey:

'Whereas the Queen's Majesty hath determined now at the end of her Progress to come to her house of Hampton Court, there to continue for some part of the winter if she shall find that by your care the town of Kingston may be kept and preserved from the infection' we 'charge and command you to be very vigilant and careful...and that...none be permitted to resort to your town or to lodge within the same that shall come from London or from any other place where the sickness presently reigneth, but that by your diligence you keep it sound and clear, as you tender her Majesty's safety, as you will answer your negligence to the contrary upon perils of your lives'.^{APC} She reached Hampton Court October 9.

Also Sept 19, Woodstock: Council 'Passport for the Lord Hawes, a nobleman of Scotland coming into this realm from beyond the seas presenting himself unto the Queen's Majesty, and is by her Highness's good favour and liking to pass from hence into Scotland, requiring all officers to suffer him to pass quietly without let or interruption with his servants and baggages, and to see him and his train provided of post-horses and of all other things needful for his journey at prices reasonable'.^{APC}

Sept 19, Exeter, Sir Robert Cecil (on his way to the captured carrack at Dartmouth in Devon) to Lord Burghley, his father:

'Everyone I met within seven miles of Exeter that either had anything in a cloak, bag or mall which did but smell of the prizes either at Dartmouth or Plymouth (for I could well smell them also, such had been the spoils of amber and musk amongst them) I brought back to Exeter. I stayed any who might carry news to Dartmouth and Plymouth at the gates of the town...I fear the birds be flown for jewels, pearls, and amber, yet doubt not to save her Majesty, in recovering the pillage...what shall be worth my journey. There never was such spoil. I will suppress the confluence of buyers which there are above 2000. I never met with fouler weather, more desperate ways, nor more obstinate people', but 'much of the pillage will be recovered. I found an armet of gold, and a fork and spoon of crystal, with rubies, which I reserve for the Queen'.

'Her Majesty's captive [Sir Walter Raleigh] comes after me'. [SP12/243/16].

Sept 20, Wed visit to Ditchley, Oxon; Sir Henry Lee.
Ditchley House, Spelsbury parish; owned by Sir Henry Lee, also of Quarrendon, Bucks, and Lieutenant of Woodstock. The most noted tilter at court until his age caused his ceremonial resignation from Accession Day Tilts, 17 November 1590.

Simon Bowyer made ready 'a dinner house' at Ditchley.^T

Sept 20-21: Ditchley Entertainment.

Various pieces comprise the entertainment, much abridged here.

Loricus (Lee), the Fairy Queen, and allegorical pictures, previously appeared at Lee's Woodstock entertainment for the Queen (September 1575), and a 'Crowned Pillar' at his Tilt resignation ceremony in November 1590.

Modern edition of the whole entertainment: Nichols, *Progresses* (2014), iii. 680-703, with a reproduction of the so-called 'Ditchley Portrait' of the Queen standing on a map of England with her feet on Oxfordshire, painted c.1592 by Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger. [National Portrait Gallery, London].

Sept 20: Ditchley Entertainment, first part.

morning: The Queen is led to a grove, where 'The Knight that had charge of the Grove' makes a speech warning her not to enter, for it 'yields nothing else but sighs and mournful songs of hopeless people'.

[Nevertheless the Queen enters, and finds knights in trees, ladies as leaves].

'The Second Knight's Complaint' [from within a tree]...

'Here shall you see, I shun to name the sights,
Light hearted ladies, heavy hearted knights...
Yet in this night of our accursed state
We do but for that morning star attend
Which is appointed by our secret fate
To bring this hard enchantment to an end...
Meanwhile this grove must be our resting-place'.

[The ladies make their lament]. 'The Maidens' song' [of women's inconstancy].

Then 'The Third Knight's song', of how he entered 'this enchanted wood'.

At the end of the grove 'The Knight that had charge of the grove' speaks again, describing a dolorous knight bewailing his 'hard hap', ending with a short Latin dialogue with Echo. The Queen is then led to a hall hung with allegorical pictures where an old Knight is sleeping, attended by his Page.

The Page speaks of 'this Knight distressed'...

'Lo here the matter of his overthrow
Those charmed pictures on the wall depending
What was his error yet I may not know
But sure it was the Fairy Queen's offending'...

[As the Queen looks at the pictures and divines their meaning the Knight wakes, the enchantment is dispelled, those imprisoned in trees are released].

'The Old Knight's Tale' of his 'woeful story'...

'Not far from hence nor very long ago,
The Fairy Queen the fairest Queen saluted
That ever lived and ever may she so,
With sports and plays...
Of all the pleasures there, among the rest,
(The rest were Jousts and feats of armed knights),
Within her bower she bids her to a feast,
Which with enchanted pictures trim she dights,
And on them words of high intention writes,
For her that mighty states hath feasted, knows
Besides their meat, they must be fed with shows...
Forthwith the tables were conveyed hither,
Such power she had by her infernal art;
And I enjoined to keep them altogether,
With special charge on them to set my heart'.

[The Knight neglected his duty, and was cast into 'a deadly sleep', from which he has been released by a 'peerless Prince' to whom he presents a gift to wear].

Sept 20, at Ditchley, afternoon:

[There came in two Ladies, once prisoners in the grove].

'The song after dinner at the two Ladies' entrance'
[also called 'The song of the Ladies' thanksgiving'].
'To that grace that set us free,
Ladies let us thankful be;
All enchanted cares are ceased,
Knights restored, we released...
Now thrice welcome to this place,
Heavenly goddess, prince of grace!'...

'The Ladies' thanksgiving for their delivery from Inconstancy'
[also called 'A Dialogue between Constancy and Inconstancy'], beginning:
'Most excellent: shall I say Lady, or Goddess?' After a long dialogue
Inconstancy presents a garment 'to be worn loose', and Constancy a gift
which 'will serve to bind the looseness of that inconstant dame's token'.

'The Song at their Departure'.
Happy hour, happy day,
That Eliza came this way!
Great in honour, great in place,
Greater yet in giving grace.
Great in wisdom, great in mind,
But in both above her kind.
Great in virtue, great in name,
Yet in power beyond her fame...
Heavy hearted knights are eased,
And light hearted ladies pleased,
Constant now they vow to be,
Hating all inconstancy.
Constant Pillar, constant Crown,
Is the aged Knight's renown.
Happy hour, happy day,
That Eliza came this way!'

'Thus much this first day'.

Sept 21, Thur visit to Ditchley, for second part of the entertainment. Simon Bowyer made ready 'a standing at Sir Henry's Lee's for the hearing of an oration'.^T

'The second day's work where the Chaplain maketh this relation'.

[Also called 'The Chaplain's narration'].

'Most excellent Princess, Princess of excellency!...Vouchsafe, I beseech you, from the matchless height of your royal graces, to look down on the humble dwelling of a reverent old knight, now a new religious hermit'...

'This solitary man, Loricus...sometimes he consorted with courageous gentlemen, manifesting inward joys by outward Jousts, the yearly tribute of his dearest love. Sometimes he summoned the witnesses of deepest conceits, hymns and songs and emblems, dedicating them to the honour of his heavenly mistress'...

'Thus spent he the flourish of his gladdest days...till the two enemies of prosperity, envy and age...cut him clean off from following the court... Thence, willingly unwilling, he retired his tired limbs into a corner of quiet repose in this country, where he...kept a very court in his own bosom, making presence of her in his soul, who was absent from his sight'.

[After a meeting with the Chaplain, Loricus decided to become a Hermit].

'He here forthwith erected a poor lodging or two for me, himself, and a Page that waiteth on him, naming it when he had done the Crown Oratory'...

'He drew a formal draft of his whole will', viz:

'To the most renowned Queen, Owner of the best Crown, and crowned with the best deserts, the living love of dying Loricus.

I Loricus, body sick,
Senses sound, remembrance quick,
Never craving, ever serving,
Little having, less deserving.
Though a hearty true wellwiller
Of the Crown and Crowned Pillar,
To that Crown, my life's content,
Make my Will and Testament'...

In witness whereof I have set to my hand and heart'.

Loricus [Most faithful guardian of the Crowned Pillar].

In presence of us whose names are underwritten: Stellatus [Chaplain of the Crown's guardian]. Renatus [Most faithful servant of the Knight of the Crown]'.

[The Queen enters the Oratory, whereupon Loricus miraculously recovers].

'The Page bringeth tidings of his Master's recovery, and presenteth his Legacy'.

The Page describes 'the sudden recovery of my distressed Master, whom lately you left in a trance (most excellent Princess!) hath made me at one time the hasty messenger of three truths, your miracle, his mending, and my mirth'... He 'lives by you and would not live but to please you; in whom the sole virtue of your sacred presence, which hath made the weather fair, and the ground fruitful at this progress, wrought so strange an effect and so speedy an alteration'. He 'hath sent your Majesty this simple Legacy'.

'The Legacy'.

'I bequeath (to your Highness) the Whole Manor of Love, and the appurtenances thereunto belonging, viz.

Woods of high attempts, Groves of humble service,
Meadows of green thoughts,
Pastures of feeding fancies,
Arable land of large promises,
Rivers of ebbing and flowing favours,

Gardens hedged about with privet, for succory [shelter], and bordered with thyme: of green nothing but heart's ease, drawn in the perfect form of a true lover's knot.

Orchards stored with the best fruit: Queen apples, Pome royals, and Sovereign pears.

Fishing for dainty kisses with smiling countenances.
Hawking to spring pleasure with the spaniels of kindness.
Hunting that dear game which repentance followeth.

Over and beside the Royalty [rights granted by the Crown] for Wefts [waifs] of fearful despair, Strays of wandering conceits, Felons' goods of stolen delights, Copy-holders which allure by witty writings, Or Tenants-at-will who stand upon good behaviour.

The Demesnes being deep sighs, and the Lord's house a pitiful heart.

And this Manor is held in Knight's service, as may be gathered from the true Receiver of fair ladies, and seen in the ancient deeds of amorous gentlemen.

All which he craveth may be annexed to his former Will, and therewith approved in the Prerogative Court of Your Majesty's acceptance'.

'In witness whereof I have put to my hand and seal'.

['Signed' and 'Witnessed' as before].

Sept 21, Dartmouth, Sir Robert Cecil to Sir Thomas Heneage:

Soon after I came on board the carrack 'Sir Walter Raleigh arrived with his keeper, Mr Blount. His poor servants, to the number of 140 goodly men, and all the mariners, came to him with shouts of joy; never saw a man more troubled to quiet them; but his heart is broken, as he is extremely pensive, unless he is busied, in which he can toil terribly...Finding that it is known that he has a keeper, whenever he is saluted with congratulations for liberty he answers "No, I am still the Queen of England's poor captive". [SP12/243/17].

Numerous lists were made of the goods in the carrack, and those who had pillaged it. Sir Robert Cecil was back at court by October 7; problems over distribution of the booty continued.

Sept 22, Fri dinner, Yarnton, Oxon; Sir William Spencer.^T

Yarnton manor-house; owned by Sir William Spencer (c.1552-1609), son of Sir John Spencer of Althorp, Northants; wife: Margaret (Bowyer).

Their monument remains at Yarnton Church.

John Harington: Sir William Spencer 'they say keeps a good house, for I ween the best house-keeper in England was at his house'.

[*Metamorphosis of Ajax* (1596)].

By September 22: Oxford University preparations for the Queen's visit.

The University set up a Committee to make arrangements, August 9.

Decrees by the Committee, August 17, include:

That the Vice-Chancellor [Nicholas Bond], Proctors, and others, with three Esquire Bedells, 'shall meet her Majesty at the confines of our liberties, and that an oration shall be pronounced before her by one of the Proctors'...

'Every man shall stand to entertain her Majesty as she passeth by:

1. The Doctors at Christ Church gate. 2. Bachelors of Divinity. 3. Masters of Arts and Bachelors of Law. 4. Bachelors of Arts, then the Scholars of houses in their Scholars' gowns and caps. Lastly the Gentlemen...as far as they will reach unto St Giles'...

'Two Scholars shall...step out and present her Majesty with orations and verses fairly written, and likewise two Bachelors and two Masters...

[At Carfax] the Greek Reader [Henry Cuffe] shall make a Greek oration before her Majesty'.

'At her Majesty's alighting in Christ Church the Orator shall entertain her with an oration...She be brought into the church under a canopy carried by four Doctors, there to hear Te Deum or such like...

On Monday and every working-day during her Majesty's abode the ordinary lectures be diligently read at the time appointed, and frequented'.

Subjects: Grammar, Rhetoric; Dialectics; Arithmetic; Music; Geometry; Astronomy; Natural, Moral, and Metaphysical Philosophy.

'At 8 o'clock is to be read the Physic lecture in the Divinity School, the Law lecture in the Convocation House, and the Greek lecture in the Congregation House; at 9 o'clock the Divinity lecture in the Divinity School, at 10 o'clock the Hebrew lecture in the Divinity School'.

Also at 10 o'clock every day Disputations by 10 Masters of Arts and 10 Bachelors; every afternoon Disputations in Philosophy and Law at St Mary's; upon Tuesday Disputations in Physic and Divinity.

'Appointed to oversee and provide for the plays in Christ Church' are the Dean and Sub-Dean of Christ Church, Dr Gager, Mr Hutton, and five more; others are appointed 'to frame and oversee the stage in St Mary's'. Others are 'to see the streets well ordered and prepared', others 'to oversee the exercises that are to be given to the Queen'. 'The colleges may be rated for contribution to the charges, according as the Heads shall agree'. 'Every working-day there shall be a sermon at seven o'clock in the morning at All Hallows Church'.

'Advertisements for Heads of Houses to deliver with great charge unto their companies' include: 'That they admonish all...to provide gowns, hoods and caps ...All graduates shall be ready at the ringing of St Mary's bell to come in their habits and hoods...and all scholars in their gowns and caps and to stand quietly in such order as shall be appointed until her Majesty be passed into Christ Church, and the train being past every man to resort to his own college.

That all scholars, Bachelors and Masters do diligently frequent the ordinary lectures during the time of her Majesty's abode...

That the scholars which cannot be admitted to see the plays do not make any outcries or indecent noise about the hall stairs or within the quadrangle of Christ Church as usually they were wont to do, upon pain of present imprisonment and other punishment'...

'That they warn their companies to provide verses to be disposed or set upon St Mary's and other places convenient and that those verses be corrected by the Deans or some other appointed by the Heads.

That a short oration be provided at every several college to entertain her Majesty if her pleasure be to visit the same, and verses set up'.

[Subjects for Latin disputations before the Queen are listed.

Registrum Universitatis Oxon, 228-232].

Oxford city preparations for the Queen's visit.

City Council orders included: [Aug 10] 'A cup of silver gilt to the value of £20 shall be provided at the charges of this city to present her Majesty at her coming, and threescore angels withal'.

'Agreed at this Council [Aug 13] that everyone of the Thirteen Associates and the Town Clerk shall lend to the use of this city £5 apiece, everyone that hath been Bailiff 40s, everyone that hath been Chamberlain 30s, every of the Common Council 20s, and all and every such Commoner as Mr Mayor and the rest of the Thirteen Associates or the more part of them shall think best able, 20s apiece'.

'The same money to be brought to the office and paid to Mr Mayor on Monday next [August 21] by 9 o'clock in the forenoon of the same day, to be employed in the behalf of the city against her Majesty's coming hither. And that the same money shall be repaid by this city to every person lending the same within one year now next ensuing'. The Oxford Key Keepers borrowed and repaid £171.10s.

'Agreed [Sept 1] that the Viewers for Annoyances shall view reparations of all the penthouses, bulks, doors, streets and houses within the city, and to give warning to every man where need shall be, to repair and beautify the same. And if any person shall not do the same (upon warning as aforesaid) before her Majesty's coming hither, he shall forfeit 40s and suffer imprisonment till the money be paid. And also that it shall be lawful for the said Viewers to pull down any ruinous penthouse...It is also agreed that certain gloves shall be provided to be given to Noblemen and others at her Majesty's coming hither'.

Oxford visit. The fullest description is 'A Brief of the entertainment given to Queen Elizabeth at Oxford', by Philip Stringer, of Cambridge University, one of two Cambridge men who attended on their Chancellor, Lord Burghley, at Oxford; written in 1603 from notes made in 1592, for guidance if King James visited Cambridge; it has detailed reports of the Disputations. Some extra information is given here from a later description by Anthony à Wood.

Modern edition of both: Nichols, *Progresses* (2014), iii. 622-639.
Various expenses: *Records of Early English Drama: Oxford*, i.216-229.

Sept 22, Fri Queen rode to Christ Church, **OXFORD**, via Godstow.
At the lodging of Dean of Christ Church: Dr William James (1542-1617).
Simon Bowyer made ready 'Christchurch College in Oxford; the Hall at Christchurch; the Cathedral Church at Oxford; St Mary's Church'.^T
St Aldate's Church: 'Paid to the ringers at the Queen's coming, 3s6d'.
St Peter in the East: 'To the ringers when the Queen came to Oxford, 3s'.

'About 3 o'clock...the Queen's most excellent Majesty entered into the bounds or precincts of the University of Oxford, at a place called Godstow Bridge, much about a mile from the City of Oxford, where her Highness was attended for by the Vice-Chancellor and the rest of the Doctors Heads of Colleges, with the Proctors and beadles of the University, being all then on foot in gowns, the Doctors in scarlet'...

'Upon intelligence of the Vice-Chancellor being ready with the rest to present their duties unto her Highness, her Majesty was pleased to have the coach stayed wherein she was, notwithstanding the foulness of the weather. Whereupon the Vice-Chancellor delivered up unto her Highness the beadles' staves, which were immediately redelivered unto him by herself, with the signification of her gracious pleasure to stay the hearing of a speech where-withal they were provided (as her Highness understood), so that it were not too long'.

'Which being known, Mr [Thomas] Savile, the Senior Proctor, being then upon his knees with the rest of the company, did presently enter into a short speech wherein he first signified what great joy the University had conceived by her Majesty's approaching so near unto them, and then that in the name of the whole body for the better manifesting of their dutifulness he was to yield up unto her Majesty the liberties, privileges, houses, colleges, temples, goods, with themselves also and whatsoever they were by her Majesty's goodness possessed of, with their most instant and dutiful prayers for the long and blessed preservation of her Highness. This done, her Majesty with the nobility and the rest of her royal train going towards the city was within half a mile received by the Mayor of Oxford and his brethren'...

[Wood: There 'met her at the end of St Giles the Mayor, Aldermen, Bailiffs, and others of the thirteen, in their scarlet, who presenting themselves before her, the Recorder spoke a speech, which ended, they in the name of the whole city presented to her a silver-gilt cup with 60 angels therein. Coming into the city she was received with great acclamations of the people'].

'She passed through the streets, the scholars standing in order on both the sides of the same, till her Highness came to the place which is called Carfax ...where she was pleased to hear an oration in the Greek tongue...by the Greek Reader [Henry Cuffe]'

'She alighting in Christ Church quadrangle, the Orator of the University welcomed her in the name of its members. After which was done she was conducted into the Cathedral under a canopy supported by four Doctors, where she heard *Te Deum* and other service done by way of thanks for her safe arrival'

Sept 23, Sat At Oxford: disputations.

'Her Majesty went to the church of St Mary's betwixt 2 and 3 o'clock... being attended upon by her nobility, herself being in a rich carriage'...

'Her Majesty being there placed under her cloth of state, upon a very fair stage which was purposely erected for her in the east end of the church near unto the Quire, there was a Philosophy Act'...

[Philosophy disputations on two questions, in Latin]:

1. Whether one's own soul be more excellent than the soul of another.
2. Whether, on account of the old age of the world, men are less heroic now than formerly.

'Which done, her Majesty returned to her court, or lodging'...

'Besides this Act there was also an English sermon especially provided for and preached in another church in the town not far from St Mary's by a learned man of special note amongst them. Which was in likesort continued every morning at the same hour and place by men of like quality during the time of her Majesty's remaining there with them'...

'The entrance into St Mary's Church was kept by the Guard only, standing without the doors of the church with their halberds in their hands, thereby to avoid the noise and the knocking at the doors, wherewith her Majesty was somewhat troubled at the first. Besides that part of the stage which was new built for her Majesty, there was a part of their ordinary stage set up on both sides of the church...The Answerers had their seats and places as we usually have in the midst of the church beneath, and the Disputers in every faculty had their seats in the side of the church somewhat lower than her Majesty'...

'There was none in the end of the stage near her Majesty but such as were necessarily attendant upon her Highness, viz. the Lord Chamberlain, the Lady Marquis [of Northampton], and some two or three others of the great noble ladies'

Sept 24: *Danish Ambassador's abortive audience at Oxford.*

Dr Paul Knibbe was sent with various complaints against English shipping.

Knibbe arrived in Oxford from London on September 10, and remained there to await the Queen's arrival. He was appointed audience for September 24, and a coach was sent to fetch him, but he was hurt as he was being assisted into it, and fainted. Word was brought to the Queen, who sent kind messages, and arranged another audience for next day. Overnight Knibbe became anxious that something untoward might happen to him when in the Queen's presence, and obtained permission to send his introductory speech and his messages to her in writing. She sent for further particulars, and promised to give him full satisfaction; as she was about to continue her progress she desired him to await at Kingston her return to Hampton Court. Knibbe wrote in Latin to the Danish Chancellor on Oct 1 from 'Meetkerk's house' in London, where he died on Oct 8. He was buried on Oct 10 near the tomb of his father-in-law Adolf van Meetkerk, formerly President of Flanders, buried at St Botolph Aldersgate Church in October 1591. His widow, a Dutchwoman, and infant children remained in London in some poverty.

[HMC 45th Rep.51; 47th Rep.47-48].

Sept 24, Sun At Oxford: sermon; play.

'There was a sermon preached before her Majesty by Mr Dr James, then Dean of Christ Church, in the minster church of that college. At night there was a comedy also acted before her Highness in the hall of that college, and one other on Tuesday at night, being both of them but meanly performed as we thought, and yet most graciously and with great patience heard by her Majesty'.

[Sunday play: *Bellum Grammaticale*, by Leonard Hutton, a comedy in Latin of the war between the two Kings of Grammar, the Noun and the Verb; adapted from a very popular book, also in Latin, by Andrea Guarna].

Sept 25, Mon At Oxford.

'At 8 o'clock...there was an English sermon...And at the same hour their ordinary lectures of Art were read in the Common Schools, and at 9 in the Divinity School was read a Divinity lecture by Mr [Thomas] Holland, her Majesty's Reader in Divinity, at the which there were but a few of the nobility, and many scholars. This day the Lords of the Council dined with Mr Savile at Merton College...where after they had dined they heard a Disputation in Philosophy...[Whether the dissensions of citizens are useful to the State]...'.

'This done, the Lords went to sit in Council, after which there was nothing shown that day, either before her Majesty publicly, or privately before the Lords of the Council'. [Warden of Merton: Henry Savile, brother of Thomas].

Sept 26, Tues At Oxford.

'At 8 o'clock...the ordinary lectures in Art were read as before'.

'At 9 o'clock Mr John Rainolds did read a lecture in Divinity, at the which all the Lords of the Council and the most of the nobility were present'...

'Between the hours of 10 and 11 o'clock in the forenoon it pleased her Majesty to hear an oration made by the Vice-Chancellor [Nicholas Bond] in the Chamber of Presence, presenting her Highness with two Bibles, the one in Greek and the other in Latin, in the name of the whole University'...

'About 3 o'clock...her Majesty went again to St Mary's'.

[Disputations on Physic, on two questions, in Latin]:

1. Whether the air or meat and drink do most change a human body?
2. Whether diseases are cured by witchcraft and by demons?

Evening: Queen saw a Latin comedy in Christ Church. [William Gager's *Rivales*].

John Harington stayed at Oxford 'only to see and serve our gracious Prince', as he says in an epigram entitled: 'Of learning nothing at a lecture, upon occasion of Doctor Renalds reading at Oxford afore my Lord of Essex and divers lords, at the Queen's last being there'. [Kilroy, I.20].

Sept 27, Wed At Oxford.

'The public lectures were read as before at 8 o'clock, and the Queen's Reader read in Divinity at 9. There was also at the same time a lecture in Music with the practice thereof by instrument in the Common Schools'.

[Wood: 'In the morning divers nobles and others were created Masters of Arts, and in the afternoon the French Ambassador'].

'At 3 o'clock in the afternoon, her Majesty being again come to St Mary's'.

[Disputations on Law and Divinity, on two questions, in Latin].

Law: Whether a judge ought to judge according to evidence and proof and against his conscience?

Divinity: Whether in a Christian state it is lawful to dissemble in the cause of religion?

Determiner, of Divinity disputation: Dr Westphaling, Bishop of Hereford.

'His oration was so long that her Majesty was somewhat wearied therewith (as it was thought) and did therefore, without any speech of her own, return to her lodging'.

Sept 28, Thur At Oxford: Queen's Latin oration, and departure.

'Her Majesty, about 10 o'clock...made an oration to the Vice-Chancellor, the Doctors, etc, in her Highness' Chamber of Presence, in most gracious manner, delivering her acceptance of that which they had done'.

Wood: 'In the afternoon she left Oxford, and going...to the East Gate, received the hearty wishes (mixed with tears) of the people...When she came to Shotover Hill (the utmost confines of the University), accompanied with those Doctors and Masters that brought her in, she graciously received a farewell oration from one of them in the name of the whole University. Which being done, she gave them many thanks and her hand to kiss: and then looking wistfully towards Oxford, said to this effect in the Latin tongue: "Farewell, farewell, dear Oxford, God bless thee, and increase thy sons in number, holiness, and virtue". And so went towards Rycote'.

St Aldate's Church: 'Paid to the ringers when the Queen went away, 3s4d'.

St Peter in the East: 'For ringing at her departure, 18d'.

Whilst at Oxford the Queen translated Cicero's 'Pro Marcello', which praises Julius Caesar as a god-like ruler; the Consul Marcellus had supported Pompey. [Elizabeth I: Translations 1592-1598, 16-41; from MS at Bodleian Library].

Oxford city Key Keepers' Accounts included payments: 'For a cup given to the Queen, £19.11s2d; to the carrier for bringing the same cup from London, 2s6d; given 60 angels in the said cup, £30; to divers of her Majesty's officers, £15; painters for work done in divers places for the city, £12; for new gilding and burnishing the great mace, 26s8d'. Payments to 4 men for gloves given to the Queen and to noblemen, and to 3 men 'for post-horses whiles her Majesty was in her progress in this country'. 'Towards the repairing of Bolshipton way against her Majesty's coming hither, 40s'. [Between Headington and Magdalen Bridge].

During the 1592 progress, possibly as the city of Oxford's gift, the Queen received 'one high standing cup of silver gilt with a cover, standing on the top thereof a lion holding her Majesty's Arms enamelled...with an inscription on the outside of the body of the cup 'Vivat Elizabetha Regina'. [Jewels, 1601].

Sept 28, Thur dinner, Holton, Oxon; Mr Browne.^T

Holton manor-house; owned by George Browne (or Brome), son of Sir Christopher Browne, whom the Queen had visited at Holton three times; George died in 1613; wife: Elizabeth (Wightman), daughter of William Wightman of Harrow, Middx, whom the Queen had visited there, and widow of John Pryce.

Sept 28, Thur **RYCOTE**, Oxon; Lord Norris.

Rycote House, near Thame; owned by Henry 1st Lord Norris (c.1525-1601);

wife: Margery (Williams), daughter of Lord Williams of Thame; the Queen called her 'the Crow'; she died in 1599.

Simon Bowyer made ready at Rycote and 'a standing at Rycote Park'.

Robert Cranmer, Jewel-house Officer, hired two horses for himself and his man 'from the Tower of London to the court at Rycote in conveying of broken plate to her Majesty's goldsmiths at London and returning with the same again being new mended to their places'.^T

Rycote entertainment. 'Speeches delivered to her Majesty this last progress...at the right honourable the Lord Norris at Rycote'. (London, 1592).

Lord and Lady Norris had one daughter and six sons, of whom the eldest son William died in Ireland in 1579, the sixth son Maximilian in Brittany in 1591.

Letters and gifts were sent to the Queen on behalf of the five remaining children. [Modern edition: Nichols, Progresses (2014), iii.616-621].

Sept 28: Queen's arrival at Rycote: speech by Lord Norris.

'An old gentleman, sometimes a soldier, delivered this speech'.

'Vouchsafe dread Sovereign, after so many smooth speeches of Muses, to hear a rough-hewn tale of a soldier'...

'I am past all service, save only devotion. My horse, my armour, my shield, my sword, the riches of a young soldier, and an old soldier's relics, I should here offer to your Highness; but my four boys have stolen them from me, vowing themselves to arms, and leaving me to my prayers'...

'This is their resolution, and my desire, that their lives may be employed wholly in your service, and their deaths be their vows' sacrifice. Their deaths, the rumour of which hath so often affrighted the Crow my wife, that her heart hath been as black as her feathers'...

'Although nothing be more unfit to lodge your Majesty than a crow's nest, yet shall it be most happy to us that it is by your Highness made a Phoenix nest'...

'Vouchsafe this trifle ['a fair gown'], and with this my heart, the greatest gift I can offer, and the chiefest that I ought'.

[September], Newsletter: 'The plague is still in London, and dispersed in sundry places of England. Twenty of those that followed the Queen in this progress have died of the plague. The most of them were her own servants, and among others one was a gentleman that was Cup-bearer unto the Lord Treasurer'.

[Verstegan, 80].

Oct 1, Sun, Rycote, Privy Council to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London:

'Whereas the infection doth daily and dangerously increase within the City of London...her Majesty hath been constrained...to forbear to resort to any her houses in and about the city'.

Also: 'An open placard to all public officers to see M.de Beauvoir, the French Ambassador, furnished of 10 post-horses from the court to London'.

Also: 'Placard for carts to convey Sir Thomas Sherley's tents to London from the court at Rycote'.^{APC} [Treasurer at War].

Oct 1, Sun Rycote entertainment: letters and gifts from four Norris sons.

'On Sunday, her Majesty going to the garden, received with sweet music of sundry sorts, the old gentleman meeting her, said thus:

"Pardon dread Sovereign the greatness of my presumption, who having nothing to say must follow still to wonder. But soft, some news out of Ireland".

'A letter delivered by an Irish lackey, in which was enclosed a Dart of gold, set with diamonds, and after the letter read, delivered to her Majesty, with this motto in Irish '*I fly only for my Sovereign*'.

'My duty humbly remembered...I received letters that her Majesty would be at Rycote; nothing could happen to me more happy, unless it were myself to be there to do my duty. But I am a stranger in my own country...and only remembered by her Majesty, whose late favours have made me more than fortunate. I should account my ten years absence a flat banishment, were I not honoured in her Majesty's service...I desire this Dart to be delivered, an Irish weapon, and this wish of an English heart, that in whose heart faith is not fastened, a Dart may'. [From 5th son Sir Thomas Norris, in Ireland; he died in Ireland, 1599].

'The Dart delivered, a Skipper coming from Flanders delivered another letter, with a Key of gold, set with diamonds, with this motto in Dutch '*I only open to you*'. 'My duty remembered...I was shipping myself for England, with this Skipper; but to come without leave, might be to return without welcome.

To signify that my heart is there I most humbly entreat that this Key may be presented, the Key of Ostend, and Ostend the Key of Flanders...For myself I can but wish all happiness to her Highness, and...that in her service my life may end'. [From 3rd son Sir Edward Norris, Governor of Ostend; died 1603].

'The Key delivered, a French page came with three other letters, the one written to the Lady Squemish, which being mistaken by a wrong superscription, was read before her Majesty'.

'A letter written by a Soldier to his Mistress the Lady Squemish'.

In the second letter 'was enclosed a Sword of gold, set with diamonds and rubies, with this motto in French '*Drawn only in your defence*'.

'Being ready to take shipping, I heard that her Majesty would honour Rycote with her presence...In this place is no choice of anything whereby I might signify my dutiful affection, but that which a Soldier maketh his chiefest choice, a Sword, which most humbly I desire to have presented to her Highness'. [From 4th son Sir Henry Norris, about to sail to Brittany; died 1599, Ireland].

In the Page's third letter 'was enclosed a Truncheon set with diamonds, with this motto in Spanish '*I do not command but under you*'.

'The third letter from the Sea coast'. 'The same time that I received letters that her Majesty would be at Rycote, the wind served for Brittany'...

'Cheapside is not in my ship, and therefore have nothing to offer but my Truncheon, the honour which I received of her Majesty, by whom I am only to be commanded'. [From General Sir John Norris, at Southampton ready to sail to Brittany in command of the English forces; died in Ireland, 1597].

'These letters read, and the presents delivered, the old man kneeling down ended thus: "That my sons have remembered their duties it is my heart's comfort; that your Majesty accepteth them, their hearts' heaven'...

'Among my joys there is one grief, that my daughter, the Mistress of a Mole-hill, hath so much forgotten that most she should remember, duty'...

'For myself, my Crow, and all our birds, this I promise, that they are all as faithful in their feathers as they were in their shells".

'This being done, there was sweet music, and two sonnets; which ended, her Majesty went in'.

Oct 2, Mon At Rycote: gift from Lord Norris's daughter Lady Paulet;

'On Monday morning, as her Majesty was to take horse, a messenger coming out of Jersey, and bringing a Daisy of gold, set with rubies, delivered it to her Majesty, with this speech: "At length, though very late, I am come from the Lady of the Mole-hill, sent long since, but the passage troublesome'...

'My Mistress...hearing that your Majesty would enter this cabin, was astonished with joy and doubt, joy for so great honour done to her father, doubt by what means she might show her duty to your Majesty. At the last, sitting upon the top of a Mole-hill, she espied a red Daisy, the fairest flower that barren place doth yield, which with all humility she presents to your Majesty; it hath no sweetness, yet many virtues; her heart no tongue, but infinite affections. In you, she saith, are all virtues, and towards you all her affections".

[From Catherine, died 1602; wife of Sir Anthony Paulet, Governor of Jersey].

[Oct 2, Mon] dinner, Princes Risborough, Bucks; Mr Reve.^T
John Reve, curate of the parish church; died in 1620.

Oct 2, Mon **GREAT HAMPDEN**, Bucks; Mrs Hampden.^{HD}

Great Hampden manor-house; owned by William Hampden (1570-1597), not yet married; with his mother Mrs Anne Hampden, daughter of Anthony Cave and widow of Griffith Hampden; she died December 1593. 'Mr Hampden's house'.^W

Richard Coningsby made ready 'Mrs Hampden's house of Hampden'.^T

[Oct 4, Wed] dinner, Amersham, Bucks.

Richard Brackenbury made ready 'a dining house at Hamerston for her Majesty'.^T
[Location not specified, but Amersham manor belonged to the Earl of Bedford].

There is a tradition that during one of her progresses the Queen made a visit to William Tothill at Shardeloes manor-house, Amersham. The Queen's coat of arms in The Crown Hotel, Amersham, was said to commemorate this visit.

Her only known visit to Amersham was in 1592. In 1591 Shardeloes was leased to trustees for one Henry Fleetwood, who sold it in 1595 to William Tothill (1557-1626), of Amersham, a lawyer, one of the Six Clerks in Chancery.

[Daniel and Samuel Lysons, Magna Britannia (1806), i.496; VCH Bucks].

Oct 4, Wed **CHENIES**, Bucks; Countess of Bedford.^{HD,T}

Chenies manor-house, owned by Edward Russell 3rd Earl of Bedford (1572-1627), not yet married; occupied by his grandmother Bridget (Hussey) Dowager Countess of Bedford (1525-1601), daughter of John Lord Hussey (executed in 1537); widow of: (1) Sir Richard Morrison; (2) Henry Manners, 2nd Earl of Rutland; (3) Francis Russell, 2nd Earl of Bedford, who died in 1585.

Monuments in Chenies Church Bedford Chapel (private) include: 2nd Earl and his 1st wife; Bridget Countess of Bedford, 1601; Anne Countess of Warwick, 1604; Elizabeth Lady Russell of Thornhaugh, 1611; Frances Lady Chandos, 1623.

Oct 7, Sat dinner, Mr Norris.

Richard Brackenbury made ready 'a dining house at Mr Norris for her Majesty when her Highness went from Chenies'.^T [Not further located].

Oct 7, Sat **DENHAM**, Bucks.^{HD}

'Denham house'.^T Denham manor-house, Denham Court; occupied by and later owned by William Bowyer (1558-1616); wife Mary (Pierson); died 1618.

c.Oct 9: proposed visit, Uxbridge, Middlesex; Mr Clifford.^T

Uxbridge house of Francis Clifford (1559-1641), brother of George Clifford 3rd Earl of Cumberland and himself later 4th Earl; his main residence was at Londesborough, Yorkshire; wife: Griselda (Hughes), daughter of Thomas Hughes of Uxbridge, and widow of Edward Nevill 7th Lord Abergavenny; she died in 1613.

Oct 9, Mon dinner, East Bedford, Middx; Mr Draper.

Pates manor-house, East Bedford; owned by John Draper; wife: Barbara.

Anthony Wingfield made ready 'Mr Draper's house for a dining house for her Majesty when she came to Hampton Court'.^T

Oct 9, Mon **HAMPTON COURT**, Middlesex.^{HD}

Rowland Maylard, 'Keeper of Hampton Court house under the Lord Admiral', was paid 'for the cleansing and sweeping of 140 chimneys against her Majesty's coming thither...at 2d the piece'.

And for a labourer 'to attend upon the chimney sweeps for carrying out the soot and making clean the floors', 4 days, 8d a day, September.^T

Oct 11, Wed, Hampton Court, Privy Council wrote to Sheriffs of several counties that 'by reason of the infection of sickness both in London and other places thereabouts her Majesty hath thought convenient that no access of strangers should be here to her court'.^{APC}

Oct 12, Thur, Hampton Court. Proclamation (750): Prohibiting Access to Court because of Plague. 'To restrain access to the court of all such as are not bound to ordinary attendance, or that shall not be otherwise licensed by her Majesty'. No unauthorised persons to come within two miles of court; no one from court to go to and from London without special licence. The Knight Marshal to make search for 'all vagabonds commonly called rogues that shall haunt about the court or in any places within the Verge', to be sent to the Marshalsea or other prison.

Court news. Oct 12, Hampton Court, Mary Scudamore (a Lady of the Privy Chamber, whose husband was newly knighted) to the Earl and Countess of Shrewsbury: 'For that Mrs Scudamore's sake, who was ever bound to you, I do offer myself, Ladyship and all, to be at your service'. The Queen says: 'God willing, she means to see your country this next year, for she finds a disposition of progressing hath taken hold of her, and she will not resist it, since she finds herself welcome, and accounts especially to be so to you'. [LPL 3199/441]. Plague prevented the Queen making any summer progress, 1593.

Oct 17: *death*: Lady Cobham died at Cobham, Kent. She was Frances (Newton), 2nd wife of William Brooke 10th Lord Cobham; she married at court in 1559, and was a Lady of the Bedchamber from 1559. Funeral: Cobham.

Oct 18: *marriage*, St Botolph Aldgate, London: Alphonso Lanier, a recorder player in the Chapel Royal 1591-1613, married Emilia Bassano (1569-1645), daughter of Baptista Bassano, a recorder player in the Chapel 1539-1576.

Simon Forman noted in 1597: 'She was paramour to my old Lord Hunsdon that was Lord Chamberlain and was maintained in great pride; being with child she was for colour married to a minstrel...She hath been favoured much of her Majesty and of many noblemen, hath had great gifts and been much made of - a nobleman that is dead hath loved her well and kept her'. [Rowse, *Forman*, 110-111].

Shakespeare was in the Lord Chamberlain's Men, and Rowse supposed Emilia to be the 'Dark Lady' of the Sonnets. Henry Lanier, born 1592/3, son of Henry, Lord Hunsdon (died 1596), was a flute player in the Chapel Royal 1629-1633.

Oct 19: News of an elephant for the Queen, from King Henri IV of France. It was delivered to Otwell Smith to send over to England. Peter Brown went to France for it and it was sent on September 30 on a ship going to London. Its Flemish keeper and his wife were to be left in charge of it until it became used to England; it would cost them £200 a year or more, but they and Brown offered to keep it at their own charge if they could have the benefit of those who would come to see it. On October 19 Smith wrote that he was 'sorry to hear that her Majesty was not content with the sending of the elephant', but the King understood that she wanted to see it. [SPF List 4, 316]. Further news: 6 April 1593.

Oct 19, Thur via Kingston-upon-Thames, Surrey.

Kingston Church: 'To the ringers the 19th day of October 1592 for ringing for the Queen's Majesty, 12d'. Kingston Chamberlains paid: 'For five torches at the Queen's coming through the town, 5s; to the footmen and coachmen when the Queen passed the town, 18s8d; to the Queen's Porters for a fee, 10s'.

Oct 19: *death*: Anthony Browne, 1st Viscount Montagu (c.1528-1592), died at West Horsley, Surrey. Funeral: December 6, Midhurst, Sussex.

His grandson Anthony Maria Browne (1574-1629) became 2nd Viscount Montagu. The widowed Magdalen (Dacre), Viscountess Montagu, died in 1608. Her monument, with her husband, is at St Mary's Church, Easebourne, Sussex.

October 20: *French special Ambassador's delayed audience*.

Duke of Montpensier sent De Poillé to beg the Queen to hasten aid to Brittany. He stayed first with Beauvoir, the resident Ambassador, at Hackney, Middx, and then moved to Kingston, Surrey; his audience was deferred for some days as one of Beauvoir's servants had died, it was believed of plague. [SPF List 4, 320].

St Helen Bishopsgate Church, burial: Sept 23: 'Nicholas Fylio, Secretary to the French Ambassador'. The preceding burial, Sept 4: 'A chrisom child of the French Ambassador gardener's'. [chrisom: dying within a month of baptism].

Oct 20, Fri 'De Poyle came from Brittany for the D.Mont'.

Oct 23, Mon De Poyle took his leave.^{HD}

Oct 30, Mon Hampton Court: Commission for sale of prizes taken by the fleet in the summer (the greatest being the *Madre de Dios*). Lord Burghley, Sir Robert Cecil, and Sir John Fortescue (recently knighted), were appointed Commissioners to apportion the amounts from the prizes and from the captured carrack due to the Queen and the other 'adventurers' in the voyage. They were to commit to prison all 'as shall be found obstinate to make true answers' or who have 'embezzled, received, bought or concealed anything'. [HT.iv.239-240].

The Carrack: a contemporary note: 'Called The Mother of God, 165 foot in length, 7 decks high and manned with 600 men. This huge carrack was met with about the Azores where Sir Walter Raleigh appointed some ships to wait for the Spanish East Indian ships. But when she was brought home the booty was but about £150,000, the commanders, seamen and soldiers having purloined and embezzled the rest. For the retrieving of which the Queen issued out a proclamation and appointed commissioners to examine all that were concerned, or suspected, upon their oaths. And some of them ventured to forswear themselves rather than part with their spoil'. [On letter from Raleigh and Hawkins, Aug 27. Latham, no.50].

October: Michael Moleyns 'rejected' for knighthood.
 October, Clapcot [Berkshire], Michael Moleyns to Lord Burghley: 'I was lately appointed (by her Majesty's express order) to be one of them that...was to advance to knighthood, and being commanded to the place where it was to be done, it was (at the very instant) crossed by the envious and malicious device of my enemies, and I rejected as a man unworthy or of no desert, to my perpetual grief (being such a disgrace and discredit as never yet was offered to any gentleman). I have served her Majesty...ever since the first day of her most happy reign... I hope her Majesty will not suffer me to be trodden down'. I ask you 'to inform her Majesty how greatly I am wronged'. [BL Lansdowne 72, f.199].
 Lord Deputy Fitzwilliam knighted Michael Moleyns in Ireland by January 1594.

Nov 4, Hampton Court, Sir Robert Cecil to Lord Keeper Puckering, of the Queen's praise of Puckering: 'I protest to you I never heard her express more liking nor greater contentation in any choice made by her of any servant or great officer in her kingdom. She told me some pretty speeches of your Lordship disabling yourself in wisdom or experience, though your willing mind was to none inferior'. [BL Harl 6995, f.133].

Nov 9, Thur Dr John Dee had written a Supplication to the Queen, declaring the 'injuries and indignities' he endures, and beseeching her to assign two 'meet and worthy persons' to see and hear at his Mortlake house what just occasion he has to make this Supplication. This 'being exhibited' to the Queen by the Countess of Warwick 'and read by her Majesty's self', she at once appointed two Commissioners to come. [Dee, *Compendious Rehearsal*, 3-4].

Nov 14, Tues The Queen 'pricked' (chose) new Sheriffs, Hampton Court.

Nov 14, Hampton Court, Lord Burghley to Lord Keeper Puckering (who was absent attending the pricking of the Sheriffs for Wales):
 'I send to your Lordship herewith the Roll of the Sheriffs for this year following, the which it hath pleased her Majesty to sign this day being the 14th of November and in the presence of her Council to prick such as she hath thought good to make choice of. And because your Lordship may make some doubt when you come to the names of Nottingham for that two of them are pricked, your Lordship shall understand that her Majesty did first prick Sir John Byron, and afterwards upon suit made unto her she did prick Mr John Bassett, who stands for Sheriff, and to make a difference her Majesty did rend the parchment in the prick upon Sir John Byron, as your Lordship may well perceive'. [BL Harl 6995, f.143].

Also Nov 14: Dutch Agent at Hampton Court for audience.

Noel Caron, resident Agent, to the States-General, Nov 18: In an interview with Lord Howard, the Lord Admiral, I complained about the plundering and burning of Dutch ships by English vessels, which caused much pecuniary loss.

I then went to Lord Burghley, and had a long and stormy interview on the subject of the withdrawal of English troops from Holland to aid King Henri in France, totally against the wishes of the States. The Queen willed it, I was informed, and it was ill-treatment of her Majesty to oppose her will.

I was then admitted to the Queen, and delivered a letter from the States touching the withdrawal of the troops. She instantly broke the seal and read the letter to the end; the conclusion, in which the States observed that they had great and just cause to complain, she read over twice or thrice, and then remarked: "Truly these are comical people. I have so often been complaining that they refused to send my troops, and now the States complain that they are obliged to let them go. Yet my intention is only to borrow them for a little while, because I can give my brother of France no better succour than by sending him these soldiers". The States "had received already sufficient aid from these troops, and had liberated their whole country. I don't comprehend these grievances...By making this difficulty they will cause the loss of all Brittany ...They allow the enemy to become master of all the coasts lying opposite me"...

'Her Majesty made many more observations of this nature, but without getting at all into a passion, and, in my opinion, her discourse was sensible, and she spoke with more moderation than she is wont at other times'.

I then presented a second letter, in regard to the outrages inflicted on Dutch merchantmen. The Queen expressed herself as very much displeased with her people, whose enormous outrages committed at sea were a public scandal. It made her so angry, she said, that she knew not which way to turn. She would take it in hand at once, for she would rather make oath never to permit a single ship of war to leave her ports than consent to such thieveries and villainies. She told me that I would do well to give my case into her own hands, since otherwise it would all be denied and she would find herself unable to get at the truth.

She wished me not to allow myself to be put off with delays by the Council, but to insist upon all due criminal punishment, the infliction of which she promised in the strongest terms to order; for she could never enjoy peace of mind so long as such scoundrels were tolerated in her kingdom.

I had brought a summary of the cases, with names of merchants involved, and a list of all the marks on the sacks of money which had been stolen. The Queen looked over it very carefully, declaring that the property should forthwith be restored. She then sent for Sir Robert Cecil, directing him to go at once and tell his father Lord Burghley that he was to assist me in this affair exactly as if it were her own. She added that it was not enough for her people to say that they had only been seizing Spaniards' goods and money, but she meant that they should prove it, too, or else they should swing for it. (Sequel: Dec 10).

[Motley, *United Netherlands*, iii.169-173].

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

St Antholin Budge Row: 'For candles and beer upon the Queen's day, 8d'.

St Margaret New Fish Street: 'To Sylvester Wright [Clerk] our charge for ringing on the Queen's holiday being the 17th November, 3s'.

St Margaret Westminster: 'To the ringers the day of her Majesty's reign for ringing anno 1592, 5s'.

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

St Michael Cornhill: 'Paid the wax chandler for wax candles for the Queen's day, 6s; to the ringers on the Queen's day, 2s'.

Grocers' Company: 'Paid for wine, sugar and cloves and for bread for the Company spent on the Queen's holiday, 3s1d'.

Stationers' Company: 'Paid to the Clerk of St Faith's on her Majesty's Coronation day, 6d'. [St Faith's Church under St Paul's].

Canterbury Chamberlains: 'Paid for the Serjeants and other the officers' dinners on the Queen's Day, 3s; for the Waits' dinner then, 2s6d; for the dinner of the Queen's players then which were there, with music, 3s'.

Great Marlow Church, Bucks: 'Paid to the ringers upon St Hugh's day, anno 1592, 4s4d'.

Kingston-upon-Thames Church, Surrey: 'Work about the bells against the Queen's holiday, 4s6d'. 'Paid the 17th of November 1592 to the ringers, 6s8d; paid the same day to the carpenter, 20d; to a labourer the same day, 2d; the same day for work about the bells, 20d'.

Leverington Church, Cambs: 'For 4 dozen of bread spent on Coronation day, 4s; for 2 stone of cheese spent that day, 4s; a barrel of beer spent that day, 3s4d; spent more upon the ringers overnight, the next day and night, 5s'.

Market Deeping Church, Lincs: 'For bread and ale, grease and candle on the Queen's day, 2s8d'.

Norwich Chamberlains: 'In reward to the Waits of the City for their service on the Coronation Day, and the day after for the delivery of the Spaniards, 20s; for torches and links bought for the Waits for those two nights to play about the City, 3s4d; in reward given to a trumpeter for those two days, 2s6d'.

Oxford Chamberlains: 'To the Waits on St Hugh's Day, 2s'.

Oxford, St Aldate: 'For bread, drink, and candles on the Queen's day, 2s'.

South Weald Church, Essex: 'Paid on the Queen's day, 6s8d'; also in 1592: 'For the Queen's Arms, 6s'.

Nov 17, Fri **Accession Day**, Hampton Court.

No Tilt because of plague. The Earl of Cumberland and the Earl of Essex made a Challenge for a Tilt on Shrove Monday 1593.

Challenge described by Philip Gawdy: December 8.

Court news. Nov 20, London, Nicholas Faunt to Anthony Bacon: 'Sir Francis Drake is lately sent for to come to the court, about some sea service'...

'I was glad to hear that her Majesty did give such countenance to the Earl of Huntingdon as to send for him upon Thursday last, and to give him the sword on Friday [Accession Day], which he carried before her that day, which was now more solemnised than ever, and that through my Lord of Essex's device, who contrary to all the lords' expectation came in the morning to the Presence, and so to her Majesty's presence, in his collar of esses, a thing unwonted and so unlooked for, yet thereupon suddenly taken up, and used with great liking and contentment of her Majesty'. [LPL 648/176].

Nov 20, court, Sir Thomas Heneage to (Elizabeth) Countess of Rutland, of her daughter Lady Bridget Manners, a Lady of the Privy Chamber since summer 1589:

'The exceeding good modest and honourable behaviour and carriage of my Lady Bridget your daughter, with her careful and diligent attendance of her Majesty, is so contenting to her Highness and so commendable in this place where she lives, where vices will hardly receive vizards and virtues will most shine, as her Majesty acknowledgeth she hath cause to thank you for her, and you may take comfort of so virtuous a daughter, of whose being here and attendance her Majesty hath bidden me to tell your Ladyship, that you shall have no cause to repent'. As the Countess has sent the Queen 'tokens', Heneage sends 'a token of her Majesty's remembrance, which - considering from whence it comes - deserves never to be forgotten'.^{RT}

Nov 22, Dr John Dee noted: 'The Commissioners from her Majesty, Mr Secretary Wolley and Sir Thomas Gorges, came to Mortlake to my house'.^D
 John Wolley, Latin Secretary; Gorges, a Groom of the Privy Chamber.
 Dee made to them his 'Compendious Rehearsal' of his life for fifty years.

Nov 30, Dec 1: Hampton-on-Thames Church: burials of two 'courtiers':
 Augustine Lawrence; Peregrine White.

Dec 1, Dr Dee noted: 'The very virtuous Countess of Warwick sent me word very speedily by her gentleman Mr Jones, from the court at Hampton Court, that this day her Majesty had granted to send me speedily a hundred marks, and that Sir Thomas Gorges had very honourably dealt for me in the cause'.

Dec 2: 'Sir Thomas Gorges brought me a hundred marks from her Majesty'.^D

Dec 2: Request to the Universities to provide English plays for the court at Christmas, since the Queen's Men claimed to be unable to play at court because of the plague. Grooms of the Chamber were sent to Oxford and Cambridge with messages from Sir Thomas Heneage, Vice-Chamberlain.

Dec 4, Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge and Heads of several Colleges to Lord Burghley, Chancellor: On Dec 2nd 'we received letters from Mr Vice-Chamberlain by a messenger sent purposely: wherein, by reason that her Majesty's own servants, in this time of infection, may not disport her Highness with their wonted and ordinary pastimes, his Honour hath moved our University (as he writeth that he hath also done the other of Oxford) to prepare a comedy in English to be acted before her Highness by some of our students in this time of Christmas. How ready we are to do anything that may tend to her Majesty's pleasure, we are very desirous by all means to testify. But how fit we shall be for this that is moved, having no practice in this English vein, and being (as we think) nothing beseeming our students...we much doubt'.

'And do find our principal actors (whom we have of purpose called before us) very unwilling to play in English'...

'Wherefore we...crave your Lordship's wisdom, either to dissuade the matter... or to advise us...what course is best to follow'.

'English comedies, for that we never used any, we presently have none. To make or translate one in such shortness of time we shall not be able. And therefore if we must needs undertake the business...these two things we would gladly desire...time for due preparation, and liberty to play in Latin'.

The Vice-Chancellor of Oxford replied in similar terms. Neither university provided plays for the court.

[Records of Early English Drama: Cambridge, i.346-347; Boas, 323].

Note: Plays in both English and Latin had been performed before the Queen at Cambridge in 1564 and at Oxford in 1566.

Dec 4, Mon: Mariners' proposed march from London to Hampton Court.

'An unlawful assembly of certain mariners of the last fleet'.^{HD}

Some of the recently returned sailors claimed, on examination by the Lord Mayor of London, that their wages and shares had not been fully paid.

Dec 7, Hampton Court, Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, his son:

'The Queen's Majesty hath commanded my Lord Chamberlain and me to write somewhat roundly to the Lord Mayor for the safe keeping of the drum [drummer] and 12 mariners taken, and to take some more of them, for her Majesty saith she will have some of them hanged'. [HT.iv.250].

Dec 7, Privy Council to the Lord Mayor of London (William Roe):
 'The Queen's Majesty understanding of the tumultuous disorder begun by certain lewd mariners in London on Monday last, intending to have assembled themselves together at Paul's with the sound of a drum and so to have repaired hither to the court to the number of two or three hundred, of whom as you signify some of the ring-leaders have been by you apprehended and committed to prison, doth find some slackness in you that more diligence and care was not used in the speedy apprehending of more of them'. You are 'to apprehend the rest of the authors of this audacious fact [deed], and to cause them to be committed to several prisons'. The Queen purposes 'exemplary punishment'.^{APC}

Dec 7,11: Hampton-on-Thames Church: burials of two 'courtiers: Owen Vaughan; John White.

Dec 8: new appointment: Richard Smith, to be Physician-in-Ordinary to the Queen. £100 p.a.^P

Court news. Dec 8 [London], Philip Gawdy to his 'sweet brother':
 'Upon the Coronation Day at night [Nov 17] there came two Knights armed up into the Privy Chamber, viz. my Lord of Essex and my Lord of Cumberland, and there made a Challenge that upon the 26th of February next that they will run with all comers to maintain that their Mistress is most worthiest and most fairest, quoth Amadis de Gaule...Her Majesty hath not come much abroad neither to chapel nor elsewhere by reason of a run she hath gotten in one of her cheeks; in another body no great matter, but much in a great princess'...
 'There is a very fine gentlewoman very fair, and a great rich marriage of the Privy Chamber lately within this fortnight'...
 'The plague is very little or nothing at London, and all Londoners have leave to come again to the court. There is much stir and contention about the carrack goods...My Lord Treasurer will take order that all will come into her Majesty's hand and Sir Walter Raleigh's, who still continueth in disgrace'.
 'Sir Francis Drake is at the court, and all the speech there that he goeth very shortly to the sea. My Lord Thomas [Howard] is now there, but he stayed but two days, and Sir Martin Frobisher. But Sir Francis Drake carrieth it away from them all'.^{GY} There was no Tournament in February 1593, as the plague worsened; *Amadis de Gaule*: a popular Spanish romance; Amadis is the faithful lover of the chaste and beautiful Oriana, daughter of the King of Britain.

Court news. Dec 10, Noel Caron, Dutch Agent, to the States-General, of action taken after his audience, Nov 14, over Dutch merchants plundered by the English: The great nobles still endeavoured to delay, and urged taking cases before the law-courts. Caron insisted, as the Queen had commanded, that they should be settled by the Council. A Judge of Admiralty examined the evidence, the stolen money was deposited with London Aldermen, and the accused parties were kept in prison. The ultimate decision was then to be made by the Council.

There were many interviews between Caron and the Council, and he was 'kept running from the court to London, and from London to the court', and it was long before justice was done to the victims. [The energetic action by the Queen, and the intense indignation with which she denounced the robberies and outrages committed by her subjects upon her friends and allies, were effective in restraining such wholesale piracy in the future]. [Motley, *United*, iii.174-5].

Dec 14: death: Sir Roger Manwood (c.1524-1592), judge, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, died at Hackington, Kent. Funeral: 11 January 1593, Hackington Church (now part of Canterbury), where his monument remains, set up in his life-time; in his robes, with his family, and a realistic skeleton.

Dec 18: Stationers entered a book by John Eliot published as:
Ortho-epia Gallica. Eliot's Fruits for the French.

'Interlaced with a double new Invention, which teacheth to speak truly, speedily and volubly the French tongue. Penned for the practice, pleasure, and profit of all English Gentlemen, who will endeavour by their own pain, study, and diligence, to attain the natural accent, the true pronunciation, the swift and glib grace of this noble, famous, and courtly language'. [Manual for students of French, with dialogues in English and French in facing columns]. 'To the Reader': 'I have written the whole book in a merry fantastical vein'.

The Dialogue of 'The Traveller' includes:

'God of his holy grace preserve Queen ELIZABETH, and grant her long life and prosperity, frustrating all the practices of her enemies, and give her happy success of all her holy desires'. 'The Queen's Majesty doth she come oft to the City? Very seldom, but she keepeth with her Court, always very near'.

'All foreign nations truly admire the great virtues and sageness of her Majesty. To confess the truth, there is no tongue able to set forth her praises: for she is in liberality, magnificence, clemency, wisdom, mercy, beauty, nobility, knowledge, courtesy and sageness, the only Phoenix of the world, endued with all the most noble virtues wherewith the fairest and most famous Queens in all histories of Greeks and Latins have been adorned. She may rather be called an Angel of heaven, than an earthly creature'.

'Doth her Majesty keep a great Court? Truly very great and magnificent'.

'Doth her Majesty love strangers? She loveth them very well'.

'Doth her Majesty speak many languages? She speaketh eight at the least, to wit: the Greek tongue, the Latin, Italian, French, Spanish, Scottish, Flemish, and English'.

Eliot then includes his own translation of verses by the French poet Saluste du Bartas (who had visited the Queen in 1587), in praise of the Queen and her peaceful rule.

The dialogue concludes: 'True it is that this Princess hath governed her Kingdom in great prosperity for the space of thirty-four years, during the troubles and ruins of other countries, having with her people been preserved from infinite dangers...and besides at this present day by a singular favour of God is known to be the Northern Pearl, recognised for a fortunate Princess in battle, her victories and happy success being most memorable and fresh, deserve to be registered in a whole history that the posterity shall have in reverence for ever. God keep her Majesty in his holy safeguard, bless her, and prosper her long time, according to his good pleasure'.

In the second part, 'The Parliament of Prattlers', Eliot has three columns on each page, the middle giving a semi-phonetic transcript of the French text. (London, 1593).

Dec 22: Lady Raleigh was 'delivered out of the Tower'.TH She had been there since August after her secret marriage to and child by Sir Walter Raleigh.

Dec 26: Lady Raleigh's brother Arthur Throckmorton noted: 'I was with my Lord Chamberlain and Sir Thomas Heneage [Vice-Chamberlain] at the court'.

The next visit to court by Arthur mentioned in his Diary was on 8 June 1595. Lady Raleigh did not regain the Queen's favour.

Dec 26, Tues play, by Earl of Pembroke's Men.

Dec 27, Wed play, by Lord Strange's Men.

Dec 31, Sun play, by Lord Strange's Men.^T

December: Discovery of the 'Spanish Blanks'. Anonymous description:

In Scotland some of the principal Catholic lords decided to send an envoy to Philip II to beg for aid, hoping to get King James into their hands, convert him and his Kingdom to Catholicism, and 'keep the Queen of England so busy that she could not disturb Christendom as is her wont'. Three lords gave George Ker, their messenger, letters of credence, and blank papers signed and sealed.

Ker was arrested before he sailed, and all the papers captured and sent to the Queen of England, who sent James 'orders for him to persecute rigorously all those who were concerned or suspected'. [Span.iv.603: July 1593].

The Queen sent a special Ambassador, Lord Burgh, to James in February 1593.

John Colville to Earl of Essex [14 Feb 1598], Boulogne: 'One Mr George Ker, Scotchman, in the year 1593 was apprehended, having about him certain blank papers signed by the Catholic Lords there in Scotland, which he did intend to carry unto Spain to have been filled up with whatsoever conditions King Philip pleased, so being he would assist them with men and money for invasion of religion and your estate. For which cause the said Mr George was imprisoned a long time, till at length he found mean to escape, fleeing to Flanders. Where he did continue till now that he doth hear the said lords to be restored to their former ranks and credit'. He has embarked at Calais for Scotland. [HT.viii.45].

1592: Robert Beale (1541-1601), lawyer, Clerk of the Council, several times a special Ambassador, wrote 'A Treatise of the Office of a Councillor and Principal Secretary to her Majesty...Instructions for a Principal Secretary, observed by R.B. for Sir Edward Wotton: A.D.1592'.

[Sir Edward Wotton (1548-1628), was also several times a special Ambassador; it had been wrongly predicted in 1591 that he would become Principal Secretary].

[The final section]: 'Things to be done with her Majesty', including:

'Have in a little paper a note of such things as you are to propound to her Majesty and divide it into the titles of public and private suits'...

'Learn before your access her Majesty's disposition by some in the Privy Chamber with whom you must keep credit, for that will stand you in much stead, and yet yield not too much to their importunity for suits, for so you may be blamed, nevertheless pleasure them when conveniently you may'.

'Show yourself willing to pleasure any of her Majesty's kin, for although perhaps nothing be obtained, yet it will be well taken, as though you did it in respect they appertain unto her'...

'When her Highness is angry or not well disposed trouble her not with any matter which you desire to have done, unless extreme necessity urge it'.

'When her Highness signeth, it shall be good to entertain her with some relation or speech whereat she may take some pleasure'...

'If you be commanded to write any matter of importance, do what you can to procure that the same may be done by a special letter from her Majesty herself, or if that may not be, set it down in writing. Make as though you doubted whether you had conceived her Highness's mind or not and read it before her and alter it as she will have it. Keep that Minute and a note of the day, lest afterwards you be charged with it, as was the case of Mr Davison and Sir Edward Wotton in Scotland'...

'Be not dismayed with the controlments and amendments of such things which you shall have done, for you shall have to do with a Princess of great wisdom, learning, and experience'. [Read, Walsingham, i.423, 437-9].

Davison and Sir Edward Wotton: Beale alludes to the predicament of William Davison, the Queen's Secretary, in February 1587 after the death-warrant for the Queen of Scots had been signed; and to Wotton's unsuccessful special embassy to Scotland, May-October 1585. The post of Queen's Secretary remained vacant from Sir Francis Walsingham's death, 1590, till Sir Robert Cecil was appointed, 1596.

1592: William Gager published Meleager, a Latin tragedy twice acted at Christ Church, Oxford; dedicated to the Earl of Essex. (Oxford, 1592).

The book includes a Latin verse address by Apollo to the Queen, referring to her visit to Woodstock, September 1592.

Also a Latin verse Prologue and Epilogue to the Queen at the comedy Bellum Grammaticale, acted before her at Oxford on September 24.

Thomas Nashe (1567-c.1601) published in 1600:

'A Pleasant Comedy called Summer's Last Will and Testament'.

Numerous allusions point to this as being performed at the palace of John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, at Croydon, Surrey, in late summer 1592, a plague year, whilst the Queen was on progress elsewhere. It was possibly intended to have been performed before the Queen herself.

The ghost of Will Summer (King Henry VIII's Jester) 'in his Fool's coat' comes 'to present you with Summer's last will and testament'.

In a Prologue he explains: 'Forsooth, because the plague reigns in most places in this latter end of summer, Summer must come in sick: he must call his officers to account, yield his throne to Autumn, make Winter his executor'.

Summer enters, 'leaning on Autumn's and Winter's shoulders', and declares:

'Summer I was, I am not as I was;
Harvest and age have whitened my green head...
This month have I lain languishing abed,
Looking each hour to yield my life and throne;
And died I had indeed unto the earth,
But that Eliza, England's beauteous Queen,
On whom all seasons prosperously attend,
Forbade the execution of my fate,
Until her joyful progress was expired.
For her doth Summer live, and linger here,
And wishes long to live to her content'.

At the end of the play Summer makes 'my last will', the final bequest being:

'Unto Eliza, that most sacred Dame,
Whom none but Saints and Angels ought to name,
All my fair days remaining I bequeath
To wait upon her till she be returned'.

[With commands to Autumn and Winter, on behalf of the 'gracious Queen'].

[R.B.McKerrow, ed. Works of Thomas Nashe, iii. (1910), 233-295].

1592: Giulio Cesare Paschali dedicated to the Queen:

De Sacri Salmi di Davidde. Sacred Psalms of David.

Translated from Hebrew into Italian, each prefaced by the 'Argomento' of the Psalm.

Dedicated to the Queen on the title-page, and in Italian verse (5p).

Text: 437p. (Geneva, 1592).

c.1592: Sir Walter Raleigh's *Cynthia*.

'The...book of the Ocean to Scinthia'. The unfinished manuscript, in Raleigh's hand, was discovered in the 1860s among the Cecil papers at Hatfield House.

Undated, but written whilst 'Water' Raleigh was imprisoned and out of favour with the Queen, which was his situation in August-September 1592.

Raleigh writes that he has been abandoned by Cynthia (the Queen) and others have taken his place in her affections. In these extracts he refers to his recall (May 1592), and to his loss of favour after twelve years:

'When I was gone she sent her memory
More strong than were ten thousand ships of war
To call me back...

Twelve years entire I wasted in this war,
Twelve years of my most happy younger days,
But I in them, and they now wasted are,
Of all which past the sorrow only stays'.

[Martin Seymour-Smith, ed. *Longer Elizabethan Poems*. (1972)].

1592: Robert Tanner dedicated to the Queen: 'A brief Treatise for the ready use of the Sphere. Lately made and finished in most ample large manner. By Robert Tanner Gentleman, Practitioner in Astronomy and Physick. In the which Globe or Sphere, there is added many strange Conclusions, as well Celestial as Terrestrial, the like heretofore never devised by any. Necessary not only to those that follow the Art of Navigation: But also to the furtherance of such as be desirous to have skill in the Mathematical Disciplines'.

'To the most high, mighty and renowned' Queen.

Epistle Dedicatory: 'Most excellent, gracious, and sacred Sovereign', this Treatise on the Sphere or Globe is 'a work, by your poor obedient subject, with great pains, labour, and study made and invented...No less pleasant than profitable for the benefit of your Highness's Commonwealth, to the studious in the Mathematical Sciences, and to the furtherance of Travellers in the Art of Navigation, and to all other your Highness's subjects that are desirous of the knowledge of the beautiful frame of the Celestial Orbs, with their quantities, distances, courses, and strange intricate miraculous motions of the resplendent Globes of the Sun, Moon, Planets, and Stars fixed'...

'If I should...go about to unlock the closet of Astronomy unto your Highness, whom I know sufficient of your royal self to wade through the deepest floods and swiftest streams contained in the Mathematics...I might rather discover that I want, than your Highness want that which I set down. It is better therefore for me to be silent, considering with what a wise, learned, royal Princess I have to deal, than by needless words to open mine own defects'...

'This my rude Edition of my simple handiwork, if it may be accepted into your Highness's tuition, it shall encourage me hereafter to practise works of greater importance'. My daily prayer is to God 'to bless and defend your Highness from all your enemies, and to live and reign over us Nestor's years'.

110p. (London, 1592).

c.1592: Andrew Willet published: Sacrorum Emblematum centuria una.

This 'century of sacred emblems' has an emblem dedicated to the Queen, being a double acrostic Latin poem on her name, and a prayer, all designed in the shape of a tree.

The whole collection is dedicated to the Earl of Essex. Andrew Willet (c.1561-1621) had dedicated Synopsis Papismi to the Queen (see 8 May 1592).