

At **WHITEHALL PALACE.**

Jan 1, Thur New Year gifts.

Among 169 gifts to the Queen: by Sir Gilbert Dethick, Garter King of Arms: 'A Book of the Arms of all the Knights of the Garter that were in King Richard the II's time, covered with crimson velvet with a passamain of gold'; by John Astley: 'A table of touchstone folding garnished with silver gilt with these words Love God above all things and thy Neighbour as thyself'; by James [Jacques] Bellot: 'A Book containing certain words and rules of the French Tongue'; by Jacques Grévin: 'A little book written in French covered with parchment'; by Anthony Maria: 'A Book in Italian called *Cavalarie della citta di Ferrara*, covered with parchment painted and gilt'; by Levina Teerlinc: 'A paper painted with the Queen's Majesty and the Knights of the Order'; by an unnamed Frenchman: 'A Device made of silk nutmegs and cloves of the history of Pyramus and Thisbe'.^{NYG}

By Jan 2: visit, Charterhouse, Middlesex; Duke of Norfolk. Charterhouse, Finsbury; owned by Thomas Howard, 4th Duke of Norfolk (1538-1572), widower. Formerly owned by Edward 1st Lord North, whose executors sold the house to the Duke in 1565. Privy Purse account: 'Given to the Queen's Majesty at the late Lord North's house at Charterhouse, by the Merchant Adventurers, £500'; received by Mistress Blanche Parry, Jan 2. [Gentlewoman of the Bedchamber].

Jan 4, in Vienna: Emperor Maximilian II was invested with the Order of the Garter, to which he had been elected in 1566.

Court news. Jan 10, London, Spanish Ambassador, De Silva, to Philip II: 'This Queen has been ill for four or five days, but is now well, and affairs here are quiet...I am told that the Viceroy [Lord Deputy of Ireland] has resigned, displeased with their treatment of him after his services there'. [Span.ii.2]. This rumour was incorrect, though Sir Henry Sidney, Lord Deputy, was reluctant to return and had a diagnosis of his health made: end February.

Jan 10, Vienna, Earl of Sussex to the Queen, of the Emperor's receiving of the Garter. He thanked your Majesty for your great favours, and concluded that though he were surely knit to you before, yet you for the more surety had now tied him with a chain by the leg, which should also tie him by the heart to your Majesty whilst he lived. [SPF.viii.395].

Jan 11, Vienna, Emperor Maximilian II to Archduke Charles, his brother: The Queen's answer concerning marriage 'is most obscure, ambiguous, involved and of such a nature that we cannot learn from it whether the Queen is serious and sincere or whether she wishes to befool us'. [Klarwill, 284].

Jan 11, Mon Dr John Dee's book presented to the Queen. Dee: 'Earl of Pembroke did present my book of *Propoedeumata Aphoristica* to her Majesty in my behalf...Within three days after the said Earl told me of her Majesty's gracious accepting and well liking of the said book; and he gave me very bountifully in his own behalf £20'. [Dee, *Rehearsal*, 19]. Dee had presented copies to Pembroke and to Sir William Cecil. His brief book of Latin aphorisms (published 1558) forms a series of propositions in astrological physics.

Jan 17, Whitehall: The Queen lost 'one aglet of gold enamelled blue set upon a gown of purple velvet, the ground satin'. [Lost, 74].

Jan 20: Irish chieftain's indenture.

Indenture between the Queen and Sir Donald O'Connor Sligo, after his submission at Hampton Court, November 1567. He acknowledges the Queen to be his Sovereign Lady and will persecute all her rebels; he submits his life, lands, and goods to the Queen's mercy, imploring her pardon and that he may henceforth be reputed an Englishman, and praying the Queen to grant him his lands to be held of her.

He binds himself to the Queen in £10,000. [Carew, i.378].

Queen's gift to Sir Donald O'Connor Sligo, Jan 26: one chain of gold.^{NYG}

Jan 24, De Silva to Philip II: 'In the college called the Arches opposite St Paul's are established the principal lawyers in civil and canonical law'...

'The Archbishop [Matthew Parker]...is attempting to exact from them the Oath [of Supremacy] recognising the Queen as head of the church of the realm'.

The Queen told me she was angry with the Archbishop. [Span.ii.24].

Arches: Court of Arches: Appeal Court of the Diocese of Canterbury.

See Feb 6, Parker's letter. By June the lawyers had taken the Oath.

January 25-February: Regent Moray's envoy in England from Scotland.

Nicholas Elphinstone, who came partly to inform the Queen what was done in the last Parliament in Scotland. She wrote to Moray, Jan 31, that she had caused certain of her Council to hear Elphinstone and answer him. [Haynes, 462].

Jan 27: death. Lady Catherine Grey (1540-1568), wife of Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford (whom she married secretly in 1560), died at Yoxford, Suffolk, at the house of Sir Owen Hopton, her 'Keeper' since October 1567; she left two young sons. Funeral: February 21, Yoxford Church. The Queen reimbursed Hopton for his expenses for the funeral, £76. [Notes and Queries, August 1895, 82-83].

Earl of Hertford (1537-1621) married (1585) Frances Howard; (1601) Mrs Frances Prannell. In the next reign he erected a spectacular monument in Salisbury Cathedral to himself and his first wife Catherine.

January/September 1568: christening: Queen was godmother to 'Mr Astley's child, Master of the Jewel-house'. Parents: John Astley; 2nd wife: Margaret Lenton alias Grey. Son: John Astley (1568-1640), became a Gentleman Pensioner; married (1609) Catherine Brydges.

January/September 1568: christening: Queen was godmother to 'Sir Henry Compton's child'.^T Parents: Sir Henry Compton (later 1st Lord Compton); 1st wife: Frances (Hastings), daughter of Francis Hastings, 2nd Earl of Huntingdon. Son: William Compton (1568-1630), later 2nd Lord Compton and 1st Earl of Northampton; married (1599) Elizabeth Spencer.

Court news. Feb 2, De Silva to Philip II, of Elphinstone, the Regent's envoy: 'The Queen tells me that she has refused him audience because the Earl of Murray and the rest of them would not let her Ambassador see their Queen when he was in Scotland [Nicholas Throckmorton, in 1567]. She says his object in coming is to propose an alliance between her and the Regent against France, and she intends to let him know that she will not agree to it or enter into any negotiations except with the Queen'. [Span.ii.5].

Court news. Feb 6, Lambeth, Archbishop of Canterbury (Matthew Parker) to Lady Bacon (wife of Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper):

'I will not be abashed to say to my prince that I think in conscience...As this other day I was well chidden at my prince's hand; but with one ear I heard her hard words, and with the other, and in my conscience and heart, I heard God'.

'And yet her Highness being never so much incensed to be offended with me, the next day coming by Lambeth bridge into the fields, and I according to duty meeting her on the bridge, she gave me her very good looks, and spoke secretly in mine ear, that she must needs countenance mine authority before the people, to the credit of my service. Whereat divers of my Arches then being with me peradventure marvelled. Where peradventure somebody would have looked over the shoulders, and slyly slipped away, to have abashed me before the world'.

Feb 7, De Silva to Philip II: 'The Queen went out hunting yesterday and I accompanied her, so as not to lose any chance that might occur of urging her to stand firm in her good intentions with regard to these disturbances in Flanders and France...She did not return till night'. [Parker, 311; Span.ii.6].

Feb 9: double marriage of the Earl of Shrewsbury's children.

George Talbot, 6th Earl of Shrewsbury, married, winter 1567/1568, his second wife, Lady St Loe. She was Elizabeth (Hardwick), widow of:
(1) Robert Barlow; (2) Sir William Cavendish; (3) Sir William St Loe, former Captain of the Guard. She was to become well-known as 'Bess of Hardwick'.

Marriages: at St Peter and St Paul Church, Sheffield, Yorkshire:
(1) Gilbert Talbot (1552-1616), the Earl's 2nd son by 1st wife, married Mary Cavendish (1556-1632), the Countess's 3rd daughter. The Queen became godmother to one of their children (1584). Gilbert was later 7th Earl of Shrewsbury.
(2) Henry Cavendish (1550-1616), the Countess's 1st son, a godson of the Queen, married Lady Grace Talbot, the Earl's youngest daughter, aged eight.

Feb 12, Westminster, Sir William Cecil to Sir Henry Norris, Ambassador to France: 'The Queen's Majesty is in good health, and was purposed of late to have gone abroad for her pastime, as she did this time twelve months, but the foulness of the weather hath letted it [hindered it]'. [Cabala, 145].

February: Piers Pennant, Gentleman Usher, one Yeoman Usher, three Yeomen of the Chamber, two Grooms of the Chamber, two Grooms of the Wardrobe and one Groom-Porter, making ready for the Queen at Hackney, Middlesex, 4 days, 78s8d.^T

Feb 16, Mon Dr John Dee at Whitehall with the Queen.
Dee: 'Her Majesty had very gracious talk with me in her gallery at Westminster as concerning the great secret for my sake to be disclosed unto her Majesty by Nicolaus Grudius Nicolai, sometime one of the Secretaries to the Emperor Charles the Fifth. What was the hindrance of the perfecting of that purpose on all sides, God best knoweth'. [The secret remains secret]. [Dee, *Rehearsal*, 19].

c.Feb 24: Lord John Hamilton at Whitehall with the Queen.
Hamilton, Abbot of Arbroath, was on his way from Scotland to France.

Lord Scrope to Cecil, Feb 16, Carlisle: Hamilton imparted to me 'in great secrecy that although the countenance of his journey was the visiting of his father, yet indeed his whole intent and meaning was, for the relief of their Queen, to become a humble suitor to the Queen of England'.

Feb 26, Westminster, Sir William Cecil to Sir Henry Norris, in France:
'The Lord of Arbroath came lately out of Scotland this way, and spoke with the Queen's Majesty, pretending to go into France to solicit aid for the delivery of the Queen of Scots; he came out of Scotland without licence or knowledge of the Regent there'.

Feb 28, De Silva to Philip II: 'The second son of the Duke of Châtellerault passed through here on his way to France some days ago and visited this Queen, who received him well'. [SPF.viii.416; Cabala, 145; Span.ii.11].

Feb 29, Shrove Sunday play, by the Children of Windsor Chapel.^T
Likely play: 'Orestes' or 'Horestes'.

February: Sir Henry Sidney had a diagnosis of his health drawn up, entitled 'The State of Sir Henry Sidney's Body'. On his return from his first term as Lord Deputy of Ireland he fell ill with the stone, of which his father died; he was reluctant to return to Ireland. For the preservation of his health his doctors urge that he should avoid 'unreasonable exercise, long sitting, and cares of his mind'. The place of his abode should be 'in an air neither cold nor moist but dry, with temperate heat, as much as may be avoiding all places full of bogs, fens, and marshes...where foggy mists be often and long continue... where the houses be dampish, mouldy, and ill savouring'.

He may take moderate exercise, but should avoid 'such exercises as do much heat and strain the back, as leaping, running, vaulting, dancing aloft, riding post long journeys, or upon a stirring horse, galloping the field clad in heavy armour, and such like, are very hurtful for the stone'. [SP15/14/6].

Despite this, after much entreaty Sir Henry was persuaded to return to Ireland in September. During the intervening months he was regularly sent for to court to discuss Irish problems.

Mar 2, Shrove Tuesday play, tragedy, by Children of the Chapel Royal.^T
Likely play: 'The King of Scots'.
Also: 'Moorish masque'. [Masque noted in Edmund Brudenell's Almanac].

March 5, William Turner dedicated to the Queen: 'The First and Second parts of the Herbal of William Turner, Doctor in Physick, lately overseen, corrected, and enlarged with the Third part lately gathered and now set out with the names of the herbs in Greek, Latin, English, Dutch, French, and in the Apothecaries' and Herbaries' Latin, with the properties, degrees and natural places of the same'.

'Here unto is joined also a Book of the bath of Bath in England, and of the virtues of the same, with divers other baths, most wholesome and effectual'.

Dedicated 'To the most noble and learned Princess in all kinds of good learning, Queen Elizabeth'.

Preface: The Printer gave me warning 'there wanted nothing to the setting out of my whole Herbal, saving only a Preface...I did seek out everywhere in my mind how that I could come by such a Patron as had both learning and sufficient authority joined therewith to defend my poor labours against their adversaries, and in the same person such friendship and goodwill towards me, by reason whereof I were most bound unto above all others'...

'I have dedicated it therefore unto your most excellent sublimity and do give it...unto you as a token and a witness of the acknowledging of the great benefits that I have received of your Princely liberality of late years'...

'As for your knowledge in the Latin tongue, 18 years ago or more I had in the Duke of Somerset's house (being his Physician at that time) a good trial thereof, when as it pleased your Grace to speak Latin unto me...I have both in England, Low and High Germany and other places of my long travail and pilgrimage never spoke with any noble or gentlewoman that spoke so well...Since which time how much and wonderfully you have proceeded in the knowledge of the Latin tongue and also profited in the Greek, French and Italian tongues and others also, and in all parts of Philosophy and good learning'...

'For the obtaining of certain suits and defending of myself against them that troubled me unjustly, you have at the least four times helped me with your Letters Patent...and also restored me unto the Deanery of Wells'.

Turner describes how he wrote a Latin Herbal, and then, after travelling in Italy, his first English Herbal, dedicated to the Duke of Somerset.

'The knowledge of herbs, trees and shrubs is not only very delectable for a Prince's mind, but profitable...to preserve men from sickness, sorrow and pain...poison and death, but also necessary for Physicians and Apothecaries'...

'From my house at London in the Crossed Friars the 5th day of March 1568'.

Each Part of *Turner's Herbal* consists of copiously illustrated descriptions. First Part (223p) begins 'Wormwood and the kinds and places where they grow'. Second Part (171p). Book of the Bath (23p), Preface dated Basle, 1557. Third Part (81p): 'Of the homish Apothecary or homely Physic book'.

Dr Turner, known as 'father of English Botany'. died in London in July 1568, before the book was printed in Cologne. It includes his son Peter's address to the Reader of 'my father's Herbal': the Printer 'never was much accustomed to the printing of English'; there are three pages of 'Faults escaped'.

Mar 13, Sat Earl of Sussex at Whitehall on return from Vienna.

Sussex had been abroad since June 1567 on a special embassy to the Emperor, for negotiations concerning the Queen's marriage to Archduke Charles.

March 14, Sir William Cecil to Sir Ralph Sadler: 'As yesterday, my Lord of Sussex came home with all his company in good health. Of his message I know not what to write; the matter, as it seemeth, resting in the Queen's Majesty to dispose upon, as God shall direct her'. [Burgon, ii.251].

Mar 14, Sun knighting: Lord Mayor of London, Roger Martin, mercer.^M

Mar 15, Mon Queen in countryside, with the Spanish Ambassador.

De Silva to Philip II, March 20: 'The Queen has expressed to me her great satisfaction at the good reception and treatment of the Earl of Sussex, but did not even drop a hint about the marriage, although there was ample opportunity for her to do so on the 15th when I spent the whole afternoon with her in the country'. [Span.ii.13].

March 16, Paris, *Ludovicus Regius* to Sir William Cecil: I have translated from Greek into French the works of Plato and Aristotle concerning government, which I send you and beg you to present to the Queen. [SPF.viii.430].

Louis le Roy, known as Regius, wrote '*Les Politiques d'Aristote, esquelles est monstrés la science de gouverner le genre humain en toutes especes d'estats publics*'. 'Par Loys le Roy, dict Regius, de Costentin'.

Divided into eight books, the first book dedicated to Henri Duc d'Anjou, brother of King Charles IX. 950p. (Paris, 1568).

Gabriel Harvey wrote in his Letter-book, 1573-1580, that at Cambridge:

'You cannot step into a scholar's study but (ten to one) you shall likely find open either *Bodin de Republica* or *Le Roy's Exposition upon Aristotle's Politics* or some other like French or Italian Politic Discourses'. [Letter-book, edited by E.J.L.Scott (Camden Society, 1884), 79].

Jean Bodin came to the English court twice in 1581.

March 21, Antwerp, was printed, dedicated to the Queen, a translation from Eunape (c.345-c.420). Entitled *De Vitis Philosophorum*.

Translated from Greek into Latin by *Hadrianus Junius* (1511-1575).

Latin dedication, and acrostic verses.

In two parts: Latin translation (194p); Greek text.

Hadrianus Junius to the Queen, July 9, offering his Latin translation of the *Lives* by the Greek author Eunape. In recompense he asks for licence to transport leather; he also sends Latin verses to Sir William Cecil, and desires his assistance in his suit to the Queen. [SP12/47/8,9].

Dr Junius, a Dutch physician and historian, had lived in England 1544-1550. His book was translated as *Lives of Philosophers and Orators*. See 2 May 1579.

March 23, in France: Treaty of Longjumeau.

Ending the Second War of Religion, and confirming concessions to Huguenots.

c. March 25: Elector Palatine's envoy at Whitehall, during a month in England. Emmanuel Tremelius (1510-1580), lived in England 1547-1553, when he met the young Elizabeth; he was Regius Professor of Hebrew at Cambridge 1549-1553; now a Professor at Heidelberg, and Councillor to Frederick III, Elector Palatine.

In March 1568, at Heidelberg, Tremelius dedicated to the Queen his Syriac New Testament. Latin Dedicatory Epistle.

Two volumes, with the New Testament in three languages. 1418 pages. With a further 98 pages of Chaldee and Syriac Grammar. (Geneva, 1569).

The Elector wrote on February 12 to commend Tremelius to his old acquaintance the Archbishop of Canterbury, who replied in Latin on March 25. [Parker, 317].

c. March 25: Elector Palatine's envoy at Whitehall with the Queen. De Silva to Philip II, March 27, London: 'A certain Emmanuel Tremelius has been here lately on behalf of the Count Palatine. He is a heretic who was formerly in one of the universities here...and in the pay of the Queen. He is the son of a Jew of Mantua. It is said he comes for the purpose of arranging a league with this Queen, and will go on to Scotland to discuss a similar matter with the Regent'. [Span.ii.17].

Court news. March 28, Sir William Cecil to Lord Cobham: The French Ambassador will be here today, to notify the towardness of peace, and to declare that a gentleman shall shortly come to explain the articles thereof; upon the 21st it was not concluded. [HT.i.355]. Beaumont arrived on April 10.

c. March 30: Dutch envoy at Whitehall with the Queen. William Prince of Orange sent Jerome Tseraerts, his Esquire.

April 2: death. Sir Ambrose Cave (c.1503-1568), Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Privy Councillor, died at the Savoy, London.

Funeral: April 10, Savoy Chapel (in Register of St Mary le Strand Church).

Burial: Stanford Church, Northants, where his memorial remains.

A portrait of Sir Ambrose, which was preserved at Stanford Hall, Leics, depicts him wearing a yellow garter, said to have been dropped by the Queen whilst dancing, which he picked up and swore to wear as long as he lived.

April 3-December: Portuguese special Ambassador in London. Dr Emanuel Alvarez, a member of the boy King Sebastian of Portugal's Council.

Court news. April 3, London, De Silva to Philip II:

The Queen 'goes to Greenwich in four or five days...I went out to the country with the Queen this afternoon'... 'A Portuguese Ambassador arrived here today, having written to me on the road saying that he was coming to lodge at my house until he got a lodging of his own. I went out to meet him and brought him home. He comes about preventing the English from going to the Portuguese Indies'...

'On the night of the 27th there arrived here a servant of the Prince of Orange. I was advised of his coming but not of its object, but I was told that three days later he passed a long time with the Queen. She informed me today that... he had only come to assure her from the Prince that he had never any intention to be undutiful to your Majesty'. [Span.ii.17-18].

Apr 6, Tues GREENWICH PALACE, Kent.^c

The Earl of Leicester and the Spanish Ambassador accompanied the Queen to Greenwich. During her stay at Greenwich (April-July) the Queen twice passed through Eltham, Kent. Eltham churchwardens, 1568: 'Paid for drink for the ringers at two times when the Queen came through the town, 8d'.

For a play, 'Gismond of Salerne', at Greenwich, see end 1568.

Court news. April 8, Sir William Cecil to Sir Henry Norris, in France:

'Here hath been of good long time one Emmanuel Tremelius, who heretofore, in King Edward's time, read the Hebrew Lecture in Cambridge, and hath now been sent hither by the Count Palatine the Elector, to inform the Queen's Majesty of the proceedings of the said Elector, in sending his son into France, without intention to offend the King and the realm...but only to assist the common cause of religion, who now upon the ending of these causes in France will depart hence'...

'The Prince of Orange hath also sent hither a special gentleman to declare unto her Majesty his innocency in such causes as are objected against him, touching any part of his duty towards the King of Spain'. [Cabala, 147].

Court news. April 10, De Silva to Philip II, of the Portuguese Ambassador:

'He is in no haste and is preparing for the interview'...

'His business is principally to request the Queen to forbid her subjects from interfering with the Portuguese Indies, especially Guinea, although they will consent to the English going to buy blacks at the places where the Portuguese sell them. He is also to ask for restitution of 600,000 ducats that he says English pirates have taken from the subjects of his King'.

'The Queen went to Greenwich on the 6th...I accompanied her in the country on that day', with the Earl of Leicester.

'A gentleman from the King of France arrived here today to give an account to the Queen of the Treaty of Peace between him and the rebels. He has audience tomorrow'. [Span.ii.22-23].

Apr 11, Sun French envoy, Beaumont, at Greenwich for audience.

Sent to inform the Queen of the pacification of the troubles.

Beaumont to Catherine de Medici, April 13, London: 'I cannot say enough of how greatly contented this Queen was to hear the good news of your Majesties'.

Beaumont left next day on his way to the Queen of Scots. [Teulet, ii.347].

French dispatches from La Forêt, the resident Ambassador, and from Beaumont and other special envoys, 1568, are in A.Teulet, ed. Relations Politiques de la France (1862), ii; and in the Baschet Transcripts: PRO/31/3/26, at TNA, Kew.

Given here in English versions. Shown as ^{BT}.

April 11, Madrid, Dr John Man (Ambassador to Spain) to Sir William Cecil:

'Here is publicly sold by the King's privilege a history in Spanish, wherein among other lies are written heinous slanders touching the Queen, and her father and mother. Some of the words I have written out and send'.

The book was entitled: *Historia Pontifical y Catholica*.

Extracts from the history reflect on the chastity of Queen Elizabeth and her mother Queen Anne Boleyn, and state that Luther and his friend Henry VIII had both gone to hell within eight days of one another.

Dr Man wrote on May 17 that he dealt with the King's Council about calling in the history wherein the Queen, her father, mother, and the realm of England, 'be exceedingly ignominiously, falsely, and slanderously infamed to the world. The King sent word that he was very sorry', and it should be new printed, with 'all such indecent reports and points impertinent' left out. [SPF.viii.442,459].

Martin Luther died in February 1546, Henry VIII in January 1547.

April 14: Wardrobe account, including the Queen's first payments 'for an Italian named Monarcho': a red gown, a jerkin, a doublet of striped sackcloth, red hose, a blue taffeta hat. Monarcho received numerous gifts of colourful clothes, 1568-1575. [Arnold, 106]. Monarcho is referred to by several contemporary authors as a court jester; in *Love's Labour's Lost* Shakespeare describes Armado as 'a Monarcho and one that makes sport to the Prince'.

Apr 14, Wed Dr Alvarez, Portuguese Ambassador, at Greenwich for audience.
 April 14, Cecil to Sir Henry Norris: 'Here is an Ambassador arrived from Portugal, for to brawl about merchants and maritime matters'. [*Cabala*, 147].

De Silva to Philip II, April 19: 'On the 14th I accompanied the Portuguese ambassador to court. He was well attended, and we went up to the Presence Chamber without anyone having come out to meet him, although the day and hour of his reception were fixed. After we arrived in the ante-chamber some courtiers and gentlemen came to speak to me, amongst them the Lord Chamberlain. I made them speak to the Ambassador, which they did, but sourly. I got the Lord Chamberlain to entertain him until he was summoned'...

'After the Ambassador had waited for about an hour he was introduced to the Queen's chamber, where she received him, and...with an angry look, complained greatly of the Cardinal, who she said had written her a letter...containing discourteous expressions which were unfit to be addressed to her...The words the Queen mentioned...alluded to her as a tyrant. The Ambassador replied that he could not believe it until he saw it'.

Sir William Cecil showed the Latin letter; De Silva asked him and Leicester 'to treat the Ambassador graciously...and presently the Queen called me to her again and the rest of the time passed pleasantly...business not having been spoken of'. Dr Alvarez 'is hurt at their treatment of him'. [*Span.ii.24-25*].

The Cardinal: King Philip's uncle, later King Henrique of Portugal.

Apr 15, Maundy Thursday ceremonies and alms-giving.
 By the Queen, with Edmund Guest, Bishop of Rochester, Queen's Almoner; to 34 poor women, each 20s in a red purse and 34d in a white purse.^T

Court news. April 19, De Silva to Philip II: 'The Queen is ill in bed with a great excess of bile, which I myself have been troubled with these two years past, by reason of the climate'. [*Span.ii.23*]. The Ambassador had asked to be recalled on the grounds of ill health.

Apr 22, Thur Eve of Garter ceremonies, Greenwich.
 At a Chapter of Garter Knights the Queen appointed a Lieutenant, as customary.

Apr 23, Fri St George's Day Garter ceremonies, Greenwich.
 Queen's Lieutenant: William Parr, Marquis of Northampton. The Queen was in processions and at service, and dined with Knights of the Garter.

Apr 24, Sat Final 1568 Garter ceremonies, Greenwich. No new Knights elected.

Also April 24: Portuguese Ambassador at Greenwich for second audience.
 Dr Alvarez, with Antonio de Guaras, a Spanish merchant, and several others.
 April 24, De Silva to Philip II: 'The Portuguese Ambassador had his second interview with the Queen today, when his business was discussed. He asked me to send my secretary with him, which I did'.
 'He was met by order of the Queen some distance outside the palace gates by Henry Cobham,...a brother of his, and another Gentleman of the Chamber named Kingsmill. They led him to the Presence Chamber, where they entertained him until the Lord Chamberlain came out and took him to the Queen...where the Ambassador remained for over an hour. When he took his leave the Lord Chamberlain accompanied him outside the Presence Chamber, where he was taken charge of by the same gentlemen that received him, who went with him to the boat'.
 Dr Alvarez is to give De Silva an account of his audience. [*Span.ii.25*].

April 28: Reward to Emmanuel Tremelius 'sent unto the Queen's Majesty from the Palsgrave', 275 French crowns, £75.^T

May 1, Sat Queen of Scots' jewels brought to the court at Greenwich.

May 2, London, La Forêt to the Queen Mother, Catherine de Medici, after Nicholas Elphinstone came from Scotland with jewels which Regent Moray wished to sell: The Queen 'saw them yesterday in the presence of the Earls of Pembroke and Leicester, and pronounced them to be of unparalleled beauty. There are six cordons of large pearls, strung as *paternosters*; but there are five-and-twenty separate from the rest, much finer and larger than those which are strung... They had not been here more than three days when they were appraised by various merchants, this Queen wishing to have them at the sum named by the jeweller... They were estimated at three thousand pounds sterling (about ten thousand crowns)...Several Italian merchants...valued them at twelve thousand crowns, which is the price, as I am told, this Queen will take them at'...

'In the meantime I have not delayed giving your Majesty timely notice of what was going on'. [Strickland (1888), *Mary*, ii.75].

May 2, La Forêt to M.de Fizes, Councillor and Secretary of State:

'The Queen Mother has written that she wishes to recover the Queen of Scots' rings, if they are put up for sale in this country...It seems to me that this is not the time to be thinking about that'. [Teulet, ii.353].

May 2, in **Scotland: Mary Queen of Scots escaped** from the Island of Lochleven, where she had been imprisoned since June 1567. Those who helped her to escape included John Beaton and George Douglas, brother of the Laird of Lochleven.

Mary took refuge in Hamilton Castle.

May 3: The Queen of Scots revoked her Abdication, of 1567.

May 3, in London: *death*. Sir Edward Rogers (c.1500-1568), Controller of the Household, Privy Councillor. Funeral: May 10, Westminster Abbey.

Court news. May 6, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton to Drury, Marshal of Berwick, taken by Nicholas Elphinstone, who has made three journeys into England, but 'it has not been possible to induce the Queen even to pay for his post-horses'.

PS. 'Your news of May 4 of the Queen of Scots' flight has much astonished us, and has since been confirmed by others...I pray God that the Queen our mistress will decide to aid the good Lord Moray rather than such an unfortunate woman'. [Teulet, ii.357-8].

May 7: in Scotland, at Glasgow: Proclamation by Regent Moray.

In the King's name, against Mary's adherents, 'the conspirators'.

May 8: in Scotland, at Hamilton: Bond of Mary's adherents.

Broadside; endorsed by Sir William Cecil: 'The bond of 9 Earls, 9 Bishops, 18 Lords, and others, for defence of the Queen of Scots'. [Scot.ii.402-4].

c.May 9, Sun Russian Ambassadors at Greenwich to take leave.

Pogorella and Twerdico, sent by Tsar Ivan IV in August 1567.

Description by Henry Lane, their interpreter:

They 'took their leave at Greenwich, where they understood and had the Queen's Majesty's mind, letters and reward. At the latter part of her talk, her Highness considering that our trade to Saint Nicholas since the beginning had been offensive to divers princes, states, and merchants Eastward, used these speeches or the like: "Who is or shall be more touched by detractors, with flying tales and untrue reports, than Princes and Rulers, to the breach of love and unity? Your Master and I, in things that pass by word and writing, I doubt not will keep and perform promises. If he hear the contrary of me, let him suspend his judgement and not be light of credit, and so will I". These words they termed her Majesty's golden speech, and kneeling down, kissed her hand, and departed'.

May 9, Greenwich, Queen wrote to the Emperor of Russia. [Hakluyt, ii.78-80].

Also May 9: Spanish Ambassador at Greenwich for audience.

May 11, De Silva to Philip II: I gave the Queen a letter from your Majesty complaining greatly about Dr John Man, Ambassador to Spain, especially his conduct in religious matters. For example that Dr Man had said 'publicly and shamelessly' that in the end the Huguenots would prevail, 'and that the Pope was nothing but a canting little monk'. The King would no longer receive him nor permit him to live in Madrid, but had ordered him to move to a nearby town. As the Queen was reading the letter 'she changed colour and seemed somewhat annoyed'. She 'was grieved that her Ambassador should be treated as he had been'; when she appointed him she considered him a Catholic rather than a Protestant, but she would not condemn him without hearing his defence, and would then consider replacing him. [*Span.ii.29-30*]. On the afternoon of May 11 a servant sent by Dr Man arrived to beg urgently for his recall.

c.May 11: Queen of Scots' envoy, John Beaton, at Greenwich.

De Silva, May 14: 'I am told they are much annoyed at the liberation of the Queen of Scots. A gentleman sent by the latter to visit this Queen, and give her an account of her successful attempt, arrived here three days ago'. [*Span.ii.31*]

Bishop of Ross's *Memoirs*: The two Queens had in the past 'confirmed by princely tokens interchanged, assuring that which of them should first have need of the aid and assistance of the other, their whole power and force should be employed for their release...And upon this good hope her Majesty entered into England, having before given warning to the Queen of England by her letters, sent her peculiar servant and gentleman of her court John Beaton, with whom she sent the former token, being a costly ring which she had received before from the Queen of England, certifying her by the same message that if she were further pressed by her subjects of Scotland, she would come into England in proper person and crave her aid. To the which the Queen of England answered that she should be heartily welcome'. [*Ross, 11*].

May 12, Greenwich: The Queen lost 'one aglet of gold enamelled purple off a gown of purple wrought velvet'. [*Lost, 76*].

May 13: in Scotland: Battle of Langside, between the forces of the Queen of Scots and of Regent Moray. Mary's forces were defeated. Mary fled towards the Borders, to the south-west.

May 15, from Scotland Lord Herries wrote to Richard Lowther, Deputy Captain of Carlisle, in Cumberland, to know if Mary might safely come to Carlisle.

Lowther replied that as his Captain, Lord Scrope, was in London, he would send post to court to know Queen Elizabeth's pleasure. [*Scot.ii.458*].

Court news. May 15, London, La Forêt to Catherine de Medici (taken to France by John Beaton): The Queen of Scots' rings 'were sent here very secretly, and in the end were bought by this Queen for 12,000 crowns'. [*Teulet, ii.364*].

May 16, Sun new appointment: Sir Ralph Sadler was made Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

Edward Jones, Master of the Earl of Warwick's barge, 'serving the Queen's Majesty at Greenwich the 16th of May...with the said barge and 8 oars'.^T

May 16, Queen to Sir Henry Norris, Ambassador to France, informing him that the Queen of Scots has sent John Beaton to her and to the French King to demand aid of men and money to recover her estate. [SPF.viii.458].

May 16, Greenwich, Sir William Cecil to Norris: 'By the Queen's Majesty's letter you may perceive what is her pleasure at this time. Beaton is passing thither...He hath required us here to say nothing of that which he, at his first coming, told us, that the Queen his mistress sent him to France, to require aid of 1000 arquebusiers, and a sum of money, with some ordnance'. [Cabala, 148].

May 16: Mary Queen of Scots crossed to England.

On the evening of Sunday May 16, before receiving Captain Lowther's answer, Mary arrived by fishing-boat at Workington, Cumberland, with 20 others, including Lord Claud Hamilton, Lord Fleming, and Lord Herries.

May 17, Workington, Queen of Scots to Queen Elizabeth, relating the treasonable proceedings of her subjects; expressing her confident hope that the Queen will assist her against her enemies, concluding;

'It is my earnest request that your Majesty will send for me as soon as possible, for my condition is pitiable, not to say for a Queen, but even for a simple gentlewoman. I have no other dress that that in which I escaped from the field; my first day's ride was sixty miles across the country, and I have not since dared to travel except by night'. [Tytler, vii.182].

Mary's letter has been translated: the two Queens customarily wrote to one another in French, signing themselves 'Marie R' and 'Elizabeth R'.

Later on May 17 Mary moved to Cockermouth, where Richard Lowther met her.

May 18: Before learning of Mary's arrival in England, Queen Elizabeth sent Thomas Leighton to express her joy for her delivery out of captivity.

His other instructions were largely overtaken by events. [Scot.ii.409].

May 18: Mary was escorted to Carlisle Castle.

May 18, Carlisle, at night, Richard Lowther to Sir William Cecil: 'Her Grace's attire is very mean, and, as I can learn, hath not any better, neither other wherewith to change; so as...I did not only give order for the defraying of her charges at Cockermouth, but also did freely provide them geldings for the conveying of her Highness and her train. Wherefore I beseech your Honour, if it shall please the Queen's Majesty to have her make repair to the court, that you will advertise how and in what manner'. [Scot.ii.410].

May 19, from York, the Council in the North sent instructions in the Queen's name to the Sheriffs and Justices of Peace in Cumberland to use the Scottish Queen and her company honourably, but let none escape. [Scot.ii.411].

May 21: Regent Moray sent John Wood, his Secretary, to Queen Elizabeth.

May 21, Paris, Catherine de Medici to La Forêt (brought by his nephew): 'As for the Queen of Scots' rings...of which Queen Elizabeth has kept the pearls, there is no longer any need to trouble yourself, because I wish her to keep them all...and if I had them I would send them to her'. [Teulet, ii.368].

In October, at the request of the Queen of Scots, Queen Elizabeth asked Regent Moray to sell no more of her jewels; he agreed, declaring that he has not 'been enriched worth the value of a groat [four pence]'. [Scot.ii.514, 517-518].

May 22: Henry 9th Lord Scrope, Warden of the West Marches and Captain of Carlisle, and Sir Francis Knollys, Vice-Chamberlain, are to leave for Carlisle. Knollys, as Treasurer of the Chamber, is to defray 'the daily diets' of the Queen of Scots and her company, 'causing a journal thereof to be kept by some trusty skilful clerk, to be allowed by the auditors'. [Scot.ii.412].

Court news. May 22, London, De Silva to Philip II:

'As soon as the arrival of the Queen of Scotland in this country was known, the Council met to consider what was to be done with her; whether she was to be treated in accordance with her present or her former position'.

'It is said that this Queen took the part of the Queen of Scotland, but her views did not prevail as a majority of the Council was of a different opinion. The Duke of Norfolk and the Earls of Arundel and Leicester were ordered to be summoned, so that a full Council might decide what was to be done'...

'If this Queen has her way now, they will be obliged to treat the Queen of Scots as a sovereign, which will offend those who forced her to abdicate, so that, although these people are glad enough to have her in their hands, they have many things to consider'.

'If they keep her as if in prison, it will probably scandalise all neighbouring princes, and if she remain free and able to communicate with her friends great suspicions will be aroused'. [Span.ii.35-6].

Court news. May 22, London, La Forêt to Charles IX:

'The day before yesterday I sent one of my men to you to bring news of the arrival of the Queen of Scots in England, after having seen the loss and defeat of her people. I informed your Majesty how apprehensive I was of the treatment she would receive in this kingdom, as in truth I still am'...

'Since my man left I have been assured that this Queen in her Council has supported the Queen of Scots with all her power, letting everyone present know that she wished to honour her and to receive her as was befitting her dignity and previous greatness, and not her present fortune; and that, seeing that most of those present were of a completely different opinion, she deferred a decision until the whole of the Council were together'...

'Some have told me that, if this Queen is not overruled and vanquished by her people's obstinacy and remonstrations, she will keep the Queen of Scots always near her, with all the courtesies and favours which she can think of, and that there will be no lack of pastimes for them together'...

'I fear that if they were only eight days together, because of the difference between them in beauty and good grace, all their friendship would turn into extreme envy and jealousy'. [Teulet, ii.369-370].

May 26, Wed A portrait of Archduke Charles for the Queen.

May 26, Guido Castiglione to Lord Cobham, in Italian: On Wednesday evening after prayers North had a long conversation with her Majesty, who called him into the private chamber issuing out of the oratory. Her Majesty after having seen the likeness of the Archduke gave orders to have it put into a frame, which was done, but as yet she does not wish it to be seen, fearing no doubt lest its beauty should dazzle the minds and sight of others. [HT.i.356].

Roger 2nd Lord North had accompanied the Earl of Sussex to Vienna.

May 28: Lord Scrope and Sir Francis Knollys arrived at Carlisle Castle, and met the Queen of Scots.

Among those with her were John Maxwell, Lord Herries (c.1512-1583), and John 5th Lord Fleming (1530s-1572).

[May 29, Carlisle], Lord Scrope and Vice-Chamberlain Knollys to the Queen:

We declared to the Queen of Scots 'your Highness's sorrowfulness for her lamentable misadventures and inconvenient arrival, although your Highness was glad and joyful of her good escape from the peril of her person'...

'We found her in her answers to have an eloquent tongue and a discreet head, and it seemeth by her doings she hath stout courage and liberal heart adjoined thereunto'.

'And after our delivery of your Highness's letters she fell into some passion with the water in her eyes, and therewith she drew us with her into her bed-chamber, where she complained unto us, for that your Highness did not answer her expectation for the admitting her into your presence forthwith, that upon declaration of her innocency, your Highness would either without delay give her aid yourself to the subduing of her enemies, or else...give her passage through your country into France, to seek aid at other Princes' hands, not doubting but both the French King and the King of Spain would give her relief in that behalf to her satisfaction'.

When she spoke of the murder of her husband, we answered 'that your Highness was inwardly sorry and very much grieved that you could not do her that great honour to admit her solemnly and worthily into your presence, by reason of this great slander of murder, whereof she was not yet purged'...

She 'doth presently send up the Lord Herries with her letters'.

'Now it behoveth your Highness in mine opinion gravely to consider what answer is to be made herein, specially because that many gentlemen of divers shires here near adjoining within your realm came to welcome her Grace, and have heard her daily defence and excuses of her innocency, with her great accusations of her enemies, very eloquently told before our coming hither'.

'And therefore I, the Vice-Chamberlain, do refer to your Highness's better consideration, whether it were not honourable for you in the sight of your subjects, and of all foreign princes, to put her Grace to the choice, whether she will depart back into her country...or whether she will remain at your Highness's devotion within your realm here, with her necessary servants only to attend upon her, to see how honourably your Highness can do for her'.

'For by this means your Highness, I think, shall stop the mouths of backbiters that otherwise would blow out seditious rumours as well in your own realm as elsewhere, of detaining of her ungratefully'.

'And yet I think it is likely that if she had her own choice, she would not go back into her own realm presently, nor until she might look for succour of men out of France to join with her there'...

'And on the other side, she cannot be kept so rigorously as a prisoner with your Highness's honour, in mine opinion, but...a body of her agility and spirit may escape soon, being so near the Border'.

'And surely to have her carried further into the realm is the highway to a dangerous sedition, as I suppose'. [Wright, i.277-9].

May 30: Mary sent Lord Herries to Queen Elizabeth, with Lord Fleming, who was instructed to continue to France to request aid from the King.

May 30, at night, Carlisle, Sir Francis Knollys to Queen Elizabeth, after the Queen of Scots had been 'inveighing against' the Earl of Moray and his adherents for deposing her, saying 'that when she was but nine days old they had a reverent and obedient care of her - "But now" saith she "that I am 24 years old, they would exclude me from government like disobedient rebels"...

'I objected unto her, that in some cases princes might be deposed from their government by their subjects lawfully, as if a prince should fall into madness ...And (said I) what difference is there between lunacy and cruel murdering?... The question is, whether your Grace deserved to be put from the government or not, for if your Grace should be guilty of any such odious crime as deserveth deposal, then (said I) how should they be blamed that have deposed you?'

'Hereupon her Grace beginning to clear herself after her accustomed manner, the tears yet fell from her eyes. And then I said your Highness would be the gladdest in the world to see her Grace well purged of that crime, that thereby your Highness might aid her fully and amply to the advancement of her Grace to her government royal again. For I said she was your nearest kinswoman on the father's side...Seeing her tears, I forbore to say more than assure her of your Highness's affection and good will'. [Scot.ii.420].

June 2, Carlisle, Sir Francis Knollys to Sir William Cecil, having received a letter that it is likely 'that this Queen shall be brought either to Nottingham or Fotheringhay' [in Northants]: 'I do think that Nottingham and Fotheringhay be in countries nothing so much given to Papistry as those more hitherwards. Wherefore, if her Highness will bridle the Papists shorter, I see no danger in transporting the Scottish Queen thither'...

'For her conduction, I think horses for her Grace's self and her women the chief lack: hitherto she has had not past 3 or 4 women, and those not of the best and finest sort; what ladies attendant, furniture of wardrobe stuff, whether cloth of estate...etc. I refer to your grave considerations'.

'Hitherto her company of servants are not above 30 or 40 - whereof gentlemen sewers, carvers, and cup bearers, half a dozen; and as many gentlemen waiters, not much inferior - the rest cooks, scullions and valets of the chamber and lackeys; but not past 3 or 4 of them lie within the castle'.

Some gentlemen 'with their servants, lie in the town at their own charges to the number of 30 or 40 more - the gentlemen between meals go to see the Queen'.

Yesterday Mr Nicholas Elphinstone came, whom the Queen called 'her grievous enemy and seller of her jewels'. [Scot.ii.421-2].

June 5, Sat Lord Herries and Lord Fleming at Greenwich for audience.

Herries brought a letter from the Queen of Scots to Queen Elizabeth, May 28, Carlisle: 'The great cause of my coming hither, viz. my long imprisonment and unjust treatment...made me above all desire in person to complain to you, and discharge myself of the calumnies they dare to prefer against my honour'...

'I have now sent Lord Herries, my faithful and well loved subject, to inform you of all matters' and 'my cousin Lord Fleming, a faithful subject, to France.. to thank the King for his good offices. If for any reason I cannot come to you, seeing I have freely come to throw myself in your arms, you will I am sure permit me to ask assistance of my other allies'....

'I sent you my heart in a ring, and now I have brought to you both heart and body, to knit more firmly the tie that binds us together'. [Scot.ii.414-415].

Court news. June 5, London, De Silva to Philip II, of Dr Man, Ambassador to Spain: 'The Queen informed me yesterday that she had ordered her Ambassador to be recalled, as it was not desirable to have a person to represent her near your Majesty who was distasteful to you'. [Span.ii.40].

June 6: Dr Man's servant left for Spain; Dr Man returned in September.

June 7, Mon French envoy, Montmorin, at Greenwich for audience.

King Charles IX and the Queen Mother sent the Sieur de Montmorin after the news that the Queen of Scots was in England; he was to ask to visit her.

La Forêt to Charles IX, June 12, London: Montmorin told the Queen:

'First of the contentment your Majesties had at the arrival of the Queen of Scots in her kingdom, as a true port of safety; then of the assurance they had of the good and gracious welcome which she made her, to whom, to comfort her still more, he had been dispatched expressly to beg and require it; thirdly, of the means which she had to reconcile the Queen of Scots with her subjects and to restore her to her kingdom with her previous authority'...

'The Queen replied to us: that she was very obliged to your Majesties, being requested to do something so agreeable to her, and which touched her nearer than any other prince in Christendom, the Queen of Scots being her near relative, neighbour, and friend; but nothing would displease her more than if she could not receive her according to her desire and affection, nor as the dignity of the Queen required; that she well knew that today she was watched by every eye in Christendom, and that if she did not proceed with the requisite moderation she would be slandered by all'...

'Then she referred to the means she had to restore her to her kingdom...saying that the Regent had already spread the rumour that he wished to restore her, and that she would use all her power to do so, but this however is a business which could take a long time. In conclusion, we cannot hold the Queen to any resolute response, nor can we cast light nor knowledge on what she is thinking of doing with the Queen of Scots'...

'But she repeated to us many times...that as long as the Queen of Scots was in her kingdom she would never permit her honour nor her life to be touched'.

'On the day after we spoke to her, she sent to the Queen of Scots a gentleman called Middlemore, who after seeing her will I believe go directly to Scotland to the Regent; and all this is to lead people to think that she desires to reconcile one with the other, but in truth I think she has no wish to'.

[Teulet, ii.373-5].

June 8-July: Henry Middlemore, a Groom of the Privy Chamber, was special Ambassador to Scotland. His Instructions:

On his way Middlemore is first to confer with the Queen of Scots at Carlisle.

'The Queen meaneth to take her and her cause into her protection, and according to the justice of the cause, will prosecute all her adversaries'.

'The cause why the Queen has not received and entertained her, as she most gladly would, were she not taxed with so horrible a crime, is the public note of the said crime. Her Majesty neither condemns nor acquits her, till she hear what may be said therein. The note wherewith her Majesty is touched, is her not avenging the death of her near kinsman, nor regard to the infamy of the Queen marrying the principal murderer, but also his having a lawful wife, divorced by him for his own adulterous life. Her Majesty's meaning to have the Queen brought nearer to her, to some place of more pleasure and liberty'.

Middlemore is then to go to the Earl of Moray in Scotland.

He is 'to learn the state of the troubles in Scotland'. [Scot.ii.424-5].

Lord Scrope and Sir Francis Knollys wished to move the Queen of Scots away from the Scottish border, for safety and 'for better air, provision, and hunting', and Queen Elizabeth about 8th June made this known to her, 'devising a very honourable house in these north parts called Tutbury, for largeness of house and pleasure grounds to be compared to any second house of all England. But finding her unwilling forbore to press her'.

[Scot.ii.459]. *The Earl of Shrewsbury owned Tutbury Castle, Staffs.*

June 11, Carlisle, Sir Francis Knollys to Sir William Cecil, of the Queen of Scots: 'This lady and princess is a notable woman...She showeth a great desire to be avenged of her enemies...The thing that most she thirsteth after is victory, and it seemeth to be indifferent to her to have her enemies diminish either by the sword of her friends, or by the liberal promises and rewards of her purse, or by division and quarrels raised amongst themselves'...

'Now what is to be done with such a lady and princess, or whether such a princess and lady be to be nourished in one's bosom? or whether it be good to halt and dissemble with such a lady, I refer to your judgement'. [Wright.i.280].

June 12 [Carlisle], Mary Queen of Scots to Queen Elizabeth, protesting against the Queen's refusal to receive her in person. She is here not to save her life, but to bring her false accusers before the Queen and recover her honour.

She prays that the Queen will either help her or remain neutral. She would rather die than enter into legal proceedings with her own subjects, and asks that Lord Herries be sent back with assurances of assistance. [HT.xiii.87].

June 12, Carlisle, Sir Francis Knollys to Sir William Cecil:

'This Queen, being dedicated to revenge, in hope of victory by the aid of strangers [foreigners]...did break forth into these words, saying, that if she were not detained by force, she would go into Turkey rather than she would have any peace or agreement with the Lord of Moray etc., otherwise than to have them subject and obedient unto her'...

'For my negligence in not saying how her Highness's present was accepted by this Queen...Her silence argues rather scornful than grateful acceptance, which I suspecting before delivery said it was no present from her Highness, but such necessary things as one of her maids for lightness of carriage chose out; and afterwards seeing her Grace still silent I added that the maid had mistaken me, and only sent things such as a servant like herself required. Whereupon she answered courteously and took it in good part'. [Scot.ii.429-430].

Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe account, April-October, includes:

'16 yards of black velvet, 16 yards of black satin, and 10 yards of black taffeta, delivered by our commandment to...Sir Francis Knollys...for the Queen of Scots, of our Great Wardrobe'. [Arnold, 98].

Court news. June 12, De Silva to Philip II:

'M.de Montmorin, one of the gentlemen of the King of France, who came... to visit the Queen and recommend to her the affairs of the Queen of Scots, had audience on the 7th'.

Lord Fleming and Lord Herries have had audience 'on behalf of the Queen of Scots. These are the men that the Queen told me are here secretly, and whom she had not decided whether she would receive or not. They begged for help to restore their Queen, and for Fleming to go to France. No answer has been given to them'. They are both 'kept as prisoners and without liberty to walk or talk as they liked, owing to the English guard told off to accompany them'.

Herries told the Council that if the Queen would not help Mary he would go and beg aid from the King of France, the Emperor, the King of Spain, 'and even the Pope. The Earl of Bedford, who is the most zealous of them, at once exclaimed "the Pope!". "Yes", said Herries, "and even the Grand Turk and the Sophy, seeing the need my Queen is in".

'The Council met today to consider the answer they would give him'.

[Span.ii.41-42].

Court news. June 12, London, La Forêt to Charles IX:

'At the end of our audience with this Queen six days ago, in which we informed her that your Majesties desired M.de Montmorin to visit the Queen of Scots, she told us that she certainly wished to gratify us in all she could, but she prayed us to have patience for three or four days, and after that she would give us her reply. Only today have we had the reply, that she finds it good that M.de Montmorin should go to the Queen of Scots, whom she is bringing deeper into her kingdom, to a place called Staffordshire, quite near the Earl of Leicester's house, about 80 miles from here'...

'The Portuguese Ambassador has been heard two or three times by the Queen's Council, where he complained greatly of her ministers and her subjects, as much for the great depredations which have been made on the Portuguese on the voyage to the Indies by a man named Hawkins, as to protest that there will be war against the Queen if the King his master and the Portuguese were not satisfied by a great sum which he demanded for the depredations, and if Hawkins was not countermanded'. [Teulet, ii.272].

June 13, Carlisle, Sir Francis Knollys to Sir William Cecil:

'This day...my Lord Scrope and I presented Mr Middlemore to this Queen'...

'It is a great vanity (in mine opinion) to think that she will be stayed... from bringing in of the French into Scotland, or from employing all her force of money, men of war, and of friendship, to satisfy her bloody appetite to shed the blood of her enemies. As for imprisonment, she makes no account thereof; and unless she be removed as a prisoner, it seemeth she will not be removed further into the realm, to be detained from her Highness's presence'...

'It is to be considered whether her Highness defraying her here within her realm, shall not thereby able her to employ £12,000 yearly, being her dowry in France, both against Scotland and consequently against England, whereas if she were at liberty all her dowry would be spent upon her own finding...But I speak like a blind buzzard, and therefore will leave these matters to you'.

PS. 'This last week's charges, ending on Friday, came unto £56'.

She 'uttered certain speeches in showing her loathsomeness to be removed further into England unless to her Highness's presence, that it might be easily conjectured that some practices of escaping were not out of her head, not yet out of her hope'. [Wright, i.282-3].

June 15: Henry Middlemore met Regent Moray in Scotland; he returned to Carlisle on June 22, before going back to court.

Moray sent his secretary John Wood to Queen Elizabeth again.

June 17, Thurs Lord Herries at Greenwich for audience.

La Forêt to Charles IX, June 19, London: 'Some eight days ago two Scottish lords were sent here on behalf of the Queen of Scots. Lord Herries was sent to this Queen to beg her, in accordance with long-standing promises, to send the Queen of Scots aid against her rebels, or in case she cannot or does not wish to make ready such aid, to permit Herries to pass into France'.

Lord Fleming 'asked for a passport to go to your Majesty, as he is charged by his mistress. They had audience two or three times, and their answer was deferred from one time to the next, and they had little response until last Thursday...At the audience Lord Herries began by saying, as expressly charged by his Queen, that she found it strange that they wished to bring her to Tutbury Castle, far from her country and from all highways, where she would not be able to receive news either from her country nor from relatives nor friends, and that these were not the promises which her Majesty had made so often to her, in hope of which she came to England. If she had thought to have such treatment, she would rather have chosen to stay in Scotland with all the worst fortune and conditions in the world'.

'Lord Herries said this to the Queen in a low voice, there being some of the Councillors in the same room...The Queen called to them, ordering them to draw near, and requested Lord Herries to repeat out loud what he had said to her, which he did. To this she replied, also in a loud voice, that she wished to take in hand the cause of the Queen her sister, and was considering restoring her to her country, rank, and royal authority, either by a reconciliation which she would try to make between her and her subjects, or by force. To this effect she would ask the Earl of Moray to send someone here on his behalf, such as Lord Glencairn, whom she named, or another, and that similarly the Queen her sister should send someone to her. These deputies could explain the differences between one side and the other'.

'Lord Herries replied that he did not think that her Majesty would wish to intervene as a judge between the Queen his mistress and her subjects, since his mistress was a Sovereign like herself'.

"But" said the Queen "I think that the Queen my sister will not be annoyed about following my counsel and my advice, which will only be for her good".

'Lord Herries said that the Earl of Moray was neither a king nor a prince to send ambassadors here, but as he and the Earl of Morton were the two who had principally offended the Queen his mistress, if her Majesty wished to hear anything from them they could take the trouble to come here themselves in person. "That is the best thing to do" said the Queen; and thereupon promised that next day she would write to them that they should come'...

'As for Lord Fleming, the Queen has flatly refused him a passport, and has told him that if the Queen of Scots sends someone else to her she will give them a passport, but not him'. [Teulet, ii.376-8].

Court news. June 19, London, La Forêt to Charles IX:

'M.de Montmorin and I were informed before he left that the Queen of Scots will not move all month from Carlisle, where she has been since she entered this country. However they are making her lodgings ready at a castle called Tutbury, which is only a hundred miles from here, and is a very beautiful place, it is said, principally for hunting. When she is there, the Earl of Shrewsbury, who has some of his lands there, is commanded to keep her company with other lords and gentlemen from the neighbourhood'. [Teulet, ii.375-6].

Mary was moved to Bolton, Yorks, in July, and to Tutbury in February 1569.

June 22, Regent Moray's reply for Henry Middlemore to report:

'Such letters as we have of the Queen our Sovereign Lord's mother... sufficiently in our opinion prove her consenting to the murder of the King her lawful husband'. [Scot.ii.441].

June 22, Mon Lords Fleming and Herries at Greenwich for audience.

Lord Herries to the Queen of Scots, June 28, London:

Herries describes first his audience on June 17, when the Queen listened to him very amiably, and then called in her Council. On June 22 he and Fleming went to receive the Queen's response, in presence of many Councillors.

Response: 'She wishes to do everything that can be to your Majesty's honour... as to her dear sister...She said that your Majesty knows the scandalous and shameful rumours which your subjects have spread abroad, and that it is for your honour and her own that the matter should be looked into. It is not to constitute herself a judge, but as your favourable and entire friend to enquire why they speak thus of you, by what power or authority they seized from your Majesty your crown, fortresses, and other things'...

'For this reason she said "I desire the Queen your mistress to come to within 50 or 60 miles from here...where those of my Council whom I ordain will hear the matter"'.

The Queen wishes Mary neither to go to France, where her first husband had given himself 'the name and arms of my crown and my kingdom', nor to go back to Scotland in the way she had come, which would be dishonourable. As soon as possible she will make her intentions known to her.

'I have heard that Mr James McGill...is coming here to bring to the Queen the act by which your Majesty abdicated in favour of your son, and consented to the Earl of Moray being Regent...The Queen said "I will not allow McGill to come into my presence, nor any of those who are against your mistress".

[Teulet, ii.384-6]. James McGill came to court on November 1.

22 June 1568-27 Aug 1569: Thomas Randolph was special Ambassador to Russia.

Tsar Ivan IV (Ivan the Terrible) had informed Anthony Jenkinson in 1567 that his wishes were: To enter into a treaty of friendship with the Queen; that she should be kind to his friends but hostile to his enemies, and he would be the same to hers; that she should not become friends with the King of Poland; that she would allow 'masters which can make ships and sail them' to come to Russia; that artillery and other warlike stores should be sent there from England; that it should be ratified by oath between her and himself that either might take refuge in the other's country in case disturbances in their own realm should compel them to do so (this clause to remain secret); that she should send a person of rank to sign the Treaty. [Leigh, 178-9].

Randolph's Instructions, June 16, included that: You are to assure the Emperor that if any mischance should happen he shall be friendly received in the Queen's dominions. You are to present him with 'a rich standing cup of silver, and in it a great number of pieces of plate artificially wrought, and shall recommend it for the rarity of the fashion, assuring him that we do send him that same rather for the newness of the device than for the value, it being the first that ever was made in these parts in that manner'. [SPF.viii.481].

On June 22 Randolph embarked at Harwich, Essex, on The Harry 'with my company, being to the number of forty persons or thereabout; of which the one half were gentlemen, desirous to see the world'. Randolph waited in Moscow from September 1568 until having his first audience with the Tsar, 20 February 1569.

'I delivered her Majesty's present, which was a notable great cup of silver curiously wrought, with verses graven in it, expressing the histories workmanly set out in the same'. In April 'I dealt effectually with him in the behalf of our English merchants, and found him so graciously inclined towards them, that I obtained at his hands my whole demands for large privileges in general'.

Randolph left with a Russian Ambassador, Andrea Saviena, 'for the better confirmation of his privileges granted, and other negotiations with her Majesty'. [Hakluyt, ii.80-85]. Their arrival in London: 27 August 1569.

Court news. June 26, London, De Silva to Philip II:

'The Queen has replied to Herries and Fleming...flatly refusing Fleming his passport to go to France, and saying that, as to her seeing their Queen, she had ordered the latter to approach nearer here, and had written to the Regent and government asking them to send persons to discuss matters, which persons will meet in the same place as the Queen of Scots'. As to the embassy to Russia 'Some think that an alliance will be negotiated...Two English merchants go with the embassy, who will proceed to Persia in order to see how best a trade can be opened up and established with that country'. The Muscovy Company 'is giving them the whole of the expenses of their voyage'. [Span.ii.43-4].

June 26: death. Thomas Young (1507-1568), Archbishop of York and Lord President of the Council in the North, died at Sheffield.

Funeral: York Minster. New Archbishop of York (1570): Edmund Grindal. New Lord President (October 1568): Thomas Radcliffe, 3rd Earl of Sussex.

June 27, Sun French and Scots envoys at Greenwich for audience.
De Silva to Philip II, July 3: Montmorin returned on June 26 from the Queen of Scots. 'On the day after his arrival here he had audience of this Queen'.

Both he and the French Ambassador 'asked her to see the Queen of Scots and aid her restoration to the throne', and told her 'that if she did not do this their King could not avoid assisting her in her need. The Queen gave a fair spoken reply, but they thought it was merely words'. Montmorin referred to copies of letters from Regent Moray which had fallen into the hands of Queen Elizabeth.

'On the same day Herries and Fleming went to the Queen to take her the original letters...and a good deal was said at the interview'. [Span.ii.47].

June 29, Greenwich, Queen to Catherine de Medici, in French, in her own hand: She assures her of the safety of the life and honour of the Queen of Scots. She will not forget that she is a Queen and her near relative; nor on the other hand can she put aside the considerations which move her not to treat her with such ceremony or pomp as she might have desired, and which she would rather leave to the Queen Mother's good judgement to imagine, than suffer her pen to write.
Taken to France by Montmorin. [SPF.viii.490].

June 29, Tues Spanish Ambassador at Greenwich for audience.
De Silva, July 3: 'I went to speak with the Queen, ostensibly on private business, but really to hear about the Queen of Scotland, and what she thought of doing with her after hearing Montmorin and the two Scotsmen. I waited for her to start the subject, which she did, remarking that the business was somewhat perplexing her, as on the one hand it was only right that the Queen should be treated well, and on the other, that she should be taken care of'...

'As regards giving her help towards a restoration by force...the result of such an attempt would be uncertain and she therefore thought it would be better to negotiate some terms...She thought the best course to adopt was for her to return with the title of Queen, but that the government should be carried on in the name of her son, as it is now...She had sent to Murray, asking him to dispatch representatives with whom she might treat...She would not on any account allow the Queen to go to France...Seeing also the pretensions she had to the English Crown, it would be dangerous, she said, to allow her to be free in this country...She had therefore...determined to bring her to some place in the interior of England...She would not allow her to return to Scotland...to be again endangered in Scotland'. [Span.ii.47].

June 30, Wed The Queen sent Lord Fleming to the Queen of Scots in Carlisle, and then to Scotland. She kept Lord Herries with her. [Scot.ii.448].

July 1: *George Douglas arrived in London from Carlisle.*
Douglas was a younger half-brother of Regent Moray and the Laird of Lochleven.
De Silva had heard in April that the Queen of Scots would like to marry Douglas; in May Douglas helped her to escape from Lochleven; she now sent him to the King of France.

July 3, London, De Silva: 'The night before last there arrived here a gentleman named Douglas, who was concerned in the escape of the Queen of Scots, and who was said to be her favourite. He is going to France, and has been advised to separate himself from her, in consequence of the favour with which she was said to regard him. He is accompanied by a young secretary of the Queen, who passed as his servant'. [Span.ii.50].

See 'Proposed progresses: 1568' for the original itinerary (kept with La Forêt's dispatches) of Queen Elizabeth's summer progress to Northamptonshire. This includes several houses which were not eventually visited.

July 6, Tues **CHARTERHOUSE**, Middlesex; Duke of Norfolk.^c

Owned by Thomas Howard, 4th Duke of Norfolk (1538-1572), widower.

George Tyrell made ready 'at Howard House'.^T Also referred to as 'Howard Place', 'Howard House near London', 'Charterhouse in London'.

July 9: The Queen lost 'at Charterhouse one purple aglet'. [*Lost*, 77].

Court news. July 10, London, De Silva to Philip II:

'The Queen arrived in this city on the 6th in good health and continued her progress which...will only be in the neighbourhood, as she is careful to keep near at hand when troubles and disturbances exist in adjacent countries. She came by the river as far as Reder [Redriff], and thence through the country in a carriage open on all sides, that she might be seen by the people, who flocked all along the roads as far as the Duke of Norfolk's house where she alighted'.

'She was received everywhere with great acclamations and signs of joy, as is customary in this country; whereat she was extremely pleased and told me so, giving me to understand how beloved she was by her subjects and how highly she esteemed this, together with the fact that they were peaceful and contented whilst her neighbours on all sides are in such trouble. She attributed it all to God's miraculous goodness. She ordered her carriage to be taken sometimes where the crowd seemed thickest and stood up and thanked the people. Amongst others there approached her a presentable looking man who exclaimed "*Vivat Regina, Honi soit qui mal y pense*" [*Long live the Queen, Evil be to him who evil thinks*], whereupon she said to me "This good man is a clergyman of the old religion"...

'She said...one of the things she had prayed to God for when she came to the throne was that He would give her grace to govern with clemency, and without bloodshed, keeping her hands stainless'...

'The Duke of Norfolk awaited the Queen at his house'. [*Span.ii.50-52; CDI*].

c.July 10: Emden envoys with the Queen, at the Charterhouse.

Edzard, Count of East Friesland, sent two envoys to the Queen from Emden.

July 11, London, Queen to Count Edzard, in Latin: We have received your letter from your envoys; we will write on your behalf to King Philip and his Regent in the Low Countries; De Silva, July 17: 'Some persons have come hither from Emden' to say that they feared the Duke of Alva might send his army against them. 'The Queen confirmed this to me', and that she would intercede with King Philip for them. [*SPF.viii.497; Span.ii.55*].

July 11, Sun French Ambassador at the Charterhouse for audience.

July 11, London, La Forêt to Charles IX: 'The Queen of Scots has sent a gentleman to this Queen expressly to defer her departure from Carlisle...I think his coming will be to no avail, for today, when I went to take leave of her and to know if she has any commands for me before she sets off on her progress, she said she thought the Queen of Scots would leave tomorrow, but I have not heard for which place...She repeated many times with vows and words full of affection that she has no other intention than to restore the Queen to her kingdom, with the entire obedience of her subjects, and that in this conference...they will treat nothing to her prejudice, nor which touches her honour'...

The Queen is leaving tomorrow to begin her progress and is going 70 or 80 miles from London, intending to return to Windsor on September 15th or 20th'.

[*Teulet*, ii.388,390].

A conference began at York in October.

Court news. July 11, London, La Forêt to Catherine de Medici:

The Queen 'is planning to spend her time hunting and in other kinds of pastimes, according to the custom and usage of this country and its way of life. She is taking few people with her, most of her Council having gone to their homes to spend some time there during this progress'.^{BT}

July 11, Sun Spanish Ambassador at the Charterhouse for audience.
 De Silva to Queen Elizabeth, July 14: 'I spoke to your Majesty on the 11th to the effect that...many rebels from the Low Countries, subjects of my King, who had taken refuge here...were returning thither with arms, in order to disturb the peace of the States...I begged humbly that your Majesty would prevent them from returning...You promised that a remedy should be provided...Nothing has been done as a consequence of my verbal protests'. I ask you to give 'public official orders'. July 17, De Silva to Philip II: 'The next day when she left [July 12] I accompanied her to hear whether she would say anything to me about the Flemish rebels returning, but she did not'. [*Span.ii*]. (See July 17,18).

July 12: Gerald FitzGerald, 14th Earl of Desmond, made submission before the Council at 'Howard House': 'Knowing myself to have offended the Queen's laws... and to be in danger of forfeiting £20,000 recognizance...I submit myself to her mercy and clemency and do offer to her Majesty all my possessions'. [*Carew,i.385*]

July 12, Mon dinner, Cranbrook, Ilford, Essex; Mr Powle.^{C,T}
 Cranbrook Hall, Ilford; occupied by and later owned by Thomas Powle.

Start of SUMMER PROGRESS in Essex, Middlesex, Hertfordshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Northamptonshire, Warwickshire, Oxfordshire, Berkshire.

July 12, Mon **HAVERING**, Essex.^C Havering House; Crown property.

July 13, from Havering 'in haste': Sir William Cecil to Sir Henry Norris, Ambassador to France, with news of 'the Scottish Queen':

'Her desires are these...First, to come to the Queen's Majesty's person, and to have present aid to be restored. Secondly, if that cannot be, to have licence to pass into France. And to these it hath been answered, until her cause may appear more probable for her innocency, the Queen's Majesty cannot with honour receive her personally; but if the Queen will by any manner of means, honourable, let her cause appear to be void of the horrible crime imputed to her for the murdering of her husband, she shall be aided, and used with all honour'.

'Whereunto she will give no resolute answer, other than that if she may come personally to the Queen's Majesty, then she will let it appear how she standeth in the cause'. She is 'much offended that she hath not her requests, and we much troubled with the difficulties, finding neither her continuance here good, nor her departing hence quiet for us'. [*Cabala, 149*].

July 13/17: dinner, Gidea Hall, Romford, Essex; Sir Anthony Cooke.^T
 Gidea Hall, near Romford; owned by Sir Anthony Cooke (c.1505-1576), widower, who had an annuity for training King Edward VI in 'good letters and manners'.

His monument, with his wife Anne, is in St Edward's Church, Romford. They had four sons and five daughters: Mildred married Sir William Cecil; Anne: Sir Nicholas Bacon; Elizabeth: (1) Sir Thomas Hoby; (2): John Lord Russell; Katherine: Henry Killigrew; Margaret: Sir Ralph Rowlatt.

Cooke had just rebuilt Gidea Hall; he placed over the entrance a Latin verse dated 1568, which has been translated thus:

'At thy bidding, gracious Queen,
 All adverse fortune flies.
 My house, my groves, and meadows green
 Shall sing thy eulogies'.

[George Terry, *Memories of Old Romford* (Romford, 1880), 104].

July 13/17: dinner, Pyrgo, Havering, Essex.^T
 Pyrgo estate of Henry Grey (1547-1614), not yet married; son of Lord John Grey, of Pyrgo; cousin of 'Queen' Lady Jane Grey, Lady Catherine Grey, and Lady Mary Grey; Gentleman Pensioner 1569-1603.

July 14, Wed Gerald FitzGerald, Earl of Desmond, and his brother Sir John Desmond, Irish prisoners in the Tower of London 1567-1570, made submission to the Queen at Havering, then were taken back to the Tower. [SP63/25/34,36].

July 15, Thur Lord Herries at Havering for audience. Herries had made a 'new proposal' that instead of an enquiry being held into the guilt or innocence of the Queen of Scots, 'if Elizabeth permitted Mary to return to Scotland...he undertook both for the Kings of France and Spain, that none of their subjects should pass into Scotland without Elizabeth's good allowance - for which it was found...that he had no express commission from his mistress'. The Queen answered Herries 'in presence of her whole Council, that she would proceed either by the former way, or deal in this new motion... assuring him she had not countenanced the Earl of Moray, but ever since her troubles had forborne to...name her son as King, or the Earl as Regent, and had indeed been the cause of saving her life'...

'This answer being given by her Majesty to Lord Herries on 15th July, in the end he seemed to like best of the former proceeding, to have the cause heard and ended by her Majesty's order'. [Scot.ii.459].

July 15: Report of seditious words at Maidstone, Kent. At Maidstone Assizes: Indictment against Bartholomew Taylor, of Maidstone, yeoman, who said on May 1 'We shall never have a merry world so long as we have a woman governor and as the Queen lived'. Also on May 1 Peter Turner, of Pembury, yeoman, said 'That this year should be a plentiful year and that the next year following should be great trouble and great death, which things should happen before Whitsuntide or Bartholomewtide cometh should be a twelve month, and that there should be great slaughter, and happy should that man be that should have one to stand by him in his quarrel'. Both guilty; imprisoned for a year and fined £10.

Cuthbert Denton, of Lamberhurst, yeoman, on May 12 at Maidstone said much the same as Peter Turner, but was also charged with stealing 3 sheep (value 9s).

Verdict: Guilty; for seditious words, imprisoned for a year and fined £10; for grand larceny [sheep-stealing], to be hanged. [Assizes, Kent, 77-8].

July 16, Sir Francis Knollys to Sir William Cecil, after escorting the Queen of Scots further inland: 'We arrived here at Bolton Castle with this Queen yesternight...This house appeareth to be very strong, very fair, and very stately...and is the highest walled house that I have seen'...

'The charges of removing of this Queen hither was somewhat the larger because we were driven to hire four little carres, and 20 carriage horses, and 23 saddle-horses for her women and men'. [Wright, i.289-291].

Queries as to the Queen of Scots to be answered by the Privy Council, July: Whether she shall be served as a Queen, with assays [tasting], etc? What number of men and women attendants, and their diet if allowed? What order to the Master of the Jewel-house for plate, etc? To have the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster's warrant for wood... from the Queen's woods there.

Warrants for venison weekly as thought meet.

Provision of linen cloth, wax, spices, etc. made, or to be received from the Queen's store in the Spicery.

Provision of pewter vessel, brass pots and pans, racks and spits, a copper kettle for boiling beef, etc.

A warrant to the Lieutenant of the Ordnance for four carts.

Whether the charge of the Stable shall be in the household or not? Noted by Sir William Cecil's clerk. [Scot.ii.469].

Court news. July 17, De Silva to Philip II, of a forthcoming Proclamation: 'This morning...I wrote to Secretary Cecil pressing to have it published... Cecil sent me the Proclamation this evening...and the man who brought it said that he had called in at the printers on his way to tell them to print the Proclamation with all speed so that it might be sent out'. [Span.ii.58].

July 18, Thomas Windebank (Clerk of the Signet) to Sir William Cecil: 'Yesterday evening...I delivered your letter to the Spanish Ambassador, and after that I had presented unto him the copy of the Proclamation, he said that he looked it should have been published as yesterday here in the city, for that he had moved her Majesty therein upon Monday last [July 12], and since also had written thereof and sent his secretary for the same...I told him then that her Majesty's pleasure was that it should be published with all speed, and that therefore I had been with the printer...and (as I was commanded) charged him to print a good number by tomorrow (which is this day) which should be forthwith carried to the court, and thereupon publication should follow'. [KL.v.129].

July 18, Sun The Proclamation ordering Stay of Low Country Rebels in English Ports was brought to court prior to publication.

This Proclamation (553) is dated July 15, Havering. (See July 24).

July 19, Mon dinner, Copt Hall, Epping, Essex.^c
Copped Hall manor-house, Copt Hall. Crown property.

Leased by Thomas Heneage (c.1532-1595), a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber.
1st wife: Anne (Poyntz), a Gentlewoman of the Privy Chamber, died 1593.

July 19, Mon **ENFIELD**, Middlesex.^T
Enfield manor-house.^w Crown property.

July 19, London, La Forêt to Charles IX: 'The Queen is twelve miles from here, where she hunts every day'.^{BT}

July 21, Wed From Enfield the Queen sent Lord Herries to the Queen of Scots at Bolton Castle, Yorkshire; from there he went on to Scotland. [Scot.ii.462].

July 21: Two prayers are extant, the first headed 'An English Prayer for Queen Elizabeth being recovered of dangerous sickness. 1568'; the second 'A prayer for the Queen being sick. 21 July 1568'. The first is stated to be in 'Mr Treasurer Sir John Mason's hand'. Both have corrections by Sir William Cecil.

Sir John Mason, Treasurer of the Chamber, had died in April 1566; the prayer in his hand refers to the Queen having been stricken 'with dangerous sickness and bodily infirmity even to the very point of death', and having recovered.

As the Queen was in good health in July 1568, and the only dangerous life-threatening illness which she had had was smallpox in October 1562, it seems probable that these prayers relate to that occasion, and have somehow been mis-dated. [Liturgy, 516-517].

July 24, De Silva, of the Proclamation concerning Low Country rebels: 'The Proclamation...was printed on the 18th...but was not published until the morning of the 22nd. Some people think that it was delayed on purpose to give the people time to get away before it was issued'. [Span.ii.61].

July 25, court at Enfield, Sir William Cecil to Sir Henry Norris, in France:

'The Queen of Scots, having long laboured the Queen's Majesty, both by messages and letters, to have aid of her Majesty against the Lords of Scotland, and by force to restore her to her realm; her Majesty could not find it meet in honour so to do, but rather to seek all other good means to compass it with quiet and honour'...

'Finally, the Queen of Scots hath agreed that her matter shall be heard in this realm, before some good personages to be deputed by the Queen's Majesty to meet with some of the Lords of Scotland, about Newcastle or Durham, or near this way, as shall be found fit, and so to be reported to her Majesty'...

'In this meeting her Majesty doth not mean to charge the Queen of Scots, but will hear what the Lords can allege for themselves, to defend all their doings and proceedings for imprisoning and deposing their Queen, and other matters published by them, and thereof to cause report to be made to her to be answered'. [Cabala, 149-150].

July 26, Mon **HATFIELD**, Herts.^c
Hatfield manor-house; Crown property.

July 30, Hatfield, Francis Allen (a Clerk of the Council) to Sir William Cecil: 'The Spanish Ambassador's Secretary, being here this morning, told me... the nobleman's name that cometh Ambassador to the Queen's Majesty, which is Don Guerau de Spes, whom he termeth to be a Commendator, and one of the King's family, and saith he is already come to Antwerp, minding to arrive in England within these 15 days... Her Majesty removeth not from hence till Friday, this day sevensnight [August 6]'. [SP12/47/27].

The new Spanish Ambassador, De Spes, arrived on September 3.

Court news. Aug 2, Barnet [Herts], De Silva to Philip II:
I 'left London today for this place, in order to be near Hatfield where the Queen is. I had sent to ask for audience... I am to have audience tomorrow, as the Queen says that she wishes me to be present at an entertainment to be given to her at the house of a neighbouring gentleman'. [Span.ii.64].

Aug 3, Tues dinner, Knebworth, Herts; Mr Lytton.^T
Knebworth manor-house; owned by Rowland Lytton, died 1582.
2nd wife: Anne (Carleton).

Aug 3 and 4: Spanish Ambassador at Hatfield with the Queen.

De Silva had requested to be recalled, and King Philip had appointed Don Guerau de Spes to succeed him; De Silva was to become Ambassador to Venice.

De Silva to Philip II, Aug 9, London: 'I was with the Queen on the 3rd and 4th at Hatfield, 17 miles from here, in order to tell her of the coming of Don Guerau de Spes... She showed more sorrow than I expected, and, changing colour, told me that she was grieved from the bottom of her heart that your Majesty should make any change, as she was so greatly pleased with my mode of procedure in affairs. She had, she said, always shown how pleased she was, and... complained greatly of me for wanting to leave her'. [Span.ii.64].

Aug 7, Sat knighting, Hatfield: George Penruddock.^M
Sheriff of Hertfordshire.

Aug 7, Sat **ST ALBANS**, Herts; Sir Ralph Rowlatt.^C

Holywell House, St Albans; owned by Sir Ralph Rowlatt (by 1513-1571), London merchant; widower whose 2nd wife was Margaret (Cooke), daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke of Gidea Hall, Romford; they married 27 June 1558, she died August 3.

Queen's first visit since she stayed overnight with Rowlatt in February 1554 when she was taken under escort to court, and then to the Tower of London.

Robert Seal 'for money by him laid forth to divers labourers and others for making clean Sir Ralph Rowlatt's house at St Albans for the Queen's Majesty'.^T

Works: 'Common labourers occupied...in making clean of a barn for the Wardrobe of the Beds and the Privy Pantry'; 'landcarriage of the tents from Hatfield to St Albans'. Later in the progress there were payments for 'landcarriage of the tents and other necessaries from Whaddon to Easton', and 'landcarriage of the tents...from Easton to Bicester'.

Aug 8, Shrewsbury, Sir Henry Sidney to the Earl of Leicester (his brother-in-law), after visiting Kenilworth on his way back to Ireland as Lord Deputy; the new 'Leicester Buildings' were being constructed at Kenilworth.

'My dearest lord, I could not come so near your fair and ancient Castle of Killingworth as my way led me to do and leave it unseen...I would not hunt, but fish I did, and took a hundred good breams at a draught, which I appointed to be kept for you till your lordship's coming. I was never more in love with an old house, nor never new work could better be bestowed, than that which you have done. I have appointed...where your Chapel shall stand. In the void room by Caesar's Tower or...between John of Gaunt's building and the Porter's Lodge'.^{SD}

This may have prompted the Queen's visit to Kenilworth later in August.

Aug 9, Mon **DUNSTABLE**, Beds. Red Lion Inn.

'Mr Wyngate's house at Dunstable'.^W Edward Wyngate, Clerk of the Cheque of the Queen's Guard, owned *The Red Lion* in Dunstable at his death in 1597.

Inn-keeper: Richard Amias, who was paid 66s8d.^C

Aug 10, Tues dinner, Brickhill, Bucks.^C

*Great Brickhill manor-house; occupied by and later owned by Thomas Duncombe, died 1596; 1st wife: Isabel, died 1587.

Aug 10, Brickhill, Sir William Cecil to Sir Henry Sidney:

'I came to the court to St Albans on Saturday, being so provoked [summoned] by the Queen's Majesty, for that her affairs did daily grow great, and indeed I find a great harvest of business, and scant of workmen that will take pain, though goodwill appeareth sufficient in all sorts...I trust her Majesty shall have good counsel: marry! an ounce of advice is more worth to be executed aforehand than in the sight of perils'. [SP63/25/63].

Aug 10, Tues **WHADDON**, Bucks; Lord Grey.^{C,T}

Whaddon manor-house; owned by Arthur, 14th Lord Grey of Wilton (1536-1593).

1st wife: Dorothy, illegitimate daughter of Richard 9th Lord Zouche.

Aug 13, Fri **EASTON NESTON**, Northants; Sir John Fermor.^{C,W}

Easton Neston manor-house; owned by Sir John Fermor (by 1516-1571); wife: Maud (Vaux), died 1569; daughter of Nicholas 1st Lord Vaux of Harrowden, (died 1556), a prominent courtier in the reign of King Henry VIII.

Aug 13, Rye [Sussex], Mayor of Rye to Sir William Cecil: 'This morning arrived here from...Brittany one Mr Stewart, a gentleman of Scotland who in all these late troubles hath kept still with the Prince of Condé. There came with him in passage a gentlewoman of France'. [SP12/47/38]. Robert Stewart: see August 18.

c. Aug 14, Sat **KENILWORTH CASTLE**, Warwicks; Earl of Leicester.
Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester (c.1532-1588), Master of the Horse, Privy Councillor; a widower. Two Coventry City 'Annals' noted that: 'The Queen came unexpected'; 'The Queen came to Kenilworth Castle unlooked for'.

Kenilworth was not 'made ready' for the Queen by her Gentlemen Ushers, and the Cofferer of the Household's account omits Kenilworth and a stop needed on the way, possibly at Charwelton, as on the way back.

Works: Gilbert Polson, locksmith, 'for a hanging lock for my Lord of Leicester's kitchen', 12d.

At Kenilworth: hunting. A book kept by the Earl of Leicester's new Huntsman of 'Deer killed since my first coming to my lord' opens with: 1568: 'Stags. Killed in the paddock by the Queen, 7.

Killed in the chase by the Queen, 7.

Bucks. Killed in the chase by the Queen's hounds, 2.

Killed in the chase by the Duke of Norfolk's hounds, 2.

Killed in the parock...by the Queen with her bow, 15.

Queen's park. In Duck Park by the Queen with hounds, 1.

A tame stag sent into the castle, 1'. [De Lisle MS U1475/E93].

Warwick town payments: 'Wine and sugar given and presented unto four lords at their supper lying with Mr Fisher at the Priory the same night ensuing that the Queen's Majesty departed from Kenilworth, 5s9d; and more the same time presented unto them, a hoop [cask] of filberts and a hoop of damsons, 22d'. Six fat lambs, a sugar-loaf, and five couple of capons, 38s2d, 'given and presented to the Earl of Leicester when he lay at Kenilworth'. [Warwick borough a/c, 1546-1569].

Aug 18, Francis Walsingham to Sir William Cecil: 'I was willed from Sir Nicholas Throckmorton...to tell you that whereas her Majesty is offended with the evil choice made by the Prince and the Admiral in sending Mr Stewart (a man by her not well thought of), it would please you to advertise her that the state of France is now grown to be such as none of the religion [Huguenots] dare adventure to travel, and that the Prince hardly could have found another besides Stewart (of good trust and credit) that would have taken upon him this voyage... and that the gentleman is both wise, honest and trusty, and that the messages he hath to say by mouth impart much that her Majesty should know'.

'He desireth you so to travail with her as he may have grateful access: whereof if the gentleman might not be assured he thinketh that he will return without troubling her Majesty. Further, he willed me to desire you if it would please you to take order that he may be conveniently lodged, and...to appoint some honest gentleman to accompany him. The lady that came over with him is Madame de Muye, the notable soldier's wife [wife of Captain de Mouy]. The other that accompany him, the one of them is a Scot of the King's Guard, the other a young gentleman of Scotland'. [SP12/47/41]. Audience: August 25, Buckingham.

c. Aug 19, Thur **CHARWELTON**, Northants; Sir Robert Lane.^T
Charwelton house of Sir Robert Lane (1528-c.1588), whose main residence was at Horton, Northants. 2nd wife: Mary (Heneage), widow of (1) Sir Thomas Andrew, of Charwelton; (2) Erasmus Cope; she died in 1609.

The Cofferer's account omits Charwelton. Works: 'Charlton where the Queen's Majesty did lie at her coming from Killingworth'.

By Aug 20, Fri **EASTON NESTON**, Northants.^C [As on August 13].

Easton Neston manor-house; owned by Sir John Fermor.

Aug 20, Easton, Chancery warrant.

c. Aug 21/24: hunting, Grafton, Northants.
 George Tyrell made ready 'two standings for hunting at Grafton'.^T
 Grafton manor-house and Grafton Park were Crown property.
 Cecil noted: 'August. The Queen's Majesty was at Grafton in progress'.^B

Aug 22, Sun At Easton Neston: knightings: Edward Montagu; Lewis Mordaunt.
 Both of Northants; noted in Edmund Brudenell's *Almanac*.

Aug 23: new appointment: The Queen appoints 'our trusty and right well beloved
 cousin' Henry Carey Lord Hunsdon: Warden of the East Marches. [Scot.ii.486].
 Aug 25: Lord Hunsdon was appointed Governor of Berwick. [ODNB].

Aug 25, Wed via Towcester, Northants.
 Earl of Ormond wrote on August 25 from 'court at Tosseter'. [SP12/47/45].

Aug 25, Wed dinner, Buckingham.^C
 'The parsonage at Buckingham for the dinner house'.^W
 Buckingham memorandum: 'The high and mighty Princess Queen Elizabeth...
 came in progress to the borough of Buckingham in the county of Bucks, and at
 the uttermost part of the limit of the Liberties of the said borough on the
 north part of the same in the way named Towcester way the Bailiff and the
 twelve principal burgesses of the same borough with their most humble submission
 received her Grace, whereupon her Highness there did admit the said Bailiff
 her Lieutenant within the said borough and the parish of the same by delivering
 one white rod to the said Bailiff, and so passed through the said borough having
 in most triumphant manner her Sword Royal and maces borne, and trumpets blown
 before her Majesty until she came to the mansion house of the Rectory or
 Parsonage of the same borough where her Highness rested dinner time'.
 'And after dinner ended her Grace proceeded forward to the town of Bicester
 in the county of Oxon. The said Bailiff attending upon her person from the said
 Parsonage house until a certain bridge named Dudley bridge at the uttermost part
 of the limit of the Liberties of the said borough on the west part of the same
 in the way leading to Tingewick... And then John Burlace Esquire, Sheriff in the
 said county of Bucks, expecting her Grace's coming, executed his office as
 before'. Bailiff: John Hockley. [Buckingham Corporation Book, 1574-1835].

Aug 25: Envoy from Huguenot leaders had audience, Buckingham.
 Robert Stewart, sent from the Prince of Condé and Admiral Coligny; he made
 the first proposal that the Queen should marry the Duke of Anjou, brother
 of the King of France. Aug 25, Buckingham, letters from 'the undersigned'
 [names missing] to the Prince of Condé, Admiral Coligny, and Cardinal de
 Châtillon (his brother) referred them to Stewart for answer. [SPF.viii.531-2].

Aug 25, Wed **BICESTER**, Oxon; Mr More.^{C,W}
 Bicester Priory; owned by Thomas More (1537-1574), a Gentleman Pensioner from
 1569 until he was killed in Ireland; son of Roger More of Bicester, formerly
 Sergeant of the Bake-house and of the Acaterly to King Henry VIII;
 wife: Livia Elena, daughter of Augustine de Augustinis, a Venetian, one of
 Henry VIII's physicians; she married (2) Thomas Swinnerton; she died in 1597.

Aug 28, Sat **RYCOTE**, Oxon; Lady Norris.^{C,W}
 Rycote, near Thame; owned by Sir Henry Norris (c.1525-1601), who was in France,
 where he was Ambassador 1566-1570.

His wife Margery (Williams), Lady Norris, was in England from May 1567-October
 1568.

Aug 29, Sun [Rycote], Sir William Cecil to Sir Henry Norris:

'After the letters of the Queen's Majesty were closed up at Bicester her Majesty stayed your son, that he might carry with him a letter for the Marshal Montmorency's wife, for thanks for favour to my Lord Chamberlain's daughter; and for a token which her Majesty now sendeth by your son, being a ring with a pointed diamond'...

'I write this upon the 29, being Sunday in the afternoon, in Rycote, where the Queen's Majesty is well lodged, to her great contentation, as she hath commanded me to write to you, lacking only the presence of yourself, whom she wisheth here, until Thursday, that she shall depart from hence; of which message I pray you take knowledge, and give her Majesty thanks, for she bade me to write thus very earnestly; and so fare you well from your own house, where also I am better lodged than I was in all this progress'. [Cabala, 153].

Lord Chamberlain Howard's daughter Frances Howard lived in France with Madame de Montmorency from July 1565-October 1568.

Sept 2, Thur dinner, Ewelme, Oxon.^c

Ewelme manor-house; Crown property. Sir Francis Knollys was Steward of the Honour of Ewelme and Keeper of Ewelme Park; he was with the Queen of Scots.

Sept 2, 'at our manor of Ewelme', Queen to Sir Francis Knollys, who is to tell the Queen of Scots that she will write to her 'and you may add that of all labours we most mislike to write, for surely we never almost write any letters to any prince, and more we have written to her since she came into our realm, than ever we did since our reign to all Princes...yea to all persons extant'.

[Philobiblon Society, Miscellanies 14].

Sept 2, Thur **WALLINGFORD**, Berks.^c

Wallingford Castle.^{ch} Crown property. Sir Francis Knollys was Constable of Wallingford Castle and manor; wife: Katherine (Carey), the Queen's cousin, a Lady of the Bedchamber. At 'Wallingford in the College'.

College: The defunct College of St Nicholas in the Castle's outer ward.

'Carpenters occupied not only in mending of the floors, windows, stairs and doors in the Queen's lodgings, but also in making a pair of stairs for the Maids of Honour chamber, and other necessaries'.^w

Sept 3: **New Spanish Ambassador** arrived.

Don Guerau de Spes (ambassador 1568-1572) arrived at Dover on September 3 and went to join his predecessor De Silva at Paget House, Strand. On September 9 the two set off for Reading and the Queen. De Spes's dispatches are quoted here from the translations in the Calendars of State Papers, Simancas.

Sept 4, Stephen Fulwell, Jewel-house Officer, to Sir William Cecil: 'There is a proportion of plate set out for the [departing] Spanish Ambassador of these parcels here enclosed, which plate is very fair and well wrought, and cometh to more in money than M.de Foix had by £38.13s5d...Now if it may please you to know the Queen's Majesty's pleasure, whether this is either too much or too little, or that some of these parcels be not liked, and that some other to be supplied in the stead thereof, this being known it shall be done accordingly'.

[SP12/47/54]. De Foix, former French Ambassador, left England in May 1566.

Sept 6, Paris, Sir Henry Norris to the Earl of Leicester: 'Yesterday one du Court, valet of the King's Chamber, said that according to his promise to you he had drawn her Majesty's picture, one of his master, and two of your Honour. He sends them by Pierre Raulet, secretary to the Queen of Scots'. [Pepys, 131].

[Sequel: De Court's letter, 10 July 1570. The portraits by Jean 'Decourt' (c.1530-c.1585) are discussed by Elizabeth Goldring, Robert Dudley, 74-78].

*6 Sept 1568 *visit, Aldworth Church, Berks.*

The Queen viewed the 14th century effigies of the De la Beche family, seven knights, with a lady lying next to one. They remain in the church.

Captain Richard Symonds noted, 2 May 1644: 'In the east end of the south aisle did hang a table fairly written in parchment of all the names of this family of De la Beche; but the Earl of Leicester coming with Queen Elizabeth in progress took it down to show it her, and was never brought again'. [William Hewett, History...of the Hundred of Compton, Berks. (Reading, 1844), 83].

Sept 6, Mon *dinner, Yattendon, Berks.*^{C,T} Mr Norris.

Yattendon manor-house; owned by Sir Henry Norris, of Rycote, who was in France. Mr Norris, the name given in the itinerary: probably his second son John Norris, later associated with Yattendon; he became General Sir John Norris (1547-1597).

Sept 6, Mon **DONNINGTON Castle**, Berks.^{C,T} Crown property.

Donnington Castle and Donnington Park, Shaw-cum-Donnington; both Crown property.

Anthony Light made ready at Newbury, and at Donnington Castle.^T

The Cofferer refers to Newbury, but the Works spent over £124 at Donnington Castle, where extensive repairs were done, and about £5 at Newbury nearby, where the manor was also Crown property, but did not have a manor-house. The principal house, 'Jack of Newbury's house', was in the town centre, in Northbrook Street.

8 Sept 1568-March 1571: **Cardinal de Châtillon** in England.

The Cardinal was the most notable of the many Huguenot refugees who fled from France to England. Odet de Coligny, Cardinal de Châtillon (1517-1571) became a Cardinal at the age of 16, but abjured Catholicism in 1561. He was still referred to as a Cardinal, although he had been deprived and excommunicated; Catherine de Medici had promised the Pope his head. He married in 1564 and his wife joined him in England. His brother Admiral Coligny was destined to become the first victim of the Massacre of St Bartholomew in 1572 in France.

Details of the Cardinal, and letters relating to his stay in England, are, unless stated, from E.G. Atkinson 'The Cardinal of Châtillon in England, 1568-1571', Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London, vol.III, 1888-1891.

Sept 8, Dover, Cardinal de Châtillon to the Queen, in French:

I have been compelled to flee to a place of refuge in order to avoid falling into the hands of my enemies. I think nowhere could be better than England, which for six or seven years has been the refuge of all those who are persecuted for their religion, and your Majesty has shown such grace, bounty and hospitality that I doubt not that the fragrance thereof has risen to heaven, and that your memory will be celebrated by all posterity. For a long time I have desired to see you and kiss your hands, as the most virtuous princess of this century.

I send a gentleman to beg that you would grant me protection.

Sept 8, Dover, Rowland Mekley to Lord Cobham (Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports): *'It may please your good Lordship that this present morning Cardinal Châtillon, the Admiral's brother of France, is here arrived with other gentlemen, being fled upon these new troubles in France...The tyranny there now is intolerable, as these gentlemen doth declare, who fled all night'.*

PS: 'He is somewhat sickly of the sea'.

Endorsed: 'Haste haste haste Post with all haste'.

Sept 8, Cobham, Lord Cobham to Sir William Cecil, informing him of the Cardinal's arrival, enclosing Mekley's letter.

Endorsed: 'Haste, haste, haste, haste; for thy life, for life, life, life; for the Queen's Majesty's affairs'.

Sept 10, Cobham Hall, Lord Cobham to the Earl of Leicester, of the arrival of the Cardinal 'with 27 of his company, and none of estimation but one that is a Dean...I know not the Queen's pleasure, but have willed that as he passes he may be well used...He has very hardly escaped his enemies'. [Pepys, 133].

Sept 10, Lord Cobham to Sir William Cecil: 'The Cardinal comes on his journey, and lay this last night at Canterbury, and, as it is said, tarries all this day. He is accompanied with 27 persons, whereof one of them is a Dean. He has escaped very hardly. He has sent one of purpose to the court, that he may have access to her Highness, and therefore he makes small journeys'.

Sept 10: The Queen sent Henry Kingsmill to attend on the Cardinal, and to request the Bishop of London (Edmund Grindal) or Sir Thomas Gresham to prepare accommodation for him, at the Bishop's Palace beside St Paul's Cathedral, or at Gresham's houses in Bishopsgate, London, and Osterley, Middlesex.

Sept 11, Canterbury, Henry Kingsmill to Earl of Leicester and Sir William Cecil: On September 10 'I found my Lord Cardinal Châtillon, accompanied with 30 persons, amongst whom of best account is Monsieur de Lizy'. The Cardinal 'hath determined to remain here all this day, being Saturday, and the Sunday morning to take his voyage towards Gravesend, and from thence by water to London, whereof I have advertised Sir Thomas Gresham, with request to send a horse for my Lord Cardinal's saddle. Mr Gresham determineth to meet him in the way...Albeit he was desirous to do his best in entertaining my Lord Cardinal, notwithstanding he showed divers causes (which seemed to be great) why he was loth to lodge him. He promised me he would repair to Fulham to the Bishop of London, to show his Lordship your Honours' pleasure was he should prepare his house for the lodging of my Lord Cardinal'. Endorsed 'With speed'.

Sept 11: Sir Thomas Gresham to Cecil: After conferring with Mr Kingsmill on September 10 'I presently departed to my Lord Bishop's to Fulham, giving him to understand my Lords of the Council's pleasure for the receiving of the Cardinal into his house at London, by whom I understood that he was not able no kind of way to receive him. Upon whose answer...I have made my house in a readiness for to receive him, with as great entertainment as shall lie in my power to do'... 'Tomorrow I will meet him, God willing, on the way, beyond Gravesend'.

Sept 11, Sat Two Spanish Ambassadors at Newbury for audience. De Spes was escorted to court by De Silva, Ambassador 1564-1568.

Sept 12, Newbury, Sir William Cecil to Sir Henry Sidney: 'This day the old Ambassador for Spain, Guzman de Silva, is departed towards Spain, by the right way from here to Portsmouth. He took his leave yesterday and hath a good happy commendation here both of her Majesty and of her Council, as one that hath gravely, friendly, and fortunately used his office. He is well rewarded with a fair cupboard of good plate. He hath presented a Knight of the Order of Calatrava named Don Guerau de Spes, a gentleman well qualified and martial. The Cardinal Châtillon, fleeing out of Picardy from his enemies set to betrap him, came by Dover to London yesterday, he shall come to Windsor about Saturday [Sept 18]'. [SP63/25/85].

Sept 13, Newbury: The Queen lost from 'a gown of black taffeta with a guard of black velvet, set with buttons of black silk and murrey, one aglet of gold enamelled black'. [Lost, 78].

*Sept 13: via Thatcham, Berks. Thatcham churchwardens paid: 'For ringing at the coming in of the Queen's Majesty and her going forth, 3s.'

Sept 13, Mon **ALDERMASTON**, Berks.^c

Aldermaston manor-house; owned by William Forster, died 1574;

wife: Jane, daughter of Sir Anthony Hungerford, of Down Ampney, Gloucs;
she married (2) Edward Hungerford, a Gentleman Pensioner and distant kinsman.

Sept 13, London, Sir Thomas Gresham to Sir William Cecil:

'My Lord Cardinal Châtillon arrived at the Tower Wharf at four o'clock in the afternoon, whereat I received him and brought him home to my house, and will entertain him the best I can with all his train this night'...

'The said Cardinal had not been a quarter of an hour in my house, but the French Ambassador came to visit him'...

'Most humbly beseeching you I may know your Honour's pleasure when I shall carry him to Osterley'. [Gresham's country house in Middlesex].

Sept 14, London, Châtillon to King Charles IX: I regret that I should be obliged to abandon house and country to avoid the danger and violence of my enemies. I had not determined to come three hours before I left my house.

Sept 14, Tues **READING**, Berks.^c

Reading Abbey; Crown property. 'The Queen's Majesty's house at Reading'.^w

St Lawrence's Church: 'To the ringers at the Queen's coming in, 16d'.

Court news. Sept 15, London, Henry Kingsmill to Sir William Cecil:

'My Lord Cardinal hath sent to her Majesty Monsieur de Lizy, with order...first to repair to your Honour, to open the occasion of his coming to her Highness, with whom I have sent one of my servants to conduct him to the court, to some convenient lodging...He was once Archbishop of Arles, and might dispend 30,000 francs by the year, which, by his report, he hath forsaken for the [Protestant] religion...and is reported to be a valiant gentleman'.

Sept 15-16: Châtillon's representative at Reading with the Queen.
Châtillon's cousin Monsieur de Lizy, also called Bishop of Arles. On Sept 16 he returned to the Cardinal with a Latin letter from Sir William Cecil.

Sept 15, Fulham, Bishop of London (Edmund Grindal) to Sir William Cecil:

'I thank you that you disposed otherwise for the Cardinal Châtillon. No man could have been more welcome unto me; but surely I lack provision of lodging for him, or any other guest of like honour...If he be to be further assigned, I pray you spare me; for surely I lack convenient furniture. Tomorrow I intend to go to London to salute him...I trust the Queen's Majesty will draw nearer London shortly'. [Grindal, 299-300].

Sept 15, Paris, Sir Henry Norris to the Queen: At court I was informed that 'the Cardinal of Lorraine praised God that the Queen of England had declared war for the religion, because she lost by that means the favour of the King of Spain and the Emperor, who would be very glad to follow the enterprise against England, and for that the nature of the English is not willingly to suffer a prince stranger [foreigner], it would be meet to begin the war by some of their own nobility...and the affairs troubled it would be easy to send forces into that country'. [SPF.viii.548].

Sept 15, Bolton, Sir Francis Knollys to Sir William Cecil, asking for passports for the Queen of Scots' Commissioners appointed to be at York at the end of the month; ending with a reference to Ewelme (where the Queen dined on Sept 2): 'I cannot forget that the situation of Newelme house is accounted the better because it is environed with a standing puddle water'. [Scot.ii.506-7].

Sept 16: The Queen licenses James Earl of Morton, and four others, with 100 persons in their train, to repair to her realm within 40 days, to treat and confer at York with her Commissioners 'for the pacification of the great troubles of late time risen, and yet continuing', betwixt the Queen of Scots and part of her nobility and subjects.

Similar safe-conduct for James Earl of Moray with 100 persons in his train. James Stewart, Earl of Moray (c.1531-1570) half-brother of the Queen of Scots; Regent of Scotland 1567-1570. [Scot.ii.507].

Court news. Sept 18, London, De Spes to Philip II: 'The Cardinal dresses in cape, hat and sword, and has been to hear the preaching of two ministers... Yesterday afternoon the Cardinal went to a pleasure house that Gresham has a league away from here [Osterley, Middlesex]. The Queen has ordered all the Councillors to be summoned...I understand the Cardinal will remain in Reading'. 'The Bishop of Arles went first to see the Queen'. [Span.ii.72].

Sept 19, Canterbury, Lord Cobham to Sir William Cecil: At Dover 'this day at 12 o'clock there is landed there the Bishop of Rennes in Brittany, brother as he says to the Ambassador lieger. His manner of coming shows that he means to make some abode here'. Endorsed 'Haste haste haste haste Post Post haste haste. For her Highness's affairs. At Canterbury at 9 o'clock at night'. [SP12/47/75].

Sept 20, Mon Cardinal de Châtillon arrived at Reading.

The Cardinal 'rode to the court' on September 20th. [Stow, *Annals*].

De Spes, Sept 24: 'Châtillon has arrived at Reading, and has seen the Queen almost secretly. He has also had several consultations with the Council, who ...have not yet decided to resolutely help the French rebels'. [Span.ii.72].

Sept 22, Wed dinner, Foxley, Berks.^c *Mr Stafford.

Foxleys manor-house, Bray. George Tyrell made ready 'at Mr Stafford's'.^T

Sept 22, Wed **WINDSOR CASTLE**, Berks.^c

Charles Smyth, Page of the Robes, and his two men 'riding before at every removing in this last progress of the Queen's Majesty for making ready the Office of the Robes...from the time of her Majesty's going from Greenwich until her return to Windsor'.^T

Sept 22: News that the 'Bishops' Bible' was ready for publication.

Sept 22, Lambeth, Archbishop of Canterbury (Matthew Parker) to Sir William Cecil: 'After much toil of the printer, and some labours taken of some parties ...we be now come to a conclusion for the substance of the book. Some ornaments of the same be yet lacking...I do mean, by God's grace, if my health will serve me better than it is at this time, to present the Queen's Highness with the first, as soon as I can hear her Majesty to be come to Hampton Court, which we hear will be within eight or nine days'. [Parker, 334]. (See Oct 5).

Sept 23/30, dinner, [Stanwell, Middx]; Edward FitzGarrett.

Stanwell manor-house; Crown property, occupied by Edward FitzGarrett or Garrett (1529-1590), Lieutenant of the Gentlemen Pensioners; wife: Agnes (Leigh), widow of Sir Thomas Paston, one of Henry VIII's Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber.

George Tyrell made ready at 'Mr Gare's', September.^T

September 23 - October 2: the Cardinal was at Sheen, near Richmond.

Thomas Howard, Yeoman Usher, made ready 'at Sheen for Cardinal Châtillon'.^T

Sept 23, Châtillon to Sir William Cecil, from 'la maison de Grassen' [Gresham's house, Osterley, between Windsor and Sheen]: Since my departure from the court there has come to me an express messenger from those in La Rochelle.

Sept 23, Sir William Cecil to the Earl of Sussex: 'The Cardinal of Châtillon lieth at Sheen, and is well used by the Queen's Majesty, the rather to displeas all Papists'. [Scot.ii.510].

Sheen House, near Richmond, was Crown property. Thomas Sackville, 1st Lord Buckhurst, a cousin of the Queen, and his family had the use of part of the house. He described how he had prepared for the Cardinal.

Lord Buckhurst to the Privy Council, Sept 30, Sheen:

'Returning yesterday to Sheen, I received as from your Lordships how her Highness stood greatly displeas with me for that I had not in better sort entertained the Cardinal who having been with so great honour received, not only by those in whose houses he had rested before, but also even by the Queen's Majesty herself, her Highness did the rather take it in very ill part towards me, especially being to her Majesty as I am. And farther that her Highness's pleasure was that I should deliver unto his Lordship the keys of all the gates and doors, and the whole house to be at his commandment'.

'Touching the first part of this message, with how great grief I received the same, God and my sorrowful heart can best witness'...

'I have resolved to lay before your Lordships...the whole discourse of my dealing towards the Cardinal'...

'Having received your Lordships' letters that I should repair to Sheen, and there to do the best I could in accommodating the Cardinal, with my advice, aid, and assistance towards her Majesty's officers who were then at Sheen for that purpose...I took horse within one hour after, I being then 30 mile of Sheen, and so rode all the night, and upon my coming thither, being but two days before the Cardinal's arrival, I spoke with her Majesty's officers, with whom I had conference for the better accommodating of the Cardinal'.

'I brought them into every part of the house that I possessed, and showed them all such stuff and furniture as I had. And when they required plate of me, I told them, as truth is, that I had no plate at all. Such glass vessels as I had I offered them, which they thought too base. For napery I could not satisfy their turn, for they desired damask work for a long table, and I had none other but plain linen for a square table. The table whereon I dine myself I offered them, and for that it was but a square table they refused it. One only tester [canopy] and bedstead not occupied I had, and those I delivered for the Cardinal himself; and when we could not by any means in so short a time procure another bedstead for the Bishop I assigned them the bedstead on which my wife's waiting-women did lie, and laid them on the ground'.

'My own basin and ewer I lent to the Cardinal, and wanted myself. So did I the candlestick for my own table, with divers drinking glasses, small cushions, small pots for the kitchen, and sundry other such like trifles...Long tables, forms, brass for the kitchen, and all such necessaries as could not be furnished by me we took order to provide in the town. Hangings and beds we received from the Yeoman of the Wardrobe at Richmond, and when we saw that napery and sheets could nowhere here be had I sent word thereof to the officers at the court, by which means we received from my Lord of Leicester two pair of fine sheets for the Cardinal, and from my Lord Chamberlain one pair of fine for the Bishop, with two other coarser pair, and order beside for ten pair more from London'...

As I am 'to leave the whole house' to the Cardinal, 'although that poor household stuff I have for London be for the most part brought hither, and my whole provision of wine, fish, wood and coal, laid in here already, yet with as much speed as may be possible the same shall be removed, and I with my wife and family will within few days depart to London'. [SP12/47/87].

Court news, September 24, of the Bishop of Rennes.

Bernardin de Bochetel, Bishop of Rennes; brother of the resident French Ambassador, Jean Bochetel, the Sieur de la Forêt, who wrote on September 23 to the Queen, announcing his brother's arrival, and desiring an early audience.

Cecil noted: 'The Bishop Rennes was sent to the Queen's Majesty to move her in the French King's name not to intermeddle betwixt him and his subjects'.^B

Sept 24, London, Francis Walsingham to Sir William Cecil:

'The Bishop of Rennes...is as evil an instrument as any who ever came into this realm, and has come in effect from the Cardinal of Lorraine...He will seek to discredit the Cardinal of Châtillon'. He 'complained that some went about to breed suspicion in the Queen of England of some evil attempt against her by the French King'. [SPF.viii.552-3].

Court news. Sept 27, Sir William Cecil to Sir Henry Norris, in France:

'The Bishop of Rennes hath not yet his audience'. The French Ambassador sent his nephew Vulcob 'to require audience, and that it might be ordered to have her Majesty's Council present'. 'Her Majesty answered that they forgot themselves, in coming from a King that was but young, to think her not able to conceive an answer without her Council; and though she could use the advice of her Council as was meet, yet she saw no cause why they should thus deal with her being of full years, and governing her realm in better sort than France was; so the audience being demanded on Saturday was put off until Tuesday [September 28], wherewith I think they are not contented'. [Cabala, 152].

Sept 28, Tues Bishop of Rennes at Windsor for audience.

[See Sir William Cecil's letter to Sir Henry Norris, October 1].

September 29: in London: preparations for Cardinal de Châtillon.

Thomas Howard 4th Duke of Norfolk had offered to loan the Charterhouse.

Sept 29, Sheen, Henry Kingsmill to the Earl of Leicester and Sir William Cecil: 'My Lord Cardinal's Steward is returned from London, who was sent thither to thank the Duke's Grace for the loan of his Grace's house. But after the Steward had seen the house he thought it good to wait on the Duke, showing his Grace that...he found the walls and windows in so great decay that it would be hard for my Lord Cardinal to repair it in so short time'...

'The kitchen, buttery, and a chamber for my Lord Cardinal, and another for Monsieur de Lizy I did not mislike'...

'His Steward...cannot have my Lord Cardinal's bed, and furniture for the same, so speedily made as it may be ready to serve him at his next arrival at London, which is determined to be a Friday night next [October 1]'...

'Wherefore his Lordship's desire is that it might like your Honours to cause some order to be taken for some lodging for one day or two, for himself and Monsieur de Lizy; any hostelry will serve his train'...

'I am daily requested by his Lordship to bring him to Hampton Court but... I have hitherto deferred the same'. [SP12/47/84].

September: 'An estimate for one day's expenses for the Cardinal Châtillon at Sheen'. The items include: bread, beer, wine, torches, supper lights, white lights, mutton, veal, capon good, conies, pigeons, chickens, quails, butter, eggs, onions, coals, billets; carriage, and hired labourers; expenses for the clerk attendant, his man and horse; the charge of the Cardinal's horse standing in the Inn, every horse 8d day and night. Total, by the day, £4.5s3d.

September: The Queen's Cofferer of the Household paid £35.1s2d for creditors of Cardinal Châtillon at Sheen.^C

Sept 30, Thur Bishop of Rennes at Windsor to take leave.

Oct 1, Windsor, Sir William Cecil to Sir Henry Norris: The Bishop of Rennes 'was heard on Tuesday [Sept 28], and at his departure was required briefly to put in writing the sum of his speech, which he did...I do send you herewith the copy of the Bishop's writing exhibited, and the answer of her Majesty thereto, which being put in French was yesterday before the Ambassadors were admitted to her Majesty's presence read unto them by one of the Clerks of the Council, in the presence of the Council; and afterward they were brought unto her Majesty, who did confirm her former answer, and so they departed without further debate thereof. It was thought they would have used some speeches concerning the Cardinal Châtillon, whom they find very well and courteously used here by the Queen's Majesty's order, but they have not hitherto spoken a word of him'...

'The Cardinal Châtillon's wife is come over, whom I think the Queen means to use very well. The Duke of Châtellerauld comes hither tomorrow to the Queen's Majesty, but I think he shall not be permitted to go to the Queen of Scots very hastily'. [Cabala, 153-4].

Bishop of Ross's *Memoirs*: 'The Duke of Châtellerauld, Earl of Arran, and the first of the Nobility of our Realm...came forth of the Realm of France into England at the special desire of the Queen [Mary] our Sovereign'...

'And the said Duke remained at the court of England, concurred and assisted with us that was Commissioners for the Queen our Sovereign with his friendly counsel, honourable presence and earnest diligence...during all the time of our residence at the court of England'. [Ross, 24-25].

Oct 1, London, *De Villiers dedicated to the Queen*:

'*Hymnes de la Deité du Père, du Fils, et du Saint Esprit*'.

'Par Ubert Phillippe de Villiers, Secretaire de Monseigneur le Prince de Condé'.

Dedicated to 'Tres verteuse et très invincible Reine Elizabeth'. Dedicatory Epistle, dated 'De votre bonne ville de Londres, ce premier l'Octobre 1568'.

Hymnes: 'De Dieu Souverain'; 'De Jesus Christ'; 'Du Saint Esprit'; with a brief final 'Hymne de la Sainte Trinité'. 18 folios. [BL Royal MS 19.B.III].

Cardinal de Châtillon to Sir William Cecil, Oct 5, London, in favour of the bearer, who is Secretary to the Prince of Condé, and has composed some hymns which he desires to dedicate to the Queen. [SPF.viii.561].

By Oct 2: John Bridges, Yeoman of the Removing Wardrobe of Beds, made ready 'Worcester House and Dymock House in Fenchurch Street in London for the Cardinal Châtillon', 8 days, 74s8d.^T

Oct 2: *Huguenot envoys* arrived in London.

Oct 2, Sheen, Henry Kingsmill to Leicester and Cecil: 'My Lord Cardinal being ready to embark towards London, arrived two gentlemen sent from my Lord Admiral his brother' to the Cardinal. 'Tomorrow they look for the arrival at London of Monsieur de Cavaignes, who being aged takes some leisure in his way. He was sometime a Councillor of Toulouse, of great reputation. He came in their company but...only has commission to wait on her Majesty in his passage'.

'The gentlemen already arrived here are Monsieur de Renty...esteemed to be very valiant and worthy...the other is Monsieur de Barr, who did conduct them in a ship which remains at Dartmouth in the west country...Their coming will prolong my Lord Cardinal's abode at London one day, so that his Lordship determineth to depart from London a Wednesday morning [Oct 6] to Hounslow to dinner, and so to the court. The train, I suppose, will be above 50 horses'.

Oct 2, Earl of Leicester to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton: 'I hear the Cardinal's wife, my Lady, is come to London. I pray you do so much for me as to do my most hearty commendations to her, with offer of any service I can do for her'.

Oct 3, Leicester to Throckmorton, of the Cardinal: 'I know assuredly her Majesty hath a marvellous liking of him, and one thing more than I looked for, which is her liking to hear of his wife, and is very desirous to see her, and hath sent one expressly to visit her'. [Isabel de Hauteville, Dame de Loré].

Descriptions of the Cardinal by two French historians (quoted by Atkinson):

Brantôme: 'The King never had a more discreet, courteous and generous man... Nor could his very enemies choose but love him, so frank was his face, so open his heart, so gentle his manner'.

Raymond: The Cardinal was a fine old man, of good stature, with a long white beard, dressed always in black velvet or satin with no mark of his rank; Queen Elizabeth never saw him without kissing him, and the people of London said that the Ambassador of the Prince of Condé was much greater than the Ambassador of the King of France.

October 4-20: at York. Commission enquiring into the involvement of the Queen of Scots in the murder of her husband Henry, King of Scots, in 1567.

Queen Elizabeth's Commissioners: Thomas Howard, 4th Duke of Norfolk; Thomas Radcliffe, 3rd Earl of Sussex; Sir Ralph Sadler.

Queen Mary's Commissioners: Lord Boyd; Lord Herries; Lord Livingston; Bishop of Ross; Abbot of Kilwinning; Laird of Lochinvar; Laird of Skirling.

Commissioners for King James (age 2): Regent Moray; Earl of Morton; Lord Lindsay; Bishop of Orkney; Abbot of Dunfermline; with William Maitland of Lethington, and James McGill. Sessions were held from Oct 4-20, the proceedings being reported to both Queens. [Haynes, 475-485, reports].

Oct 5: The 'Bishops' Bible' for the Queen.

Oct 5, Lambeth, Archbishop of Canterbury (Matthew Parker) to Sir William Cecil: 'I was in purpose to have offered to the Queen's highness the first fruits of our labours...but I feel my health to be such that as yet I dare not adventure. Whereupon for that I would not have the Queen's Highness and your Honour to be long delayed, nor the poor printer, after his great charges, to be longer deferred, I have caused one book to be bound as ye see, which I heartily pray you to present favourably to the Queen's Majesty'.

Enclosing a list of the translators, and a letter to the Queen, requesting that this new edition of the Bible may have 'your gracious favour, licence, and protection'. 'Among many things good, profitable, and beautiful ye have in possession, yet this only necessary'. [Parker, 334-8].

The Holy Bible, a revised translation of the 'Great Bible' (1539) mainly by a number of bishops, and thus known as 'the Bishops' Bible'; it has a frontispiece portrait of the Queen. Printed by Richard Jugge, the Queen's Printer.

The Queen's presentation copy is at the Folger Shakespeare Library,

By order of Convocation, this Bible was to be placed in every Cathedral, and in the halls or dining-rooms of every Archbishop, Bishop, Dean, and ecclesiastical dignitary for the use of visitors and servants.

It never attained the popularity of the Geneva Bible (1560), but by order of James I formed the basis of the Authorised Version or King James Bible, 1611.

Oct 5, Tues Dr John Man at Windsor on his recall from Spain.

Dr Man (1512-1569), Dean of Gloucester, Ambassador to Spain 1566-1568. His household had returned a month before him. Dr Man was accompanied from Spain by a servant of the Marquis de Saria, who sent the Queen from Madrid a present of two dozen pairs of gloves. [SPF.viii.502].

Court news. Oct 5, London, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton to the Earls of Leicester and Pembroke, and Sir William Cecil:

'This day the Cardinal sent to me to dine with him, like as he did yesterday... He had been busied with Monsieur de Cavaignes and others which were sent hither from Rochelle, as the said Cavaignes to her Majesty from the Prince de Condé... all which gentlemen were most desirous to kiss her Majesty's hands'.

On my advice he determined to dispatch them abroad, except for Cavaignes, whom the Cardinal said would 'remain quietly until her Majesty's pleasure be to give him access unto her', being authorised 'to treat and conclude' with her, and 'is discreet, very well learned, honest...being no man of war nor business, but a man studious'. [HT.i.364].

Oct 6, Wed Cardinal de Châtillon at Windsor with the Queen.

Oct 6, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton to Sir William Cecil: The Queen had sent word that she would allow certain gentlemen to accompany the Cardinal to court, provided they came as his followers. He is accordingly bringing De Cavaignes and De Renty. Arnaud de Cavaignes delivered his instructions from the Prince of Condé requesting a loan, and suggesting a league for the protection of the true religion. [HT.i.364-5].

Oct 7, Windsor, Queen to Lord Deputy Sidney, in Ireland: Confirmation of a grant made in the second year of the reign to 'Ferdinando de Castro, Marquis of Saria, in Spain, being our right trusty and well beloved cousin, and descended of the royal blood of our predecessors, and by the House of Lancaster, that he should yearly have two goshawks and four greyhounds'. His messenger shall speedily receive such hawks and dogs as are due and in arrear. [SP63/26/1].

Court news. Oct 9, De Spes to Philip II: 'The Cardinal's wife has arrived with her children, a great following, and all the fittings of her house... They have given to the Cardinal Ham [Sheen] House, next to Syon House, and they say the Queen has granted him a hundred pounds a month. Great efforts are being made to get the Queen to help them with money'...

'Captain Sores, Baron de Morbec, the President of Bordeaux, and many others, have arrived here and have divulged to the Queen the plot they have to capture Havre...I at once informed the French Ambassador'. [Span.ii.75-6].

Oct 15: Further complaints about the Cardinal's accommodation at Sheen.

Oct 15, London, Henry Kingsmill to Sir William Cecil:

'Her Highness seemed to dislike that Sheen House was not put in better order, intending to cause better hangings and implements to be conveyed thither. For my part, I have done my uttermost endeavour, and left the house in that sort as my Lord Cardinal had no cause of any dislike. I thought not convenient to employ her Majesty's rich hangings in places commonly frequented with all sorts, which could not have been done without great spoil'.

During October the Works repaired barns and stables at Sheen.

Oct 16, 'at our Castle of Windsor', Queen to Sir Francis Knollys:

'Having our right hand by means of riding this present day so strained, as we cannot without great pain write only our name, we have caused our Secretary [Cecil] to write this letter unto you', concerning the Queen of Scots.

[Philobiblon Society, Miscellanies 14].

Oct 18, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Senate: The English Ambassador said that Châtillon 'had been admitted as an individual who had come thither for his own personal safety, and not as a rebel...His wife it is said has been received by the Queen and the whole of her court with so much honour that more could not be rendered even to a Queen'. [Ven.vii.421].

Oct 19: at York: The Commissioners were informed that the Queen wished representatives of the Scottish Commissioners to come to her at court, and that the conference should cease until they returned.

The Queen of Scots sent Lord Herries and John Lesley, Bishop of Ross.

Regent Moray sent William Maitland of Lethington and James McGill.

Sir Ralph Sadler, one of the English Commissioners, was summoned to court.

[Details of the Commissioners' meetings with Queen Elizabeth, and her Council, are from Calderwood's History of the Kirk of Scotland, vol ii, unless stated].

Oct 27, Wed **HAMPTON COURT**, Middlesex.^c

In October Thomas Thoroughgood, a Yeoman Usher of the Chamber, made ready at Hampton Court 'against the coming thither of the Cardinal Châtillon to see the house'.^T

At Hampton Court a 'new great stone window in the bedchamber towards the Pond' is dated 1568. Much other work was carried out c.1568-1570, including: 'a new large Privy Kitchen'; a new roof for 'the Rich Chamber otherwise called Paradise'; a new Chapel roof; 'two great new barns', a coach-house, stables; a new 'vault [sewer] through the moat in the Park'. [King's Works, iv.141-2].

Oct 29: 'A brief Note of the chief and principal points of the Queen of Scots' letters written to Bothwell; which may tend to her condemnation, for her consent and procurement of the murder of her husband, as far forth as we could by the reading gather'.

'First the plain and manifest words contained in the said letters, declaring the inordinate and filthy love between her and Bothwell. Next, the like words plainly declaring how she hated and abhorred her said husband'.

'Then for the declaration of the conspiracy, and her procurement and consent to the murder of her said husband', etc.

Endorsed by Sir William Cecil: 'Abstract of matters showed to the Queen's Majesty's Commissioners by the Scots: sent 29 Oct'. [HT.i.370].

Oct 29, in London: Lord Mayor's Pageant, when Thomas Roe, merchant tailor, went in procession to Westminster to take his oath.

Verse speeches by Richard Mulcaster, Headmaster of Merchant Taylors' School. First, St John Baptist; followed by four boys. The Fourth boy's speech:

'God save our Queen our maiden Prince
Whom he hath set in place,
That John may preach, that Roe may hear
The gift of heavenly grace.
The Court forbade John once to speak,
A maiden made the mean,
The Court now bids John Baptist preach,
Under our maiden Queen.
God send her life and honour long,
Her Royal crown to wear,
God send us such as John to preach
And such as Roe to hear',

'These verses or precepts to be written about the Pageant if it shall be thought good, viz: Fear God, be wise, be true. Accept no bribes' (etc).

Men 'are appointed to see that the Pageant be not carried against pent-houses, and to keep the people from thrusting upon it, and to see the same Pageant safely brought in to this house at night'.

[R.J.D.Sayle, Lord Mayors' Pageants of the Merchant Taylors' Company in the 15th, 16th and 17th Centuries (1931), 54-55].

By Oct 30: Dutch envoys at Hampton Court.

Prince of Orange wrote to the Queen, Aug 21, informing her that he has taken up arms against the Duke of Alva to re-establish the Low Countries in their prosperity and in their ancient liberty, under obedience to King Philip.

He sends Seigneur Dolhain to her and asks for benign audience for him.

Oct 30, De Spes: 'Juan Brucel, who wanted to disturb Amsterdam, and another man, a servant of the Prince of Orange, called M.de Dolhain, arrived here recently and have gone to the court'. [KL.v.150; *Span.ii.81*].

Dolhain remained in England until February 1569. By October 1569 he was a chief captain of the Dutch 'Sea-Beggars', so dubbed by the Spanish.

Oct 31, Sun Queen of Scots' Commissioners at Hampton Court for audience. Lord Herries, and John Lesley, Bishop of Ross.

They appeared before the Queen 'accompanied with her nobility, in her great Chamber of Presence at Hampton Court...They desired to know her will and pleasure. Her Majesty answered, after long communing, that...some of her Council should come and confer with them'.

[Oct 31, Hampton Court], Sir William Cecil to Sir Henry Norris:

'Our Commissioners at York have heard the Queen of Scots' complaint, and the answer of the other part; wherein they have forborne to charge the Queen with the murder [of the King of Scots] upon some reasonable respects, not knowing what end they will make if they should charge and prove her guilty; hereupon the Queen's Majesty hath sent for some on either part'.

'Sir Ralph Sadler came hither yesterday, and the Bishop of Ross and the Lord Herries for the Scottish Queen came this day, and so shall Lethington and McGill for the Prince [King James]'...

'The Cardinal Châtillon showeth himself so quiet a person, and in all his languages so faithful a servant to the King his master, as he meriteth great commendations; he meddled in nothing here, but wholly occupied in exercise of his religion; he continually lamenteth that grave Councillors persuading peace are not of more power and credit in the court'. [Cabala, 155].

Court news. October [1568], St John's [Mid dx], Elizabeth Wingfield to the Countess of Shrewsbury (formerly Lady St Loe): 'Mr Wingfield hath delivered your venison to the Queen's Majesty...She asked when my Lord meant to come to the court. He answered he knew not...Said she "I have been glad to see my Lady St Loe, but now more desirous to see my Lady Shrewsbury. I hope" said she "my Lady hath known my good opinion of her, and thus much I assure you, there is no lady in this land that I better love and like"'. [Hallam. 84].

George Talbot, 6th Earl of Shrewsbury, arrived at court in November. Elizabeth Wingfield (née Leake), a younger half-sister of the Countess of Shrewsbury, was the wife of Anthony Wingfield, a Gentleman Usher.

Nov 1, Mon Regent Moray's Commissioners at Hampton Court for audience. William Maitland of Lethington, Secretary, and James McGill, Clerk of Register.

'Her Highness did signify likewise to them, that she should cause them be certified by her Council of her mind and will'.

Nov 2: Sir William Cecil and Sir Ralph Sadler 'sent from the Queen, came to Kingston, and declared to the Bishop of Ross and Lord Herries, there remaining, that her Highness thought meet that the causes of her sister, the Queen of Scotland, should be treated near by to herself, where the Commissioners might have conference with her Highness, and her advice in all their proceedings'.

There was a delay whilst a new Commission was issued, and further Commissioners were sent for.

Nov 4, Lewis Evans dedicated to the Queen:

'The Castle of Christianity, detecting the long erring estate, as well of the Roman Church, as of the Bishop of Rome: together with some defence of the Catholic Faith'. 'To the most gracious and mighty' Queen, 'Your Majesty's most humble and obedient subject Lewis Evans faithfully wisheth here on earth long reign, all honour, much health, and continual prosperity, and in heaven everlasting joy, and bliss eternal'.

Epistle: 'All are not (O right sacred Queen) to be accounted for religious, which talk of religion...It is not (most benign Sovereign) all that say: we be Catholics, we be Christians...whom the Lord our Saviour will embrace, and defend. For there be some...who under the name of devotion do uphold superstition, and by the colour of godliness and piety, do pamper up blindness and Idolatry...I myself have once drunk (before your Majesty's great clemency I confess) of the puddle of ignorancy, of the mud of Idolatry, of the pond of superstition, of the lake of selfwill, blindness, disobedience, and obstinacy'.

'This did I, this do all they, which fondly flee this your realm, which grudge ...at your Highness's laws, which (alas) resist the truth...How may your Highness rejoice, when unto transgressors there is such clemency found in your Grace, as inviteth them thus boldly to renounce their folly, and as offereth, as unto the prodigal child, most gladly, favour, forgiveness, and pardon?'

'I protest before God, and your Highness, during life to the best of my power, to prefer the divine Scriptures, before the Chaos of man's doctrine, to embrace your most godly proceedings, and to perform in all things towards God, your Majesty and my country, the part and duty of a true subject'.

Epistle 'To his loving friends wheresoever'. London, Nov 4th.

Running title: 'Of the erring estate of the Roman Church'. Text: 76 folios. (London, 1568).

Nov 5, from my house by the Savoy, Sir William Cecil to Sir Henry Sidney: 'My Lord of Leicester is in my house at dice, and merry, where he hath taken pains to be evil lodged these two nights, and tomorrow we return both to the court'. [SP63/26/14].

Nov 6, Sat A loan from the Queen of £20,000 was paid to Cardinal Châtillon and Arnaud de Cavaignes. Monsieur de Renty left for France during November. Cavaignes stayed until he and Monsieur de Lizy left for Germany, summer 1569.

November 10: **New French Ambassador** arrived.

Bertrand de Salignac de la Mothe Fénelon (1523-1599), Ambassador 1568-1575.

La Mothe, as he was known, was one of the King of France's Councillors.

He arrived in London November 10 to replace the previous Ambassador, La Forêt.

His dispatches, and letters to him from the French court, are printed in Correspondance Diplomatique de...La Mothe Fénelon, ed. A.Teulet (1838), 7 vols.

These are given here in English versions. La Mothe usually wrote to both the young King Charles IX and the Queen Mother, Catherine de Medici; he also often sent a secretary with a 'Mémoire' of information for both their Majesties.

Nov 14, Sun New French Ambassador at Hampton Court for first audience. La Forêt accompanied La Mothe, who was in mourning for the death of Queen Elisabeth of Spain, the French King's sister, who died on October 3.

La Mothe to Charles IX, Nov 16: 'The Earl of Ormond and the son of Lord Howard, the Lord Chamberlain, took us at two o'clock to the Presence Chamber, and the Queen received us there very kindly and was as gracious and friendly as could be desired'.

To Catherine de Medici: The Queen spoke of her grief for the death of the Queen of Spain, and said that 'she was wearing mourning as if she had been her own sister'. [i.1,8].

The deceased Queen of Spain: Elisabeth de Valois (1545-1568) became King Philip II's 3rd wife as part of the terms of a Treaty of Peace, 1559, and was dubbed 'Isabel de la Paz'. She died in childbirth. A portrait by Alonso Sanchez Coello is reproduced in Dynasties, edited by Karen Hearn, 56-57.

Nov 16, Hampton Court, Sir William Cecil to Sir Henry Norris, in France:

'The cause of the Queen of Scots is now to be heard here; for which purpose the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Sussex are sent for from York, and are to be here within these two days...Because her Majesty meaneth to have the whole matter advisedly heard, she hath appointed an assembly, not only of her whole Council but of all the earls of the realm, to be here the 18th of this month, at which time her Majesty meaneth to have this cause of the Queen of Scots fully heard, and therein to take such resolution and end as she shall be advised unto by her said Council and Estates'.

'The last letter which you sent unto the Queen...was by her Majesty casually let fall in the fire and so burnt; whereupon her Majesty...willed me to write unto you for the copy of the same letter again'. [Cabala, 155].

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

St Botolph Bishopsgate: 'To the ringers that rung for the Queen's Majesty's entrance of the 11th year of her Grace's reign, which was the 17th day of November 1568, 12d'. St Margaret Westminster: 'To the ringers for ringing for the prosperous reign of the 11th year of Queen Elizabeth, 6d'.

St Mary Woolchurch Haw: 'To the ringers the 17th of November which did ring in remembrance of the Queen's Majesty, 12d'.

Kingston-upon-Thames Church, Surrey: 'Paid to ringers the first day of the Queen's reign, 12d'. Oxford, St Mary the Virgin: 'Bestowed on the ringers that rung the 17th of November, 8d'.

Warwick, St Nicholas: 'Bread and ale for the ringers ringing upon the day of the Queen's Majesty's reign the 17th day of November, 6d'.

Nov 18, Thur Duke of Norfolk arrived at Hampton Court on return from York.

Charges at Norfolk's Trial, 16 January 1572, noted by Cecil, included:

'Upon his returning from York to Hampton Court, he understanding the Queen's Majesty had heard somewhat of his intention to marry with the Scottish Queen, sought means to speak with her Majesty privately thereupon, and complained to her Majesty that such speeches should be suffered, charging one Robert Melville a Scot with the report, and required to have him punished'.

'And so perceiving by her Majesty that she had heard thereof, though she could not believe it, he, the Duke, did with great oaths deny it, and with cursings of himself very deeply, if ever he meant it or would mean it; adding, amongst many reasons, these, in saying

"What should I seek to marry her, being so wicked a woman, such a notorious adulteress and murderer; I love to sleep upon a safe pillow; I count myself, by your Majesty's favour, as good a Prince at home in my bowling-alley at Norwich as she is, though she were in the midst of Scotland. And if I should go about to marry with her, knowing as I do that she pretendeth a title to the present possession of your Majesty's Crown, your Majesty might justly charge me with seeking your own Crown from your head".

The prosecutor 'said openly that he had himself heard the Queen's Majesty make this report herself; and so had sundry of the Lords there present often times heard her Majesty also repeat it, with much more to that effect'.

'After this he was charged that, notwithstanding his earnest detestation of this marriage, he dealt secretly with the Regent at Hampton Court at the same time'. [Murdin, 179].

Nov 20, London, Francis Walsingham to Sir William Cecil: 'I was willed by my friend [unnamed] to advertise you that if for the discovery of the Queen of Scots' consent to the murder of her husband there lack sufficient proofs, he is able (if it shall please you to use him) to discover certain that should have been employed in the said murder, who are here to be produced'. [Scot.ii.550].

Court news. Nov 22, La Mothe to Charles IX:

'Tomorrow at Hampton Court the Queen convenes the Duke of Norfolk and the Earls and principal lords of her court, awaiting the general assembly of the nobility of this kingdom which has been ordered in London at the end of this month; this is to resolve the affairs of the Queen of Scots'...

'The deputies who were assembled at York...are already at Hampton Court, and the Duke of Châtellerauld also, who will show the Queen tomorrow the results of this York conference...Moray is there also'. [i.11-12].

Nov 23, Tues Commissioners at Hampton Court.

Queen of Scots' Commissioners: Robert Lord Boyd; John Lord Herries; John Bishop of Ross; Gavin Hamilton, Abbot of Kilwinning. They objected to the Conference being held at Westminster Hall, where the law-courts were.

They 'declared unto the Queen that they understood Westminster to be a judicial place, where causes criminal and civil are to be treated; and therefore might be prejudicial to their Sovereign to enter in any judicial place'.

'And...since the Earl of Murray, the principal of her disobedient subjects, and other his adherents, had gotten already presence of her Majesty, and admitted to speak of their Sovereign as they pleased, that therefore her Majesty would grant to their Sovereign to come in proper person to the presence of her Highness and nobility, to declare her own innocency'.

'The Regent was come before this time to London, with a small train, for he had sent back a great number of his company from York'.

'The Queen of England answered, the place should be a chamber where never yet judgment was holden. But as to their Sovereign's presence, she could not goodly admit the same, until her causes were tried and ended'.

Nov 24, Hampton Court: Commissioners appointed by the Queen:

In addition to the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Sussex, and Sir Ralph Sadler:

Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper; Henry Earl of Arundel; Robert Earl of Leicester; Edward Lord Clinton, Lord Admiral; Sir William Cecil.

By November 25: Preparations for meetings at Westminster.

Robert Holmes, Gentleman Usher, made ready 'certain lodgings and the Council's Chamber at Whitehall and also the Parliament Chamber', November. He also gave attendance with four men 'at the Parliament Chamber at Westminster upon the Queen's Council sitting there for the Scottish affairs', Nov 26-Dec 23.

James Harman, Keeper of the Standing Wardrobe at Westminster, with three men gave attendance there 'in preparing and hanging divers lodgings for the Duke of Norfolk and other lords', November and December.^T

Nov 25, Thur: Commissioners' first session at Westminster in the Great Chamber, next the Parliament Chamber. Each in turn showed their commissions; when all were together they took an oath on the New Testament.

Nov 26: Second Session. Regent Moray and his colleagues delivered a Protestation, to manifest 'the naked truth' that the Earl of Bothwell was the chief murderer of the late King, and the Queen the chief persuader, commander and maintainer of him, and by her subsequent marriage with him it was evident they intended to cause the innocent Prince, now their Sovereign, shortly to follow his father and so to transfer the Crown from 'the right line to a bloody murderer and godless tyrant'. [Scot.ii.559-560].

Nov 27, Sat-Nov 29: Commissioners at Hampton Court.
 'The Commissioners repaired to Hampton Court to the Queen's Majesty,
 from whence they returned on Monday the 29th [to Westminster]'

*Nov 29: at Westminster: Third Session. The Earl of Lennox presented his
 charges against the Queen of Scots for the murder of his son, the King.
 The Bishop of Ross required to take time to answer. [Scot.ii.562].*

Court news. Nov 29, La Mothe to Charles IX: On the second day of the Hampton
 Court assembly 'Cardinal Châtillon went to find the Queen in the fields, where
 she was out hawking, and they conferred together for an hour in a house where
 she dismounted'. [i.16-17]. Kingston Church [November]: 'Paid to ringers
 at the Queen's coming through the town, 12d'.

Court news of November 29, from a Manifesto by De Spes, 10 January 1569:
 I learnt on November 23rd that certain ships carrying the King of Spain's
 treasure into Flanders were in great danger in the West Country from pirates.
 On November 29th I informed the Queen of this, and desired that commandment
 might be given in her ports that no harm should be done to the ships and that
 if needful the treasure might be transported by land to Dover, and conveyed by
 the Queen's ships to Antwerp, all which was granted by her. [SPF.ix.8].

*Summary by Privy Council, 26 February [1569]: Spanish ships came to English
 ports 'being forced so to do by fear of pirates and by tempest'. Some of the
 ships were carrying money said to belong to the King of Spain and being taken to
 pay his men in the Low Countries. The Ambassador required to have it transported
 safely to Dover, which was readily granted. 'The ready grant of her Majesty was
 worth a letter of thanks or at least a thankful message'. In the meantime the
 English 'guarded it and defended it in the havens where it did lie'. [KL.v].*

Nov 30, Tues French Ambassador at Hampton Court for audience.
 La Mothe to Catherine de Medici, Dec 5: 'I went to find the Queen at Hampton
 Court, where, although she was somewhat indisposed, she nevertheless very
 willingly heard me in the Privy Chamber, where...she told me of the pain which
 she felt in her side by being shaken about several days previously in a coach
 in which she went a little too fast'. [i.27].

Dec 1: at Westminster: Commissioners' Fourth Session.

Dec 2, Hampton Court, Sir William Cecil to Sir Henry Norris:
 'The matter of the Queen of Scots began to be heard and treated on at
 Westminster the 25th of the last month, since which time there hath been
 sittings five or six several days; and yesterday the Queen of Scots' Commiss-
 ioners, having matter to answer whereby the Queen their mistress was charged
 with the murder of her husband, they alleged that they would go no further,
 being so commanded by letters from her received since the beginning of this
 Commission; and have required to speak with the Queen's Majesty, of whom
 they pretend they will desire to have the Queen their mistress to come to the
 presence of her Majesty, and answer these causes herself; whereunto how they
 shall be answered I cannot tell, but for that purpose and others her Majesty
 hath presently sent for her Council, who be here at present, and so shall the
 Queen of Scots' Commissioners be tomorrow'. [Cabala, 156].

Dec 3, Fri Châtillon again met the Queen out hawking.
 La Mothe to Charles IX, Dec 10: 'Cardinal Châtillon was at Hampton Court on
 December 3rd to treat of matters of France and Flanders with the Queen. As she
 had gone out hawking that day he went to find her in the fields'. [i.37].

Also Dec 3: Queen of Scots' Commissioners presented at Hampton Court a written supplication that Mary should be heard in person to answer 'the calumnies of these rebels against her honour'. Answer was deferred. [Scot.ii.564,577].

Dec 4, Sat Queen of Scots' Commissioners at Hampton Court for answer. The Queen replied, in presence of the Privy Council, declining to permit Mary to appear in person until the case put by the other parties was heard.

Cecil: 'The Scots Queen's Commissaries refused to make further answer, requiring that the Scots Queen might come to the Queen's Majesty's presence'.^B

Dec 6: at Westminster: Commissioners' Fifth Session. Regent Moray and his colleagues were asked to give evidence for their accusation of the Queen of Scots, for the murder of her husband. They would show the Commissioners their evidence in writing. [Scot.ii.567-8].

Court news. [Dec 6] Earl of Shrewsbury to the Countess, at Tutbury, Staffs: 'This present Monday in the morning, finding the Queen in the garden at good leisure' she gave me 'as good words as I could wish, declaring that ere it were long I should well perceive she did so trust me as she did few. She would not tell me wherein, but doubt it was about the custody of the Scots Queen'...

'I think before Sunday [Dec 12] these matters will come to some pass'...

'The plague is dispersed far abroad in London, so that the Queen keeps her Christmas here, and goeth not to Greenwich as it was meant'...

'From Hampton Court this Monday at midnight, for it is every night so late before I go to my bed, being at play in the Privy Chamber at primero, where I have lost almost a hundred pounds and lacked my sleep'. [Hallam. 109].

Dec 7: at Westminster: Commissioners' Sixth Session.

The 'Casket Letters', stated to have been found in June 1567, were produced. Regent Moray and his colleagues produced 'a small gilt coffer, of not fully one foot long...wherein were certain letters and writings which they said and affirmed to have been written with the Queen of Scots' own hand to the Earl of Bothwell', which coffer was left in Edinburgh Castle by Bothwell before his fleeing away.

'They exhibited a writing...by the Queen of Scots herself, being a promise of marriage to the Earl Bothwell' written before the death of her husband.

They also produced letters 'to show certain proofs not only of the Queen's hate towards the King her husband but also of inordinate love towards Bothwell'.

Sir Francis Knollys, who was Mary's Keeper, had a summary of letters between her and the Earl of Bothwell, including:

'The special words of the Queen of Scots' letters, written with her own hand to Bothwell declaring her hatred and detestation of her husband'. [Darnley].

'The special words of the said Queen's letters to Bothwell declaring the inordinate and filthy love betwixt him and her', including:

'Being departed from the place where I left my heart it is easy to judge what is in my countenance, being no more than a body without a heart'.

I am 'very glad to write to you when others do sleep, since I cannot sleep as they do, and as I desire, that is in your arms my dear love. I refer myself wholly to your will, and will obey you in all things and am wholly at your commandment. I am the most faithful lover that ever you had or ever shall have...Write often, and love me as I shall love you'.

'The special words of the said Queen's letters to Bothwell declaring the conspiracy of her husband's death...Burn this letter for it is over dangerous to us'. [Philobiblon Society, Miscellanies 14].

Whether the Casket Letters were genuinely written, in whole or in part, by the Queen of Scots (in French), continues to be a subject for debate.

Dec 8: at Westminster: Commissioners' Seventh Session.

Moray produced seven more letters, avowed to be written by the Queen of Scots, and a number of 'writings' in English concerning her husband's murder.

Dec 9: at Westminster: Commissioners' Eighth Session.

'The Queen's Majesty's Commissioners being occupied in perusing and reading certain letters and sonnets written in French, being duly translated into English, and other writings also exhibited yesterday to them'.

The Queen of Scots' Commissioners presented a 'writing' declaring that the proceedings were at an end. [Scot.ii.569-571,576-7].

Dec 10: Regent Moray and his colleagues signed a paper testifying that the 'letters, sonnets, obligations or contracts for marriage' between the Queen of Scots and Bothwell are written in her hand. They 'were intercepted and come to our hands closed within a silver box'. [Scot.ii.578].

Dec 10: death. John, 2nd Lord Sheffield (c.1538-1568). Funeral: Dec 21. His son Edmund Sheffield (1565-1646) became 3rd Lord Sheffield. The widowed Douglas (Howard) Lady Sheffield allegedly married (1573) the Earl of Leicester; their son Robert Dudley was born 1574; she married Sir Edward Stafford in 1579.

The book known as 'Leicester's Commonwealth' (1584) told a tale later embellished by Gervase Holles, who described Douglas Howard, 'a lady of great beauties', being present when the Queen 'took a progress northward...and some days she abode at the Earl of Rutland's at Belvoir Castle'. 'This fair young lady' who 'shone as a star in the court', for 'her beauty and the richness of her apparel' was seduced by Leicester, after which they 'contrived how to make away' with Lord Sheffield, by bribing an Italian physician to poison him. [Gervase Holles, Memorials of the Holles family (1658), ed. A.C.Wood (Camden Society, 1937), 70-71]. There is however no evidence that the Queen ever visited Belvoir, nor that Sheffield was murdered, but there is a letter from the Earl of Leicester to a lady now identified as Lady Sheffield in which he says that their relationship started 'after your widowhood began upon the first occasion of my coming to you'. [ODNB: Sheffield, Douglas].

Dec 12, Sun The Queen signed a passport to carry the treasure from the Spanish ships by land or water; messengers were sent to the ports.

Cecil's memoir, 18 Jan [1569]: Hearing of a Spanish ship at Southampton in danger from French pirates 'the Queen gave order to her Captain of the Wight [Edward Horsey], being at the court, to go in post to Hampton'. [KL.v.254].

Dec 12, London, Bishop of Salisbury (John Jewel) to Sir William Cecil, in favour of a poor Greek: 'The bearer hereof, named Nicolas de la Turre, offereth his humble service unto the Queen's Majesty...If it shall please her Highness to send him as her man into France, and to commend him to my Lord Ambassador there, he will gladly copy out any such Greek antiquities there as you shall command him. Wherein, I believe, he will deserve his hire. The matter is not great. A small entertainment will content him'. [SP12/48/57]. (See Dec 17 and 19).

Dec 13, Lord Mayor of London (Thomas Roe) to Sir William Cecil, of the Duke of Châtellerault: He is lodged at The George in Lombard Street. It is said he intends to repair to court this present Monday or Tuesday next [Dec 13 or 14] and then on Friday northwards. [Scot.ii.579].

James Hamilton, Duke of Châtellerault and 2nd Earl of Arran, Regent of Scotland 1542-1554, was in England for about four months.

He had requested the Queen's support to be made Regent of Scotland again, which she refused. She required him to stay in England until Regent Moray left.

Dec 13, Earl of Shrewsbury to the Countess: 'Now it is certain the Scotch Queen comes to Tutbury, to my charge'. [Hallam. 110].

Dec 14, Tues Spanish Ambassador at Hampton Court for audience.
De Spes to Philip II, Dec 18: Various matters were discussed, including the French and English pirates' attacks on Spanish ships carrying large sums of money. The Queen 'offered some of her ships as a guard and convoy, or a passport if the money was to be brought overland. This was against the wishes of many of her Councillors, who wanted to take the money...In the meanwhile the money is safe'. [Span.ii.88].

Dec 14, Hampton Court, Sir William Cecil to Sir Henry Norris, in France:
'We have been here of late much occupied in the conference with the Commissioners of Scotland, wherein there have been eight or nine several sessions; the sum of the matter is this: the Queen's party began at York to accuse the Regent and his party, whereunto they made their answer and defence; after which the Queen's party, by replication, maintained their accusation, and then the conference there stayed; whereupon the Regent, being here with her Majesty, vehemently charged, was driven for his defence to disclose a full fardel [pack] of the naughty matter, tending to convict the Queen as deviser of the murder, and the Earl of Bothwell her executor'.

'And now the Queen's party finding the burden so great refuse to make any answer, and press that their mistress may come in person to answer the matter herself before the Queen's Majesty, which is thought not fit to be granted, until the great blots of the marriage with her husband the murderer, and the evident charges by letters of her own, to be the deviser of the murder, be somewhat razed out or recovered, for that as the matters are exhibited against her, it is far unseemly for any Prince, or chaste ears, to be annoyed with the filthy noise thereof; and yet, as being a Commissioner, I must and will forbear to pronounce anything herein certainly; although as a private person I cannot but with horror and trembling think thereof'. [Cabala, 156-7].

Dec 14,15, Hampton Court: Privy Council summoned six Earls to them, as principal persons of the nobility, and, as the Queen wished, read over to them the proceedings of the Commissioners at York and Westminster, and the Casket Letters; all to be kept secret. [Scot.ii.580].

Dec 16,Thur Queen of Scots' Commissioners at Hampton Court.
Queen Elizabeth in the presence of her Council gave a detailed refusal to the supplication that the Queen of Scots be permitted to come in person, and if not that they might be permitted to forbear from any further conference.
The Queen of Scots is defamed 'by common report both here and abroad, in most parts of Christendom'. [Haynes, 493].

Dec 17, Cardinal de Châtillon to Sir William Cecil, on behalf of Nicolo di la Torre, a Greek, who had spent his life diligently searching in Greece for old and rare books not before printed. These he had transcribed accurately, and had presented some copies to the King of France, some to the Cardinal, who asks Cecil to procure some honourable remuneration for him from the Queen. [SPF.viii.584].

Dec 19: Queen's reward: To Nicholas Delatower 'a Greek born...which brought unto the Queen's Majesty certain letters and presented unto her Highness certain books which he had written in Greek, by way of her Majesty's reward', £13.6s8d.^T

Also Dec 19, Sun Portuguese Ambassador at Hampton Court for final audience. Dr Emanuel Alvarez was still negotiating in connection with the requests he made to the Queen in April for English ships not to interfere with the Portuguese Indies, and for restitution of money taken by English pirates.

De Spes, Dec 27: 'On the 19th she told the Portuguese Ambassador that she did not see how she could improve her answer, and that her Council were of the same opinion, and she evidently wished to end the matter here'. [Span.ii.94].

Alvarez asked Sir William Cecil for a passport, and licence to take out of the realm four horses and the gold and silver he brought with him. [HT.xiii.91].

Dec 19, Dartington [Devon], Sir Arthur Champernown to Sir William Cecil, of measures taken by him to recover such treasure of the King of Spain's as is at present in the western ports. The whole is supposed to be of the value of £400,000 sterling 'and therefore most fit for her Majesty'. [SP12/48/60].

Dec 20, Hampton [Southampton], Edward Horsey to the Earl of Leicester, having got 'into my hands all such treasure as was aboard a Spanish ship that I found within the river of Hampton'. There were 59 coffers, in each 20,000 Spanish royals, now in the custody of the Mayor of Southampton. [Pepys, 140].

Dec 21, De Spes to the Duke of Alva, informing him that the money on the Spanish ships in English ports had been brought ashore.

'It is my opinion that all English ships and merchandise should be at once seized in the States, and particularly in Antwerp'. [Span.ii.90].

Sir William Cecil's memoir, 18 January [1569]: The treasure from the Spanish ship at Southampton was brought on land at its Master's request 3 or 4 days before Christmas. In it and in the other ships there were found 'writings to prove that the said treasure did appertain to certain merchants', not to the King of Spain. Genoese merchants would be content to lend the money to the Queen. [KL.v.255].

Dec 21, Hampton Court, Queen Elizabeth to the Queen of Scots, now that 'your Commissioners...have broken this conference, by refusing to make answer, as they say, by your commandment'. 'We have been very sorry of long time for your mishaps and great troubles, so find we our sorrows now doubled in beholding such things as are produced to prove yourself cause of all the same. And our grief herein is increased, in that we did not think at any time to have seen or heard such matter of so great appearances and moment to charge and condemn you'.

'Nevertheless...we are moved to...stay our judgement' until 'we may hear of your direct answer thereunto'. 'Your good sister and cousin'. [Wright, i.303].

Lord Boyd took this message.

Also Dec 21: The Queen lost 'in wearing of a gown of black velvet with cypress trees one aglet of gold enamelled black'. [Lost, 80].

Dec 22, Wed French Ambassador at Hampton Court for audience.

La Mothe to Catherine de Medici, Dec 28: We spoke of the death of your daughter, the Queen of Spain (who died on October 3rd in childbirth).

This Queen said 'that all Christendom had occasion to weep for this princess; having heard an English lady from the Countess de Feria, who has just come from Spain, tearfully recount all her great virtues, she firmly believed that she is a very bright angel in heaven, having lived as a very holy Queen on earth'.

[i.64]. Jane (Dormer), Countess de Feria, resided in Spain from 1559.

Dec 22: Challenges to a duel between Scottish noblemen.

Dec 22, Kingston, Patrick Lord Lindsay sent a Challenge to Lord Herries, for affirming that Regent Moray and his company were guilty of the abominable murder of 'the King our Sovereign Lord's father. If ye have so spoken, ye have said untruly, and therein lied in your throat, which I will maintain (God willing) against you as becomes me of honour and duty'.

Dec 22, London, Lord Herries to Lord Lindsay: The Regent and his company have accused the Queen of Scots 'of that foul crime'. 'I have said there is of that company...guilty of that abominable treason in the foreknowledge and consent thereto. That ye were privy to it, Lord Lindsay, I know not, and if ye will say that I have specially spoken of you, ye lied in your throat, and that I will defend as of my honour and duty becomes me'. [Pepys, 141]. Apparently no duel.

Court news. Dec 22, Se Spes to Duke of Alva: Yesterday I asked for audience. 'I pressed for an audience and they [Leicester and Cecil] told me to ask again after dinner, they in the meanwhile being closeted with the ambassador of the Prince of Condé'. The Lord Chamberlain 'said he had not ventured to ask her Majesty for an audience'. [Span.ii.91]. Dr Junius had come from the Count Palatine, the Prince of Condé, and the Elector of Saxony.

Dec 23,Thur Queen of Scots' Commissioners at Hampton Court to confer with the Council. They had received instructions that day from the Queen of Scots to charge the Earl of Moray and his company with being guilty of the murder of the King of Scots (with which Moray had charged Mary).

Dec 25,Christmas Day Queen of Scots' Commissioners at Hampton Court. 'Lord Herries, the Bishop of Ross, and Abbot of Kilwinning, being admitted to the presence of the Queen's Majesty and her Council, produced their mistress's special writings and instructions sent unto them'. [Calderwood, ii.461].

Christmas 1568-Shrovetide 1569:
Revels prepared 'plays, tragedies and masques'.

Dec 26,Sun play, by Lord Rich's Men.^T

Court news. *Dec 27, De Spes to Philip II, of Dr Junius:

Junius, 'Agent of the Count Palatine' has been dispatched, 'his errand here having been to persuade the Queen that although his infantry had been maltreated this year, his cavalry had gained great distinction'.

*Dec 28, De Spes: 'This Queen has postponed my audience until tomorrow, and many merchants of the city have gone to court to beg her to return our money to us, as they fear that their property may be seized in the States. No reply will be given to them until after my audience'. [Span.ii.91-92].

Court news. Dec 28, La Mothe to Charles IX: 'Dr Junius, who was here from the Count Palatine, and the messengers from the Duke of Deux-Ponts and the Prince of Orange, have gone back'; 2 Jan 1569: 'These past days...the Prince's man, who had finished, or at least had not been seen in this court for 12 days, has returned'. [i.63,86].

*Dec 28: death. Henry 2nd Lord Paget (c.1537-1568).
Funeral: 11 January 1569, West Drayton, Middlesex.*

Lord Paget's only child Elizabeth Paget, born in August 1568, succeeded to the title of Baroness Paget, but not to the estates, which went to the 2nd Lord's brother Thomas Paget. On Elizabeth Paget's death in June 1570 Thomas Paget (c.1544-1590) became 4th Lord Paget. [Complete Peerage].

The widowed Katherine (Knyvett), Lady Paget, a Lady of the Privy Chamber, married Edward Carey, continuing to be known as Lady Paget; she died in 1622.

Dec 29: Westminster: Earl of Morton made a declaration to the Commissioners and the Privy Council of how the Casket Letters were found on 19-20 June 1567 at 'the Potteraw beside Edinburgh'.

'How the silver box with contracts of marriage, sonnets, missives, came in his hands'. [Scot.ii.730-731].

Dec 29, Wed De Spes, Spanish Ambassador, at Hampton Court for audience.

De Spes, manifesto, 10 Jan 1569: At this audience I lamented to the Queen the landing of the treasure from the Spanish ships, to which she replied that it was to be preserved for King Philip. I asked for the ships promised to take it to Antwerp. She then declared 'that two Genoese had informed her that the treasure did not belong to the King of Spain but to certain merchants, and therefore she was minded to retain it and pay the owners'. I delivered a letter from the Duke of Alva, stating that the treasure was for paying the King's troops. The Queen declared that within three or four days I would have her response. In the meantime the Duke, as soon as he knew of the retaining of the treasure, commanded the arrest of the goods and persons of Englishmen in Antwerp. [SPF].

De Spes never obtained audience of the Queen again, although he did not leave England until January 1572, after being expelled.

Dec 29, Sir William Cecil noted: 'All Englishmen were shut up in Antwerp'.^B

Summary by Privy Council, 26 February [1569]: The Ambassador 'presented a little small letter with a few lines from the Duke of Alva...making no mention in the letter of the money'. He was to have his answer 'at his next coming'.

'If it shall be said that he took this manner of answer for a denial, then yet consider that...the very 29th the arrest was executed in Antwerp'. [KL].

Dec 30: death. Roger Ascham (1515-1568), the Queen's Latin Secretary, and formerly her tutor in Latin and Greek, died in London.

Funeral: 4 Jan 1569, St Sepulchre. The Queen declared she would rather have cast £10,000 into the sea than have lost her Ascham. [Grant's biography, 1576].

Ascham to Leicester, 14 April 1566: 'If I die, all my things die with me, and yet the poor service that I have done to Queen Elizabeth shall live still, and never die so long as her noble hand and excellent learning in the Greek and Latin tongue shall be known to the world'. [Whitaker, Richmondshire, i.287].

Camden: He was 'school-master to Queen Elizabeth...Being too much given to dicing and cock-fighting, he lived and died a poor man'.

David Lloyd, Statesmen: He was 'from his cradle a royal servant, and to his grave a favourite'.

Ascham had just written Latin verses of thanksgiving for the Queen's reign, intended as a New Year's gift; these were published in 1576. (See 16 Feb 1576).

New Latin Secretary (March 1569): John Wolley.

Dec 31: De Spes sent his secretary, Marron, to the Duke of Alva. Marron caused Englishmen in Dunkirk, Bruges, and elsewhere in Flanders to be arrested and imprisoned.

1568: New edition of Elizabeth's translation of a book by Margaret of Navarre. 'A Godly Meditation of the inward love of the Soul. Compiled in French by the virtuous Lady Margaret Queen of Navarre, and was translated into English by the most virtuous Princess Elizabeth, Queen of England, in her tender age of 12 years. Together with Godly Meditations or Prayers, set forth after the order of the Alphabet of the Queen's Majesty's name, and certain sentences of the 12th Psalm, written by the Queen's Majesty in Latin, French, Italian, and Greek'.

'Godly Meditation': 54p.

Prayers, an acrostic on 'Elizabetha Regina', a prayer for each letter: 47p.

Marguerite of Navarre wrote Le Miroir de L'Ame Péchesse (published in France, 1531). Elizabeth at the age of 11 dedicated her translation to her step-mother Queen Katherine Parr, from Ashridge, Hertfordshire, 31 December 1544.

It was first published abroad as 'A Godly Meditation of the Christian Soul, concerning a love towards God and his Christ'. With a Dedicatory Epistle by John Bale (1495-1563) to 'the right virtuous and Christianly learned young lady Elizabeth'. (Wesel, 1548). The new edition has a dedication by James Cancellor.

1568: A play 'Gismond of Salerne' was performed at Greenwich before the Queen by the Gentlemen of the Inner Temple, possibly in 1568, the date of one MS.

One MS is entitled 'Gismond of Salerne in Love', one is entitled 'The Tragedy of Gismond of Salerne'. Both have three sonnets 'of the Queen's Maids', one of which refers to Greenwich. Five writers collaborated on the play, including Christopher Hatton, Henry Noel, and Robert Wilmot.

Robert Wilmot extensively revised the play and published it as 'The Tragedy of Tancred and Gismund. Compiled by the Gentlemen of the Inner Temple and by them presented before her Majesty. Newly revived and polished according to the decorum of these days'. (1591; some copies are dated 1592). An Epistle by William Webbe 'To his friend R.W.', says of the original actors: 'The tragedy was by them most pithily framed, and no less curiously acted in view of her Majesty, by whom it was then as princely accepted, as of the whole honourable audience notably applauded'.

In an Epistle to the Gentlemen of the Inner Temple and Middle Temple and 'all other courteous readers', Wilmot states: 'I am now bold to present Gismund to your sights, and unto yours only, for therefore have I conjured her, by the love that hath been these 24 years betwixt us'.

There follows a verse 'Preface to the Queen's Maidens of Honour'.

1568: Ulpian Fulwell: 'A pleasant Interlude, entitled, Like will to Like quoth the Devil to the Collier. Wherein is declared what punishments follow those that will rather live licentiously than esteem and follow good Counsel. And what benefits they receive that apply themselves to virtuous living and good exercises'.

The characters include Tom Collier, Lucifer, a cut-purse, a pick-purse, a hangman, Good Fame, Honour, Virtuous Life.

At the conclusion Virtuous Life declares:

'To make an end we may be bold,
And pray for our noble and virtuous Queen.
Honour: To do so, Virtuous Life, it is our bounden duty,
And because we must do so before we do end,
To aid us therein Good Fame cometh verily...
V.L. O Lord of Hosts, oh King almighty,
Pour down thy grace upon our noble Queen!
Vanquish her foes, Lord, that daily and nightly
Through her thy laws may be sincerely seen'.

Honour: 'The honourable Council also, O Lord, preserve,
The Lords both of the Clergy and of the Temporality,
Grant that with meekness they may thee serve,
Submitting to thee with all humility.

Good Fame: Oh Lord, preserve the commons of this realm also;
Pour upon them thy heavenly grace,
To advance virtue and vice to overthrow,
That at the last in heaven with thee they may have a place'.
(London, 1568). Another edition, 1587.

1568: Jacques Grévin published Deux Livres des Venins.
Two volume treatise on venomous creatures, poisons, and remedies.
Dedicated to 'Madame Elizabet', Queen of England. (Antwerp, 1568).
Grévin, a Paris physician (1538-1570), had presented a 'little book' to
the Queen at New Year 1568.

1568: Edmund Tilney dedicated to the Queen A brief and pleasant discourse of
duties in Marriage. 'To the noble and most virtuous' Queen 'be long life, quiet
reign, and perfect health'. Tilney presumes 'to offer this my simple Present
unto your Highness, expressing my good will; which of my fruitless Garden and
barren soil have found out this fragrant Flower of Friendship'.

After comparing the Queen to Alexander the Great and Emperor Antoninus,
who both accepted poems, Tilney continues: 'Wherefore (redoubted Sovereign,
O noble Alexandra) my hope is' that you will 'receive these few simple lines'.

The book comprises conversations between ladies and gentlemen in a garden
at 'Lady Julia's house' in Spring-time, which according to Tilney actually took
place. Lady Isabella (the Queen's fictional counterpart) and her mother Lady
Julia discuss courtship, marriage, freedom for women, claiming that women are
entitled to liberty, and equality with men.

The running title is The Flower of Friendship, and Tilney states that
'because no friendship, or amity, is or ought to be more dear, and surer, than
the love of man and wife, let this treatise be thereof'. 72p. (London, 1568).

In its format and subject-matter Tilney's book is modelled on Castiglione's
The Courtier. Tilney, a distant cousin of the Queen, was Master of the Revels
1579-1610; he married in 1583. The Queen visited him in Surrey in 1591.

His book went into a number of editions.

1568: Charles Utenhove dedicated to the Queen Xenia.
A collection of poems by Utenhove and others. (Basle, 1568).

Charles or Karel Utenhove (1536-1600) lived in England 1562-1565, when he
wrote numerous poems in several languages addressed to the Queen.

c.1568: William Wager: 'Comedy or Interlude entitled Enough is as Good as a
Feast: Very fruitful, Godly and full of pleasant mirth'. Conclusion:

Envy: 'Let us conclude therefore, but first let us pray,
That it will please God in mercy our good mistress to tender,
Our faith to stablish wherein we be slender.
That at the last day when the trump shall blow,
For to be heavenly men the Lord may us all know.

Contentation: First let us call to God for Jesu Christ's sake
Long to preserve Elizabeth, our most noble Queen.
Good Lord grant her highness the heavenly path to take,
And that all by-ways of her highness may be seen.
Increase her wealth, prolong her health, preserve her life,
That long she may rule this realm without debate or strife'.