

At **HAMPTON COURT**, Middlesex.

Jan 1, Sun New Year gifts.

Among 169 gifts to the Queen:

by Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick: 'A jewel of gold being a Monster of the Sea garnished with diamonds';

by Sir Gilbert Dethick, Garter King of Arms: 'A Book of the Arms of the Knights of the Garter made in the time of King Henry the Fifth, covered with crimson velvet and garnished with passamain lace of Venice gold';

by Sir Owen Hopton, Lieutenant of the Tower: '30 pieces of gold with the Queen's physiognomy on the one side and a Tower on the other', valued at £10;

by Mrs Dane [wife of the Queen's linen-draper]: 'Four pieces of arras two bigger and two lesser of the history of Susanna unlined' [tapestries];

by Levina Teerlinc: 'A card whereon is painted the Queen with many other personages';

by Petruccio Ubaldini: 'A table painted with the picture of a woman and certain verses'.<sup>NYG</sup>

Earl of Leicester's gift. Spanish Ambassador, De Spes, to Secretary Zayas, Jan 9: 'The Earl of Leicester made a New Year's present to the Queen, consisting of a jewel containing a painting in which the Queen was represented on a great throne with the Queen of Scotland in chains at her feet begging for mercy, whilst the neighbouring countries of Spain and France were as if covered by the waves of the sea, and Neptune and the rest of them bowing to this Queen'.  
[Span.ii.290. Not in the New Year Gift roll].

Jan 1: Francis Walsingham, new Ambassador, arrived in France.

Jan 2, Boulogne, Walsingham to the Earl of Leicester: 'Passing through Canterbury, I visited the Cardinal [de Châtillon]';

To Sir William Cecil: 'The King's entry is deferred until the midst of February'. I have to complain 'of the great exactions used by the Inn-keepers at Gravesend, Canterbury, and Dover, in the prices of victuals, whereof besides mine own experience I learned by certain strangers [foreigners] that passed over with me they are so great as in no country is used the like'. [Digges, 21].

Walsingham had his first audience at the French court on January 28, with the outgoing Ambassador Sir Henry Norris. Dispatches and letters to and from Walsingham are printed by Dudley Digges, The Compleat Ambassador (1655).

Jan 3, Tues Bishop of Ross at Hampton Court for audience.

John Lesley, Bishop of Ross, the Queen of Scots' Ambassador, left Sheffield for London on December 28 with her two Commissioners for a proposed Treaty. Bishop's Memoirs: 'For the better preparation of all things necessary I made the greater diligence by post, and arrived before them certain days, and had audience of the Queen of England before their coming at Hampton Court the third of January, and declared of the coming of the Commissioners for our part, desiring her most humbly that no further delay should be used...so that a good and perfect end be put to all these troubles...The Queen assured me there should be no delay used upon her part'. [Ross, 112].

Jan 6, Sat Challenge for Tournament, Hampton Court.

'A Proclamation that was proclaimed at Hampton Court by Clarenceux King of Arms on Twelfth Day at night: Forasmuch, most noble Queen, as there are within this your Majesty's court a great number of noblemen and gentlemen excellent men of arms, and yet (as it were) of late fallen asleep from any kind of such exercise: therefore by your Majesty's licence, to revive them withal, there are four Knights Errant which have thought good to challenge all comers at Shrovetide next'. There are to be a Tilt, Tourney and Barriers on Shrove Sunday, Monday and Tuesday, with a prize for the best Defendant in each.

Challengers: Earl of Oxford; Charles Howard; Sir Henry Lee; Christopher Hatton. 'These exercises was not fulfilled till May Day next after on which day was the Tilt at Westminster and the 2nd day of May the Tourney and on Sunday being the 6th of May the Barriers'. Clarenceux King of Arms, 1567-1593: Robert Cooke. [Bodleian Ashmolean MS 837, f.245].

c. Jan 8/10: visit, West Horsley, Surrey.

West Horsley manor-house; owned by Edward, 9th Lord Clinton (1512-1585).

3rd wife: Elizabeth (FitzGerald) (c.1528-1590). Charles Smith, Page of the Robes, with two men, was paid for 'riding from Hampton Court to Horsley'.<sup>T</sup>

Kingston-upon-Thames Church bell-ringers rang for the Queen 'at her going to Horsley, 12d', and 'at her coming from Horsley, 12d'.

c. Jan 11/12: visit, Merton, Surrey.

Merton Abbey; Crown property, occupied by and later leased by Gregory Lovell (c.1521-1597), son of Sir Francis Lovell of Norfolk. Gregory Lovell, a widower, later remarried; he was Cofferer of the Household 1582-1597.

Kingston Church: 'To the ringers when the Queen went to Merton, 19d'. Also: 'To the ringers when her boat came by, 6d'.

Jan 13, Sat Queen of Scots' Commissioners at Hampton Court for audience.

William 6th Lord Livingston; Alexander Gordon, Bishop of Galloway.

With the Bishop of Ross.

De Spes to Philip II, Jan 16: 'The Queen gave audience in Hampton Court on the 13th instant to the Bishop of Ross and the Scotch Commissioners, with the result that they have to wait 12 days until the Commissioners from the other party arrive. In the meanwhile a committee has been appointed to deal with them'.

[Span.ii.290]. Regent Lennox's Commissioners arrived on February 19.

Court news. Jan 13, French Ambassador, La Mothe, to Catherine de Medici, Queen Mother of France, concerning her 'little letter' (20 October 1570) about a marriage between the Queen and Henri Duke of Anjou (1551-1589):

'The existence of the little letter begins to be known in this court; the Ladies of the Privy Chamber had some inkling of it, and have already revealed it to several of the lords...I believe that Cardinal de Châtillon is returning to this court [from Canterbury] expressly because of this'. [iii.432-3].

Jan 14, Sun La Mothe and Châtillon at Hampton Court for audiences.

La Mothe to Catherine de Medici, Jan 18: 'Before the Earl of Leicester escorted me last Sunday to the Queen he talked with me for some time about the little letter, and I complained to him that it was already too much known, which he assured me did not come from the court'. He told me that the Queen 'objected to nothing except the Duke's age; to which he had replied that he was however already a man'. "But" she replied "he will always be younger than me".

"So much the better for you", he had answered, laughing'.

She told me "that she did not want a husband who would honour her only as a Queen, if he did not also love her as a woman"...

'A little after I left her Cardinal de Châtillon went to speak to her for a long time...After he left her the Queen assembled her Council to tell them that the Cardinal had asked three things of her: first, if she was free of any promise, and could marry where she wished; second, if she wished to take one of her subjects or a foreigner; and third, in case it was a foreigner, if she would accept the Duke of Anjou, the King's brother; and that she had replied that she was free, that she did not wish to marry a subject, and that she wished to hear the Duke's conditions'...

'At this the Cardinal had said that he was already charged to speak to her about it, and presented a letter of credence from the King, and begged that... she would communicate the matter to her Council before he left'...

'She replied that she was a Sovereign Queen, that she did not depend on her Council but they on her, she having their lives and their heads in her hands... but...to avoid the disadvantages which the late Queen, her sister, had suffered from, having wanted to treat for marriage with the King of Spain without her Council, she had promised to propose it to them, and wished them all to give her their advice promptly. At that the Councillors lowered their heads, not one answered a single word, because the proposal was new to most of them, until...one of the principal Councillors ventured to say that the Duke seemed to be very young for the Queen'...

'She told them that the Cardinal had some articles to propose'. [iii.438-440].

Jan 15, Mon **SOMERSET HOUSE**, Strand; Crown property.

Royal household was at Whitehall Palace from January 9.<sup>c</sup>

Piers Pennant with nine men made ready at Somerset House; 'also for giving attendance there by the space of eight days after by reason the Queen's Majesty carried so much longer at Hampton Court contrary to her first appointment'.

They also made ready 'at the Savoy'.<sup>T</sup> St Clement Danes, Strand:  
'For ringing when the Queen came from Hampton Court to Somerset House, 12d'.

On January 15 the Queen 'who long before had withdrawn herself from the City of London because of the plague, did now repair to her Grace's house without Temple Bar called Somerset Place'. [Grafton, *Abridgement*].

Jan 16/20: dinner, Leicester House, Strand; Earl of Leicester.

St Clement Danes: 'To the ringers when the Queen came from Somerset House to my Lord of Leicester's to dinner, 8d'.

c. Jan 21, Sun knightings, Somerset House: past and present Lord Mayors.

Alexander Avenon, ironmonger (Lord Mayor 1569-1570);

Rowland Hayward, clothworker (Lord Mayor 1570-1571).

Also knighted: Thomas Scott, of Kent.<sup>M</sup>

Court news. Jan 22, London, De Spes to Philip II:

'Châtillon is pushing forward with great warmth the marriage of the Duke of Anjou with the Queen, and the business is now quite advanced'. [*Span.ii.290*].

Jan 23, La Mothe to Catherine de Medici: 'Last Thursday [Jan 18] Cardinal de Châtillon came to dine with me...I know that while we were together the Queen was shut up with her Council to resolve on what she should reply to the Cardinal, and that she has taken the matter so much to heart that she takes no pleasure in talking nor hearing about anything else'.

[PS]: 'Lord Buckhurst is very well affected to this proposal, and desires to be employed in it. The Queen has told him she will reserve his instructions until he is about to leave. I hear if it goes forward the Earl of Leicester is already designated to go to France to conclude it'. [iii.449].

Court news. Jan 23, La Mothe to Charles IX:

'The people of London have shown much joy at the coming of their Queen, who because of the plague had not been here for two years. She is going today to see a new building, very commodious and very ornamental, in order to give it a name; until now it has been provisionally called the Bourse. The feast is prepared for her in Sir Thomas Gresham's house. It is said that the day after tomorrow she will go to spend the rest of the winter at Greenwich, where they are already making the arrangements for a tournament towards Lent'. [iii.443].

January 23: Queen's visit to the Royal Exchange, formerly the Bourse.

Richard Clough (his agent) to Sir Thomas Gresham, 31 Dec 1561, Antwerp: 'Considering what a city London is, and that in so many years they have not found the means to make a Bourse, but must walk in the rain when it raineth, more liker pedlars than merchants; and in this country and all other there is no kind of people that have occasion to meet, but they have a place meet for that purpose'. [KL.ii.656].

In 1566 Sir Thomas Gresham founded a Bourse, modelled on the Antwerp Bourse, a meeting-place and trading-place for merchants; it consisted of a quadrangle surrounded by a covered walk called the Pawn, with an upper floor of shops.

Before the Queen's visit the Bourse was standing almost empty; Gresham 'besought those few shopkeepers then present that they would furnish and adorn with wares and wax-lights as many shops as they could', and they should have those shops rent-free for a year. After the visit it was highly successful.

The Royal Exchange, twice rebuilt, remains, adjacent to the Bank of England. [Sources for descriptions: Richard Grafton, *Abridgement of the Chronicles of England* (1572); John Stow: *Annals; Survey of London*, i.174,193].

*The Livery Companies and the Inns of Court lined the Queen's route.*

*Coopers' Company's payments 'for our standing' included:*

*'For the cloth, 2s; to the carpenter, 3s4d; 200 nails, 12d; 5 white staves for the whifflers, 16d; drink for the Beadle, 4d'.*

*Pewterers' Company paid 'for carrying the frame to the place where the Company then did stand to attend her Highness's coming, 22d; for fire, the same morning, to warm those of the Company which stayed the others coming, 6d; for 4 small staves, serving for those which were appointed as whifflers to guard the Company from the thrust and violence of the people, 12d'.*

*Allhallows London Wall: 'Paid to divers persons for their pains as well for ringing the bells that day the Queen's Majesty was proclaimed Queen of England [17 November 1570], as also the same day she dined at Sir Thomas Gresham's, 3s; spent in bread and drink at the same times upon the ringers, 16d'.*

*St Clement Danes: 'To the ringers when the Queen went to Sir Thomas Gresham's to dinner, 12d'.*

*St Margaret Westminster: 'Paid for ringing when the Queen's Majesty went to the Bourse, 4d'.*

*St Mary Woolchurch Haw: 'Ringing the bells when the Queen's Majesty passed through the city to the Royal Exchange, 12d'.*

*St Michael le Querne: 'To the Sexton for ringing when the Queen's Majesty came to Mr Gresham's, 2s'.*

Jan 23, Tues morning Queen's ceremonial entry to City of London.

The Queen, accompanied by the French Ambassador and Cardinal de Châtillon, was received at Temple Bar by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen in scarlet.

In Cheapside the Livery Companies 'stood in rails all along the one side of the street, with banners and streamers hanging over their heads, and whifflers before them in coats of velvet and chains of gold, and white staves in their hands very orderly and comely'.

Jan 23: dinner, Gresham House, Bishopsgate; Sir Thomas Gresham. Piers Pennant made ready 'at Sir Thomas Gresham's house, and the Royal Exchange in London'.<sup>T</sup> Gresham (1519-1579), mercer, Queen's principal financial agent; wife: Anne (Ferneley), widow of William Read; she died in 1596.

Stow described Gresham House as 'most spacious of all other thereabout, builded of brick and timber' by Sir Thomas.

The Queen went 'through Fleet Street, Cheap, and so by the north side of the Bourse through Threadneedle Street, to Sir Thomas Gresham's in Bishopsgate Street, where she dined'.

*The Livery Companies also dined before returning to their standings. Brewers' Company went to 'The Three Tuns in Newgate Market for a dinner for all the whole assistants, livery, and whifflers'. The Brewers later fined Thomas Randall 10 shillings 'for missing the day the Queen's Majesty came through the City of London being appointed a whiffler to wait on the Company'.*

*Carpenters' Company paid 30s1d for bread, ale, beer, wine, sugar, boiled mutton, boiled and roast beef, pork, veal, half a lamb, a capon, three hens, 'apples and fire'.*

Jan 23, evening visit to the Bourse, Cornhill; renamed the Royal Exchange.

By torch-light the Queen came down Cornhill and entered the Bourse 'with the sound of trumpets in most royal manner'.

'After that she had viewed every part thereof above the ground, especially the Pawn, which was richly furnished with all sorts of the finest wares in the city, she caused the same Bourse by an herald and a trumpet to be proclaimed the Royal Exchange, and so to be called from thenceforth, and not otherwise'.

The torch-light procession returned through the city to Somerset House, 'and both in her going and coming, her Majesty showed herself a most noble and honourable Princess to the people, in rejoicing at them and praying for them as fast as they prayed for her, so that at her return home she had in a manner utterly lost her voice'.

La Mothe to Charles IX, Jan 31: 'The day when I was invited to accompany the Queen to the Bourse was scarcely less solemn in London than that of her Coronation, for she was received by crowds of people, the streets decorated, everyone in order and in his place, as if it had been her first entry. It gave her great pleasure that I was present, because it showed more grandeur, being done on a sudden, than if it had been planned for a long time'.

'She did not fail to remark to me on the affection and devotion shown by these great crowds, who from morning until the time when after giving the new name of Royal Exchange to the Bourse she left at around eight o'clock at night, did not tire of being in the streets, some in their ranks, some in the crowd, with torches, to honour her, and to cheer for joy a thousand times'.

'She asked me if in a small way it made me think of the rejoicing in Paris when your Majesty arrived there; and she freely confessed to me that it did her heart good to see herself so loved and desired by her subjects, whom she knew only regretted that, knowing her to be mortal, they did not see any certain successor born of her to reign over them after her death'...

'The same evening resolution for Lord Buckhurst's journey was taken, the Queen ordering him not to fail to be ready to leave tomorrow'.

La Mothe to Catherine de Medici: 'The Queen was pleased to talk with me after dinner for a very long time, and among other things she told me that she had resolved to marry...mainly to satisfy her subjects'...

'Cardinal de Châtillon was at the same feast, but she did not speak to him in private'. [iii.450-1,455].

Jan 24, Thur Cardinal de Châtillon at Somerset House to take leave.

The Cardinal was about to set out again for France with his wife.

La Mothe to Catherine de Medici, Jan 31: On January 24 the Cardinal asked for audience 'and was with the Queen for some time; then on his return he came to bid me adieu, because he was setting out next day for Canterbury, and he told me in what state he left the [marriage] affair...The Queen's four principal advisers have assembled to resolve on what counsel to give her'. [iii.455-6].

Jan 25: Cardinal and Madame de Châtillon left for Canterbury, Kent.

Canterbury chamberlains: 'Paid for a present given to the Lord Cardinal Châtillon, which was 4 couple of ducks and mallards, 8 couple of teals, 6 woodcocks and certain partridges, 15s2d'.

Jan 28, Paris, Francis Walsingham to the Earl of Leicester, describing the Duke of Anjou, and adding: 'Touching the pictures your Lordship desired, they can by no means be gotten, for no man may make any counterfeit of the King, or his brother, without licence; if he do, the punishment is great'. [Digges, 30].

Jan 31: St Mary le Strand Church: 'A strange woman that followed the court was buried'. ['strange': usually 'foreign'].

Jan 31, Wed **WHITEHALL PALACE.**<sup>c</sup>

Works, Whitehall: 'making of scaffolds for tragedies, tourneys and barriers, making of a new Tilt and Spear-house there'. [Sept 1570-Sept 1571].

January: Two unnamed 'Bohemians' were at Windsor and at Kingston-upon-Thames, for whom the Cofferer of the Household paid £14.10s3d.<sup>c</sup>

February 1-March 22: Lord Buckhurst was special Ambassador to France.

Thomas Sackville, 1st Lord Buckhurst, went to congratulate King Charles IX on his marriage in 1570 to Elizabeth of Austria, and to be present at their ceremonial entry to Paris, which was expected to be in mid-February.

Lord Buckhurst had secret instructions concerning the proposal for the Duke of Anjou to marry Queen Elizabeth. After waiting at Dover for six days he arrived at Calais on February 7 'with a prosperous wind', as he wrote to his friend Thomas Heneage (Treasurer of the Chamber), to whom he sent frequent letters. [Letters: HMC Finch, i; collated with copies of originals: BL RP36].

February 2: Arrangements for Lent preachers at court.

Feb 2, Archbishop of Canterbury (Matthew Parker) to Sir William Cecil:

'This other day Dr Bullingham preached in my chapel in my hearing, whom I take to be an honest true-meaning man; but because I did credit others much commending him, I once preferred him before her Majesty, but I intend hereafter not to do so again. I would her Highness had the best. In him I perceive neither *pronunciationem aulicam* nor *ingenium aulicum* [courtly diction nor courtly wit]; not meet for the court; and therefore I appointed Dr Young of Cambridge to supply his room, and warned he is; and what will fall out for the other I yet know not, because they may alter their days'. [Parker, 378].

Dr Bullingham: apparently Dr Nicholas Bullingham, formerly Bishop of Lincoln, who became Bishop of Worcester, 26 Jan 1571; he was in London at this time.

Dr John Young, Master of Pembroke Hall (now Pembroke College), Cambridge University, became Bishop of Rochester in 1578.

*Feb 2, Catherine de Medici, the Queen Mother, to La Mothe, concerning the Duke of Anjou (written in her own hand, and very secret): 'To come to the point, my son has told me by the King that he never wishes to marry the Queen of England. He has always heard so much spoken to her dishonour, that he thinks he would himself be dishonoured and would lose his own reputation'...*

*'You are about to lose such a kingdom and such greatness for my children, for which I have very great regret. There would be another way, as I have previously mentioned: if the Queen would adopt one of her relatives as her daughter, and declare her her heir, and my son could marry her; or, if she would have my son the Duke of Alençon, who desires it, and is past 16 years old, although he is small for his age...He seems older than he is...It is for you to see how we can get this kingdom into the hands of one of my children'. [vii.179-180].*

*The Duke of Anjou changed his mind about marrying: see February 18.*

Court news. Feb 6, La Mothe to Charles IX: 'As the Queen finds herself well in health in London, from where the hard winter has chased all suspicion of plague, she has resolved to spend Lent here, and has gone to stay in her palace at Westminster, where they are putting up the lists for the tournament...as the Queen is not to go to Greenwich until around mid-March'...

'The Earl of Derby's sons [involved in a conspiracy in 1570], notwithstanding that they were warned not to ask for their *congé*, did not leave off asking... After the Queen had reprimanded them and admonished them to behave better in future, making some difficulty about allowing them to kiss her hand, she gave them their dispatch'.

Feb 6, La Mothe to Catherine de Medici: 'Of the four lords...who assembled to deliberate on what to advise the Queen concerning the Duke of Anjou your son, the first plainly approved it as very good and very honourable; the second completely contradicted him, as being...very dangerous for this Kingdom; the third followed the second opinion; and the fourth agreed with the first'.

Secret mémoire: 'The proposal for the Duke to marry the Queen had its beginning when at my audience [November 1570] I told the Queen that the King's betrothals were to be at Speyer; afterwards when she had withdrawn with her ladies she complained that, with many honourable marriages in Christendom, none of her Council spoke of one for her, and that if the Earl of Sussex was present he would at least have mentioned Archduke Charles. One of the ladies told this to the Earl of Leicester'...

'When the Vidame de Chartres came to take leave of the Queen [Sept 1570] he spoke to her of the Duke...and spoke also to many of the Council'...

'Then after Cobham returned with a refusal [from Archduke Charles, Dec 1570] she began to listen with more affection to those who proposed the Duke'...

'I have just been told that last Saturday, when the Queen was complaining to Admiral Clinton's wife and Lady Cobham of the difficulties which were made of the Duke being too young, she begged them to tell her frankly their opinion, and that, as the two most loyal and in whom she confided most of any ladies in the world, she wished them not to dissimulate'.

'Lady Clinton loudly praised his perfections...and entirely agreed that she should marry the Duke, and his youth was nothing to be afraid of, for he was virtuous, and she in all ways would give him more satisfaction than any other princess in the world could do. The Queen had accepted this with such a show of pleasure that Lady Cobham, not daring to contradict, had said only that marriages were always best and most contented when one married someone of the same age, or near the same age, than when there was great inequality'.

'To which the Queen had replied that there were only ten years' difference between them...and although it pleased God that she was the elder, she hoped that he would be content with other advantages'. [iii.457-460,466-468].

The Duke was 18 years younger than the Queen.

Court news. Feb 6, Archbishop of Canterbury (Parker) to Sir William Cecil: 'Yesterday...I was informed that one nobleman in England should impute it to my doing that the cross is brought into the chapel again, so that I perceive they will load me with envy; but certainly I never knew of it, nor yet in good faith I think it expedient it should be restored'. [Parker, 379].

Feb 11: Lincoln's Inn Council: 'The examination of Mr Johnson touching the not putting off his cap when the Queen's Majesty passed by, coming from the Royal Exchange [January 23], is committed unto Mr Recorder of London'. [Black Book of Lincoln's Inn, i.377].

Feb 12: death. Sir Nicholas Throckmorton (c.1515-1571), former Ambassador to France and Scotland, after brief illness died at Leicester House, Strand. Funeral: February 21, St Katherine Cree, Aldgate, where his memorial remains. The widowed Anne (Carew), Lady Throckmorton, married (1572) Adrian Stokes, whose first wife was Frances, Duchess of Suffolk.

Feb 18, Paris, Catherine de Medici to La Mothe (written in her own hand), concerning her son the Duke of Anjou: 'I wrote that my son did not wish to marry the Queen of England...Now he has agreed to marry her, if she wishes it, and he now infinitely desires it. Seeing this, I kept Lord Buckhurst here, although he had taken leave, so that he might come again to speak to the King, my son, and myself, and being now assured of my son's willingness he can tell the Queen on his return that if she wishes to marry, and to my son, it can be effected with her honour and ours...If it is to be done, it should be very soon'. [vii.183].

Lord Buckhurst took leave of the King before his ceremonial entry to Paris, to avoid disputes over precedency with the Spanish Ambassador, but remained privately to see the 'Joyeuse Entrée' on March 6. He left before the new Queen made her separate entry on March 29.

February 19-April 8: Regent of Scotland's Commissioners in London.

James Earl of Morton and James McGill arrived in London on February 19 from Regent Lennox, with 24 gentlemen. They came to join Robert Pitcairn to discuss whether and on what conditions the Queen of Scots might be released.

Feb 22, Thur Earl of Morton at Whitehall for first audience. The Queen, resolved to restore the Queen of Scots, chose six Privy Councillors as Commissioners to consider how to begin a Treaty. [Scot.iii.486].

Feb 23, Paris, Francis Walsingham to Sir William Cecil, with news that 'the Cardinal of Lorraine goes about to persuade Monsieur [Duke of Anjou] to the marriage of the Queen of Scots...They have long practised to have stolen her away to the next port to the place where she is. She has corrupted the greatest part of the nobleman's servants to whose charge she has been committed, and besides is promised the assistance of divers of those of the country'.

[Cardinal of Lorraine: Charles de Guise, Mary's uncle]. [SPF.ix.409].

Feb 24, Paris, Lord Buckhurst to the Queen, of the great honours and favours done to him in France.

At an audience on February 23 with Catherine de Medici she said that it was neither her son's intention nor her desire that ever the Queen of Scots' cause should take end without your Majesty's honour and safety were first sought, and earnestly desired that you would banish all suspicion. On her telling me that it had been reported to her that your Majesty had never looked so well these many years as at present, I said that God had therein made you a queen over nature herself, for to all our eyes that daily attended your court, time had rather bettered your beauty than in anywise impaired it. [SPF.ix.410].



Feb 24, Paris, Lord Buckhurst to Thomas Heneage:

'We are..so nobly used and entertained as..I cannot in writing express it'...

'I will never change you for any new friend in this world'...

'I cannot by my servants find here any such tuft taffeta or velvet with the ground of ash colour as her Majesty desires, and for buttons and aglets and goldsmiths' work, where I find here one piece I will see three in London, and that which there is bought for a crown costs here two'...

'All yours for ever, T.Buckhurst'. [Finch, i.17].

Feb 24, Sat Earl of Morton at Whitehall for audience.

La Mothe to Charles IX, March 1: 'The Earl of Morton has been received and heard with favour by the Queen, and he has discussed very privately with the Council the disadvantages which he alleges would follow if the Queen of Scots was restored. The Queen showed herself to be completely resolved to do it, but nevertheless, so that Morton should not be able to complain, appointed six Commissioners to mediate the conditions of the agreement between him and the Queen of Scots'.

La Mothe's mémoire, March 6: 'After the Earl of Morton had spoken to the Queen, in his presence on February 24 she put the matter before her Council, where one of them, seeing her inclined to restore the Queen of Scots, dared with great vehemence to remonstrate with her not to do it'.

'No one present...dared to contradict, and the Queen with a troubled expression replied...that she had already resolved to restore the Queen of Scots...and that they were only to consider the conditions for doing so'. [iv.3,14-15].

Feb 25, Shrove Sunday **Peerage creation: Lord Burghley;** at Whitehall.

Sir William Cecil (c.1520-1598), the Queen's Principal Secretary, was created Baron Burghley. *Herald's description*:

'Sir William Cecil, knight, attired in a robe and mantle...was made Baron of Burghley in this manner: First the Heralds go before by two and two together, whom Garter alone followeth, carrying in his hands the Royal Charter'.

'Henry Carey, Baron of Hunsdon, carried the Baron's cloak; after whom followed Sir William Cecil, in the midst between Edward Lord Clinton on the right hand and William Lord Cobham on the left. Who entering into the Chamber of Presence and making their obeisance thrice, approached unto her Majesty, where Garter first delivered the Charter to the Lord Chamberlain, who gave the same unto the Queen, and she again delivered the same to John Wolley esquire [Latin Secretary] to be read. Where at the word *Investimus* the Queen put upon him the Baron's cloak, and the Charter being read, pronounced him...Baron of Burghley, and his heirs male after him'.

'Which being done, the Charter was redelivered to the Queen, who forthwith gave it to the new Baron to be kept, who at length, after most great thanks given her for the honour by him received, in his honourable attire, with a great noise of trumpets departed to dinner, even in the same order and manner that he came in'.

'After mid-dinner Garter, with the rest of the Heralds, coming near unto the table, and having first all together in French cried aloud largesse, forthwith proclaimed the Queen's style in Latin, French and English, and so withdrawing themselves a little farther off, and again repeating largesse, he repeated the style of the new Baron...And so having done their obeisance, and all together crying largesse twice, they departed'.

[College of Arms Vincent 151, p.254-5; Letters Patent for Burghley's peerage: illustrated: Pryor, No.22].

Also Feb 25: Sir Henry Norris, former Ambassador to France, at court.

Also: play, by Children of the Chapel Royal.<sup>T</sup>

Court news. [Feb 26], Earl of Leicester to Francis Walsingham:

'Mr Norris is arrived here yesterday, being Shrove Sunday, when Mr Secretary was created Baron of Burghley and I think ere it be long shall have the office of Privy Seal, but as yet remaineth Secretary still; and within a day or two Sir Thomas Smith is like to be called to assist him...Your wife was here lately to take her leave of her Majesty, who used her very well and graciously'.

[Digges, 51]. Burghley remained Secretary till Smith was appointed, July 1572.

Feb 26, Shrove Monday play, by the Children of Windsor Chapel.

Feb 27, Shrove Tuesday play, by the Children of Paul's.<sup>T</sup>

Feb 28: Regent Lennox of Scotland's Commissioners had their initial answer from nine Privy Councillors appointed to treat with them.

During February the Queen gave £800 to the Regent's wife, Margaret, Countess of Lennox; they were first cousins. [SP12/77/39].

March 1: Commissioners from the Queen of Scots met the Privy Council.

Mar 1, Thur **GREENWICH PALACE**, Kent.<sup>c</sup>

*March 2: News of Cardinal de Châtillon's illness. March 2, Canterbury, Henry Killigrew to Lord Burghley: 'Yesterday...I went to visit my Lord Cardinal, but he was then in his fourth fit, so as I could neither see him nor his wife. Towards night he sent for me, whom I found weak and faint...By Dr Pena (that is here with the Cardinal) I perceive that his illness is not without danger, the rather for that...it is accompanied with much melancholy'. [He died March 21].*

*March 2, Paris, Catherine de Medici to La Mothe (in her own hand), concerning her son the Duke of Anjou: 'If you have received my last letter [Feb 18] you will see that things are changed, and my son infinitely desires to marry the Queen of England'. When I last spoke to Lord Buckhurst 'I asked to be assured that she wished to marry, and was not mocking us, as she did others'...*

*'He said she had commanded him to say, if we spoke of this, that she was resolved to marry, and outside her kingdom, and to a prince; and that, it not being honourable for a girl to go looking for men, she had not been able to say this yet'...*

*'He assured me she wished to marry, that all the great men advised her to, that my son was not like the King of Sweden, nor the King of Denmark's brother, nor Archduke Charles, who are all princes far off from England, and are poor. My son is a neighbour, and is supported by a great King; and this marriage would be useful for both parties'...*

*'The previous day Cavalcanti brought me the Queen's portrait for my son... Cavalcanti very much desires that all the negotiation should fall to him alone'.*

*'Your good friend, Caterine'. [vii.189-193].*

March 3, Greenwich, Lord Burghley to Francis Walsingham:

'Her Majesty repeated again unto me what I should write unto you, of the great matter...You may say...you are assured that at your coming out of England, her Majesty, upon consideration of the benefit of her Realm, and to content her subjects, resolved to marry, if she should find a person in estate and condition fit for her to match withal; and that she meant not to marry but with a person of the family of a Prince...I am not able to discern what is best, but surely I see no continuance of her quietness without a marriage'. [Digges, 54-5].

Mar 5, Mon new Privy Councillor sworn: Sir Thomas Smith.<sup>APC</sup>  
 Also: Regent's Commissioners at Greenwich for audience.  
 Earl of Morton and James McGill, representing Regent Lennox.

March 6: Regent's Commissioners conferred with the Council at Greenwich.

Court news. March 6, London, La Mothe to Catherine de Medici:  
 'The Earl of Leicester told me that the Queen very inquisitively questioned Sir Henry Norris, on his return from France, touching the Duke of Anjou... He praised him to the sky, saying that with the excellent virtues of his mind he has such fine qualities of height, strength, bearing, good grace and beauty, that he was as perfectly accomplished as a 30 year-old prince; which the Earl assured me has given the Queen a very great desire to see him'.

'He asked me to tell him if there would be a way to do it if she goes on progress this summer towards the French coast, if the Duke, under colour of visiting the frontier, approached the English coast, and by a morning tide let her see him here before returning afterwards, if it so pleased him, on the evening tide, without anyone else knowing...The Earl said that he would now like a very naturalistic painting of the Duke, of full size'.

Also March 6, La Mothe to Catherine 'in secret to be put into her own hands': Secretary Cecil said that the greatest difficulty is 'that the Duke of Anjou is too near in succession to the Crown of France, and that then England would cease to be a Kingdom and would become a province of France like Brittany...and that they need a prince who would renounce all other claims...and one who is further in line from the succession'...

'This is a point, Madame, in favour of Monsieur d'Alençon [youngest son], but it is not time...to speak of him...for the Queen might think that we were mocking her...But if the point about being too close to the Crown of France is raised...one could transfer the proposal to Monsieur d'Alençon'. [iv.9-13].

March 7, Charles IX to La Mothe, of the gifts he had given: To Lord Buckhurst 'a chain worth 1000 crowns; to the Queen's Equerry, who presented me with six hackneys she sent me, a chain of 400 crowns; to the Earl of Leicester's Equerry, who brought two hackneys which he sent me, another chain of 400 crowns; to one of their gentlemen who presented me with dogs, a chain of 200 crowns'. [vii.194].

March 8: Robert Pitcairn was sent to court with the answer made by the Regent's Commissioners, and on March 9 took a written answer to court.

March 10, Ludham, John Parkhurst (Bishop of Norwich), to John Wolfius, of Zurich, who had published several Biblical commentaries: 'If you will publish your discourses and commentaries on the Book of Esther, it will be an act worthy of your attainments, and of great advantage to godly students. I much approve your intention of dedicating the work to our most serene Queen; but I would not have you be too prolix in your dedicatory epistle'. [Zurich, 2nd series, 199].

12 March 1571-April 1572: Commissioner from Flanders in London. François de Halewyn, Sieur de Sweveghem (or Zweveghem); sent by the Duke of Alva to secure restitution of Spanish goods arrested by the English in 1568-69, and to negotiate with merchants. John Fitzwilliam (Agent) to Leicester and Cecil, Feb 11, Antwerp: Alva is sending Sweveghem 'with sufficient commission to finish such differences as yet seemed to be for the matter of restitution'. He 'hath been in England before this from the Duchess of Parma being Regent here [1564]'. Sweveghem travelled to London with Fitzwilliam, arriving on March 12. He sent Fitzwilliam to ask for audience for him. First audience: March 18.

Fitzwilliam's letter, and Sweveghem's dispatches, in French, are printed by Kervyn de Lettenhove, vol.vi. Given here in English versions. [KL].

Court news. March 12, London, La Mothe to Charles IX:

'Walsingham has written to the Queen from France that he has discovered a proposal...to marry the Duke of Anjou to the Queen of Scots, and that the Pope promises a dispensation...and that the Duke promises that at once by Treaty the Queen of Scots would be restored; and that if the Treaty does not succeed he has a plan ready to go by force against England'. 'I now hold... all the affairs and even the life of the Queen of Scots in great danger'.

To Catherine de Medici: 'Now they are proposing that Queen Elizabeth should marry the eldest son of the Emperor, who is only six months younger than the Duke of Anjou, and is taller than the Archduke [Charles]'. [iv.20-23].

Archduke Rudolf of Austria (1552-1612) became Emperor Rudolf II in 1576.

March 14, Greenwich, Lord Burghley to Nicholas White (in Ireland), ending:

'Yours, not changed in friendship, though in name, and yet that not unknown to you when you were with me near Stamford [at Burghley House]'. W.Burghley.

'My style is, Lord of Burghley, if you mean to know it, for your writing, and if you list to write truly, the poorest Lord in England'. [Wright, i.390].

Court news. March 14, De Spes to Philip II:

'On the 12th the Lord Keeper [Sir Nicholas Bacon] gave an answer to the Bishop of Ross and the Queen of Scotland's Commissioners, to the effect that the Queen of England would not release the Queen of Scotland without first having her son delivered to her, with six nobles and six of the Scotch fortresses', and that 'Morton and his party were to govern in the Queen's name, she renouncing all alliance with other princes'. [Span.ii.298].

Mar 15,Thur French Ambassador at Greenwich for audience.

La Mothe to Charles IX, March 17: 'The Queen is so warmly persuaded by one part of her people, and no less dissuaded by the other, to restore the Queen of Scots, that she finds herself not knowing which way to lean'.

To Charles IX, March 23: 'When I went last Thursday...to Greenwich to the Queen I arrived when her Council had just been debating in front of her the points in the Treaty, with so much contention amongst them that she felt constrained to tell one of them that he was a rash fool, forbidding him to come to the Council when she was there'.

She spoke of Lord Buckhurst's news from France, and of the new Queen of France and of her portrait, being 'the only way to content princes, who otherwise never see one another; she approved of the drawing which had been made of her in France, and at once took it out of her pocket to show it to me, asking me if it was a good likeness and if her complexion was as beautiful as the painter showed'. [iv.25,29-31].

March 16, Amiens, Lord Buckhurst to the Queen, describing five conferences between Catherine de Medici and Guido Cavalcanti about the proposed marriage.

Alluding to the reports against your Majesty's fair fame, Cavalcanti said that you had reigned nearly thirteen years, and that there could never be found any manner of suspicion that could once touch your honour. The Queen Mother professed herself very much inclined for the marriage, but could not see how it could be attempted without hazarding the King's honour. Cavalcanti presented a portrait of your Majesty to be given to the Duke of Anjou, and received a promise of one of the Duke. The Queen Mother arranged with me to send over Paul de Foix to discuss terms; in the meanwhile utmost secrecy should be observed.

Next day I received a written offer of Anjou's hand in marriage, with Articles as a basis for negotiations. [SPF.ix.419-420].

The Queen's answers to the Articles: March 24.

Mar 16, Fri Earl of Morton at Greenwich for audience.  
 La Mothe to Charles IX, March 23: 'The Earl of Morton was summoned and was very strongly pressed to restore the Queen of Scots, and to make the Prince of Scotland hostage for her here [in England], or otherwise he would be abandoned by the Queen of England, who would join the other party...Morton was very perplexed and has asked for time to think about it'. [iv.33-4].

Court news. March 16, London, Sweveghem to Duke of Alva: 'As I was on the point of entering the barge to go to Greenwich to have audience with the Queen...she countermanded it' and 'deferred it till next Sunday March 18'.

Mar 18, Sun Flanders Commissioner at Greenwich for first audience.  
 Sweveghem to Alva, March 23: 'Last Sunday the Queen gave me at Greenwich public audience in the chamber which they call the Presence', when I reviewed previous negotiations over the restitution of Spanish ships and goods. [KL.vi.88,92].

Mar 19, Mon Regent Lennox's Commissioners at Greenwich for audience.  
 Mar 20, Tues Queen of Scots' Commissioners at Greenwich for audience.  
 Lord Livingston; Bishop of Galloway. With the Bishop of Ross.

*March 21: death. Odet de Coligny, Cardinal de Châtillon (1517-1571), died at Canterbury. The Cardinal's wife suspected that he had been poisoned, and the Queen ordered a report on his death. Funeral and report: March 30.*

c.March 22: Lord Buckhurst at Greenwich on return from France.  
 La Mothe to Charles IX, March 28: 'The Queen received him and all his company with a great show of favour, but I do not yet know the details of his report, but I am assured that he made a very good one'. [iv.35].

Court news. March 23, in haste, Earl of Leicester to Francis Walsingham, of the Queen's pleasure touching Monsieur (the Duke of Anjou) 'whose cause hath been broken to her by my Lord of Buckhurst, from the Queen Mother; we perceive they deal very daintily, and doubt much her Majesty's intention to marriage, at least, that she had rather hear of it than perform it. But assuredly I do verily believe her Majesty's mind herein is otherwise than it hath been, and more resolutely determined than ever yet at any time before; yet do they mean to deal so secretly on that side, as though they will not yet believe it'.

'And accordingly her Majesty mindeth not to deal but as privately as may be devised, that if that should not take effect, the less reproach is to either party: her Majesty hath only broken this matter with my Lord of Burghley and me ...The person of Monsieur is very well liked of...I see her Majesty misliketh not of his estate, for she is of mind to marry with the greatest, and he is left almost alone the greatest to be had. The conditions will be all'. [Digges, 70].

March 24, Greenwich, Lord Burghley to Francis Walsingham: 'We here, and the good there, have a great loss of the Cardinal Châtillon, who is thought to have been poisoned by some French apostate or counterfeit'. [Digges, 66].

March 24, Queen to the Earl of Shrewsbury, as to the Regent's Commissioners:  
 'Where we intended by Treaty with the Commissioners...to have ended all controversies in Scotland, so...we might have permitted the Queen to have returned into Scotland, we find that the Commissioners for the King neither have nor as they affirm can have authority to consent to anything tending to the change of their King's estate, except the same may be granted by a Parliament to be held in Scotland in the King's name; and thereupon we...are of necessity to suspend this Treaty; not meaning to change our former opinion to return that Queen as soon as reasonably and possibly we may'. [Haynes, 624].

March 24, Greenwich, Queen to Francis Walsingham, with answers to Articles shown to Buckhurst of 7 French demands concerning marriage with Duke of Anjou:

1. 'To understand, both very speedily and certainly, of the truth of our firm resolution to marry'. We are resolved 'for the benefit of our Realm and contentation of our subjects, to marry with some person of Kingly blood and quality, meet for us and our country'. We perceive it is doubted 'that we have not a resolute mind to marry, but that we have a disposition rather to hear of motions and suits for marriage with Princes and great Estates, than finally to accept any of them...We are very sorry that our former dealings in like cases of marriage moved to us from other Princes hath not been better understood on our behalf than it seemeth they hath been...It is not unknown to the world for how many Kings, Princes, and Estates, motions of marriage hath been made to us'...

'In the beginning of our reign...we had no disposition of our own nature to marry, no otherwise than it is manifestly known, that when the King our dear father reigned, and many times pressed us earnestly to marry, nor when in the late King our brother's time the like was renewed unto us, even for such as then presently were in real possession of Kingdoms, when we lived but in a private state as a daughter or as a sister of a King, yet could we never induce our mind to marry, but rather did satisfy ourself with a solitary life'.

'If also it be considered, who they were that in the first part of our reign motioned marriage unto us, and how inconvenient such a match was both for ourself, for matter of conscience, and for discontentation of our people, as then the time was, we doubt not but we might challenge to ourselves some praise, in that we yielded not thereto...We did so also plainly answer all persons, and required that the motions might be stayed; wherewith if the parties or their Ministers would not be satisfied...what default was this in us? Yea, it is very true, that some parties being answered by our own mouth, and that deliberately and frequently, yet would they not accept the same for a final answer...truly did we give them no new cause to hope of any change of our mind to marriage'.

'Nevertheless, after some course of years passed, we confess that the state of our Realm, the continual urgent and frequent solicitations, not only of our Councillors, to whom we always think meet to give ear, but also of the whole Estates of our Subjects, being many times assembled in our Parliament, did stir us to some further consideration by the weight of their reasons, than naturally of ourself we had been induced unto'.

'And therefore we yielded thus far to their importunity, that for such great necessities concerning the universal state of our Realm, as were plainly laid before us, we would not refuse to hear of any honourable motions to be made to us for any person of a Royal blood, that might be meet for us and our Realm; and that we would commend our heart to be directed by Almighty God, to follow that which might be to the comfort of our loving subjects'...

'All this we find meet at length to impart unto you, to the end that you may also in like manner thereby, with truth, satisfy the hard opinion that as it seemeth is conceived of us, because it is seen that many suits hath been made to us, and by great Estates, for marriage, and none hath taken effect'.

2. 'To know, whether now that we have perceived...the good disposition of the King and the Queen Mother to offer the person of Monsieur, they might be assured of our continuance in this resolution; and whether we will accept this motion in good part, and will be pleased to hear further of it'....

'For continuance in our resolution generally to marry, we trust there is no cause to doubt...and how we will accept this offer of Monsieur, we cannot but plainly confess it an argument of great goodwill in the King and the Queen his Mother; considering now that the King is married, there can be no greater nor worthier offer made by the Crown of France than of Monsieur D'Anjou, and therefore we do thankfully accept it'.

'But whether we shall be pleased to hear further of this motion, is very doubtful for us to answer thereto'...

'We pray the Queen Mother not to be over curious in requiring so precise an answer, until the matter may be further treated upon and explained'.

3. 'That this matter may be treated upon between you...and Monsieur De Foix, until the matter may be brought to more ripeness, so as the King may...send a noble Ambassador. And yet...the matter would be more readily expedited... by sending of some such special person as M.De Foix, upon some other pretence'.

4. 'That we should send to you certain Articles...to declare our intent toward Monsieur...How can we tell what were meet to propound, until we may understand what shall be first propounded by them that make the offer?'...

'You may say, that you think no less can be offered for conditions, than was by the Emperor Charles with King Philip to Queen Mary'.

'And that further...Monsieur shall not have authority to exercise the form of religion in England that is prohibited by the laws of our Realm...You should specially open this matter secretly to the Queen Mother'...

'And as for his allowance of our religion...we shall only require his presence in our Oratories and Churches. And this you may say is one of the matters of greatest importance to be considered by the Queen Mother'.

5. 'That this matter should not be opened to the French Ambassador here resident, which because it is required it may be observed'...

'You shall say to the Queen Mother that...it shall be the best marriage... that any Queen attempted this many hundred years for France. And yet we are content to keep this motion secret' telling only 'such of our Privy Council as are known we have just cause to trust, both for their fidelities and secrecy, that is, our cousin the Earl of Leicester, whom you may say, that whatsoever may be otherwise doubted, we find ready to allow of any marriage that we shall like...most of all this with the Crown of France; the other is Sir William Cecil, Lord of Burghley, and our Principal Secretary'.

6. 'That we would not make delay in answer, as we do not'.

7. 'Whether we can be pleased that Master Cavalcanti shall be used any further herein, which we remit to the consideration of the Queen Mother'.

[Digges, 62-66]. Cavalcanti arrived in April, Paul de Foix in August.

Mar 25, Sun Roberto Ridolphi at Greenwich with the Queen.

Roberto Ridolphi (1531-1612), a Catholic from a Florentine family, a leading London merchant, resident in England for over ten years.

Charges against the Duke of Norfolk relating to Ridolphi (1572), included:

Ridolphi was committed to custody in October 1569, having 'suspiciously paid' great sums of money to Norfolk's servants and the Bishop of Ross. Upon offering 'that he would no more meddle with the Scottish Queen's causes nor the Duke's he was set at liberty. After which he made many suits to come to the Queen's Majesty's speech, to be restored to her favour, and finally in February and March last he notified that he would go into Italy about his private business, pretending in fair language to be a good servant to the Queen's Majesty; and so he came to her speech at Greenwich, openly in the garden, on our Lady Day, being Sunday, where in like sort he made profession of great affection to serve her Majesty and this Crown, and to take his leave. And so, within a very few days after, he had a very favourable passport and licence to carry over two horses or geldings. Thus he departed'. [Scot.iv.87-88].

Court news. March 25, London, De Spes to Philip II:

'The Queen of Scotland and the Duke of Norfolk, in the name of many other lords and gentlemen who are attached to your Majesty's interests and the promotion of the Catholic religion, are sending Roberto Ridolphi, a Florentine gentleman, to offer their services to your Majesty and represent to you that the time is now ripe to take a step of great benefit to Christianity, as in detail Ridolphi will set forth to your Majesty'.

To Secretary Zayas: Ridolphi has been an agent of the Pope here and is a person of great truth and virtue. [Span.ii.300-301].

*The Queen of Scots sent detailed instructions in cipher to Roberto Ridolphi, supplemented by directions from the Duke of Norfolk for an invasion of England in summer 1571, landing at Harwich or at Portsmouth. A list of lords was added, with a note by each name of who was believed to be in favour, against, or neutral, to Mary and the Catholic cause. [Turnbull, 190-209].*

Ridolphi left for the Duke of Alva in Flanders, for the Pope, and for the King of Spain, to obtain support in men and money for a plot aimed at freeing the Queen of Scots and marrying her to the Duke of Norfolk, who would lead 'the enterprise of England'. Details of the 'Ridolphi Plot' soon became known, after the arrest of Charles Bailly in April.

March 26-July 6: Henry Cobham was special Ambassador to Spain. Cobham went to Spain 'upon the bruits of Stukeley's entertainment there'.<sup>B</sup> Thomas Stukeley (or Stucley; c.1525-1578), English adventurer turned traitor, had moved to Spain in 1570, where King Philip granted him an allowance. He was planning an invasion of Ireland (which came to nothing).

Mar 30, Fri Funeral, Canterbury Cathedral: Cardinal de Châtillon. The Cardinal's 'temporary' tomb remains in the Cathedral.

Queen's gift, delivered on March 30 'to the Steward of the Lord Cardinal Châtillon's house...three yards and a half of russet satin to make him a doublet'. [Lost, 130].

March 30, Canterbury 'in haste', Report by Thomas Leighton and Roger Manwood to the Earl of Leicester and Lord Burghley:

'After conference first had with the Lady Châtillon what she thought of the death of the Lord Cardinal by poisoning or not, and what person she did think therein to be suspicious, we found that she thought it came by some lingering poisoning, as well for that at the Lord Cardinal's last being at London (the day that her Majesty went to the Royal Exchange in London) the Lady Châtillon there had a marvellous strange grief suddenly coming to her heart, in such wise as she thought that instant some inconvenience came to the Lord Cardinal, and ever since his coming from London he had not such health as he before had, and in all his sickness time complained of a burning grief at his stomach'...

'Concerning the persons suspicious...such generally as had access and near doings about him were to be suspected'.

The lengthy report on the Cardinal's death goes on to describe how the Cardinal's servants were questioned, and that Leighton and Manwood found no grounds for suspecting them, but were keeping some in custody. [SP12/77/38].

Madame de Châtillon left Canterbury for France in June, being too ill to take leave of the Queen.

In France in 1572 one of the Cardinal's valets, on his way to be executed for another crime, confessed that he poisoned him with an apple. [Atkinson, 257].



Sir George Carew, whose ship was damaged in a storm, anchored for repairs near La Rochelle in 1597. Sept 13, Portsmouth, Carew to Sir Robert Cecil: 'I had at sundry times not so little as 4000 persons aboard to see the ship, and among them Madame Chastillon, the widow of Monsieur Chastillon, with 30 gentlewomen, who for three long hours talked of the Queen's beauty, wisdom and government, calling her...the assured pillar for distressed Christians. Young Monsieur Chastillon, as his mother tells me, a lad of excellent fine spirit, will soon come into England to kiss her sacred hands; and in case of troubles in France, which the Protestants expect, Madame Chastillon means to make England her refuge'. [HT.vii.384].

Mar 31, Sat **WHITEHALL PALACE.**

Royal household was at Whitehall from March 29.<sup>c</sup>

Lambeth churchwardens paid for ringing 'the last of March, when the Queen's Majesty came from Greenwich, 16d'.

April: Charles Bailly arrested, with details of the Ridolphi Plot.

Bishop of Ross: Ridolphi received promises of support from the Duke of Alva, and wrote to the Queen of Scots, Duke of Norfolk, Lord Lumley, and others.

'Finding the commodity of a bearer called Charles Bailly, a Fleming, who was a simple young man, servant to the Queen my mistress and was then at Brussels... Ridolphitrusting overmuch to such a one did communicate first his whole proceedings to the said Charles', and gave him letters to bring over.

'At his landing at Dover he was searched and all his letters taken from him... and he was sent to the court and all that was found with him...He at his first taking had been moved with so great fear that he uttered plainly that he had brought letters which would cause himself to be hanged and many others, which was told unto the Council by his takers'. [Ross, *Memoirs*, 163-4].

William Herle to Lord Burghley, April 11: Charles is the Scottish Queen's man, pretends to be of the Low Country, but is a Scot speaking sundry languages. He is 'one of the only and secretest ministers that the Queen of Scots and the Bishop of Ross have, and a practiser in all their ill dealings in Flanders... He is very dear to his mistress and the Bishop...He is full of words... and given to the cup'. [Scot.iii.528].

*Bishop of Ross's diary [noted on April 13,18]: 'Charles Bailly was taken at Dover with certain printed books in English for defence of the Queen [of Scots] honour and title, and some packets of letters, which were delivered to my Lord Burgh-ley, and Charles was put in close prison in the Marshalsea'. 'Charles was examined by the Council, and was sent to the Tower, where he was put on the rack and racked a little, and thereafter carried to the court and examined again, and returned to the Tower, and paper and ink given him to write his own deposition'.*

*Memoirs: In the Tower he 'confessed all that he had heard of Ridolphi, and what letters he had brought, and that they were come to my hands'. [Ross, 164].*

*Bailly (or Baillie; c.1541-1625) carved inscriptions in the Tower, 10 April and 10 Sept 1571. He was released in June 1573 and lived abroad thereafter.*

Court news. April 1, La Mothe to Catherine de Medici: 'The Monday after the death of Cardinal de Châtillon the Earl of Leicester arranged to meet me as if by chance in the countryside'. He said 'that the portrait of Prince Rudolf had already arrived...He swore to me, before God, that the Queen was resolved to marry, and that she was better disposed towards the Duke of Anjou your son than to anyone else in the world, and that she had already said as much'...

'I consider that Cavalcanti, who is very discreet and capable, will be the best person to be employed in this business'. [iv.43-45].

April 1, Paris, Francis Walsingham to Lord Burghley, of 'the match between her Majesty and Monsieur' [Duke of Anjou] who had said to Paul de Foix, a few days past: 'You and others have brought me to yield to this match, but I fear that by the next dispatch you shall well perceive that there is no other meaning in the Queen of England but dalliance, and that you and I shall be sorry that ever we waded so far'. [After this Walsingham had audience with Catherine de Medici, Queen Mother, to make the answers sent by Queen Elizabeth on March 24].

As a result, the King and the Queen Mother are now sending Cavalcanti 'both speedily and secretly over, who should come fully instructed with their resolute intention touching this match...Mine opinion of him...is that her Majesty could not have allowed a gentleman more faithfully inclined to her Majesty, nor more fit for his discretion and secrecy to deal in a matter of such consequence'.

The Queen Mother said 'that as she never desired anything with like earnestness as she did this, so if the same should not take place nothing could more grieve her. For (saith she) besides the great benefit that will grow hereby unto both the Crowns, on the success of this match dependeth the quietness of all Europe'. [Digges, 67-70; mis-dated].

**Apr 2, Mon Queen at Opening of Parliament.**

Ceremonial procession from Whitehall to Westminster Abbey for sermon; to Upper House. Anthony Wingfield made ready 'the Parliament House and the Minster'.<sup>T</sup> St Margaret Westminster: 'Paid for three load of sand to lay in the churchyard at the Queen's Majesty's coming to the sermon at the College [Abbey], 18d;

For ringing at the Queen's Majesty's coming to the Parliament, 2s'.

*Anonymous Journal*: 'Her Majesty about 11 o'clock came towards Westminster... having first riding before her the gentlemen sworn to attend her person, then Bachelor Knights, after them the Knights of the Bath, then the Barons of the Exchequer and Judges of either Bench, with the Master of the Rolls, her Majesty's Attorney-General, and Solicitor-General, whom followed in order, then the Bishops, and afterward the Earls, then the Archbishop of Canterbury. The Hat of Maintenance was carried by the Marquis of Northampton and the Sword by the Earl of Sussex. The place of the Lord Steward for that day was supplied by the Lord Clinton, Lord Admiral of England. The Lord Great Chamberlain was the Earl of Oxford, and the Earl Marshal by deputation from the Duke of Norfolk was the Earl of Worcester'.

'Her Majesty sitting in her coach in her imperial robes and a wreath or coronet of gold set with rich pearl and stone on her head, her coach drawn by two palfreys covered over with crimson velvet...embroidered very richly; next after the chariot followed the Earl of Leicester in respect of his office of the Master of the Horse, leading her Majesty's spare horse. And then 47 ladies and women of honour. The Guard in their rich coats going on every side of them, the Trumpeters before the first sounding, and the Heralds riding and keeping their rooms and places orderly'.

'In Westminster Church the Bishop of Lincoln [London] preached, during which time of the sermon the knights, citizens and burgesses were particularly in the House (commonly called the Lower House) sworn to the Supremacy before the Lord Steward [and five deputies]...which being done and her Majesty come from the sermon, the lords all on foot in order as afore, and over her head a rich canopy was carried all the way from Westminster Church'.

*The Journal of John Hooker, M.P. (c.1527-1601), of Exeter, correctly names the preacher in the Abbey as the Bishop of London, Dr Edwin Sandys.*

'His discourse was how that religion is chiefly to be sought in virtue and truth, and that princes without it could not well rule nor govern, and that princes ought to direct their doings in true religion and to govern their people in truth, equity and justice'. [Parl.i.243].

*Printed sermon: Text: 1 Samuel 12, verses 23,24: 'Be this sin against the Lord far from me, that I should cease to pray for you: but I will show you the good and the right way. Therefore fear you the Lord, and serve him in the truth'.*

*Dr Sandys declared that 'our Samuel, our good and gracious governor... hath called this honourable and high court of Parliament'.*

*Anonymous Journal: 'She being entered into the over House of the Parliament and there sitting in princely and seemly sort under a high and rich cloth of state, the robe supported by the Earl of Oxford, the Earl of Sussex kneeling holding the Sword on the left hand, and the Earl of Huntingdon standing holding the Hat of State, and the lords...on each side of the chamber, that is to say, the Lords Spiritual on the right hand, and the Lords Temporal on the left side, the Judges and her learned counsel being at the Woolsacks in the midst of the chamber, and at her Highness's feet on each side of her kneeling one of the Grooms or Gentlemen of her Chamber, their faces towards her, the knights, citizens and burgesses all standing below the bars'.*

*'Her Majesty then stood up in her regal seat, and with a princely grace and singular good countenance...after a long stay she spoke a few words to this effect, or thus: "My right loving lords, and you all our right faithful and obedient subjects, we in the name of God, for his service, and for the safety of this State, are here now assembled (to his glory, I hope), and pray that it may be to your comfort, and the common quiet of us, you, and all ours for ever".*

*'And then looking on the right side of her towards Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper...willed him to show the cause of the Parliament'. [Parl.i.194-5].*

*Lord Keeper Bacon: 'The causes be chiefly two. The one to establish or dissolve laws...The other so to consider of the Crown and State as it may be best preserved in time of peace, and best defended in the time of war... The Crown of this Realm hath been many ways charged extraordinarily of late, not possibly to be borne by the ordinary revenues of the same, and therefore of necessity to be relieved otherwise'.*

*Of 'the benefits that the Realm hath received by God's Grace and the Queen's Majesty's goodness...the first and chief is restoring and setting at liberty God's holy Word amongst us, the greatest and most precious treasure that can be in this world...The second is the inestimable benefit of Peace during the time of ten whole years together and more'...*

*'The third is the great benefit of Clemency and Mercy. I pray you, hath it been seen or read that any Prince of this Realm, during whole ten years' reign and more, hath had his hands so clean from blood?'...*

*'The extraordinary matters of charge happened since the last assembly here, urging to have by necessity a relief granted, amongst many others be these: The great charge in suppressing the late Northern Rebellion, with charges also in reforming the Queen's Majesty's enemies in Scotland that assisted the rebels ...The continual growing expenses by reason of Ireland, as in subduing the rebels within that Realm'...*

*'Preparation and setting forth of ships, partly for the defence against all foreign forces...partly for the safe conducting of the wares and merchandise'...*

*'The relieving of the Realm's necessity is become the Prince's pleasure and delight...The gorgeous sumptuous superfluous buildings of time past be for the Realm's good by her Majesty in this time turned into necessary buildings... The chargeable glittering glorious Triumphs into delectable pastimes and shows. Ambassadors of charge into such as be void of excess and yet honourable and comely...God be thanked, a Phoenix, a blessed bird of this kind God hath blessed us with'.*

*Lord Keeper Bacon concluded, as was customary, by asking the Commons to elect a Speaker to be presented to the Queen. [D'Ewes, 137-9].*

April 3, Catherine de Medici to La Mothe (in her own hand):

'As to the marriage with the Duke of Anjou, Queen Elizabeth thinks it best for the King to send some person of quality to her to negotiate this business. So we deem it expedient to send Signor Cavalcanti, a person of quality, who is in the Queen's confidence and has good access to the principal people there, with letters and mémoires...He is expressly charged to bring them back to us and to propose their contents by word of mouth, so that if this negotiation does not have the desired result, nothing will remain in writing with the Queen'...

'We desire two things: one, that it is conducted in great secrecy...the other, to have a prompt decision, so as not to live long in suspense'. [vii.199-200].

**Apr 4, Wed Queen at Parliament for presentation of new Speaker of Commons.**

Christopher Wray (c.1522-1592), Serjeant at Law.

*Anonymous Journal*: 'In the afternoon the Speaker, Mr Wray, was by the whole House brought to the presence of her Majesty, sitting in her Highness's chair of state'. Wray made the customary 'disabling' speech; Lord Keeper Bacon accepted him as Speaker on behalf of the Queen. Wray made a second oration.

Wray spoke of 'the orderly Government of a Commonwealth' for which there are 'three things requisite, Religion, Authority, and Laws'. He concluded by asking for the customary freedoms from arrest, of access to the Queen, and freedom of speech. In his answering oration Sir Nicholas Bacon said of the last request 'her Majesty...said they should do well to meddle with no matters of state, but such as should be propounded unto them, and to occupy themselves in other matters concerning the Commonwealth'.

*John Hooker's Journal*: 'This done, the Queen arose, wishing they would be more quiet than they were at the last time [1566-1567 Parliament]'. [Parl.i.198,245].

Also April 4: Scottish Commissioners at Whitehall to take leave. The Queen sent for the Scots, to say that 'she would stay them no longer'.

April 7, Sat: in the Commons: During the Subsidy debate Robert Bell spoke against Licences (later known as Monopolies), by which 'a few only were enriched, and the multitude impoverished'.

Serjeant William Lovelace complained of 'the abuse of Purveyors, wherein he had to desire the Council and the Masters of the Household to consider of it, and to be willing to yield to reformation; and in his opinion it should not be amiss to take away the Purveyors, and to limit every county to a proportionate rate; so should her Majesty be better served and the Kingdom eased'.

Sir James Croft, Controller of the Household, 'said that he being one of the Masters of the Household, would do his endeavour for reformation of all things arising by the Purveyors'. [D'Ewes, 158]. Parliament was still complaining in 1589 about the royal Purveyors, and in 1597 and 1601 about Monopolies.

8 April 1571-March 1572: marriage of 'Mistress Poore'.  
Queen's gift: two bowls with a cover gilt.<sup>PS</sup> Bride and groom not identified.

April 8: Regent Lennox's Commissioners left.  
La Mothe to Charles IX, April 11: The Queen has authorised the Earl of Morton to return to Scotland to hold an assembly on May 1 to obtain power to restore the Queen of Scots, on condition that if he does not at once return she will proceed without him to the Treaty for her restitution. [iv.51].

The Earl of Morton did not return.  
Lord Livingston and the Bishop of Galloway left on April 11 to go to the Queen of Scots. There were no further dealings in 1571 over a Treaty with her.

Apr 9, Mon Bishop of Ross at Whitehall for audience.

*Bishop:* The Queen had commanded me to depart with the Commissioners, whereupon the Queen of Scots commanded me 'expressly to remain and not to depart', being her Ambassador. 'Having received this command, I was admitted to the Queen of England's presence again...I was driven into a marvellous great labyrinth and strait between the two Princesses...For my remaining, the Queen would grant no licence', except until after Easter.

'I remained at London, wherewith the Queen of England was offended, and also she conceived thereby great suspicion against me, as well appeared by the proceedings shortly after'. [Ross, *Memoirs*, 143-7].

April 10, in the Commons: 'Mr Speaker recited a commandment from the Queen's Majesty to spend little time in motions, and to avoid long speeches'. This arose out of Robert Bell's speech on April 7 'concerning Licences granted by her Majesty, wherein he seemed...to speak against her Prerogative'. [D'Ewes, 159].

*April 10-19: Guido Cavalcanti's secret embassy concerning marriage.*  
'Cavalcanti brought eight articles of demand of marriage with Henry Duke of Anjou'.<sup>B</sup> Cavalcanti apparently stayed at Lord Burghley's house at Cannon Row, Westminster, close to Whitehall Palace.

Apr 10, Tues Guido Cavalcanti's secret audience.

April 10, De Spes: 'Two days since Guido Cavalcanti came from Paris...very secretly, his intention being to confer alone with Lord Burghley and [Thomas] Heneage, a favourite of the Queen, but he was recognised at Dover. It appears they offer that the Duke shall conform to the laws of this country as regards religion, that he shall be called King but not be crowned, and that he shall have an allowance equal to that which he would receive in France'. [Span.i.302].

Apr 11, Wed French Ambassador at Whitehall for audience.

La Mothe to Catherine de Medici, April 19, of Cavalcanti: 'In coming he was stopped at Dover and taken, guarded by a guide, to Lord Burghley's house, which could not be done so secretly but that some heard of it, and the same evening the Queen spoke to him...and afterwards he came to confer with me'...

'I went next day to the Queen, who withdrew aside into a gallery'...

'I put to her the proposal from your Majesty [to marry the Duke of Anjou], which I can assure you she received with very great contentment, and replied to me in such a good and modest fashion that it seemed neither simulated nor feigned...She begged me to confer with the Earl of Leicester and Lord Burghley, who were the only two to whom she had confided the proposal'...

'I have had three conferences with them'. [iv.58-9].

Flanders Commissioner, Sweveghem, to the Duke of Alva, April 15, London:

'I had audience after dinner on the 11th with the Earl of Leicester and Lord Burghley at court, but briefly, because the Earl was commanded by the Queen to accompany her into the fields, where she was going for sport'. [KL.vi.109].

Apr 12, Maundy Thursday ceremonies and alms-giving.

By the Queen, with Edmund Guest, Bishop of Rochester, Queen's Almoner; to 37 poor women, each 20s in a red purse and 37d in a white purse.<sup>T</sup>

*April 12, in the Commons:* 'It is ordered that the House do sit tomorrow till 10 o'clock, and then to go to the court to hear the sermon'. [D'Ewes, 162].

Apr 13, Good Friday sermon, Whitehall: Dr Nowell, Dean of St Paul's.

'The Friday in the forenoon Mr Nowell preached at the court'. [Parl.i.225].

[April 13] 'In haste this Good Friday', Earl of Leicester to Francis Walsingham: 'My brother Sidney (the Deputy of Ireland) is arrived here'... 'I pray you send me another cipher more easy than the last'. [Digges, 82]. [Leicester's brother-in-law Sir Henry Sidney was Lord Deputy of Ireland].

Also April 13: Cavalcanti delivered Articles to the Queen.

Lord Burghley listed eight Articles, among them that the Duke wished to be called King as soon as the marriage had taken place, to be crowned the day after, to have £60,000 a year for life. [HT.ii.543-4].

April 15, De Spes: 'There is but little difference of opinion about the conditions, and conferences are being held incessantly...Guido Cavalcanti is still at Cecil's house with a secretary of his'. [Span.i.304].

April 16: 'The French Ambassadors...have answer to the eight articles brought by Cavalcanti'.<sup>B</sup> [Answers: HT.ii.543-5].

April 19, La Mothe to Catherine de Medici, taken to her by Cavalcanti, with 'a little portrait which the Earl of Leicester gave me' (of himself).

Cavalcanti took a Mémoire of: 'What La Mothe said to the Queen...'.  
In speaking of how a marriage ceremony could be arranged 'The Queen said that she had been crowned according to the ceremonies of the Catholic Church, and by a Catholic Bishop, without being present for the whole of the Mass'. [iv.61,66].

Cavalcanti returned to Paris on April 24.

Apr 20, Fri Queen in Lambeth Fields, Surrey. Lambeth churchwardens: 'Paid for ringing when the Queen's Majesty rode about the fields the 20th of April, 12d'.

April 20, in the Commons: 'Mr Speaker endeavoured an agreement and unity in the house, making signification that the Queen's Majesty had in plain words declared unto him that she had good intelligence of the orderly proceeding among us; whereof she had as good liking as ever she had of any Parliament since she came unto the Crown; and wished we should give her no other cause than to continue the same, and added further her Majesty's pleasure to be to take order for Licences'. [Monopolies]. [D'Ewes, 175].

Apr 22, Sun Eve of Garter ceremonies, Whitehall.

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

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

Queen's Lieutenant: William 1st Lord Howard of Effingham.

The Queen was in the processions and at the service.

Apr 24, Tues Final 1571 Garter ceremonies, Whitehall.

No new Knights of the Garter were elected. During April Emperor Maximilian's banner and hatchments were set up at Windsor without Installation. [K.G.1566].

Apr 26, Thur Flanders Commissioner at Whitehall for audience.

April 27, Sweveghem to the Duke of Alva: 'I had audience with the Queen in the Privy Chamber yesterday evening, but it did not produce any good effect for the advance of our negotiations...The Queen with the Earl of Leicester and Lord Burghley made such frequent interruptions'. The Queen threatened to sell the Spanish merchants' goods seized in England. [KL.vi.123].

Court news. April 27, De Spes, of Guido Cavalcanti: 'His departure was extremely secret, and he was guarded closely to prevent anyone from speaking to him, even the French Ambassador, so that the Queen's decision should not leak out...The Queen Mother promises to come hither with her son, and the wedding, they say, is to take place at Canterbury'. [Span.ii.306].

Apr 29, Sun Marquis of Northampton's marriage, Whitehall Palace.  
 William Parr, Marquis of Northampton (1513-October 1571). His 2nd wife died in April 1565, but he waited to remarry until after his divorced 1st wife, Baroness Bouchier, died on 28 Jan 1571. He now married (3rd wife) Helena Snakenborg, of Sweden (1549-1635), who accompanied Lady Cecilia to England in 1565; she became a denizen of England on 8 Feb 1571, described as a Lady of the Privy Chamber.

John Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich, to Henry Bullinger, Aug 10, Ludham:  
 The Marquis 'brother of Queen Catherine, the last wife of Henry the eighth... married a very beautiful German girl, who remained in the Queen's court after the departure of the Margrave of Baden and Cecilia'. [Zurich, 363].

*April: For the Emperor's Ambassador at Hampton Court the Cofferer of the Household paid £9.19s.<sup>c</sup> Richard Brackenbury with ten men 'giving attendance at Hampton Court three days...upon certain strangers there', April.*

*Richard Todd made ready the Privy Lodgings at Hampton Court 'at two several times for certain strangers that came from the Emperor', April and May.<sup>t</sup>*

May 1, Tues Tournament, first day: Tilt. [Challenge made on Jan 6].  
 'Six courses apiece, and who so doth best of the Defendants in those six courses shall have for his prize a chain of gold'.

Four Challengers v 27 Defendants.

Earl of Oxford: the Red Knight; Charles Howard: the White Knight.

Sir Henry Lee: the Green Knight; Christopher Hatton: the Black Knight.

Earl of Oxford versus Lord Henry Seymour; Thomas Cecil; Henry Knollys; Thomas Knyvett; Robert Colshill; Thomas Bedingfield; Thomas Coningsby.

Charles Howard versus Lord Stafford; Henry Grey; Henry Knyvett; William Knollys; Lancelot Bostock; Thomas More; Roger Clopton.

Sir Henry Lee versus Edward Herbert; William Herbert; William Norris; Ralph Lane; Brian Ansley; William Worthington; Robert Alexander.

Christopher Hatton versus Sir George Carey; Sir Jerome Bowes; Richard Bulkeley; George Delves; Henry Macwilliam; Richard Blount.

*Charles Howard: son of William Lord Howard of Effingham, Lord Chamberlain; Christopher Hatton: a Gentleman Pensioner, as were many of the Defendants.*

*Sir Henry Lee took a prominent role in Tilts from 1571-1590. A portrait of him by Antonis Mor, 1568, is reproduced in Dynasties, ed. Karen Hearn, 60.*

Also May 1: French Ambassador at Whitehall for audience, and tournament. La Mothe to Catherine de Medici, May 2, of confidential marriage negotiations. The Queen 'wanted to complain to me that a man who held high office had said that the Duke of Anjou would do well to come to marry this old lady, who last year had such a bad leg that it was still not completely cured, and possibly would never be cured; and under that pretext they could send her a potion from France of such a nature that he would find himself a widower in six or seven months, and could then marry the Queen of Scots at his leisure and live as King of this island'.

To Catherine, May 10: On May 1 'Leicester and Burghley led me into the Privy Chamber...When the Queen arrived she remarked to me that notwithstanding the bad report which they make of her leg she had danced on the previous Sunday at the Marquis of Northampton's marriage, and she hoped that the Duke would not find that he had married a lame woman instead of an upright one'. [iv.84,93-4].

May 2, Wed Tournament, second day: Tourney on horseback.  
 'Two blows at the passage and ten at the joining. All grips, shocks and foul plays forbidden. And who so doth best of the Defendants at that feat shall have a diamond'.

May 2,3,4: French Ambassador's audiences, Whitehall.  
 La Mothe to Catherine de Medici, May 10: 'The Queen had invited me to see the second day of the tournament. She said on my arrival that she had received letters from France...The same evening I was warned that after she finished reading one dispatch the Queen had said angrily that although the [marriage] proposal was broken off, at least she had the consolation that it was not her fault, nor on her side'...

'The next morning early I sent to the Earl of Leicester to know where this alteration came from...He informed me that your Majesty had firmly demanded the free and public exercise of the Catholic religion for the Duke of Anjou'...

'After dinner I went to the Queen and with a sad face she began to complain that she was badly treated in this proposal...She begged me to confer with the Earl of Leicester and Lord Burghley...I returned next day to confer with them... Afterwards I went to the Queen, who after many very good words...begged me to believe that she had never suffered such great stress, even when she was put into the Tower, as when she forced herself to resolve to marry'. [iv.95-100].

The marriage negotiations continued.

May 6, Sun Tournament, third day: Barriers.

'Three pushes with the short pike, and ten blows with the sword with open gauntlet: no Barriers to be laid hand upon, nor any weapon to be taken hold of. And he of the Defendants that doth best thereat shall have a ruby'.

'The prizes given by the Queen to the Defendants, Clarenceux in his coat of arms going before them':

Tilt: Henry Grey: a chain of gold.

Tourney: Lord Henry Seymour: a ring with a diamond.

Barriers: Thomas Cecil: a ring with a ruby.

'And although there were no prizes to be given to the Challengers by the Proclamation, yet the Queen's Majesty did give of her gracious favour':

Earl of Oxford: a tablet with a diamond.

Charles Howard: a chain of gold.

Sir Henry Lee: a ring full of diamonds.

Christopher Hatton: a chain with a bell at it.

'The Challengers were presented armed by ladies to the Queen, as well as the Defendants'.

*William Segar*: 'On every of the Challengers her Majesty bestowed a prize, for the receiving whereof they were particularly led armed by two Ladies, unto her Presence Chamber'. [*Honor, Military and Civil*, 194]. [Bodleian Ashmolean 837, f.245; 845, f.167; College of Arms MS M.4, f.1-3].

Court news. May 8, La Mothe to Charles IX, referring to the second day of the tournament as 'fighting with swords on horseback, and the third day with the pike and sword, at the barriers. The Queen wished me to accompany her to all three...I praised them...for in truth the tournament was magnificent and very well ordered'...

'The Earl of Oxford had set up the contests, who with Charles Howard, Sir Henry Lee and Mr Hatton were the four challengers, against some twenty-seven gentlemen of good houses, defendants; and the judges were the Earls of Worcester and Sussex, the Lord Admiral, and Sir Henry Sidney, and nothing untoward occurred...They sent word to the Spanish Ambassador that if he wished to see these triumphs they would prepare a window for him'. [iv.88-89].



May 13, Sun: *Bishop of Ross questioned, prior to being put under restraint. John Lesley, Bishop of Ross (1527-1596), the Queen of Scots' Ambassador, had fallen ill. He noted 'I took the first fit of my fever' on May 1.*<sup>R</sup>

May 13: '*Bishop of Ross examined...at his house at Paul's Wharf*'.<sup>B</sup>  
*Bishop's diary: May 13: 'Afternoon, I lying sick in my fit there came to my lodging the Earl of Sussex, Lord Burghley, Sir Walter Mildmay, and Sir Ralph Sadler, who asked me many questions; to the which I answered as seemed most reasonable and convenient. Then they sequestered all my servants from me saving two...and appointed two gentlemen of the Queen's servants, called Mr Kingsmill and Mr Skipwith, to attend on me in my house, and that none should go forth nor come in. They visited my study, wherein all my principal writings were... and took the key thereof with them and sealed the door'*.<sup>R</sup>

May 14: '*Afternoon the Queen's litter was brought to my lodging by her own servants, wherein I was carried to the Bishop of Ely's house in Holborn, where I remained, and two servants with me, with my cook boy, and had all my own furniture, and made my own charges during my residence there*'.<sup>R</sup> With Richard Cox, Bishop of Ely, at Ely House, Holborn. The Bishop of Ross continued to be questioned regularly by the Council, and also to be treated by physicians.

His diary April-October 1571, referred to as <sup>R</sup>, is quoted from Calendar of State Papers, Scotland, iii.529-542.

May 14, court, George Delves (a Defendant in the Tournament) to the Earl of Rutland: '*Lord Oxford has performed his challenge at tilt, tourney, and barriers, far above the expectation of the world, and not much inferior to the other three challengers. Their furniture was very fair and costly. The Earl's livery was crimson velvet, very costly. He himself and the furniture was in some more colours, yet he was the Red Knight. Charles Howard was the White Knight, Sir Henry Lee the Green Knight. Mr Hatton was the Black Knight, whose horses were all trimmed with caparisons of black feathers, which did passing well*'.

'*There were twenty-seven defendants, whereof your servant was one. Twenty-six of them were fair and gallantly furnished, Lord Stafford and Lord Harry Seymour the chief. Henry Grey had the prize for the tilt, Lord Harry for the tourney, Thomas Cecil for the barriers. Some there be that think they had not therein right judgement*'.

'*My Lord Marquis is married. That same day he was very fine and crank [vigorous] and good afoot without a staff. Now he has returned to his old custom, and ere long I fear he will be dead at her side*' [he died Oct 28]...

'*Henry Cobham is not yet returned out of Spain, at whose coming either war or peace is looked for. The Lord Admiral is yet Lord Steward and keepeth the table during this Parliament. Lord Grey goes Lord Deputy into Ireland. Lady Sussex has been long sick and weak. Hennigam [Heveningham] never looked so well as since she tasted the quintessence out of the long-necked bottle. She keeps her place in court, but not as Maid. In her room came Mr Garrett's daughter. Lady Elizabeth Hastings recovers health but not beauty*'...

'*Mistress Frances Howard is in perfect health, beloved, and scornful. It is thought Mr Coningsby will overtake her. He is very far in love with her, and his device at tilt was a white lion devouring a young coney [rabbit]. His word [motto] was in English - Call you this love?*'<sup>RT</sup>

*New Maid of Honour: Elizabeth Garrett, daughter of Edward FitzGarrett or Garrett, Lieutenant of the Gentlemen Pensioners. Abigail Heveningham, whom she replaced, and who was a kinswoman of the Queen, became a Gentlewoman of the Privy Chamber; she married (c.1571) George Digby. Lady Elizabeth Hastings married Lord Herbert at court, 16 December 1571. Thomas Coningsby (1550-1625) married Philippa Fitzwilliam. Frances Howard, whose family crest was a white lion, married the Earl of Hertford in 1585.*

May 14, Lord Burghley to Earl of Shrewsbury (Keeper of the Queen of Scots):  
 'We find that of late one Ridolphi, an Italian merchant, was by the Bishop of Ross sent to the Duke of Alva, and so to pass to the Pope, and then into Spain; and that before his going there was a secret conspiracy here by the said Bishop with two Lords, to us yet unknown, for a new rebellion this summer'.

[The lords, denoted by the figures 30 and 40, were to march towards London, joined by a force sent by the Duke of Alva. The Queen wishes Shrewsbury to question Mary about her letters to and from Ridolphi, and the cipher used].

'If the Queen of Scots be offended with the restraint of the Bishop, certainly you may say that the whole Council have found his practices against the Queen's Majesty so evident, and for the more part now confessed by himself, that they all have fully and earnestly determined to proceed against him sharply'...

'Thus I end scribbling, in great haste'. [Lodge, i.521-524].

Court news. May 18, La Mothe to Charles IX: 'The Queen sent...to tell me that if by chance I should hear that she was proceeding a little more rigorously against the Bishop of Ross than was requisite for an Ambassador...it was because he had so much forgotten his duty that he had led three very wicked plots with her rebels against her person and state'. [iv.108-9].

May 20-c.June 25: Sir William Drury was special Ambassador to Scotland.

May 20-September: Second Commissioner from Flanders in London.

Thomas Fiesco, a Genoese, arrived in London on May 20 from the Duke of Alva to join Sweveghem in negotiating over the Spanish merchandise seized in England in 1568-69. Fiesco was chosen because he had initiated these negotiations when previously in England. He returned to the Duke for further instructions, September-November. [KL.vi.131,134,217,224].

May 25, Francis Walsingham to Lord Burghley, of an audience with the Duke of Anjou, who said: 'That though he was of years young, yet any time these five years there have been overtures of marriage made unto him, and that he found in himself no inclination until this present to yield to any. But (saith he), I must needs confess that through the great commendations that is made of the Queen your Mistress, for her rare gifts, as well of mind as of body, being (as even her very enemies say) the rarest creature that was in Europe these 500 years, my affection grounded upon so good respects hath now made me yield to be wholly hers. Touching my request for the exercise of my religion, considering the same toucheth my soul and conscience, being but private for myself, in some private place, I suppose there will grow no such offence thereof as will breed any disquiet, or alteration of state; and therefore I hope she will dispense with me in that behalf'. [Digges, 101-2].

May 26: Trial. Dr John Story (c.1504-1571), a notorious persecutor of Protestants in Queen Mary's reign, who had been brought back from the Low Countries and imprisoned in London in August 1570, was tried at Westminster Hall for high treason. He was charged that in Antwerp, with other English traitors, he did 'conspire, compass, and imagine the Queen's death, and her Highness to depose and deprive'. He 'did also procure Strangers to invade this realm of England, did receive, comfort, and help them at Antwerp aforesaid against their allegiance'. The English-born Story pleaded that he was now a subject of the King of Spain, and that the court had no jurisdiction over him. Nevertheless the court proceeded to give judgment against him, sentencing him to death.

[State Trials, i. 1090-1091]. Execution: June 1.

27 May 1571/18 May 1572: Wandsworth Church, Surrey: 'Bestowed on them that rang the bells at the Queen's riding through the town, 4d'.

**May 29, Tues Queen at Closing of Parliament.**

*John Hooker's Journal*: 'About 5 o'clock the Queen's Majesty came to the Higher House, and going into a several room appointed for the purpose she appalled herself in her royal robes of Parliament and a coronet on her head, and then came into the Higher House and sat in the seat of state. And then all things being settled the Speaker came and...after he had made his three obeisances made his oration', and presented the Subsidy Bill. [Parl.i.256].

Speaker Wray's oration was answered by the Lord Keeper, Sir Nicholas Bacon, for the Queen. He declared that she had commanded him to say that 'the greatest number of them of the Lower House have...showed themselves modest, discreet and dutiful, as becomes good and loving subjects', but 'certain of them, although not many in number...have showed themselves audacious, arrogant, and presumptuous, calling her Majesty's grants and prerogatives also in question, contrary to their duty and place...and contrary to the express admonition given in her Majesty's name at the beginning of this Parliament'.

The Queen utterly condemns 'the second sort, for their audacious, arrogant and presumptuous folly, thus by superfluous speech spending much time in meddling with matters neither pertaining to them, nor within the capacity of their understanding'. As to the Subsidy, the Queen 'maketh a greater account of the great good wills and benevolent minds of her good and loving subjects, than she doth of ten Subsidies'.

Bacon also spoke of the necessity to put the laws into execution:

Her Majesty 'enacteth, proclaimeth, committeth, exhorteth, admonisheth and commandeth from time to time' and the whole burden 'must light upon us...to see those laws executed'. There should be a regular Visitation of Justices and other officers to see 'who hath been careful, and who hath been negligent, to the end that the slothful drowsy drones might be severed from the diligent and careful bees'. [D'Ewes, 151-4]. There followed the reading of the Bills.

When a Bill of Treasons was read: 'The Queen stood up and spoke herself as followeth: "In this Parliament it was showed us of a bill devised of for our safety against treasons, whereof when we had the sight it liked us not; nevertheless being persuaded by our Council of the necessity thereof, and that it was for our safety, we were contented the same should proceed. This bill being brought into the Lower House, some one learned man did put to the same one other bill additional, which stretched so far that others might unwares be entrapped full much against our good will and pleasure. And this being brought unto us, we misliked it very much, being not of the mind to offer extremity or injury to any person; for as we mind no harm to others so we hope none will mind unto us. And therefore reserving to every his right, we thought it not good to deal so hardly with anybody as by that bill was meant". And so when she had said her mind the bill (which indeed was amended before) was allowed'. [Parl.i.256-7].

Treasons Act made it treason to deny that Elizabeth was the lawful Queen; it was treason to call her 'heretic, schismatic, tyrant, infidel, or an usurper'.

An Act against bringing in of Bulls from Rome.

Parliament was dissolved. 'Thomas Cornwallis, Groom-Porter to the Queen's Majesty, for waiting and carrying of wood and coals with rushes to the Parliament House', April 2-May 29, '58 days at 20d *per diem*, £4.16s8d'.<sup>T</sup>

Next Parliament: May 1572.

June 1, at Tyburn: Dr John Story was executed.

*La Mothe, June 9*: 'Dr Story has at last been put to death...despite the remonstrances of the Spanish Ambassador, and that he always persisted in maintaining that he was now a subject of the King of Spain; but the Queen replied "that the King could have his head if he wanted it, but his body would stay in England". Many lords of the court and of the Council attended the execution'. [iv.136].

Court news. June 2, La Mothe to Catherine de Medici: 'I am to confer secretly tomorrow with the Earl of Leicester at his house...He also desires to marry in France, and has heard Madame de Nevers de Montpensier spoken of, and I know that he infinitely desires to have her portrait, and that they also spoke to him as I hear of Madame la Princesse de Condé or Mademoiselle la Marquise d'Ile de Nevers...I very humbly beg you to order that the portrait of Madame de Nevers may be sent to me, to content him with it'. [iv.127].

c.June 4: Captain Brickwell at Whitehall from Berwick. Sir William Drury, Marshal of Berwick, sent the Captain with information Drury had gathered in Scotland. He returned to Berwick on June 10, and next day Drury reported to Burghley his praise of the Queen. 'He says (others being of the same opinion) that she is the only Phoenix'. [SPF.ix.464,469].

June 6, court, Earl of Sussex to the Earl of Rutland (in France): 'The articles to be demanded by the Queen are now sent to the Ambassador to be delivered to the King, whereupon I hope we shall understand directly what is meant in the matter [of marriage]'.<sup>RT</sup>

June 7, Thur **OSTERLEY**, Middlesex; Sir Thomas Gresham.<sup>T</sup> Osterley House, Isleworth; owned by Gresham, Founder of the Royal Exchange, which the Queen had visited and named on 23 January 1571.

June 7, Lord Burghley to Francis Walsingham, 'from Osterley, where the Queen's Majesty is retired for this day and tomorrow'. [Digges, 108].

June 7, La Mothe to Catherine de Medici: 'The Earl [of Leicester] has been granted the charge of going to fetch the Duke of Anjou, and if it could be during the Queen's progress, which is going towards Coventry, and if that marriage could be celebrated in a house which he has in that district, called Kenilworth, he would think himself very happy'. [iv.135].

The Queen visited neither Coventry nor Kenilworth Castle in 1571.

June 9, Sat **WHITEHALL PALACE**.

St Margaret Westminster: 'To the ringers for ringing when the Queen's Majesty went to Sir Thomas Gresham's and came back again, 8d'.

Court news. June 9, La Mothe to Charles IX, of the close of Parliament: 'Those who were present have assured me that the Queen made such a worthy and honourable and yet so grave and eloquent a speech that most of the assembly marvelled at it, and all were very happy with it. She rejected with good reasons the new laws and the constraints which they required to be imposed on the observance of their religion, leaving things as they were'. [iv.136].

*June 9, Sheffield, Earl of Shrewsbury to Lord Burghley:*

*'I am right glad the Queen's Majesty intends a progress towards Tutbury. My great comfort will be to see her Majesty in those parts, and if that be determined I pray your Lordship to write so to me'. [Scot.iii.602].*

*Queen of Scots was in the Earl's keeping, sometimes at Tutbury, Staffs.*

June 15, Fri Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, at Whitehall. The Earl secretly married Lady Catherine Grey in 1560; she died in 1568.

La Mothe to Charles IX, June 23: 'The Earl of Hertford, who was for a very long time under arrest for his marriage with Madame Catherine, was on June 15th restored to full liberty and to the court'. [iv.154].

15 June 1571-Sept 1572: Anthony Jenkinson was special Ambassador to Russia, being sent to Tsar Ivan IV. He had been Agent to Russia, 1566-1567.

With the 'good ships' *The Harry* and *The Swallow*, Jenkinson arrived in Russia on July 26, and sent his interpreter Daniel Sylvester to the court at Moscow. Meanwhile he was told 'that the Prince's displeasure was such against me, that if ever I came into his country again, I should lose my head, with other words of discouragement'. 'Calling to mind mine innocency and good meaning' Jenkinson decided to remain there. Plague ('the great death') prevented an answer from the court until January 1572, when he was permitted to approach nearer to it.

First audience: 23 March 1572. The Emperor 'gave gracious audience unto my oration', and accepted a gift from the Queen. Then in private he complained that Jenkinson had not returned to him earlier, and of the conduct of three English messengers sent about merchants' affairs, and of Thomas Randolph (special Ambassador 1568-1569). 'All his talk with us was about merchants' affairs, and nothing touching ours'. Jenkinson made a lengthy oration in response; at an amicable audience on May 13 he put forward his own requests concerning merchants, to which he received satisfactory answers next day.

He set sail for England on 23 July 1572. [Hakluyt, ii.136-156].

June 18, Mon Proposed Trial by single combat, Westminster.

Thomas Wilbraham wrote to Lord Burghley, June 12, sending precedents from the law books for the order of judicial combat. [SP12/78/40].

*Holinshed's description*: On June 18 a trial by single combat was to take place to decide the ownership of lands in Kent; the champions were to be for the defendant George Thorne and for the plaintiffs Henry Nailor, a Master of Defence and servant to the Earl of Leicester. 'The Queen's Majesty abhorring bloodshed', the matter was settled on June 17, but it was agreed that the two champions should still put in an appearance the next day.

Early on June 18 Nailor came through London, dressed in doublet and breeches of crimson satin, and a black velvet hat with a red feather, 'before him drums and fifes playing'. The gauntlet cast down by Thorne was borne before Nailor on a sword's point, his staff and shield borne after him by 'Askam, a Yeoman of the Queen's Guard. He came into the palace at Westminster', then went via King Street and Tothill Street to Tothill Fields, Westminster.

Sir Jerome Bowes brought him to a tent, George Thorne being in a tent with Sir Henry Cheney. A railed off square was ready, as if for combat, and also an outdoor stage for the judges, representing the Court of Common Pleas.

The Queen caused a Proclamation to be made 'that every person...keep their staves and their weapons to themselves'. Sir James Dyer, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, gave judgment for the defendant. He commanded the champions 'both quietly to depart the field'. [Modern edition: Nichols, *Progresses* (2014), i.696-698].

Court news. June 20, La Mothe to Catherine de Medici: 'The Earl of Leicester informed me that Thomas Fiesco told him that the Duke of Alva was sure that the marriage of the Queen and Monseigneur the Duke of Anjou would never happen, partly for the ancient enmity between the nations...but if she wished to marry he knew of someone who was the most honourable and advantageous in all Christendom...And then Fiesco had said that he was charged to name the person whom the Duke of Alva meant, who was the Emperor's eldest son [Archduke Rudolf], a prince of great honour and great virtue, very handsome, of fine build and disposition, of age approaching that of Monseigneur...and that he would at once dispatch a Post to inform the Duke, who would not fail within a fortnight to send such a good and certain promise from the Emperor that the Queen would be very happy with it...At the end of a fortnight the reply had still not come, but only a little letter from the Duke of Alva...The Earl told Fiesco that he was too late...that things were already concluded with Monseigneur'. [iv.148-9].

\*June 23, Sat Review before the Queen, St James's Park.

June 23, La Mothe to Catherine de Medici: 'An hour ago the Earl of Leicester came to tell me that the Queen becomes daily better disposed [to marry Anjou], and that in the evening, having gone to her park at Westminster to see a salute and review some arquebusiers which the Earl of Oxford and Captains Horsey and Leighton had led there, she told him he should provide in good time to give similar pleasures to Monseigneur'. [iv.155-6].

*Summer 1571, at St James's Palace and Park, the major building work there of the reign: 'Bringing home of the water to the Manor of St James'. There were conduit heads in the park; a brick conduit house, with a carved 'epitaph' with the Queen's name and the date; and a 'great new cistern' at the Palace.<sup>w</sup>*

June 24, court at Westminster, George Delves to the Earl of Rutland:

'What you think or say in France I know not, but we say here that the Queen will marry the Duke of Anjou. There is no man of life and agility in every respect in court, but the Earl of Oxford'.<sup>RT</sup>

June 24, Shrewsbury Place, London, John Kniveton to the Earl of Shrewsbury:

'There is yet no certain determination of the progress, but it is thought it will to Tutbury, and the rather because there is no speech of progress or appointment otherwise'. Unless the Duke of Anjou comes 'it is almost certain to hold, but the gestes [itinerary] be not yet made out or known. The cause that moveth the Queen's Majesty to go that progress is very secret'. [LPL 3206/305].

*June 25, Francis Walsingham to Lord Burghley, warning of plots 'for the stealing away of the Scottish Queen'. [SPF.ix.479].*

*Walsingham sent several such warnings from France.*

June 27: Jesus College, Oxford, founded by the Queen's Letters Patent, ending 'We have decreed that a College of learning in the sciences, philosophy, humane pursuits, knowledge of the Hebrew, Greek and Latin languages, to the ultimate profession of Sacred Theology, to last for all time to come, be created, founded, built, and established'. Its full name: 'Jesus College within the City and University of Oxford of Queen Elizabeth's Foundation'. [J.N.L.Baker, *Jesus College, Oxford 1571-1971* (Oxford, 1971). A portrait of the Queen, 1590, presides over the dining-hall. Arnold, *Wardrobe*, 40-43].

June 27, Westminster, Council ordered to be sent up from Gloucestershire three men 'with a book painted wherein the Queen's Majesty's image is, with an arrow in her mouth'.<sup>APC</sup> The sequel is not known.

*June 30-July 11: French special Ambassador in London.*

*Charles IX sent Grimonville de l'Archant, Captain of the Duke of Anjou's Guard, with Guido Cavalcanti, to continue to negotiate on the Duke's marriage with the Queen; in particular as to whether the Duke would be allowed the exercise of his religion in private.*

June 30: Bishop of Ross noted that L'Archant arrived at London with 'a brave company. His message was to treat with the Queen of England for the marriage of the Duke d'Anjou and...to speak for the Queen of Scots, and for my liberty'.<sup>R</sup>

July 1: Bishop: 'I wrote to the Ambassador to congratulate the coming of the gentleman...Their audience was deferred because the Queen was sick'.<sup>R</sup>

July 2, Mon Duke of Anjou's envoy at Whitehall for audience.

[See La Mothe's dispatch, July 11, relating to July 2, 6, and 7].

July 3, Catherine de Medici to La Mothe, with two paintings of her son the Duke of Anjou by Monsieur Janet, not a single painting, as she had wished.

'He only had time to do the face, which is very good, and done perfectly, true to life; the other painting will serve only for the figure; it is also a true likeness of my son, but he has not painted the face perfectly, because the other was done, and I wished this bearer to leave speedily. I advise you to deliver both to the Earl of Leicester...whilst waiting until Monsieur Janet has finished the large size painting he is working on, which I am hoping to send you'...

'I pray that I can soon have a small size painting of the Queen (and that she may be well portrayed), of the size and in the same fashion as the one you sent me of the Earl of Leicester, for the painting we have does not do her justice, being turned a little to the right side. I am annoyed that I cannot yet send the painting of my cousin the Duchesse de Nevers de Montpensier'. [vii.229,231].

[The artist referred to as Janet: François Clouet (c.1510-1572)].

July 6, Fri Henry Cobham at Whitehall, on return from embassy to Spain. De Spes to Philip II, July 12: 'Cobham arrived here on the 6th, and his letter and verbal statement have made the Queen very sad'.

The English 'are more alarmed than they were'. [Span.ii.321].

Also July 6: L'Archant and La Mothe at Whitehall with Queen and Council.

July 6, Bishop of Ross: I was told 'that within two days I should be put to liberty'.<sup>R</sup>

July 7, Sat **HAMPTON COURT**, Middlesex.<sup>C</sup>

July 7, Bp of Ross: 'The Queen of England removed to Hampton Court. They were so busy that we could have no resolution till four or five days are past. Michael Gilbert came to the court, and sent me in his rings and tablets, come forth of France, to see if I would buy any of them'.<sup>R</sup> Gilbert: a London goldsmith.

Court news. July 7, Earl of Leicester to Francis Walsingham, of the Queen's disposition: 'For her desire to marriage, I perceive it continueth still as it was, which is very cold; nevertheless, she seeth it is so necessary, as I believe she yieldeth rather to think it fit to have a husband, than willing to have any found indeed for her'. The demand for the Duke's 'private exercise of his religion...I believe will utterly break off the matter'...

'Mr Cobham is returned out of Spain, where we have no cause to look for any friendship. The King used him gently, but those of authority and credit about him most proudly and arrogantly'. [Digges, 116].

July 9, Hampton Court, Queen to Francis Walsingham, of her dealings with the French Ambassadors, mainly as to the Duke of Anjou's exercise of his religion:

'We have in no wise yielded to grant to Monsieur a liberty for exercise of his Romish religion; neither have we any inclination to yield thereto; and yet for the benefit of our Realm rather than for any particular inclination to marriage, we have resolved this marriage to be meet for us, so as the difficulty of religion be well accorded'. The Queen sends a detailed summary by Burghley of answers made to the French. After their first audience she ordered 'that the whole proceedings from the beginning should be declared to her Council; and so being done, the same were very well allowed by her Councillors, and her Majesty was earnestly moved by them not to stay in this matter of her marriage with Monsieur de Anjou, so as he might be induced to consent with her in religion, or at the least not to have any exercise of religion contrary to hers'.

The second audience with the Queen on Friday July 6, and a conference next day at Leicester House with Leicester and other Councillors, are described, both occasions being principally concerned with religion. [Digges, 111-115].

July 9, Hampton Court, Lord Burghley to Francis Walsingham:

'God direct the matter, for I have done my uttermost, and so hath other Councillors here...From Spain we have no good answer, and therefore this amity were needful to us, but God hath determined to plague us...The gentleman hath a chain of one hundred and sixty pound, which was not easily had'. [Digges, 115].

July 11, La Mothe to Charles IX: 'Monsieur de l'Archant did not arrive here until the last day of June, just when the Queen on the previous night, in disrobing to go to bed, twisted her right side, with such pain that she was unconscious for more than two hours, to the amazement of her court. She still felt so bad that until the following Monday she could not give audience to Monsieur l'Archant nor to me, but that day she forced herself to get up, and received him honourably and very favourably, giving him a kindly audience'...

'The reply was deferred until the following Friday, when her Council after long consultation advised us of it...She was very agreeable to the choice of M.de Montmorency, M.de Foix, and M.de Chiverny to come to conclude the matter... and they would be very welcome...The day after, the Earl of Leicester invited us to his house with all the principal Councillors'...

'Signor Cavalcanti has since returned to court to take leave of the Queen'. [iv.169-171]. De Foix alone arrived in August as a special Ambassador.

July 11: Bishop of Ross: 'The French Captain departed towards France, and as is reported, no great hope of the marriage'.<sup>R</sup>

July 14, Sat French Ambassador at Hampton Court for audience.

La Mothe to Charles IX, July 20: 'I wanted to show the Queen that the main reason which took me to her this time was to kiss her hands and to see and understand her good disposition...and to thank her also for the favour which she showed to M.de l'Archant, by having received and heard him kindly...and having had him honourably entertained and accompanied by her gentlemen to the hunt and anywhere he wished to go, and that he and I had been very sumptuously well treated in the Earl of Leicester's house, and that at his departure she had sent to honour him with a good present...so that he left with very high esteem of all he had seen and heard of her and her court'...

'She told me of...a newly discovered plot in which the Earl of Derby's son [Sir Thomas Stanley] was concerned. He had confessed that he had planned to begin in the town of Coventry by giving them to understand that their Queen was dead, in order at once to proclaim Queen the Queen of Scots, who on this pretext would be drawn by force from the hands of the Earl of Shrewsbury, which was punishable by death for the authors and accomplices'.

To the Queen Mother: 'In talking with the Queen...we came to speak of the portrait of the Duke of Anjou your son, and she said that this was still only in crayon, and that his complexion was obscured by charcoal'. [iv.180-1,186].

[This portrait is discussed by Elizabeth Goldring, *Robert Dudley*, 79].

July 14: Council to the Lieutenant of the Tower 'to receive into his custody Sir Thomas Stanley'.<sup>APC</sup>

*Those examined and put in the Tower concerning a plot to free the Queen of Scots included Sir Thomas and Edward Stanley (Earl of Derby's 2nd and 3rd sons), Sir Thomas Gerard, and Francis Rolston, whose son George Rolston, a Gentleman Pensioner, had informed on him.*



By July 21: Stationers entered: 'An answer to apology thrown abroad in the Court. W.Fulke'. John Feckenham (c.1510-1584), last Abbot of Westminster, had written earlier in 1571: 'Certain considerations and causes moving me not to be present at, nor to receive, neither use, the service of the new book, otherwise called the Common book of prayers'. This circulated in manuscript, and was known as 'An Apology of a Papist'.

Fulke's reply was published as 'A Confutation of a Popish and slanderous libel, in form of an apology, given out into the court, and spread abroad in divers other places of the Realm'. 'By William Fulke, Bachelor in Divinity, and Fellow of St John's College in Cambridge'.

Running title: 'An answer to a Popish apology'. Dedicated to Lady Margaret Strange, referring to 'Your honourable and Godly request (madame) to have this infamous and Popish Apology confuted...The libel being slanderous against our Sovereign and her laws, and blasphemous against God and his truth'.

The book begins: 'There was found in the court, either cast of purpose, or lost of negligence, a certain small pamphlet, containing an Apology, or answer of a Papist, to some friends of his that persuaded him to conform himself to the Religion now received in the realm, by public authority; which when it came to my hands, supposing it might do some hurt among them that are ignorant, I thought good briefly to confute it'. 117p. (London, 1571).

William Fulke wrote numerous answers to Catholics, and dedicated several books to the Queen. His dedicatee on this occasion, Lady Margaret Strange, wife of Henry Lord Strange, son and heir of the Earl of Derby, was much at court.

Court news. July 22, La Mothe to Catherine de Medici: 'I am sending you a portrait of the Queen, which she gave me very willingly...Leicester asks for one of the Duke, full size in colour, and likewise one of the lady whom you know'.

[Madame de Nevers. iv.192].

July 24, Tues Queen's gift to the French Ambassador.

La Mothe to Catherine de Medici, July 31: 'Last Tuesday Mr Barnaby, the Earl of Leicester's secretary, whom you know well, came to present the Earl's best wishes, and to tell me that the Earl had also charged him to send best wishes from the Queen, and one of the baskets from her cabinet in which she keeps little necessities for her needlework, which he at once opened, which she sent me filled with very fine apricots, to show me that England is a very good country for producing good fruit...He assured me that the Queen had never found herself healthier nor in better humour than now, and that she was no longer going out in a coach, but on a fine big horse to the hunt'. [iv.200].

The Queen had had a bad leg since summer 1570.

July 25, Catherine de Medici to La Mothe (in her own hand): 'As I have particular confidence in you, I will tell you that the humour which my son of Anjou is in pains me greatly. He is so obstinate about not going to England without having a public assurance for the exercise of his religion that neither the King nor I can bring him to trust the word of the Queen of England'...

'If by misfortune things do not go as I wish for him, I am resolved to make every effort to succeed with my son of Alençon, who will not be so difficult'...

'Burn this after you have read it'. [vii.234-5].

July 27, Francis Walsingham to the Earl of Leicester:

'Her Majesty's liberality bestowed on L'Archant was very well employed, for none can speak more honourably of her than he doth...They have by the space of five or six days sat very hard in Council about this matter'. [Digges, 118].

Court news. July 28, Fetter Lane [London], John Lord St John to the Earl of Rutland: 'The Earl of Oxford hath gotten him a wife - or at the least a wife hath caught him - that is Mistress Anne Cecil, whereunto the Queen hath given her consent, the which hath caused great weeping, wailing, and sorrowful cheer, of those that hoped to have had that golden day'.<sup>RT</sup> (See August 3).

July 31, Francis Walsingham to Lord Burghley:

The King told me 'that his resolution, after long deliberation, was to send Monsieur de Foix forthwith unto her Majesty...who he hoped should find her not so resolute touching the point of religion'...

The Duke of Anjou came to me, saying that L'Archant 'had made such report of her Majesty's rare and Princely virtues, as it was an intolerable grief unto him to see so great a block to lie in the way as the point of Religion, which so nearly touched both his honour and his conscience, to keep him from the attaining to the rarest good hap that ever in the world could happen unto him. He protested how he wished, so that the same were removed, he had lost an arm or a leg. But howsoever, saith he, the matter fall out, I shall desire her to make account of me, as of a Champion ready at all times to hazard my life in her defence during my life against any that shall attempt anything against her'.

July 31, Walsingham to Leicester: 'Monsieur de Foix...hath commission to conclude either marriage, or some strait amity between the two Crowns. They rest here very well persuaded of her Majesty's sincerity...Her Majesty is bound to the gentleman that now cometh; he standeth every way in defence of her honour, as much as if he were her natural subject...You shall do well to advise her Majesty both honourably to use and liberally to reward him'. [Digges, 118-121].

July: visit, West Horsley, Surrey; Lord Clinton.

West Horsley manor-house; owned by Edward Lord Clinton, the Lord Admiral. 3rd wife: Elizabeth (FitzGerald) (c.1528-1590), a Lady of the Privy Chamber.

William Buckland, a royal waterman, 'for serving her Highness at Hampton Court in the month of July...over the water going to Horsley the Lord Admiral's, and for serving her Majesty upon the Thames...three days with five watermen...at 22d the day, with the hire of a barge, and for rushes and flowers', 44s.<sup>T</sup>

During 1571 the Queen paid 'for one gilt cup with a cover...which cup was made by our commandment and delivered to the Lady Clinton for a like cup with a cover which we took of the said Lady Clinton and do occupy in our Privy Chamber'.<sup>PS</sup>

July: visit, Byfleet, Surrey.<sup>T</sup>

Byfleet manor-house; Crown property.

Lord Clinton was Keeper of Byfleet Park.

July/August: Dr Dee's sickness on return from a journey to Lorraine.

Dr John Dee (1527-1609), astrologer, mathematician, mystic, of Mortlake, Surrey. Dee noted that in 1571 he had 'her Majesty's favourable licence and passport, with my two servants and our geldings'.

'After my journey into the Dukedom of Lorraine, anno 1571, in my very dangerous sickness I received chief help and comfort by her Majesty's great favour towards me, not only sending carefully and with great speed from Hampton Court unto me Dr Atslow and Mr Balthrop (who faithfully and prosperously did their parts of skill with me), but also in sending the honourable Lady Sidney in a manner to tend on me; to discern how my health bettered, and to comfort me from her Majesty with divers very pithy speeches and gracious, and also with divers rarities to eat, to increase my health and strength: the most dutiful and thankful memory whereof shall never die'. [Dee, *Rehearsal*, 11-12].

Dee went to obtain equipment for his laboratory, and returned with a cart-load.

By August 1: visit and hunting, Oatlands Palace, Surrey.<sup>T</sup> (See August 5).  
 Aug 1, Bp of Ross: 'Venison sent to me by the Ambassador of France, a quarter of red deer, which was slain by the Queen of England, and sent by her to him'.<sup>R</sup>

*Aug 1, Heidelberg, Frederick Elector Palatine to Lord Burghley: In favour of one of my household named William Melville, whom I send to the Queen on certain matters. On November 28 the Elector wrote to Francis Walsingham to know what had become of Melville, a young Scotsman whom he sent over to the English court some months back. [SPF.ix.500,583]. Melville eventually returned.*

Aug 3, Fri Earl of Oxford at Hampton Court with the Queen.  
 Aug 3, Lord Burghley noted: 'The Earl of Oxford declared to the Queen's Majesty at Hampton Court his desire to match with my daughter Anne; whereto the Queen assented; so did the Duke of Norfolk, being then a prisoner in his own house, called Howard House'.<sup>B</sup> They married on December 16, at court.

Court news. Aug 5, La Mothe to Charles IX: 'The Queen sent to visit me with a present of a large stag, which she herself killed with a cross-bow'.

To Catherine de Medici: 'By the gentleman who came to me to present the stag...the Earl of Leicester informed me that the Queen having seen this large stag whilst hunting at Oatlands immediately wished to kill it in order to send it to me, so that with the fruits from her gardens I would also have the venison from her forests, to judge better the bountifulness of the land. So she had at once called for a cross-bow, and with one shot broke its leg, so that it only remained for the old Lord Chamberlain to finish it off'.

'He assured me that the Queen continued more and more her good comments on the Duke of Anjou, and often spoke of the pleasure and exercise which they would take together hunting and visiting the beauty spots of this Kingdom...She said that she still did not have a full-length portrait of him in colour'...

'She is having a lodging prepared for the Deputies'. [iv.204,206-7].

One Deputy came for marriage negotiations.

Aug 5, Leith, Regent Lennox to the Queen, sending James Cunningham, who is to desire her openly to maintain the King's cause. [SPF.ix.499,503].

*The supporters of the young King James and those of his mother the Queen of Scots had become known as 'the King's party' and 'the Queen's party'. Cunningham was sent several times to Queen Elizabeth during 1571.*

Aug 8, Wed: Bishop of Ross at Hampton Court, described by himself:

Aug 8: 'I was sent for to come to Hampton Court, whither I passed by water, accompanied with Mr Kingsmill, and came to the Keeper's house in the park at 6 hours afternoon, where the Earl of Sussex, Lord Chamberlain [Lord Howard], Lord Burghley, and Sir Francis Knollys, came and declared to me the Queen's mind, that she could not presently put me to liberty, as she intended, for sundry respects, and therefore willed me to take patience while the progress time should be done, and that in the meantime I should pass with my Lord Ely [Richard Cox, Bishop of Ely] into the country'...

'I was in Kingston all that night'.

Aug 9: The Bishop noted: 'I returned to London'.<sup>R</sup>  
 [Sequel: August 14 and 17].

Aug 9, Thur dinner, Gunnersbury, Ealing, Middlesex.<sup>C</sup>  
 Gunnersbury manor-house, Ealing; owned by John Spelman; died 1581;  
 wife: Katherine, widow of Simon Carvile.  
**Start of SUMMER PROGRESS** in Middlesex, Hertfordshire, and Essex.

Aug 9, Thur **HENDON**, Middlesex; Edward Herbert.<sup>C,T</sup>  
 Hendon manor-house, Hendon Place; owned by Edward Herbert (c.1542-1595),  
 second son of William Herbert 1st Earl of Pembroke;  
 wife (1570): Mary (Stanley), daughter of Thomas Stanley, of Standon, Herts.  
 During April-Sept 1571 the Queen was godmother to 'Edward Herbert esquire's  
 daughter', giving 'one cup with a cover gilt'.<sup>PS</sup> Child: not further identified.

Aug 10, Fri **HATFIELD**, Herts.<sup>C</sup> Crown property.  
 Hatfield manor-house. Numerous Works payments at 'Bishop's Hatfield'.

*c. Aug 10-Sept 6: French special Ambassador in England.*  
*Paul de Foix (1528-1584), a cousin of the King, and a Councillor, came to*  
*continue marriage negotiations.*  
*He had been resident Ambassador to England 1562-1566.*

*Aug 10, Lord Burghley to the Earl of Leicester: 'I am here fully occupied*  
*like a Harbinger to procure a lodging for Monsieur de Foix. Mrs Onslow's house*  
*cannot be had, all things being locked up by her and he is in hurry. I have sent*  
*to obtain Serjeant Manwood's house or Blackwell's. I write to my Lord Cobham*  
*to cause one of his brethren to accompany Monsieur de Foix to London'...*  
*'From my house in Westminster, as merry with my own as the Queen's business*  
*will permit me which followeth me wheresoever I go'. [Bath, v.181].*  
*Locations: Richard Onslow, of Blackfriars, had died 2 April 1571.*  
*Serjeant at Law Roger Manwood was of St Bartholomew's (and of Kent).*  
*Serjeant Blackwell was of Blackfriars.*

Court news. Aug 12, London, La Mothe to Charles IX:  
 'They are rejoicing greatly at the coming of M.de Foix, of whom they have the  
 best opinion in the world, and no one could come in whom they would have more  
 faith, nor who would be more agreeable to them. They have sent young Cobham to  
 receive him at Dover and to conduct him here, and Lord Buckhurst and Charles  
 Howard are ordered to accompany him in London, and then to lead us to where  
 the Queen is, as she is already on her progress'. [iv.215].

*Aug 13, London, Lord Buckhurst to Lord Burghley: I prepared 'a horse with a*  
*foot-cloth of velvet for himself and nine other for his company (to be ready for*  
*him at the Blackfriars where he landed)...and with the French Ambassador met him*  
*at the Blackfriars stairs and brought him to his lodging'. 'When shall he have*  
*audience and where shall he be lodged and how met and received?'*

*Aug 14: Bishop of Ross was sent word by Lord Burghley 'that it was the Queen's*  
*pleasure that I should be honourably treated with my Lord Ely, with all favour,*  
*and have all manner of good air and entertainment necessary for my health...*  
*I should have with me two at least in my chamber, and one cook...and another*  
*to await on my horses...I should warn all those who attended about me to depart*  
*with diligence out of the realm'.*

*The same night 'I prepared silver-work to be carried with me in the country',*  
*including a silver basin, spoons, goblets, a drinking pot.<sup>R</sup>*

Court news. Aug 14 (I), Lord Buckhurst to Lord Burghley:

'I perceive by my cousin Charles Howard that her Majesty told him yesterday how we were like to pass by her Highness as she did hunt, and both we upon this matter laying our heads together do find such scruples as without her Majesty's pleasure first known we cannot well determine of them'.

'The first is, if Monsieur Foix passing by the place where he should perceive her Majesty to be there in hunting should then of himself move to see her Highness, whether we should do well to further the same his desire or else by some discreet means to over pass it'.

'The second, if Monsieur Foix should not first utter any such desire of himself, whether we should do well to begin to that effect with him, using this manner of speech or such like, as to demand of him whether Monsieur Foix would please to visit her Majesty there in hunting, and as for the French King's Ambassador that comes in the person of Monsieur Foix, he should not see her Majesty until the next day'.

'Thirdly, if her Highness meant to hold on her hunting and not to have Monsieur Foix to partake with her Majesty in that pastime at this present, whether then we should continue to pass the same way where her Majesty would please to hunt...or rather purposely...to take some other byway'.

I now understand 'that Mr Brockett's house stands three miles direct beyond the court and that of necessity we must ride hard by the court gate... Methinks it were very hard to lead him hard by the court gate and not to bring him in to see her Highness, especially being so desirous to see her Majesty as he is. He will say we make this indeed a kind of Tantalus torment'.

Aug 14 (II), Buckhurst to Burghley: De Foix learnt that the Queen appointed 'to give him audience on Thursday [August 16] and so his arrival near the court to be tomorrow...We found that he was not provided of horses neither for his company nor for his carriage. Thereupon I told him that I would send him 20 horse...and also a wagon for his carriage to be with him by 12 o'clock'...

'Monsieur Foix and the Ambassador will take their journey from hence tomorrow about 8 o'clock in the morning, so as whether he shall dine with my Lord of Leicester at the court, or that we shall conduct him through to Mr Brockett's I pray you send us also advertisement'. [SP12/80/20-22].

*John Brockett owned Brockett Hall, Hatfield parish. The Cofferer paid £259.14s0¼d for the Ambassadors at Brockett Hall and elsewhere, August.<sup>c</sup>*

*Richard Brackenbury 'giving attendance upon the French Ambassadors Monsieur de Foix and Monsieur de Mothe and all their train...at Mr Brockett's house', 14 days, 'and at Saffron Walden and thereabout', 7 days.*

*Anthony Wingfield made ready 'for the French Ambassadors Monsieur de Foix and Monsieur de Mothe at Saffron Walden'.<sup>T</sup>*

Aug 15, Wed French special Ambassador at Hatfield to meet the Queen.

Aug 15, Hatfield, Lord Burghley to the Earl of Rutland: 'Monsieur de Foix had long speech this day with her Majesty...What will be the end God knoweth'.<sup>RT</sup>

[Aug 16], Earl of Leicester to Francis Walsingham:

De Foix 'had his access yesterday the 15th of this month, and was as graciously used at her Majesty's hands as ever I saw any Ambassador; he had loving talk, and hath already entered into this matter, and this day my Lord Keeper, my Lord Chamberlain, my Lord of Burghley and myself are appointed to confer with him. He standeth stiff to have religion for Monsieur, her Majesty standeth as stiff in denial'. [Digges, 129].

Aug 16, Thur French special Ambassador's first public audience, Hatfield. De Spes to Philip II, Aug 18: 'M.de Foix was at court on the 15th, with M.de la Mothe, accompanied by Lord Buckhurst and Charles Howard, attended by 70 or 80 horsemen. Foix has been exquisitely well received and lodged in the palace, where the Queen's officers entertain him very splendidly'.

'On the 16th he had audience and made a long speech to the effect that his King desired friendship and relationship to the royal House of England... This was the public audience, and a committee consisting of Lord Burghley, Keeper [Sir Nicholas Bacon], Leicester and the Chamberlain [Lord Howard] was appointed to confer with him in secret and decide as to his business'.

'Many people still doubt whether the Queen will marry, but it is believed that these negotiations will result in some league against your Majesty's States'...

'Leicester is offered the Duchess de Nevers in marriage, and an estate in France, and La Mothe and Foix have decided to give presents of jewellery to the Queen's favourites, Foix having come already provided with the jewels for that purpose'. [Span.ii.330].

*Aug 17: Bishop of Ross left with the Bishop of Ely for the Bishop's country houses. He was summoned back to London on October 16.<sup>R</sup>*

Aug 21, Tues **KNEBWORTH**, Herts; Mr Lytton.<sup>C,T</sup>

Knebworth manor-house; owned by Rowland Lytton, died 1582; 2nd wife: Anne (Carleton). Knebworth Church has a memorial to Rowland and his two wives.

Court news. Aug 23, De Spes to Philip II: 'The French ambassadors have been with the Queen for a week, and pass three or four hours every day with the Council' which 'is very divided because Lord Burghley and the Keeper... (who are followed by the Earl of Sussex, out of enmity for Leicester) are of opinion that the Anjou marriage should take place first, and afterwards the negotiations for alliance should be undertaken. Leicester, the Admiral [Lord Clinton] and [Sir Francis] Knollys are against the marriage, but in favour of making an offensive and defensive league with the French'. [Span.ii.331].

Aug 25, Sat **BRENT PELHAM**, Herts; Lord Morley's house.

Anthony Wingfield made ready 'at Pelham, the Lord Morley's house'.<sup>C,T</sup>

Brent Pelham manor-house; owned by Henry Parker, 11th Lord Morley (c.1531-1577). He had left England without licence in 1570 to live abroad in a Catholic country; his estates were in the hands of the Crown, 1572-1578.

*Aug 25, Charles IX to La Mothe, warning him that the Queen of Navarre and Admiral Coligny 'wish underhand to hinder this marriage [with Duke of Anjou], and that of my sister with the Prince of Navarre, and have secretly sent and written to England...to propose to the Queen marriage with the Prince of Navarre. If this is not agreeable to her, and if she persists in her long held resolve never to marry, they have requested her to give the Prince in marriage to her niece'. You are to say that the marriage of my sister and the Prince is completely decided upon.* [vii.242].

*The young Henri of Navarre married Marguerite de Valois on 18 August 1572.*

*Aug 26 [Charterhouse], Duke of Norfolk to the Earl of Leicester and Lord Burghley: 'It is not a little to my grief my very good lords to see my fortune so ill as that her Majesty should go to my boy's house [Audley End], where neither I should be ready according to my bounden duty to receive her Highness nor yet my boy's childish age will make him sufficient to supply that office. Surely there hath not many things chanced to me in my life that hath grieved me more, amongst the whole heap of my ill fortunes'.* [SP12/80/48].

Aug 27, Mon via Saffron Walden, Essex.

Saffron Walden town records: 'James Woodhall, Treasurer of the Town of Walden, William Aylward and Thomas Turner, Chamberlains, which Treasurer, with the Recorder, and as many as had been Treasurers, upon their foot-cloths, rode with the residue of the Assistants accompanied, and the Companies on foot, to the furthest part of their bounds, where all kneeling the Recorder made an oration, which ended the Treasurer delivered his present as followeth, and afterwards mounted upon his horse he rode before her Majesty with his mace to the Hall door, where the Queen extended her hand to the Treasurer to kiss, gave him thanks for his pains and so he took his leave'.

*Saffron Walden Treasurer's expenses included:*

'To the Queen's Majesty a cup of silver double gilt, with a cover...and a case to put it in...£19.3s'; to the Queen's Footmen, 20s; Serjeant at Arms, 20s; Queen's Porters, 20s; Trumpeters, 10s; Flagoners, 10s; 'Clerk of the Market for him and his 3 men, horse-meat and man's meat for 3 days, 6s10d'; his fee, 10s; Knight Marshal's man, 10s; Postman, 10s; Footmen of the coach and wagons, 5s; Surveyor of the Ways, 5s; Purveyor for wood, 5s; Lord Leicester's men for a reward, 2s6d. 'To the Purveyor for beer, a pottle of wine, 8d'.

'For the charges of two of the Guard who came to know the state of the town, 5s3d'; for 3 sugar-loaves presented to Lord Leicester, Lord Burghley, Sir Thomas Smith, 3s8d; Black Guard, 6s8d; Sir Thomas Bengier [Master of the Revels], a pod of oysters, 3s6d; 3 men for carrying the Queen's letters to the court, 10s.

[Saffron Walden Corporation Account Book, Essex Record Office].

Aug 27, Mon **AUDLEY END**, Saffron Walden, Essex; Lord Thomas Howard.

Audley End, near Saffron Walden; owned by Lord Thomas Howard (1561-1626), son of Thomas Howard 4th Duke of Norfolk by his 2nd wife Margaret, daughter and sole heir of Thomas Lord Audley of Walden, who built Audley End, died in 1544, and whose black marble monument remains in St Mary's Church, Saffron Walden.

'The Duke's house'.<sup>w</sup> The Duke was confined to his London house, Howard House (the Charterhouse), whilst his secret dealings with Mary Queen of Scots were investigated. In his absence the Queen's host was his ten year-old son Thomas.

Court news. Aug 27, De Spes to Philip II: 'The arrangement made...is that the Duke of Anjou should be married without...being obliged to conform to the religion of this country, and in addition to the royal title, powers are to be given to him similar to those granted to your royal Majesty when you were here'.

De Foix had returned to London on August 26 with the decision. Lord Burghley brought him a written copy of eight clauses signed by the Council, but with an addition that neither the Duke nor his people should attend Mass.

'Foix is going back to the court tomorrow...to say that he has no orders to accept this clause'. [Span.ii.331-2].

Aug 28, Tues French special Ambassador, Paul de Foix, arrived at Audley End.

Court news. Aug 29, Howard House, Robert Higford (Duke of Norfolk's secretary) to Lawrence Banester: 'News we have here none of any certainty, things are so variable, and more changing than the moon. This great matter of the marriage with the Duke of Anjou altereth every hour. And albeit it went very hotly for a time, yet it is now so far calmed again, as it is rather thought it will be dashed, than that it will take effect; but what the end will be God knoweth.

It is said that the Ambassador, Monsieur de Foix, who hath been here these ten days, shall receive either this day or tomorrow a determinate answer. God turn all to the best. The Queen's Majesty is now at Audley End, my Lord Grace's house, near to Walden, where her Highness meaneth to remain till Monday next [Sept 3]'. [HT.i.516].

Aug 30: *The two French Ambassadors, De Foix and La Mothe, visited Cambridge University, escorted by Lord Burghley (Chancellor of the University), the Earls of Bedford, Hertford, Oxford, Lord Buckhurst, and others.*

*There were visits to colleges, dinner at Trinity College, Latin disputations. Some courtiers received the Master of Arts degree.*

*Cambridge town Treasurers' Accounts: 'For a present given to certain of the Council coming hither when the Queen lay at Walden, 39s8d'. [Cooper, ii.178].*

Aug 31, Fri Paul de Foix took leave to return to London and France.

Sept 1, Audley End: Privy Council: Inventories are to be made of the Duke of Norfolk's 'household stuff and other goods and chattels' at Charterhouse and in Norfolk.<sup>APC</sup>

Bishop of Ross's *Memoirs*: The Queen of Scots sent '2000 crowns of the sun in gold' to the French Ambassador to be taken to her supporters in Scotland by one of Norfolk's servants, but the servant 'took his journey straightway to the Queen of England's court, where she was in her progress, and there opened the matter to some of the Council', implicating the Duke and his other servants, it being treason 'to send money forth of the Realm to aid the Queen's enemies or her rebels'. [Ross, 169-171].

Sept 2, Queen to Francis Walsingham, enclosing a Latin summary of proposals made by herself and her Council to the French Ambassadors: 'We think you had some great desire to hear how Monsieur de Foix hath here proceeded with us...

'Until this present, we could not ascertain you of anything certainly concluded with him, by reason that he being not satisfied with our answers, doth still persist in seeking to induce us to reform our answer more towards his satisfaction...He and the Ambassador resident having had sundry conferences with us, and apart with our Council, at all times the weight of the matter hath chiefly depended upon the cause of Religion...In the end they desired, as we would be content to agree secretly, that he should not be impeached in the secret use of his Religion...and so you shall see by writing, which you shall receive herewith, what had been said by our Council thereto'...

'In this writing...we perceived them most troubled with a phrase added of great necessity for our purpose, and specially for satisfying of our conscience, that the Duke shall not be molested for using any rites not repugnant unto the Word of God, which words being in a writing delivered unto them' on August 21st 'was afterwards now in the last of August...altered from the words *Verbo Dei* to *Ecclesiae Dei* [*Word of God, Church of God*], which in our judgement is all one'...

'You shall assure the King that the rest of the things being by him assented unto and ordered to be performed, we mean sincerely to proceed in further treaty of the marriage' and 'can be content that special Commissioners may be sent from thence hither, to treat and conclude with us and our Council'. [Digges, 129-130].

Sept 2, 'from Audeley-Inne by Walden', Lord Burghley to Francis Walsingham: 'Monsieur de Foix hath had seven or eight special conferences with her Majesty, and with us of her Council. And at the first he found such favourable answers... The answers have been since they were first given in words altered in writing; and directed so to be to the worse; and thereby the Ambassador have been greatly perplexed to find the latter harder than the first; and yet now as you shall see the words for the point of religion, thus her Majesty is resolved, and so she doth pronounce to her Council, whom she seeth earnestly bent by all means to further this marriage for her own surety, and for the avoiding of the inevitable ruin of this Monarchy, that surely so as Monsieur will forbear the Mass, she will assent to the marriage...but yet all of us are not so persuaded'...



'Monsieur de Foix hath had good entertainment in all external offices, well used by her Majesty, defrayed for his diet at the time he hath been near the court; and in coming and returning, my Lord of Buckhurst hath very courteously and honourably accompanied him, during his being here; and to increase his honour I caused my Lord of Oxford to attend on him in sundry places; and by the way from London hither to Walden he dined at my house, as I doubt not but he and the Resident Ambassador have seen my hearty devotion to the marriage'...

'Monsieur de Foix hath very earnestly moved her Majesty to send some one person of credit to the French King, to affirm and justify the reasons of her answer; or rather, if the marriage shall not take place, to enter into the Treaty of some straiter alliance and confederacy, which for my part I thought very reasonable, and did assent and move the same; but finding now that he hath secretly named me for that place, I do coldlier deal therein'...

'Here is some matter presently discovered, that my Lord of Norfolk should still mind this matter of the Scottish Queen, for there is intercepted a good portion of money in gold...for help of the Scottish Queen's party in Scotland, and the same was sent by one Higford the Duke's secretary, who was by order from hence taken and committed at London, and this day is examined by Sir Thomas Smith, who yesterday went thither for that purpose'. [Digges, 134].

*September 2,3: News of Paul de Foix in London, prior to his departure.*

*Sept 2 (I), Sackville House, Lord Buckhurst to Lord Burghley:*  
Mr Bashe [of Stanstead Abbots, Herts] has very well entertained the Ambassadors, who have taken it very thankfully. Monsieur de Foix only attends upon the dispatch of her Majesty's letters. Tomorrow they dine with me. They shall have four knights and eight or ten gentlemen of the worthiest I can make choice of here to meet them. Sir Owen Hopton [Lieutenant of the Tower] being one, they will after dinner ride to the Tower. [SPF.ix.521].

*Sept 2 (II), Buckhurst to Burghley:* 'This day after the Ambassadors had dined with me I accompanied them to the Tower, where they saw the artillery, munitions and armoury, with great admiration, as undoubtedly it deserveth, and after that ...Mr Hopton led them into the house, where he had prepared for them a banquet, and that even he gave them a good peal of ordnance in the parting...conducting them from place to place with 30 tall fellows in his own livery, and all the Guard beside with their halberds in very good order...They were accompanied to the Tower by me and half a score knights and gentlemen of ours besides'.

*Sept 3, Lord Buckhurst to Lord Burghley:*

'This morning I sent for [Affabel] Partridge the goldsmith, for that Mr Astley [Master of the Jewel-house] was at St James's, and so I have stayed the delivery of the plate until it be supplied to the value of 1200 French crowns'...

'They greatly long for her Majesty's letters, which being sent they will away with all speed...The gentlemen that were desirous to have seen Hampton Court and Windsor do stay departing'. [SP12/81/2,3].

Sept 3, Mon **HORHAM HALL**, Thaxted, Essex; Mr Cutts.<sup>c</sup>  
Horham Hall, Thaxted; owned by John Cutts (1545-1615).

1st wife: Anne, daughter of Sir Arthur Darcy.

Cutts was knighted at Mark Hall, Essex, where the Queen arrived on Sept 14.

Simon Bowyer made ready at Horham Hall 'and Mr Cutts' park'.<sup>T</sup>

c.Sept 4: hunting, Henham Park, Essex.

Simon Bowyer made ready 'for her Highness of the standing at Henham Park'.<sup>T</sup>

Sept 4, Lord Buckhurst to Lord Burghley: De Foix received on September 3 the Queen's answer in writing. 'For my own part I can now rather wish well than hope well...I sent immediately to Mr Francis Carew and Mr Randolph, who although the warning was very short yet very willingly did they presently put themselves in order to accompany the Ambassador to Dover, who took his journey thitherwards this last night at 3 o'clock with the tide to Gravesend. Monsieur Foix hath received her Majesty's present with infinite humble thanks (for I was by when Mr Astley did present the same)...I assure you it was so well sorted and the plate so fair as it made a muster of a thousand marks value'. [SP12/81/6].

Also Sept 4: William Barker (one of the Duke's secretaries since 1554) was sent to the Tower. He was pardoned in May 1574.

Sept 4: in Scotland: death: The Regent of Scotland was murdered at Stirling. Matthew Stewart, 4th Earl of Lennox (1516-1571). His grandson King James inherited the title of Earl of Lennox. The widowed Margaret (Douglas), Countess of Lennox, was living in England, where she died in 1578.

Sept 5: John Erskine, 1st Earl of Mar, was elected Regent of Scotland.

Sept 5, court at Horham, near Thaxted, Lord Burghley to the Earl of Shrewsbury (Keeper of the Queen of Scots): 'The Queen's Majesty commands me to signify unto you that...the Duke of Norfolk has sent towards Scotland a mass of money, with letters in cipher to the Queen's party in Scotland, and in Edinburgh Castle. The money and letters are intercepted, and Higford, the Duke's secretary, who did write the letters, is taken, and in the Tower confesses all the matter. The Duke is also sequestered, and in custody of Sir Ralph Sadler...The Duke has had a continual intelligence with that Queen'. [Lodge, i.524-5].

Robert Higford was condemned to death 9 Feb 1572; he died in the Tower.

Also on September 5 one of Walsingham's double agents arrived at court with the news that in August King Philip had instructed the Duke of Alva to capture the Queen in Essex or Hertfordshire during her progress; this was expected to cause a general rising of Catholics, who would free the Queen of Scots and marry her to the Duke of Norfolk; they would then become King and Queen of England.

At night Burghley wrote again to Shrewsbury at Sheffield to give him this news, and that, referring to Mary: 'Her Majesty understandeth certainly her labours and devices to stir up a new rebellion in this realm and to have the King of Spain to assist it'. Endorsed 'Haste Post haste haste haste for life life life. Delivered at the court at 9 in the night'. [LPL 3197, f.33].

The number of Mary's servants is to be reduced, and all letters or messengers sent to her are to be seized. A warrant was issued for the Duke of Norfolk to be returned to the Tower.

Anonymous description of events in summer 1571: 'From the other sides of the seas daily intelligence was given of the rebels' reports that before the summer should end there should be a change in England, and they should be in their former estates. Speeches also were used boastingly of the Duke of Medina's coming with new force, and so forth, many terrible speeches reported by secret intelligences out of Flanders to her Majesty both before and whilst she was in her progress. Whereupon was moved by her Council that she would forbear any progress that year, and to remain about London only, upon doubt of some great troubles both inward and from beyond the seas. But her Majesty would not forbear her progress, so as it might be near to London. Now, after Bartholomewtide, even when her Majesty was at the Duke of Norfolk's house by Walden, where great means was used to her Majesty to put him to full liberty...even then was it found by a good hap that he had sent towards Banester his man, being in Shropshire, certain money in gold to be conveyed into Scotland'.

[BL Cotton Caligula C.III, f.121: January 1572].

[Sept 6]: via Great Dunmow, Essex. The churchwardens paid: 'To Dosseter for serving as church clerk, and drink, when the Queen came through the town, 12d'.

Sept 6, Thur **LEEZ**, Little Leighs, Essex; Lord Rich.<sup>C</sup>  
Leez Priory, Little Leighs; owned by Robert 2nd Lord Rich (c.1537-1581);  
wife: Elizabeth, daughter of George Baldry, London Alderman; she died 1591.

Anthony Wingfield made ready 'the Lord Rich's house at Lees and standings there in the park against the Queen's Majesty's coming thither'.<sup>T</sup>

Sept 6, Dover, Thomas Randolph to Lord Burghley:

'Mr Carew and I...accompanied hither to Dover Monsieur de Foix, who...departed this morning about 8. He found all things by the way to his contentment, and was very honourably received at Canterbury by my Lord Cobham, with whom he dined and had great cheer. Out of the Castle of Dover he was saluted with three or four shot at his farewell, and so with great and humble thanks to her Majesty that had done him so great honour he took his leave'. [SP12/81/11].

Sept 7, De Spes: He was 'carrying with him presents of plate to the value of 1300 crowns and loaded with fine promises'. [Span.ii.334].

Sept 7, Fri: Duke of Norfolk was taken from the Charterhouse to the Tower, whence Sir Ralph Sadler, Sir Thomas Smith, and Dr Thomas Wilson wrote to the Queen: 'Having prepared a foot-cloth nag for him...with only our servants and friends accompanied, he was...quietly brought into the Tower, without any trouble, save a number of idle rascal people, women, men, boys and girls, running about him, as the manner is, gazing at him...We left him in the custody of Mr Lieutenant and Henry Skipwith, and two of his own servants...to attend upon him'. [Murdin, 149]. Lawrence Banester was also sent to the Tower; he was released in November 1573; he died in 1588.

Court news. [Sept 8] 'from Lees', Lord Burghley to Walsingham: 'The Queen's Majesty returneth towards London, from hence to Hunsdon, and so to my house in Cheshunt and so to St James's and thence to Richmond'. [Digges, 139; MS].

Neither Lord Hunsdon's house at Hunsdon, Herts, nor St James's Palace, were visited on this progress. A 'Procession Picture' at one time supposed to represent the Queen at Hunsdon can be assigned to c.1600, from costume and from identification of several Garter Knights shown in it, and may relate to the Queen's attendance at Lord Herbert's marriage (16 June 1600).

[Discussed in detail by Roy Strong, *Cult of Elizabeth*, 17-43].

Sept 10: The Duke of Norfolk sent to the Queen his 'most humble and lowly submission' begging for mercy, ending: 'Most humbly praying to God to continue your Majesty long to reign over us here...with an overwhelmed heart, and watery cheeks, even most lowly upon my knees, I most humbly take my leave'.

'From your Highness's woeful Tower'. [Murdin, 153].

Sept 13, Thur **ROOKWOOD HALL**, Abbess Roding, Essex; Wistan Browne.<sup>C,T</sup>  
Rookwood Hall manor-house, Abbess Roding; owned by Wistan Browne, a Catholic, died 1580; 1st wife: Mary (Capell), daughter of Sir Edward Capell.

Sept 13, Mark Hall, in Essex, Lord Burghley to Earl of Shrewsbury:

'The Queen's Majesty hath willed me to advertise you that she had found very dangerous attempts intended by the Queen of Scots, and the Duke of Norfolk to be privy thereof; who has made a very lamentable submission to her Majesty, with a request for her mercy, but I see her Majesty entered into a great indignation against him'. That Queen's letters 'in cipher to the Duke of Norfolk are found, and he has confessed the same'. [Lodge, i.526-7].

*Bishop of Ross's Memoirs: After confessions from the Duke's servants, there were found in his house the cipher used between him and the Queen of Scots, with 17 letters from Mary and the Bishop, and 'many secret tokens' from Mary.*

*Mary had written to the Duke as '40', and to Lord Lumley as '30'. [Ross, 173].*

Sept 14, Fri **MARK HALL**, Latton, Essex; Mr Altham.<sup>C,W</sup>

Mark Hall, Latton parish (later part of Harlow); owned by James Altham, cloth-worker, formerly a London Alderman; Sheriff of Essex 1570-1571; died 1583.

2nd wife: Lady Mary Judd (c.1516-1602). She was Mary (Matthew), daughter of Thomas Matthew of Colchester, and widow of:

(1) Thomas Wolley; (2) Thomas Langton; (3) Sir Andrew Judd, skinner, Lord Mayor of London 1550-1551, Founder of Tonbridge School, Kent.

Lady Judd's will refers to 'the Queen's chamber' and 'the Chapel chamber' at Mark Hall. Knightings at Mark Hall: John Cutts, the Queen's host at Horham Hall; Thomas Lucas, of Colchester, Essex. [BL Harl 5177].

[The first of three visits to Mark Hall, described by Marion Colthorpe and Linley H. Bateman, *Queen Elizabeth I and Harlow* (Harlow, 1977)].

Sept 15 [Mark Hall], Queen to Sir Thomas Smith and Dr Thomas Wilson:

'Finding in traitorous attempts lately discovered that neither Barker nor Banester the Duke of Norfolk's men have uttered their knowledge in the under practices of their master and of themselves, neither will discovery come without torture...If they shall not seem to you to confess plainly their knowledge, then we warrant you to cause them both or either of them to be brought to the rack, and first to move them with fear thereof to deal plainly in their answers, and if that shall not move them then you shall cause them to be put to the rack, and to feel the taste thereof until they shall deal plainly, or until you shall think meet'. Received at the Tower September 16, 11 a.m.

[BL Cotton Caligula C.III, f.229].

Sept 17, *St Katherine's, Smith [and Wilson] to Lord Burghley:*

*'Though we be importune to crave revocation from this unpleasant and painful toil, I pray you be not angry with us. I assure, for my part, I would not wish to be one of Homer's Gods, if I thought I should be Minos, Aeacus, or Rhadamanthus [the judges in the lower world]; I had rather be one of the least umbrae in campis Elysiis [shades in the Elysian fields]. I suppose we have gotten so much as at this time is like to be had; yet tomorrow do we intend to bring a couple of them to the rack, not in any hope to get anything worthy that pain or fear, but because it is so earnestly commanded unto us'. [Murdin, 95].*

Sept 17, Mon **STANSTEAD ABBOTS**, Herts; Mr Bashe.<sup>C,T</sup>

Stanstead Abbots manor-house, Stanstead Bury; owned by Edward Bashe (c.1507-1587), Surveyor of Victuals for the Navy 1547-1587. 2nd wife: Jane (Sadler), died 1614; daughter of Sir Ralph Sadler, a Privy Councillor, of Standon, Herts.

Treasurer of Saffron Walden paid: 'To John Claydon and Widow Spicer for the carriage of the Queen's stuff from the High Sheriff's unto Mr Bashe's, 6s8d'.

Court news. Sept 20, Earl of Leicester to Francis Walsingham: 'Surely I am now persuaded that her Majesty's heart is nothing inclined to marry at all, for the matter was ever brought to as many points as we could devise, and always she was bent to hold with the difficultest. For my part it grieveth my heart to think of it, seeing no way, so far as I can think, serveth, how she can remain long quiet and safe without such a strong alliance as marriage must bring...and her Majesty's years running away so fast causeth me almost to despair of long quietness. We long here to hear how matters stand upon De Foix's return, her Majesty is still persuaded that they will yield in the matter of Religion for Monsieur...I think she had rather he stood fast to it'. [Digges, 139].

Court news. Sept 20, 'at Theobalds my house in Cheshunt', Lord Burghley to Francis Walsingham: The French Ambassador has asked for audience.

The Queen 'hath deferred the Ambassador's coming to her Majesty until she shall be at Richmond, which shall be about the 27th of this month'...

'I am fully occupied in making my imperfect house ready for the Queen's Majesty against Saturday [Sept 22]'. [Digges, 139].

Court news. Sept 21, Holborn, Earl of Rutland's servant, to the Earl:

'The 22nd of this month the Queen's Majesty doth end her progress at St James's and from thence as it is said to Richmond and there during pleasure'.<sup>RT</sup>

Sept 21, London, Hugh Fitzwilliam to the Countess of Shrewsbury:

'They say the Queen will be at my Lord of Burghley's house beside Waltham on Sunday next [Sept 23], where my Lord of Oxford shall marry Mistress Anne Cecil his daughter'. [Hallam. 111]. The marriage was deferred.

Sept 22, Sat **THEOBALDS**, Cheshunt, Herts; Lord Burghley.<sup>C,T</sup>

Theobalds was owned and newly built by William Cecil, 1st Lord Burghley (c.1520-1598), Principal Secretary 1558-1572;

2nd wife: Mildred (Cooke) (c.1525-1589), daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke.

With their daughter Anne Cecil (1556-1588), who was betrothed to Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford; they married at Whitehall on December 16.

Portrait of Lord Burghley, c.1571: in *Elizabeth*, ed. Susan Doran, 45-46.

Sept 22: Burghley noted 'The Queen's Majesty came to Theobalds, where these verses following were presented to her Majesty with a portrait of the house'.<sup>B</sup>

Sept 22: Stationers entered Latin verses by William Cecil.

The verses welcome the Queen to the house, and refer to the marriage of Anne Cecil and the Earl of Oxford. They were printed as a broadside, entitled *Carmen Gratulatorium* [*Song of Congratulation*]; copy at Cambridge Univ Library.

Sept 25, Tues dinner, Monken Hadley, Middlesex; Lady Stamford.

Anthony Wingfield made ready a dining house 'at the Lady Stamford's besides Barnet'.<sup>T</sup> 'Hadley'.<sup>C</sup> Monken Hadley manor-house, close to the parish boundary of Barnet, Herts. Lady Stamford was Alice (Palmer), widow of Sir William Stamford of Hadley, a Judge; she died 1573; 2nd husband: Roger Carew, died 1590.

Sept 25, Tues **HARROW**, Middlesex. Mr Wightman.

Simon Bowyer made ready 'at Harrow on the Hill, Mr Wightman's house'.<sup>T</sup>

'Harrowhill'.<sup>C</sup> Harrow parsonage was leased by William Wightman, Receiver of South Wales, died 1580; wife: Audrey/Etheldreda (Dering), died 1596.

Harrow Church has a memorial brass to William and Etheldreda.

Sept 26, Wed **RICHMOND PALACE**, Surrey.<sup>C</sup>

William Scarlet, Master of the Barges, 'for serving the Queen's Majesty at Richmond 26th Sept 1571 over the water, and her train, with a barge and 12 oars and 13 watermen' at 2s per day each. And for rushes and flowers 12d, with 2s for the hire of the same barge', 29s.<sup>T</sup>

*Sept 28, Catherine de Medici to La Mothe: I have told the English Ambassador, Francis Walsingham, that my son the Duke of Anjou 'has so much reverence for his religion that, to become the greatest monarch in the world, he would not wish to lose the power to exercise it publicly'...*

*'To show Queen Elizabeth how much we wish to contract an alliance with her and to be assured of her friendship, you may put forward my son the Duke of Alençon in his place, who will not have such scruples about his religion as my other son'.* [vii.261].

Court news. Sept 29, De Spes to Philip II: 'Lord Lumley was sent to the Tower yesterday from Richmond, where the court is, and the Earl of Arundel was ordered to remain under arrest at Nonsuch'. Lord Burghley says 'that for the sake of the Queen's safety it is necessary that I should be expelled'. [Span.ii.339].

Sept 29, Sat: at Warwick: Earl of Leicester at service and feast. Description by John Fisher, Town Clerk of Warwick: The Earl stayed at Warwick Priory, making visits to Kenilworth. On September 29, Michaelmas Day, he came to St Mary's Church, Warwick, to attend a service in honour of the French Order of St Michael [to which he was admitted in 1566 and whose robes were mainly white]. After a procession of commoners, Burgesses, gentlemen and Heralds, came the Earl 'apparelled all in white...a sight worthy the beholding...he seemed the only goodliest personage made in England'. Lords, knights, and gentlemen followed to the church for the service, and to Warwick Priory for the Feast of the Order. On October 2 the Earl, before his departure from Warwick, went to view 'where he might build a convenient house for to make a hospital for certain poor people'. The Burgesses offered him the Burgess Hall and Chapel for the Lord Leycester Hospital [still in existence]. [Black Book of Warwick, 33-39].

September: A book for the Queen. Dr Henry Bullinger (1504-1575), Pastor of Zurich, had written a confutation of the Pope's Bull against the Queen, entitled: *Bullam papisticae...refutatio*. With dedicatory letter, February 1571, Zurich, to the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of Ely and of Salisbury. (88p).

In June the Archbishop and the two Bishops received copies in manuscript. The Bishop of Ely, Richard Cox, wrote to Bullinger, praising his 'most powerful defence against that terrific Bull...in which you have so mauled the author that he has no more breath remaining in him...I will most diligently take care that our Queen, who is well skilled both in Latin and Greek, may be made acquainted with your respect and courtesy towards herself, and I will make her to have a most agreeable taste of your little book...We are of opinion that it should be printed, and published in the name of Henry Bullinger, as soon as possible; and I will send you some copies'. [Zurich, 350-351; undated].

The book was printed in London in August; on September 2 Cox received a copy from Lord Burghley, which he gave the Bishop of Ross to read.<sup>R</sup>

Also in September the Archbishop of Canterbury (Parker) caused a 'fairly bound' copy to be sent to the Queen.

Arthur Golding's translation into English: 10 January 1572.

Oct 1/23: visit, Hampton Court, Middlesex.<sup>T</sup> Crown property.

Oct 2, Queen to the Earl of Mar, new Regent of Scotland, over matters which James Cunningham has moved to us (for assistance for the King's party): We have lately discovered such pernicious practices of the Queen of Scots against our person and estate, that we are resolved not to deal any further by treaty or otherwise in her favour to have any rule in Scotland. We mean to help them to a universal quietness by a general obedience to King James. [SPF.ix.541].

Court news. Oct 6, London, La Mothe to Charles IX:

The Queen and Council 'summoned some of the principal lords to court, the Earl of Arundel and Lord Lumley his son-in-law being the first'...

'The Earl of Leicester found means at this first fury to absent himself in his house at Kenilworth, where he still is'. [iv.248].

Oct 7, in the Mediterranean: Battle of Lepanto.

The Turkish fleet was defeated by the fleets of Spain, Venice and Rome, under Don John of Austria, half-brother of Philip II of Spain.

News reached Greenwich on November 8.

Oct 7, Sun French Ambassador and Cavalcanti at Richmond for audience.  
 De Spes, Oct 13: 'The French Ambassador with Guido Cavalcanti had audience with the Queen last Sunday, and I am told conveyed to her his master's thanks for the kind reception given to M.de Foix...and assured her that the Duke of Anjou would accept the marriage treaty with the modification of one of the clauses' and 'she could now send to France the personage she had promised to send'...

'He then said something about the severity with which the Queen of Scotland was being used, but the Queen burst into a most furious rage at this, and dwelt very strongly upon the evils which she said were being brought upon this country by the Queen of Scotland. She afterwards went on to speak of the plots which she and the Duke of Norfolk were weaving jointly with your Majesty to turn her off of her throne, and afterwards to make war on France...She screamed all this out with so much vehemence that almost everybody in the palace could hear her'...

'The same night the Queen had a private interview with Cavalcanti and afterwards discussed with some of her Council the means to be adopted to get me out of the country. On the same day also Lord Cobham and his brother Thomas were arrested at court'. [Span.ii.339-340].

Oct 10-11: At the Tower the Duke of Norfolk was questioned by the Privy Council on his dealings with the Queen of Scots from 1568 onwards.

*During October the Duke's children and household, 65 in all, were moved from Norfolk to Audley End in Essex. [SP12/81/41]. The examinations and confessions of the Duke and others are printed by Murdin, 67-164.*

Oct 13, De Spes to Philip II: Yesterday Lord Keeper Bacon convened 'a meeting of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and principal merchants in the Guildhall, and told them to give thanks to God for having preserved them from infinite danger, as a plot had been discovered to murder the Queen...and to hand over the island to a certain foreign prince'. [Span.ii.340]. Lord Mayor: Sir Rowland Hayward.

Oct 13 and 15: Bishop of Ross: 'The Council thought that they had gotten sufficient matter and proof against the Duke and us all, and therefore thought it necessary to publish it to the world; and to that effect the whole Council came to London, and was assembled at the Star Chamber at the Palace of Westminster the 13th day of October, where they caused the Lord Mayor of London and all the Aldermen with their Recorder to come present, and there declared to them the cause why the Duke of Norfolk and so many noblemen and gentlemen were committed to prison' for 'so heinous and wicked a purpose as was never seen or heard the like. Therefore the Queen's highness commanded the Lord Mayor... to publish the same to all the Companies and citizens'...

'The Lord Mayor assembled the Council of the city, with all the Wardens of the Companies and a great number of other citizens, at the Guildhall the 15th of October, where the same was declared to them by the Recorder, who made an oration to that effect and then presently caused the same to be published in print. And at the same time there was another treatise printed and published the 13th of October, bearing effect of all these things wherewith the Duke was charged, and that was confessed by himself or his servants'. [Ross, 187-188].

*At the Star Chamber, 1570-1571, the Works paid for 'carving of a great new star in wainscot; painting and gilding of the same star'.*

Court news. Oct 15, De Spes to Philip II: 'Burghley arranged with the Mayor for some of the Aldermen to go to the Queen and beg her to increase her guard, and this is being made an excuse for the palace to be protected by a large number of troops and the whole city to be very strictly watched'. [Span.ii.345].

*Oct 16, Tues: Bishop of Ross's diary: 'A Yeoman of the Queen's Guard came to the Bishop of Ely, and brought a letter to deliver me to him; and so I prepared myself for the journey, which we took on Thursday'. [Oct 18, from Isle of Ely].<sup>R</sup>*

Court news. Oct 19, Lord Burghley to the Earl of Shrewsbury:

'This matter of the Duke of Norfolk grows daily larger upon examination. I am sorry to see so many touched therewith. My Lord Cobham is in my house as a prisoner, who otherwise should have been in the Tower'...

'The conveyance of that Queen [of Scots] from you appears to have been many ways attempted, whereof the Duke confesses to have been acquainted with sundry. Besides Sir Thomas Stanley's enterprise, Sir Henry Percy...was a great devisor to have had her from you about Easter last, and the Bishop of Ross had before taken the measure of a window where she should have been let down; your change of her lodging altered the enterprise, whereat she was much offended'.

'Powell also, the Pensioner, who is this day sent to the Tower, was another enterpriser. One Raw, a servant of the Lord Lumley, would also have stolen and carried her to a castle in Cleveland, in Yorkshire, of the Lord Lumley's; but in all their confessions it appears your strait keeping of her disappointed them. Of all these the offenders confess that that Queen was always privy'.

'The Bishop of Ross is sent for, and shall be committed to the Tower; it is agreed by the learned counsel...that the Queen's Majesty may proceed against him as against a subject, for treason and conspiracy'.

[PS] 'My Lord of Rutland came to London yesternight, and is now with me here at Richmond'. [Lodge, i.529-530].

Oct 19, Richmond, payment to Thomas Yardley, servant to the Sheriff of Oxfordshire, 33s4d 'for bringing up Mr [Edmund] Powell', a Gentleman Pensioner.<sup>T</sup>

*Oct 19: Bp of Ross arrived in London 'and was received by Sir William Allen, Lord Mayor then newly elected, in his house, where I was very straitly kept certain days thereafter'. [Ross, 189].*

*Allen, a mercer, became Lord Mayor on October 28.*

Court news. Oct 20, La Mothe to Charles IX: 'Lord Cobham has been arrested... for having offered so they say one of the Cinque Ports of which he is Warden to serve for the landing of the Spaniards; and his wife is put out of the court, and one of his brothers put in the Tower. They say that the Earl of Derby sent word that the Queen should be content with having two of his sons in her prisons, without wanting to put the old and weak father there too, and that she would excuse him if instead of coming to her he withdraws to his Isle of Man'...

'The Catholic lords are watched in their houses, and the officers and guards at the ports are being changed. They are strengthening the Watches, day and night, in London and the other principal places in the Kingdom, and on the roads, so that one sees only fear and dread on all sides'. [iv.261-2].

Thomas Cobham, Lord Cobham's brother, was in the Tower until April 1574.

*20 October 1571-March 1572: Henry Killigrew was Ambassador to France.*

*Oct 20, Queen to Francis Walsingham, sends Killigrew to be 'Ambassador resident' while during your sickness you can 'attend to your cure'. [Digges, 145]. Walsingham remained in France.*

Oct 20, Richmond, Lord Burghley to Francis Walsingham:

Killigrew can tell you 'of a sudden alarm given to me, specially yesternight, by her Majesty, being suddenly sick in her stomach, and as suddenly relieved by a vomit. You must think such a matter would drive men to the end of their wits, but God is the stay of all that put their trust in him'. [Digges, 146].



Oct 23, Tues **GREENWICH PALACE**, Kent.<sup>c</sup>

Oct 24: At the Lord Mayor's house the Bishop of Ross was brought before some of the Council. The Earl of Bedford in a 'vehement' speech told him the Queen sent them to declare that she had good proof of his dealings against her 'most wickedly of anyone that ever came into this land, and...will hold you no more Ambassador...but for a private man, and a wicked practiser for a pretended Queen justly deprived from her Realm' and as 'a false traitor Scot'.

'The Duke of Norfolk and others doth curse the time that ever they knew you, for you have been the chief author of all rebellion and sedition of this land; for before your coming all was in quietness'.

The Bishop claimed the privilege of an Ambassador, and that he had a safe-conduct, but was sent to the Tower, threatened with racking.

I was 'placed in a prison called the Bloody Tower, a very evil aired and infected house...with close windows and doors with many locks and bolts... No man had recourse to me but only the Lieutenant himself during the whole time that I was prisoner'. I was questioned by Councillors on numerous occasions.

[Ross, *Memoirs*, 189-190, 197. The Bishop's examinations, answers, and letters of 1571-1572 are in *Murdin*, 13-15, 18-65].

Oct 28: death. William Parr, Marquis of Northampton (1513-1571), K.G., Privy Councillor, brother of Queen Katherine Parr, last wife of Henry VIII.

He had married his 3rd wife at court on April 29.

He died at Warwick Priory.

*Description by John Fisher, Town Clerk: The Marquis had arrived in Warwick in September with his new young wife and many others accompanying the Earl of Leicester. When Leicester and the rest left the Marquis was too ill to be moved, and remained at the Priory (Thomas Fisher's house).*

*His widow was 'a Lady Marchioness a stranger born in Sweden...This lady being both young and fair came into England attending on the Lady of Cecilia and here left behind at the request of this late nobleman and was placed to attend the Queen's Majesty's Privy Chamber until such time as God would suffer the said Marquis (having then a wife alive though divorced from him) to be coupled with her in marriage...This Marquis so deceased not the richest man in England'...*

*'It was doubted how and by whom he should be buried for the said Lady had not wherewith to bear the charge, and therefore order was given that his corpse should be enchestred and kept until the Queen's pleasure therein might be known.. It pleased her Majesty to take the whole charge upon her and appointed how all things should be done, giving great charge to the Heralds to see his obsequies performed with all solemnity...and appointed such cloth and other things as was necessary to be taken out of her Great Wardrobe to the doing thereof, and assigned John Fortescue esquire Master of her said Wardrobe to see the defraying of all manner of charge touching that burial'.*

*Marquis of Northampton's Funeral: December 5, St Mary's Church, followed by 'a very great feast all at the charge of the Queen's Majesty' at the Priory.*

[*Black Book of Warwick*, 51-56]. *The Marquis's title became extinct.*

*Helena, 'Lady Marquis of Northampton' (1549-1635), widowed six months after her marriage, married (1576) Thomas Gorges, but was known for the rest of her life as 'the Lady Marquis'.*

Court news. Oct 31, London, De Spes to the Duke of Alva:

'They have again arrested the Earl of Southampton, who came unsuspectingly to the court, and also the brother of the Earl of Northumberland [Sir Henry Percy]. They have ordered that no one shall come to my house, and threaten anyone who does so, even apothecaries and surgeons. The whole place is surrounded with spies without attempt at concealment'. [Span.ii.348].

The Earl of Southampton was sent to the Tower.

October: Portraits for the Queen.

October, Place de Grève, Paris, Nicholas Houel to Lord Burghley (in French):

'Hearing of the Queen's perfections, her favour for science, and her love for painting and portraiture, and that she wishes to make a large collection of portraits, and knowing that your merit has made you first in her Council, I beg you to inform her that for 25 years I have been collecting the portraits of the most excellent workmen in the world - Italian, French, and German.

I have enough to make 20 volumes, which would enrich her library, and give her honour and pleasure: four volumes on the Holy Scriptures; others of Greek and Roman history, histories, drolleries, nobles with their towns, architecture, Albert Durer's works, etc.

Also I have a cabinet of pictures of the best masters; also busts, medals, vases, etc. all at reasonable prices; if the Queen would send over a gentleman or her ambassador here to view them, I would receive him with the utmost courtesy'. [SP15/20/89].

Nov 8, Dr Thomas Wilson to Lord Burghley, after Wilson had been questioning the Bishop of Ross in the Tower: 'The Bishop seemeth to me to be very glad that these practices are come to light...He saith further...that the Queen his mistress is not fit for any husband; for first he saith she poisoned her husband the French King, as he hath credibly understood; again, she hath consented to the murder of her late husband the Lord Darnley; thirdly, she matched with the murderer and brought him to the field [of battle] to be murdered; and last of all, she pretended marriage with the Duke, with whom as he thinketh she would not long have kept faith, and the Duke should not have had the best days with her. Lord, what people are these, what a Queen, and what an Ambassador!'

[Murdin, 57]. The Bishop of Ross remained in the Tower until August 1572.

Nov 8,Thur: News came of the Turkish defeat at the Battle of Lepanto by the combined fleets of Spain, Venice, and Rome, under Don John of Austria (Oct 7).

Nov 8, Greenwich, Privy Council to the Lord Mayor, to celebrate victory 'against our common enemy the Turk' by bonfires 'in every ward' tomorrow.

Council to Bishop of London (Sandys): 'Having commanded to the Lord Mayor... a joyful signification...throughout the City by common bonfires and other tokens of joy and thanksgiving...tomorrow at night being Friday' we also wish 'not only within your Cathedral church but in all other churches throughout the City or near about, that the people may be solemnly assembled at some common prayer of praise and thanksgiving at some convenient time tomorrow in the forenoon'.

[Bodleian Ashmolean MS 1792, f.2v-3].

Also Nov 8: French Ambassador at Greenwich for audience.

La Mothe to Charles IX, Nov 10: 'We spoke of the very great victory which the Spanish Ambassador has made public of the King of Spain's Navy over the Turkish fleet, for which the Queen has commanded thanksgiving to God to be made in London'. [iv.280].

Nov 9, Fri: Paul's Cross: Thanksgiving Service for Victory at Lepanto, attended by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and the Livery Companies.

Some churches combined payments with Accession Day (November 17) payments.

Allhallows London Wall: 'Paid for a prayer made against the tyranny of the Turk, 3d; to the ringers for ringing the day of the giving thanks unto God for the victory had against the Turk, 18d'.

St Benet Gracechurch: 'For a book for the prayer against the Turk, 3d; paid the same day at night for bread and beer and candle to the ringers, 6d'.

St Botolph Bishopsgate: 'Paid to the Summoner for a book of thanksgiving for the victory against the Turk, 3d; for bread and drink for the ringers at the victory against the Turk, 4d'.

St Dunstan in the West: 'Paid to my Lord of London for a book of prayer for the victory against the Great Turk, 3d'. [Edwin Sandys, Bishop of London].

St Giles Cripplegate: 'For ringing of the bells the 9th of November for the victory gotten against the Turk, with bread and drink for the ringers, and for a prayer sent from the Bishop to be read in the church next day, 2s9d'.

St Margaret Westminster: 'For ringing for joy of the great victory that the Christians have gotten of the Turk, 6d'.

St Martin in the Fields: 'For bread and drink for the ringers at the overthrow of the Turk, 7d'.

St Mary Aldermanbury: 'For a prayer that the Bishop sent for the overthrow of the Turk, 3d; bestowed on the ringers on the Queen's night and on that night when the triumph was at the Turks' overthrow, 20d'.

St Mary Magdalen Milk Street: 'For ringing of the bells and for a prayer for victory of the Turk, 9d'.

St Mary Woolchurch Haw: 'For a thanksgiving in print for the great victory against the Turks, 3d; for ringing the bells, 16d'.

St Mary Woolnoth: 'For a prayer for the overthrow of the Turks, 3d; more for ringers, 6d'.

St Michael Cornhill: 'For the ringing of the bells at the overthrow given to the Turk, 12d; for a prayer of thanksgiving to be said in the church at the overthrow of the Turk, 3d'. St Michael le Querne: 'To the Summoner for the prayer for the overthrow of the Turk, 3d; for ringing for her Grace's years, and for the overthrow of the Turks, 2s6d'.

St Peter Westcheap: 'Ringers for the victory over the Turk and at the change of the Queen's Majesty's reign, 16d'.

Lambeth Church, Surrey: 'Ringing at the overthrow of the Turk, 12d'.

Nov 10, La Mothe to Catherine de Medici: 'Last night by the Queen's command a great number of bonfires were made in the streets, and bells were rung, and people went to church to give thanks to God, and there was rejoicing throughout London for the victory over the Turks. The Spanish Ambassador here made bonfires and feasts for joy, where I was one of the first invited'. [iv.281].

Nov 10, Duke of Norfolk's Confession, sent to the Queen, 'being commanded by her Majesty to set down the truth'.

[Extracts quoted: 1569 Jan 18; May 16; Aug 23; Sept 6; Sept 18].

Nov 14, Tower, Henry Skipwith to Lord Burghley: The Duke 'I found very much appalled, and sure he shed many tears...He concludeth in great lamenting manner for her Majesty's indignation'. [HT.i.568-9].

Nov 15: Council: Sir Henry Percy 'has been committed to the custody of Sir Ralph Sadler'.<sup>APC</sup>

Sadler: of Standon, Herts, a Privy Councillor; Percy, the Earl of Northumberland's brother, was later sent to the Tower, until May 1573.

Nov 15, Charles IX to La Mothe, complaining that Queen Elizabeth 'allowed the printing of a book you sent me, whose title alone is so shameful and dishonourable to the Queen of Scots that...she should never suffer the book to see the light'. La Mothe is to defend Mary, and censure the book. [vii.275].

A translation had just been published in London entitled 'Ane Detection of the doings of Marie Queen of Scots, touching the murder of her husband, and her conspiracy, adultery, and pretended marriage with the Earl of Bothwell. And ane defence of the true Lords, maintainers of the King's grace's action and authority'. 'Translated out of the Latin which was written by G.B'. Translation by Dr Thomas Wilson into Scots dialect of De Maria regina Scotorum, written by George Buchanan in Scotland c.1568 on the orders of the Earl of Moray, and including the Casket Letters and verses. (See Nov 22).

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

St Botolph Bishopsgate: 'Bread and drink for the ringers at the day of the Queen's entrance of her reign, 12d'.

St Giles Cripplegate: 'For bread and drink given to the ringers of the bells for the Queen's day of entering, 7d'.

St Margaret Westminster: 'For ringing for the most prosperous reign and long continuance of our gracious Sovereign Lady Queen Elizabeth, 2s6d'.

St Matthew Friday Street, 1571: 'Paid for the Queen's Arms to set in the quire window, 13s4d; for the Goldsmiths' Arms, 10s; the Salters' Arms, 8s'.

St Michael Cornhill: 'For ringing of the bells the first day of the reign of our Queen's Majesty, 12d'.

Ashburton Church, Devon: 'For le ringers for rejoicing for our Lady the Queen for the length of her life, 12d'. [This account is in Latin and French].

Cambridge Holy Trinity: 'To the Clerk for ringers for the Queen's grace, 12d'.

Eltham Church, Kent: 'Given to the ringers in bread and drink the same day that the Queen was proclaimed, 12d'.

Hastings, Sussex, All Saints: 'For ringing the day of the Queen's Majesty's reign and for a bell-rope, 5s'.

Ludlow Church: 'Paid to the ringers the 17th of this November that rang for the Queen, at the appointment of Master Bailiffs, in money and drink, 10s'.

March Church, Cambs: 'For ringing on St Hugh's Day, 5s'.

Oxford Chamberlains: 'Paid to Mr Anne for a sermon at the triumph of the 14th year of the Queen's Majesty, 7s; the organ-player for his pains, 2s6d'.

Salisbury, St Thomas: 'Ringers at the entry of the Queen's Majesty's reign, 4s8d; two links and two pound of great candles to light in the church at the said entry of the Queen's Majesty's, at service time and sermon, 20d'.

Winchester, St Peter Chesil: 'Drink for ringers the 17th day of November, 4d'.

Wing Church, Bucks: 'For meat and drink for the ringers of St Hugh's Day, by commandment of the Paritor [Apparitor] from the Bishop, 3s6d'.

Nov 19, Mon Thomas West's marriage. \*Greenwich Palace.

Thomas West (c.1555-1602), son of William 1st Lord De La Warr (and himself later 2nd Lord De La Warr), married Anne Knollys (1555-1603), daughter of Sir Francis Knollys, Captain of the Guard, Treasurer of the Household, whose deceased wife was a first cousin of the Queen. [Date: Complete Peerage].

The Queen became godmother to their first son (Sept 1573).

Nov 22, Sheffield, Queen of Scots to La Mothe, complaining about a Latin book 'newly published against me' which she had just received. She wishes him to request Queen Elizabeth to exercise severity against the authors, printers, and publishers of such books; otherwise she wishes books in her defence to be published in France. [Turnbull, 231]. La Mothe's audience: December 6.

Nov 28,Wed: John Fisher, Town Clerk of Warwick, at Greenwich with the Earl of Leicester, concerning plans for the Lord Leycester Hospital, Warwick.

John Fisher 'waited at the court at Greenwich where on Wednesday the 27th [28th]...the Queen's Majesty riding abroad and the said Earl among other lords attending her Highness, the said Fisher had good opportunity and...the said Earl heard him at length'. [Black Book of Warwick, 44].

Court news. Nov 30, La Mothe to Charles IX: 'The Queen and the Lords of her Council were marvellously busied in bringing to completion, at the end of this law term [ended Nov 28], the trial of the lords who are in the Tower'. [iv.294].

c.November 30-December 6: Count Montgomery at Greenwich.

Gabriel de Lorges, Count Montgomery (1530-1574) had been Captain of the Scots Guard of King Henri II of France until he accidentally fatally injured the King at a tournament in Paris in June 1559. Montgomery, of Normandy, a Huguenot, landed at Plymouth in November, going to the marriage of his daughter to Gawen Champernown, the son of Vice-Admiral Sir Arthur Champernown, of Devon.

The Count arrived in London at the end of November. [La Mothe, iv.293,296].

3 Dec 1571-July 1572: Sir Thomas Smith was special Ambassador to France.

Smith was to endeavour to conclude a marriage with the Duke of Anjou, or a Treaty of Amity. He arrived in Calais on December 15, in Paris on December 24.

Court news. Dec 5, La Mothe to Charles IX:

'The Queen gave a very good and very favourable reception to Count Montgomery, and had long and private talks with him, and had him very much made of and well treated in her court, and wishes, I understand, to have his daughter with her, and that Sir Arthur Champernown's son, who has married her, should go to live for some time in France to learn the language and the customs of the country. The Count came to confer with me after he had been to the Queen'...

'He is returning today, and is going to cross to Dieppe'.

Dec 5, to Catherine de Medici: 'I hope to go to the Queen tomorrow after dinner' to ask her 'to suppress the book published in London against the honour of the Queen of Scots, which has been published anew in English, with the addition of some verses in French, said to have been written by that Queen herself, which are worse than all the rest of the book'. [iv.298,301].

Dec 6, Greenwich, Burghley to Walsingham, finding 'now again an appearance of a full determination in her Majesty to like of marriage and...resolved not to refuse any reasonable conditions that to her Honour shall be offered by that King to Monsieur..Her Majesty hath herself somewhat opened her mind to the Count Montgomery, who this day hath taken his leave and is departed'. [Digges, 153-4].

The Cofferer of the Household paid £34.8s1¼d for Count Montgomery at Greenwich on four days, November and December.<sup>c</sup> He returned to England from France as a refugee in 1572, after the Massacre of St Bartholomew.

Dec 6,Thur French Ambassador at Greenwich for audience.

La Mothe to Charles IX, Dec 10: At my audience we discussed the Queen of Scots 'and in particular the suppression of the books which have been published prejudicial to her honour. The Queen assured me that these books are published in Scotland and Germany, not in London, and gave me reasons why she could not order them to be suppressed'...

'Mr [Sir Thomas] Smith came to see me next day, already fully dispatched by her and the Lords of the Council'...

'There is an Ambassador here in secret from the Count Palatine, who proposes the marriage of Count Christopher, third son of his master, 22 years old, with the Queen. I do not know whether he has had audience yet, but Count Montgomery told me he came to speak to him'. [iv.305,311].

'Baptista' to the Queen, in Italian, pointing out the advantages which would arise from her marriage to Christopher, 'brother' to the Count Palatine. Endorsed by Burghley: 'A fond Italian'. [SPF.ix.585; undated].

Dec 6: Queen wrote to summon to court Ferdinando Stanley, aged 12.

Ferdinando Stanley (1559-1594), son of Henry Lord Strange and grandson of Edward 3rd Earl of Derby, who were in the North; Lord Strange's wife Lady Margaret Strange, who lived apart from her husband, was regularly at court.

Dec 6, Queen to Lord Strange: We understand that the cause of your absence from court is your attendance upon 'our cousin your father in his sickness'.

'We have been earnest with our cousin your wife that she would move you to send up your eldest son to be here some time, that both we might see him, and his mother might have some comfort of him, and chiefly that he might here learn some nurture, and be fashioned in good manners, meet for one such as he is, and hereafter shall be by course of nature, meet to serve the Realm'...

'With his good liking you may send him up to be here this Christmas, which we will now assuredly look for'. [Murdin, 184-5].

Ferdinando became Lord Strange, 1572; 5th Earl of Derby, 1593.

Dec 11, Tues new appointment: Sir William Fitzwilliam was made Lord Deputy of Ireland. He was previously Lord Justice of Ireland.

Dec 12, Wed new Privy Councillor: George Talbot, 6th Earl of Shrewsbury, who took the oath at his own house in the North. The Queen had informed the Earl that she was admitting him to the Council and that Lord Burghley would send him a copy of the oath. [HT.i.571; oath: SP12/83/33].

Dec 12, Wed **WHITEHALL PALACE.**<sup>c</sup>

Dec 14, Fri: Expulsion of the Spanish Ambassador ordered. Guerau de Spes, Ambassador since September 1568; he last had audience in December 1568.

Dec 14, De Spes to the Duke of Alva: Today I was summoned to the Council, and was told 'how anxious the Queen was for my departure'. At the end 'they told me that I must leave the country within three days, that they would arrange the voyage' and that Henry Knollys would accompany me 'and would remain near me from the present time, which he has done'. [Span.ii.356].

Dec 15, Queen to the Duke of Alva: 'We need not much to repeat to you how long we have misliked Guerau De Spes...Why either this unmeet and ungrateful person is not revoked, or no meeter sent, we know not'.

He has 'increased his practices to disturb our State, to corrupt our subjects, to stir up rebellion...so as we can no more endure him to continue, than a person that would secretly seek to inflame our Realm with fire-brands, and hereupon we have given him order to depart, without entering into any particular debate, whereunto he is naturally given'. [Murdin, 185].

Dec 15, Sat Flanders Commissioner summoned to Whitehall.

Sweveghem to the Duke of Alva, Dec 16, London: On Saturday after dinner I was ordered by the Queen to go at once to her Council. In an assembly of the whole Council Lord Burghley declared to me why on December 14 De Spes had been ordered to leave the country. [KL.vi.231].

Dec 16, Sun **Three marriages**, at Whitehall Palace.

Piers Pennant made ready at Whitehall 'both the King's side and the Queen's side and two lodgings for marriages'.<sup>T</sup>

Edmund Brudenell noted in his *Almanac* the date of the marriages, and that 'At these three marriages there was great triumph and pleasures showed'.

(1) Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford (1550-1604), married (1st wife) Anne Cecil (1556-1588), daughter of William Cecil, 1st Lord Burghley. Queen became godmother to the Earl of Oxford's daughter (July 1575).

(2) Edward Somerset, Lord Herbert (c.1550-1628), son of William Somerset, 3rd Earl of Worcester (and himself later 4th Earl), married Lady Elizabeth Hastings, daughter of Francis Hastings, 2nd Earl of Huntingdon; she died in 1621.

Queen became godmother to Lord Herbert's daughter (c.October-November 1572). For the Oxford and Herbert marriages the Cofferer paid £102.10s, December 16-17.

(3) Edward Sutton, 4th Lord Dudley (died 1586), married (3rd wife) Mary Howard, a Maid of Honour, daughter of William 1st Lord Howard of Effingham, the Lord Chamberlain; after a second marriage she died in 1600.

Dec 17, Mon Tournament, at Whitehall. 8 pairs, who ran 6 courses apiece.

Charles Howard	v	Christopher Hatton
Thomas Cecil	v	Henry Cobham
Sir Henry Lee	v	Richard Bulkeley
Henry Grey	v	Robert Colshill
Henry Knollys	v	Robert Wiseman
William Knollys	v	Francis Harvey
Thomas Knyvett	v	William Worthington
Henry Macwilliam	v	Brian Ansley.

Tilt-list, December 17 'the day after the marriage of the Earl of Oxford... to the Lord Burghley's daughter'. [College of Arms MS M.4, f.5].

Charles Howard was Mary Howard's brother; Thomas Cecil was Anne Cecil's half-brother; the other tilters were mainly Gentlemen Pensioners.

Dec 19, Wed dinner, Cecil House, Strand; Lord Burghley.

The Queen came to celebrate Anne Cecil's marriage to the Earl of Oxford. The Commissioner from Flanders and the French Ambassador were both invited.

Dec 21, London, Sweveghem, Flanders Commissioner, to the Duke of Alva: 'Last Wednesday I was invited by Lord Burghley to the reception for the Earl of Oxford, his daughter's new husband, at his house, which was honoured by the presence of the Queen. She welcomed me warmly in the garden'. She made a lengthy complaint about the Spanish Ambassador 'but she cut short her remarks at the entrance to the house, saying that she would finish another time'. She called me towards her during the dancing, but did not return to the subject'.

After dinner Leicester and Burghley made similar complaints. [KL.vi.237].

Dec 21, London, *De Spes to Philip II*: 'They have ordered me to go to Canterbury and there to await the return of my servant [sent to Alva for money] on the excuse that John Man was served in the same way in Spain [in 1568]'...

'Guido Cavalcanti is waiting with his foot in the stirrup, in order to take with him news to the French that I am out of London'. [Span.ii.357-8].

By Dec 22: Lord Paget's marriage; \*Whitehall.

Thomas 4th Lord Paget (c.1544-1590), Catholic; married Nazareth (Newton), widow of Thomas Southwell; a Lady of the Privy Chamber, died 1583.

Queen became godmother to Lord Paget's son (c.October-December 1572).

Court news. Dec 22, La Mothe to Charles IX: 'Last Tuesday [December 18] I was with the Queen, and on Wednesday she had me invited to dinner at Lord Burghley's, who was making the wedding feast for his daughter and the Earl of Oxford; and Sieur de Sweveghem, Deputy from Flanders, was there both times'.

To Catherine de Medici: 'This week there have been four weddings in this court, of which those of the Earl of Huntingdon's sister with the Earl of Worcester's son, and of the Lord Chamberlain's elder daughter with Lord Dudley, were arranged for the benefit of some lords who were a little involved in the affairs of the Duke of Norfolk, and were to reassure them'.

'The others of Lord Burghley's daughter with the Earl of Oxford, and of a rich young widow with Lord Paget, although they were celebrated with all pleasure and contentment, nevertheless showed the partiality of the court. When I was invited to the feast for the Earl of Oxford, the Queen said to me that so many marriages at one time presaged that her own would soon take place'. [iv.315,319].

Dec 23, Sun dinner, Huntingdon House, London; Earl of Huntingdon. Huntingdon House, Thames Street; owned by Henry Hastings, 3rd Earl of Huntingdon (c.1536-1595), whose sister married at court December 16; his wife was Catherine (Dudley) (c.1537-1620), the Earl of Leicester's sister.

La Mothe to Charles IX, Dec 27: 'On the Sunday before Christmas I was invited to the feast which the Earl of Huntingdon made for his sister's wedding to the Earl of Worcester's son, where the Queen and the lords and ladies of her court were there in great numbers'. [iv.321].

Court news. [Dec 24], De Spes to Philip II:

'On Sunday, the Queen, being somewhat freed from these marriage feasts, dispatched Cavalcanti, who has now gone, and said to him aloud...that she was desirous of effecting the marriage [with the Duke of Anjou]...The offensive and defensive alliance, she said, should be an extensive one'. [Span.ii.359].

Also Dec 24: De Spes, expelled Ambassador, left London for Kent.

*Christmas 1571-Shrovetide 1572: Revels preparations for six plays at court: 'Which six plays being chosen out of many and found to be the best that then were to be had, the same also being often perused, and necessarily corrected and amended [by the Revels Officers]...were likewise thoroughly apparelled and furnished with sundry kinds and suits of apparel and furniture, fitted and garnished necessarily, and answerable to the matter, person, and part to be played. Having also apt houses made of canvas, framed, fashioned and painted accordingly...Together with sundry properties'. [Revels, 145].*

Dec 27, Thur play, *Lady Barbara*, by Sir Robert Lane's Men.

Dec 28, Fri tragedy, *Iphigeneia*, by Children of Paul's.

Dec 28, Westminster, Lord Burghley to Sir Thomas Smith, in France:

'Since your departure from hence, there hath no new thing of value happened but the discharging of the late Spanish Ambassador, who hath both in office and out of office used himself very crookedly, perniciously, and maliciously against the State; and namely and openly against me, not forbearing but in open Council directing his speech to me, saying that I had been and was the cause of all the unkindness that had chanced betwixt the King his master and the Queen's Majesty, whereunto as it became me for truth's sake I answered with more modest terms than he deserved'...

'Until the 24th he could not be gotten out of the Town, and then he went to Greenwich, and on St Stephen's Day [December 26] to Gravesend, where he yet remaineth, but this day or tomorrow he is to remove to Canterbury, and John Hawkins...is now appointed to pass him over at Dover to Calais, in a ship of the Queen's Majesty's'. [Digges, 161-2].



Dec 30, Sun **Peerage restoration: Earl of Kent.**

Reginald (or Reynold) Grey was son of Henry Grey, who died in 1545, and grandson and heir of Sir Henry Grey, who for lack of means chose not to assume the title of 4th Earl of Kent, and who died in 1562.

Reginald was restored as 5th Earl, for which he and his mother-in-law the Duchess of Suffolk had petitioned; he died in 1573.

*Christmas 1571-Shrovetide 1572: Revels prepared six masques.*

*Black and white masque, at Christmas: six masquers in black and white long gowns; six torch-bearers in 'long gowns of changeable taffeta blue and yellow' with 'strange heads and vizards, with scarfs, falchions, buskins'.*

*Yellow cloth of gold masque: six masquers in yellow cloth of gold long gowns and 'hats of black velvet edged with gold lace'; six torch-bearers in long gowns of 'changeable taffeta red and yellow' with hats, 'vizards, scarfs, falchions, buskins, wrist-bands'.*

*Red cloth of gold masque: eight masquers in crimson, purple and green cloth of gold long gowns; eight torch-bearers in long gowns of red damask 'with strange heads, vizards, scarfs, falchions, buskins, garters, wrist-bands'.*

*Murrey satin masque: six masquers in murrey satin long gowns; six torch-bearers in long gowns of 'changeable taffeta...having strange heads curiously decked, with vizards, scarfs, falchions, buskins, etc'.*

*Two masques (not new), which were 'but translated and otherwise garnished'. 'One of the forenamed masques had going before it a child gorgeously decked for Mercury, who uttered a speech and presented three flowers (wrought in silk and gold) to the Queen's Majesty, signifying victory, peace and plenty to ensue; he had also two torch-bearers in long gowns of changeable taffeta with him'.*

*Revels provided 'flowers wrought with needlework whereof three were presented to her Majesty, the residue garnished masquers' heads'. [Revels, 139,146].*

*The new masque costumes were hired out by the Yeoman of the Revels at Christmas 1571 and during 1572, frequently for marriages:*

*'The new masque of black and white which was showed before the Queen in the Christmas holidays the same masque was lent to the Temple in the Christmas time'; 'to my Lord Mayor's on Twelfth Night'; on February 10 to Edward Hynde's marriage in Kent; to a masque 'on May Eve which came through Cheapside'; and on November 11 'into Soper Lane to Mr Martin's marriage'.*

*The 'red cloth of gold' gowns were 'altered for Lincoln's Inn' in January; were lent on September 7 'into Kent...being worn two nights'; also lent on September 15 'to a tailor's marriage in the Blackfriars'; and on October 6 'into Bodgrowse'; and on October 14 'to Denman's marriage'.*

*The 'new masque of copper cloth of gold gowns' [made for a masque in June 1572] was also lent to Denman's marriage, and 'into the country to the marriage of the daughter of my Lord Montague' [c.September 1572].*

*The 'yellow cloth of gold' gowns were 'lent to Gray's Inn in January'; also lent on January 21 'to the Horse Head tavern in Cheapside'; and lent on January 28 'from the Bull's Head in Cheap to Mr Blanke's'; and lent on November 2 'into Fleet Street by the church'.*

*On February 14 'the changeable taffeta gowns new' were lent 'from the St John's Head to Mr Ryves into Fleet Street'.*

*On February 17: 'Lent on Shrove Sunday two masques of gowns into the Charhowse [Charterhouse] yard'.*

*On May 6: 'the new murrey satin gowns' were lent to Lady Champion [widow of Sir Richard Champion, former Lord Mayor].*

The list of masque costumes hired is attached to 'A Complaint of Thomas Giles against the Yeoman of the Revels'. Giles complains that the Yeoman hires out the Queen's masques 'to the great hurt, spoil and discredit of the same'.

'It taketh more harm by once wearing into the city or country...than by many times wearing in the court, by the great press of people and foulness both of the way and weather and soil of the wearers who for the most part be of the meanest sort of men'.

Giles notes that his list of masques hired out is incomplete. He recommends that a remedy would be 'taking the garments asunder after they have been shown before the Queen's highness, until the next show they be altered again, for they never come before her Highness twice in one form'. He himself 'is greatly hindered of his living hereby, who having apparel to let and cannot so cheaply let the same as her Highness's masques be let'. [Revels, 409-410; c.Dec 1572].

1571: James Chillester dedicated to the Queen: 'A most excellent history of The Institution and first beginning of Christian Princes, and the Original of Kingdoms'. 'Whereunto is annexed A Treatise of Peace and War, and another Of the Dignity of Marriage. Very necessary to be read, not only of all Nobility and Gentlemen, but also of every public person. First written in Latin by Tigurinus Chelidonius, after translated into French by Peter Boistuau... and now Englished by James Chillester, Londoner'.

Epistle: 'To the most high and most excellent' Queen, 'in earth under God of the Church of England and Ireland chief governor'. [A six page philosophical discourse, and description of the contents of the book].

In his book Chelidonius extols the 'princely estate', referring to 'a great number of famous authors, as well sacred as profane, beautified and enriched with many worthy sayings and notable lessons'...

'In the Treatise of Peace and War...there is at large set forth the benefits and commodities of the one, and the discommodities and enormities of the other ...It is very necessary for all Princes and Magistrates to spend some little time to read the same, to the end they may thereby take occasion so honourably to lead their lives, as after their deaths they may shine to their posterity, and win thereby everlasting fame and renown'.

'And in the other Treatise of the danger and hurt that doth grow to a commonwealth by incontineny, and of the commendation of Marriage' is shown how God 'hath appointed and ordained that holy and honourable state of matrimony, into the which he willeth that all estates shall enter (when they feel themselves unapt to live sole) as well for the procreation of children, as for the comfort and relief of their weak and imperfect nature'...

'I do most humbly beseech your Highness not to take it in evil part, that I do presume to call upon your divine name, and dedicate the same to your excellency', beseeching you 'to accept this at the hands of your faithful, true, and obedient subject, as the first fruits of his labour, and as the gift of him that would give better, if it were any ways in his power'.

With a Translation of 'Peter Boistuau to the Reader'. In 'The Prologue' is a Treatise by Boistuau 'against Parasites and Flatterers'.

The other two short Treatises are also by Boistuau. 199p. (London, 1571).

1571: Bartholomew Clerke dedicated to the Queen his translation from Italian into Latin of Count Baldassare Castiglione's Il Cortegiano [The Courtier].

Entitled: Balthasaris Castiglionis Comititis De Curiali sive Aulico.

Dedication in Latin (5p). Also a dedication to Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst; Clerke worked on the translation at his London house.

Divided into 4 books: 563p.

(London, 1571).

Bartholomew Clerke (c.1537-1590) became a distinguished lawyer.

His translation went into more editions than the English translation by Thomas Hoby (1561).

1571: Sir John Conway dedicated to the Queen: 'Meditations and Prayers, gathered out of the Sacred Letters, and Virtuous Writers: Disposed in form of the Alphabet of the Queen her most excellent Majesty's Name. Whereunto are added comfortable Consolations (drawn out of the Latin) to afflicted Minds'.

Running title: 'The Posy of Flowered Prayers'.

First page, an acrostic verse, on the name ELIZABETH, ending:

'That our renowned Elizabeth

Here Nestor's years may reign'.

Dedication: 'To the high, puissant, renowned Princess of all Virtue...

your Majesty's true and loyal servant John Conway prayeth all things beseeming the Height of your royal Descent, Imperial Crown, and dreadful Dignity'.

'The long abandoned Virgin Astraea hath...become your handmaid to high Glory...

I strive (most seemly Sovereign) tossed in the Sea of many troubles, bruised with the Anchor of grievly grief, and meshed in the tumbling toil of froward Fortune...Having gathered without pen or paper this handful of pitiful Prayers, that give my pining ghost her best solace'. Conway begs for the Queen's Pardon [for an unspecified offence]. 'Your Majesty's in triple bonds of Homage'.

'To the Reader'. I am 'restrained of liberty'; I have gathered the contents 'both annoyed with anxiety of mind by condition of place, and of taking my diet without use of any trencher'.

The brief book has an acrostic on 'ELIZABETH REGINA', with a prayer for each letter; and two similar sets of shorter prayers. Final section: 'Sentences out of the holy Scripture'; and Latin 'Sententiae Divinae'.

Sir John Conway (1535-1603), soldier and author, was imprisoned in the Tower in 1570. He was Governor of Ostend 1586-1590.

1571: John Foxe dedicated to the Queen:

'The Gospels of the four Evangelists translated in the old Saxons' time out of Latin into the vulgar tongue of the Saxons, newly collected out of Ancient Monuments of the said Saxons, and now published for testimony of the same'.

Dedication (10p), describing the history of Scriptural translations.

Anglo-Saxon, with a parallel translation into modern English (from the Bishops' Bible). 408p. (London, 1571).

The Queen's finely bound presentation copy is at the British Library.

John Foxe (c.1516-1587) had made his name with his 'Book of Martyrs'.