

1603

At **WHITEHALL PALACE.**

Jan 1, Sat New Year gifts. Anthony Abington, Gentleman Usher, made ready 'the New Year's Gift chamber'.^T Works: 'Setting up boards for the banquet in the Great Chamber and Presence after Christmas'.

Among 213 gifts to the Queen: by Francis Bacon: 'One doublet of white satin'; by Robert Barker, Queen's printer: 'One Bible of a large volume fair bound'; by William Dethick, Garter King of Arms: 'One book covered with purple velvet of the Knights of the Garter this present year'; by Sir Walter Raleigh: 'One jewel of gold like a spade garnished with sparks of diamonds and rubies, and a snake winding round about it with one diamond in the head and a ruby pendant without foil'.^{NYG}

William Dethick's book was 'Insignia Armorum', dedicated to the Queen, comprising coloured coats of arms of each Knight. [BL King's 4171].

Earl and Countess of Rutland's gifts included £20 each in gold to the Queen and Lady Walsingham; to Mrs [Mary] Radcliffe and Lady Stafford silver gilt bowls and covers.^{RT(4)} Thomas Butler dedicated to the Queen as a New Year gift, c.1603, Latin exercises on the Judgement of Solomon, to which he added verses, also in Latin, complimenting the Queen. 16 folios. [BL Royal 12 A.LI].

There are three short letters from Francis Bacon to the Queen, upon sending New Year gifts; one gift was a garment. [Nichols, Progresses (1823), iii.468].

Also Jan 1: play, by the Children of Paul's.^T

Jan 2, Sun 'Certain sports of vaulting and other active exercises', presented by John Hassett.^T

Jan 3, Mon Sir Richard Percy at Whitehall from Ireland. Governor of Kinsale, 'used very graciously'. [Cecil-Carew, 151].

Also Jan 3: play, by Earl of Worcester's Men.^T

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

January 7-March: Lady Arbella Stuart's meetings with Sir Henry Brouncker. Arbella (1575-1615), a first cousin of King James, was with her grandmother the Dowager Countess of Shrewsbury ('Bess of Hardwick'), at Hardwick, Derbyshire. She was suspected to be planning to marry Edward Seymour, the Earl of Hertford's grandson; both had a claim to the Throne, and required the Queen's consent to marry. Brouncker was sent to question Arbella; he reached Hardwick on January 7, and was back at his Lambeth Marsh house on January 13. He reported to the Queen on his journey, and was sent again to Hardwick in mid-February and mid-March.

[Sara J. Steen, ed. The Letters of Lady Arbella Stuart (Oxford, 1994)].

Arbella married William Seymour, Edward's younger brother, in 1610.

Jan 12: Will of Dr George Boleyn, Dean of Lichfield since 1576, a kinsman of the Queen, mainly concerned with requesting as his executors the following seven persons: 'Our most excellent and gracious Sovereign Lady Elizabeth...because that her Majesty gave me all that ever I have and subjects gave me nothing and therefore know no cause wherefore I should be beholden to any of them'; John Archbishop of Canterbury, who 'only spoke for me to her Majesty to give me my preferments'; Sir Thomas Egerton, Lord Keeper; Lord Hunsdon, Lord Chamberlain; Sir John Fortescue; Sir William Knollys; and Lettice Countess of Leicester 'my near neighbour and countrywoman'. Estate to be divided amongst his menservants.

Dr Boleyn died by January 25. Funeral: Lichfield Cathedral, Staffordshire. Will proved February 14 by Sir William Knollys, Treasurer of the Household.

Jan 17, Mon dinner, Charterhouse, Middlesex; Lord Thomas Howard.

Howard (1561-1626) became Lord Howard de Walden, 5 Dec 1597, but was still referred to as Lord Thomas Howard until created Earl of Suffolk, July 1603.

2nd wife: Katherine (Knyvett), widow of Richard Rich, son of Robert 2nd Lord Rich; she died in 1638.

Court news. Jan 17, London, John Chamberlain to Ralph Winwood, in Paris:

'The world hath not been altogether so dull and dead this Christmas as was suspected, but rather the court hath flourished more than ordinary, whether it be that the new Controller [Sir Edward Wotton] hath put new life into it by his example (being always freshly attired and for the most part all in white *cap à pied* [head to foot]), or that the humours of themselves grow more gallant, for besides much dancing, bear-baiting, and many plays, there hath been great golden play, wherein Mr Secretary [Sir Robert Cecil] lost better than £800 in one night, and as much more at other times'...

'There was a quarrel growing at court twixt young Wharton and Ashley about a mistress or some such weighty matter, and the lie passed, but the Council in their wisdoms vouchsafed to compound it'.^{CHA} George Wharton (1583-1609), son of Philip 3rd Lord Wharton; he was killed in a duel, as was his opponent.

Jan 21, Fri dinner, Putney, Surrey; Mr [John] Lacy.^T

St Martin in the Fields: 'For ringing at her Majesty's remove from Whitehall to Richmond the 21st of January 1602, 12d'. The bells of Fulham Church, Middlesex, rang when the Queen dined with Lacy.

Jan 21, Fri **RICHMOND PALACE**, Surrey.

George Pollard made ready 'Richmond House for her Majesty'.^T

Battersea Church, Surrey: 'Laid out to the ringers and for mending of a clapper when the Queen went by, 9d'.

Court news. Anonymous description, 1603: 'About the Friday sennight after Christmas last...the late Queen about two days before sickened of a cold (being ever forewarned by Mr Dr Dee to beware of Whitehall) and...removed to Richmond'.

'But a little before her going, even the same morning, the Earl of Nottingham, High Admiral of England, coming to her partly to speak with her as concerning her removal...they fell into some speech of the Succession, and then she told him that her seat had been ever the throne of kings, and none but her next heir of blood and descent should succeed her; after falling into other matters they left that speech, and she departed to Richmond, where she was well amended of the cold'. [Somers, *Tracts*, i.246].

January 26: **Venetian Agent** arrived at Dover, the first Agent in the reign.

Signor Giovanni Carlo Scaramelli, the Secretary to the Senate, was sent 'to endeavour to secure restitution of goods stolen on the high seas'.

Jan 26 (I), Dover Castle, Sir Thomas Fane to Lord Cobham:

There arrived at Calais on January 24 'an Italian gentleman of the age of three score or thereabouts, coming on an embassy to her Majesty. The coats of his retinue are guarded with blue and yellow'.

Jan 26 (II): 'Here arrived this evening from Calais the Ambassador Signor Giova Carlo Scaramelli, Secretary to the State of Venice, who is employed to her Majesty for the affairs of that State'. Endorsements by the Posts:

'Dover 26 January at 9 at night; at Canterbury past 12 o'clock at night; Sittingbourne past 5 o'clock in the morning; Rochester past 8 o'clock in the morning; Dartford at past 12 at noon'. [HT.xii.617].

Scaramelli's dispatches are quoted from the Calendar of State Papers Venetian, ix.528-554.

Court news. Jan 27, London, John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, in Paris:

'The court removed hence to Richmond the 21st of this month in very foul and wet weather, but the wind suddenly changing to the northeast hath made here ever since the sharpest season that I have lightly known'.

'The Monday before her going the Queen was entertained and feasted by the Lord Thomas at the Charterhouse. Two days after the Lady of Effingham was brought to bed of a daughter altogether unlooked for, and almost before she or anybody else suspected she was with child'.^{CHA}

John Manningham: 'Lady Effingham, as she was playing at shuttle-cock, upon a sudden felt herself somewhat, and presently retiring herself into a chamber was brought to bed of a child without a midwife, she never suspecting that she had been with child. The play at shuttle-cock is become so much in request at court that the making shuttle-cocks is almost grown a trade in London'. [Diary, 189].

Christening, with the Queen as godmother: February 7.

January 29: Venetian Agent, Signor Scaramelli, reached London, and applied to Sir Robert Cecil for an audience with the Queen. In the meantime he 'visited secretly' Lord Treasurer Buckhurst and Lord Keeper Egerton, reporting: 'These gentlemen live not like ministers, but like so many Kings'.

Court news. Feb 1, John Manningham noted: 'There were eleven Serjeants at Law called this day...When the Queen was moved to have called another to have made up twelve, she refused, saying she feared if there were twelve there would be one false brother amongst them'. [Diary, 172].

Feb 2: Venetian Agent was appointed to have audience at Richmond Palace on 'the day on which all the festivities which are celebrated from Christmas to Candlemas are brought to a solemn close'. As he was about to take his coach a gentleman arrived post-haste from the Queen to say that urgent business had arisen, which compelled her to postpone the audience to February 6.

Feb 2, Wed, Candlemas play, by Lord Chamberlain's Men.
George Pollard made ready 'the Chapel for her Majesty against Candlemas Day' and made ready 'for her Majesty to see the plays at Candlemas'.^T

Feb 6, Sun Venetian Agent at Richmond for audience.

Signor Scaramelli was escorted from London by a Gentleman Pensioner; at Richmond Lord Chamberlain Hunsdon took him to the Queen.

Scaramelli's description:

'The Queen was clad in taffety of silver and white, trimmed with gold; her dress was somewhat open in front and showed her throat encircled with pearls and rubies down to her breast. Her skirts were much fuller and began lower down than is the fashion in France. Her hair was of a light colour never made by nature, and she wore great pearls like pears round the forehead; she had a coif arched round her head and an Imperial crown, and displayed a vast quantity of gems and pearls upon her person; even under her stomacher she was covered with golden jewelled girdles and single gems, carbuncles, balas-rubies, diamonds; round her wrists in place of bracelets she wore double rows of pearls of more than medium size'.

'Her Majesty was seated on a chair placed on a small square platform with two steps, and round about on the floor and uncovered' were the Archbishop of Canterbury (Whitgift), Lord Keeper Egerton, Lord Treasurer Buckhurst, Lord Admiral Nottingham, Secretary Cecil, and all the Privy Council.

'The remainder of the chamber was all full of ladies and gentlemen and the musicians who had been playing dance music up to that moment'.

'At my entry the Queen rose, and I advanced with reverences made in due order, and reaching her was in act to kneel down upon the first step and to kiss her robe, but her Majesty would not allow it, and with both hands almost raised me up and extended her right hand, which I kissed with effusion, and at the same moment she said [in Italian] "Welcome to England, Mr Secretary. It was high time that the Republic sent to visit a Queen who has always honoured it on every possible occasion."

I made a fitting reply, then embarked upon my business, giving the Queen a letter from the Senate complaining about acts of piracy by the English, tending to destroy trade with Venice, and stating that I am charged to negotiate with her for compensation for the losses suffered.

The Queen sat down and read the letter, then rose to her feet and said: "I cannot help feeling that the Republic of Venice, during the 44 years of my reign, has never made herself heard by me except to ask for something, nor for the rest, prosperous or adverse as my affairs may have been, never has she given a sign of holding me or my kingdom in that esteem which other princes and other potentates have not refused. Nor am I aware that my sex has brought me this demerit, for my sex cannot diminish my prestige nor offend those who treat me as other princes are treated, to whom the Signory of Venice sends its Ambassadors.. But for all this I would not be discourteous...I will appoint Commissioners who shall confer with you and report to me, and I will do all that in me lies to give satisfaction to the Serene Republic". I again made an appropriate reply, and requested that Commissioners be appointed at once.

The Queen agreed, then said "I do not know if I have spoken Italian well, still I think so, for I learnt it when a child, and I believe I have not forgotten it".

'She then graciously gave me her hand once more to kiss...and she said these very words "I will not detain your Lordship any longer".

'With that I took my leave and returned to London'. [Ven.ix.531-534].

Feb 7: *christening*. Queen was godmother to 'Lord William Howard's daughter'.^T Parents: William 3rd Lord Howard of Effingham, son of the Earl of Nottingham; wife: Anne (St John). 'At Arundel House in London'. Queen's Deputy: Lady Marquis [of Northampton].^T Queen's gifts to 'the Lord Effingham's child', February 7: one basin and a lair of silver gilt.^{NYG} Child: Elizabeth Howard (1603-1671); married (1621) John Mordaunt, later 5th Lord Mordaunt.

Feb 9: The Queen sent word to the Venetian Agent that she had named Lord Admiral Nottingham, Secretary Cecil, and Sir Edward Wotton, another Privy Councillor, to hear his requests and report them to her. They arranged the meeting for next day, at the Lord Admiral's house. [Ven.ix.534].

Feb 10, Turlogh O'Brien to Sir Robert Cecil, concerning 'Mr William Daniel, the worthy preacher, now come over [from Ireland] to present to her Majesty the New Testament, which he translated into the Irish tongue'. [HT.xii.638-9]. William Daniel (c.1575-1628) had spent years making the first such translation. Title-page date 1602. Some copies have a Dedication to the Queen, some to King James, referring to 'our late dread Sovereign Elizabeth of famous memory'.

Court news. Feb 11, London, John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, in Paris, of Ralph Winwood (Agent in France May 1600-Feb 1603): 'Mr Winwood hath been but once with Mr Secretary, but makes account to go with him to court tomorrow'.^{CHA}

Feb 15, 'half an hour past 7 of the clock', Ferdinando Heyborne to Sir Robert Cecil: 'This enclosed her Majesty wrote this morning in her bed and commanded me to hand it to your Honour'. Endorsed 'Mr Ferdinando to my master'.

Ferdinando: a Groom of the Privy Chamber. [HT.xii.643].

Feb 17: Earl of Tyrone, after his long rebellion, had sent Lord Mountjoy, Lord Deputy of Ireland, an offer of absolute submission. On February 17 the Queen sent Mountjoy detailed conditions for Tyrone; he submitted to Mountjoy a few days after the Queen's death, of which he had been kept in ignorance.

c.Feb 21: Roger Wilbraham, a Master of Requests, at Whitehall for audience. 'When we think death furthest off, then as a thief he surprised us: for the Queen even to myself at my last audience not five days before she began to sicken, at least in mind, did in extreme cold weather show me her summer-like garments, condemning furs to withstand winter cold: and even then was death ready to knock at her door, when neither herself, her successor nor people dreamed of any such accident'. [Wilbraham, 57].

Roger Wilbraham himself died in 1616; his monument, with his wife, is in Monken Hadley Church, Middlesex.

Feb 25: *death: Countess of Nottingham died at Arundel House, Strand. She was Katherine (Carey), wife of Charles Howard Earl of Nottingham, the Lord Admiral; she was a cousin of the Queen, a Lady of the Privy Chamber since 1559, and a Lady of the Bedchamber. Burial: Feb 28, St Luke's Church, Chelsea.*

Funeral: March 21, Chelsea. Earl of Nottingham (c.1536-1624) married (2) September 1603: Lady Margaret Stewart, daughter of the Earl of Moray; she married (2) 1625: Viscount Monson; she died in 1639.

Court news. Feb 28, John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, in Paris: 'I shall not need to write you what favourable access and audience Mr Winwood found at her Majesty's hands...since he is best able to relate it himself'... 'The Countess of Nottingham is lately dead, which the Lord Admiral takes exceeding grievously'.^{CHA}

February: John Manningham noted: 'Dr Rudd made a sermon before the Queen upon the text "I said ye are gods, but you shall all die like men", wherein he made such a discourse of death that her Majesty, when his sermon was ended, said unto him "Master Doctor, you have made me a good funeral sermon; I may die when I will"'. [Diary, 194].

Manningham frequently made notes on past events; Anthony Rudd, Bishop of St David's, had much offended the Queen with a sermon touching on her mortality (see 28 March 1596); this appears to be a garbled reminiscence of it, and of the text from the Psalms. Dr Rudd was not so foolish as to preach another such sermon. His 1596 sermon was published later in 1603.

Court news. [March 3], Count Beaumont, French Ambassador, to M.de Villeroy: I asked for audience at the end of February. The Queen 'begged me to excuse her for a few days whilst she got over her grief for the death of the Countess of Nottingham, the Lord Admiral's wife, for whom she has shed many tears and shows herself to be extraordinarily affected'.

[March 5]: 'The Queen has been unwell for seven or eight days. She has signed the Earl of Tyrone's pardon'.^{BT}

Shrovetide: Admiral's Men at court. Philip Henslowe had paid on their behalf: 29 Dec 1602: 'Harry Chettle, for a prologue and an epilogue for the court', 5s; 1 Jan 1603: Mrs Call 'for two coronets for head tires for the court', 10s. [Henslowe, 207, 221].

Mar 6, Shrove Sunday play, by Admiral's Men.

*Mar 8, Shrove Tuesday play, by Admiral's Men.

George Pollard made ready for the Queen 'to see the plays at Shrovetide'.^T

The Queen was too unwell to see plays.

Court news. March 9, Father Rivers to a Venetian, Creleto: 'About ten days since the Countess of Nottingham died. Her husband, the Admiral, keepeth his chamber mourning in sad earnest. The Queen loved the Countess well, and hath much lamented her death, remaining ever since in a deep melancholy that she must die herself, and complaineth of many infirmities wherewith she seemeth suddenly to be overtaken; as imposthuration in her head, aches in her bones and continual cold in her legs, besides a notable decay of judgement and memory, insomuch as she cannot abide discourses of government and state, but delighteth to hear old Canterbury tales, to which she is very attentive; at other times impatient and testy, so as none of the Council, but Secretary, dare come in her presence'.

'All are in a dump at court; some fear present danger, others doubt she will not continue past the month of May, but generally all are of opinion that she cannot overpass another winter...The succession is much talked of'...

'There is continual posting between England and Scotland'.

March 9, Father Rivers to a Venetian, Galfredi:

'The rumours of Arabella [Arbella Stuart] much afflict the Queen. She has not been well since the Countess of Nottingham's death, rests ill at night, forbears to use the air in the day, and abstains more than usual from her meat, resisting physic, and suspicious of some about her as ill affected'. [SP12/287/50,52].

March 9, Sir Robert Cecil to George Nicholson, in Scotland:

'Till within these 10 or 12 days I never beheld other show of sickness in the Queen than merely those things that are proper to age'...

'Now her Majesty, thanks be to God, is free from any peril, but because all flesh is subject to mortality...I must confess unto you that she hath been so ill disposed these 8 or 9 days as I am fearful lest the continuance of such accidents should bring her Majesty to future weakness, and so to be in danger of that which I hope mine eyes shall never see...She never kept her bed, but was, within these three days, in the garden'. [HT.MS 92/18].

March 9, Sir Robert Cecil to Sir John Herbert, in Bremen: 'Her Majesty hath of late for 8 or 9 days been much deprived of sleep', which 'decays her appetite somewhat...Other peril I assure you there is not'. [HT.xii.667].

[March 10], Venetian Agent's report: 'I sought an audience of the Queen in order to conclude the business entrusted to me. Her Majesty caused answer to be made that she desired to discuss pleasant topics only with me, and so, if I were seeking an audience on the subject of my mission, she begged me to wait till the Commissioners appointed by her had reported'...

'The cause of the delay in the meeting of the Commissioners is the death last week of the Lord High Admiral's wife. Apart from her husband's exalted rank, she herself was a lady of high consideration and one of the Queen's principal Ladies of the Bedchamber. This rank is reckoned so lofty here that they say her funeral is to cost 40,000 crowns. I might also add that the Carnival...has delayed the meeting, only here in court it has not been observed with the usual accompaniment of dances and comedies, for the Queen for many days has never left her chamber. And although they say that the reason for this is the death of the Countess, nevertheless the truer cause is...the business of Lady Arabella'. This 'has greatly disturbed the Queen, for she has suddenly withdrawn into herself, she who was wont to live so gaily...now she allows grief to overcome her strength'. [Ven.ix.553-4].

March 12, Roger Manners to John Manners, at Haddon, Derbyshire:

'It has been a troublesome and heavy time here owing to the Queen's dangerous sickness; but now we rest in better hope, because yesterday she found herself somewhat better'.^{RT}

March: the Queen's last illness.

Sir Robert Carey wrote an eye-witness description. Carey (1560-1639), a cousin of the Queen, was the brother of Lord Chamberlain Hunsdon and of Lady Scrope, a Lady of the Bedchamber. He had undertaken embassies to Scotland and knew King James well. He was Warden of the Middle March and came to court from his post on the Scottish Borders 'to see my friends and renew my acquaintance there'.

When writing in the 1620s Carey specifically stated: 'This that I heard with my ears, and did see with my eyes, I thought it my duty to set down, and to affirm it for a truth, upon the faith of a Christian, because I know there have been many false lies reported of the end and death of that good lady'.

[Description: F.H.Mares, The Memoirs of Robert Carey (Oxford, 1972), 57-64].

[March 12,Sat] Sir Robert Carey arrived at Richmond.

'When I came to court I found the Queen ill-disposed, and she kept her inner lodging; yet she, hearing of my arrival, sent for me. I found her in one of her Withdrawing Chambers, sitting low upon her cushions. She called me to her: I kissed her hand, and told her it was my chiefest happiness to see her in safety and in health, which I wished might long continue. She took me by the hand, and wrung it hard, and said "No, Robin, I am not well", and then discoursed with me of her indisposition, and that her heart had been sad and heavy for ten or twelve days, and in her discourse she fetched not so few as forty or fifty great sighs'.

'I was grieved at the first to see her in this plight, for in all my lifetime before I never knew her fetch a sigh but when the Queen of Scots was beheaded. Then, upon my knowledge, she shed many tears and sighs, manifesting her innocence, that she never gave consent to the death of that Queen'.

'I used the best words I could to persuade her from this melancholy humour, but I found by her it was too deep-rooted in her heart, and hardly to be removed. This was upon a Saturday night, and she gave command that the Great Closet [a chapel] should be prepared for her to go to Chapel the next morning. The next day, all things being in a readiness, we long expected her coming. After eleven o'clock one of the Grooms came out and bade make ready for the private Closet, she would not go to the Great. There we stayed long for her coming, but at the last she had cushions laid for her in the Privy Chamber hard by the Closet door, and there she heard service'.

'From that day forwards she grew worse and worse. She remained upon her cushions four days and nights at the least. All about her could not persuade her either to take any sustenance or go to bed'.

'I, hearing that neither the physicians nor none about her could persuade her to take any course for her safety, feared her death would soon after ensue... Hereupon I wrote to the King of Scots (knowing him to be the right heir to the Crown of England) and certified him in what state her Majesty was. I desired him not to stir from Edinburgh; if of that sickness she should die, I would be the first man that should bring him news of it'.

'The Queen grew worse and worse, because she would be so, none about her being able to persuade her to go to bed. My Lord Admiral was sent for (who by reason of my sister's death, that was his wife, had absented himself some fortnight from court); what by fair means, what by force, he got her to bed. There was no hope of her recovery, because she refused all remedies'.

Court news. [March 14], Count Beaumont to King Henri IV: 'The Queen was given up three days ago...A short time previously she said, "I wish not to live any longer, but desire to die". Yesterday and the day before she began to rest and found herself better...She takes no medicine whatever, and has only kept her bed two days; before this she would on no account suffer it, for fear (as some suppose) of a prophecy that she should die in her bed. Everyone maintains and agrees that melancholy is the true cause and origin of her illness'.^{BT}

Court news. March 15, William Camden to Robert Cotton:

'This...excessive sleepless indisposition of her Majesty is now ceased, which being joined with an inflammation from the breast upward, and her mind altogether averted from physic in this her climacterical year, did more than terrify us all, especially the last Friday in the morning [March 11]; which moved the Lords of the Council, when they had providently caused all the vagrants here about to be taken up and shipped for the Low Countries, to draw some munition to the court, and the great horse from Reading to guard the Receipt at Westminster, to take order for the Navy to lie in the Narrow Seas, and to commit some gentlemen hunger-starved for innovations, as Sir Edmund Baynham, Catesby, Tresham, two Wrights, etc, and afterwards the Count Arundell of Wardour, to a gentleman's house, for speech used by the foresaid turbulent spirits...You may (as we do) put away fear, and thank God for this joyful recovery of her upon whose health and safety we all depend'. [Wright, ii.494].

March 15: Prayer 'first read 15th of March...at night'.

'O Lord God...We confess to the praise of thy name that we have long tasted of thy goodness and have been happy above other nations in outward or inward blessings heaped upon us by the glorious reign of Elizabeth thy faithful servant our most gracious Sovereign...Vouchsafe Lord to give some token of thy bottomless love and our happy atonement, in strengthening the weakness, assuaging the grief, purifying the mind, enabling the body, and restoring the health of our gracious Sovereign, and appointing by thy powerful wisdom the best and speediest means for her recovery, in whose blessed government next unto the providence of thy Majesty consisteth the stay of this Kingdom, the safety of thy people, the peace of thy Church, and the very lives of thy Saints'. [SP12/287/57].

By Anthony Watson, Bishop of Chichester, the Queen's Almoner.

March 16: Council's letters. Lady Hoby's *Diary*: My husband Sir Thomas Posthumous Hoby received in Yorkshire on March 23 'letters which came from the Privy Council to the Lord President [of the North] and all the Justices of Peace, that our Queen was sick, which wrought great sorrow and dread in all good subjects' hearts; these letters were dated the 16 of March'.

Court news. March 17, 0 to 30 [Earl of Northumberland to King James]:

'Her Majesty hath been evil now almost one month. In the twelve first days it was kept secret...taking the cause to be the displeasure she took at Arbella, the motions of taking in Tyrone, and the death of her old acquaintance the Lady Nottingham. Those that were nearest her did imagine these to be the reasons. More days told us it was an indisposition of body; sickness was not in any manner discerned, her sleep and stomach only bereft her, so as for a 20 days she slept very little. Since she is grown very weak, yet sometimes gives us comfort of recovery, a few hours after threatens us with despair of her well doing. Physic she will not take any, and the physicians conclude that if this continue she must needs fall into a distemper; not a frenzy but rather into a dullness and a lethargy'.

'This accident hath made all the whole nation look about them. Men talk freely of your Majesty's right'...

'If it...please God to take from us our mistress, you shall have instantly word, and I think news of her departure will be no sooner with your Majesty than word of your being proclaimed amongst us will overtake it'.

[Correspondence of King James, ed. John Bruce, Camden Soc.78 (1861), 72-74].

Court news. [March 18], London, Count Beaumont to King Henri IV:

'The Queen is already quite exhausted, and sometimes, for two or three hours together, does not speak a word...This morning her musicians have gone to her from here; I believe she means to die as cheerfully as she has lived'.^{BT}

March 18: Anonymous description, 1603, of the course of the Queen's sickness:

On Monday February 28th the Queen 'began to sicken again, and so continued till Monday the 7th of March, at which time notice was given to the Lords of the Council that she was sick of a cold, and so she continued sick till Tuesday the 15th of March following, after which day she began somewhat to amend, but the 18th of March following being Friday she began to be very ill, whereupon the Lords of the Council were sent for to Richmond'. [Somers, *Tracts*, i.246].

William Weston, in a cell in the Tower of London, witnessed that: 'During those few days in which she lay dying beyond all hope of recovery, a strange silence descended on the whole city, as if it were under indict and divine worship suspended. Not a bell rang out. Not a bugle sounded - though ordinarily they were often heard'. [William Weston. The Autobiography of an Elizabethan. Translated by Philip Caraman (1955), 222].

March 18: Privy Council ordered 'the restraint of stage-plays' in London, Middlesex and Surrey.^{APC}

Canterbury Chamberlains, 1603: 'To Thomas Downton, one of the Lord Admiral's players, for a gift bestowed upon him and his company, because it was thought fit they should not play at all, in regard that our late Queen was then very sick or dead as they supposed'.

March 19: Sir Robert Carey's messenger left Richmond to take King James news from Carey that the Queen could not live three days 'and that he stayed only at court to bring to him the first news of her death, and had horses placed in all the way'. [Correspondence of King James, 49].

March 19: Privy Council sent 'letters to the noblemen that were about the city to come to the court the next day, attended with a small retinue for the avoiding of rumour'. The ports are to be closed.

March 20: 'Her Majesty's indisposition still continuing in the same state as hath been of late, betwixt hope and fear', the Council conferred with the noblemen assembled that day at the court, imparting to them their 'proceedings ...for the conservation of the State in peace and tranquillity'.^{APC}

March 20: Roger Wilbraham: After the Queen 'had languished three weeks, to all seeming rather of torment of mind than pain of body, and refusing all physic, after daily and manifold strong exhortations, both by bishops and the Council, not to be her own ruin: against this day was a summons of all the bishops and nobility near London, where was declared to them that since the first fear by her Majesty's indisposition, the Lords hath ordered the Navy to be in readiness against foreign attempts, and divers parts of the kingdom had admonition; so had the Sheriffs, Lieutenants and Deputy Lieutenants, Justices of Peace throughout the kingdom; the Lieutenant of the Tower, the Presidents of Provinces and the Deputy of Ireland, the Mayor of London, especially, and other Corporations; and stay made of all shipping; thereby they supposed a good security to the kingdom for time present'. [Wilbraham, 53-54].

March 20-autumn: Voyage from Bristol to Virginia. Captain Martin Pring, in *The Speedwell*, with *The Discoverer*, left Bristol.

'They were much crossed by contrary winds upon the coast of England, and the death of that ever most memorable miracle of the world, our most dear sovereign Lady and Queen Elizabeth'. In June they reached Virginia (named by the Virgin Queen). [D.B and A.M.Quinn, ed. English New England Voyages 1602-1608 (1983)].

The memorial to Captain Pring, merchant (1580-1626) in *St Stephen's, Bristol*, has a rhyming epitaph stating that his travels 'reached as far

As from the Arctic to the Antarctic star'.

March 20, in Zeeland: News came to Flushing that the Queen had died 12 days before.

Sir William Browne (Deputy Governor) to Sir Robert Sidney (Governor), March 22, Flushing: 'It was quickly known all over the town, and such a general hanging down of their heads, as that their inward sorrows might easily be discerned'. Two Deputies came from the States 'to express the grief that they generally conceived for such hard news as was brought them, and with countenances tending to tears bewailed their disaster, and all Europe in general, that be of the Religion, if her Majesty should be taken from them'. God was 'so angry with the world as to take away so precious a treasure, and so sure a stay unto Christendom'. Just after the Deputies left news arrived 'that her Majesty had been somewhat sick, but not any way in danger of death'; in the town was 'sudden change in their faces for joy'. Browne and some more 'of the best sort, went and drunk good carouses in Rhenish wine to her Majesty's health'. Authentic news of her death came on March 29.^{SD}

March 21: *Diary of Lady Anne Clifford, daughter of the Countess of Cumberland and niece of the Countess of Warwick*: 'About the 21st or 22nd of March my Aunt of Warwick sent my Mother word about 9 o'clock at night (she living then at Clerkenwell) that she should remove to Austin Friars her house, for fear of some commotions, then God in his mercy did deliver us from it'. [*Diary*, 3].

Court news. [March 22], Beaumont to Villeroy: 'The Queen is drawing to her end...Yesterday she directed some meditations to be read to her, among others those of Du Plessis'. She has made no will and named no successor.^{BT}

Du Plessis: Philippe Duplessis-Mornay, known to the Queen.

Mar 23, Wed sermon, Richmond: Dr Henry Parry. Text: Psalm 116:18. *John Manningham*: 'I was at the court at Richmond to hear Dr Parry one of her Majesty's Chaplains preach, and to be assured whether the Queen were living or dead. I heard him, and was assured she was then living'.

'His text was out of the Psalm: "Now will I pay my vows unto the Lord in the midst of the congregation". It was a very learned, eloquent, religious, and moving sermon; his prayer, both in the beginning and conclusion, was so fervent and effectual for her Majesty that he left few eyes dry'.

Among those present: Archbishop of Canterbury; the Lord Keeper; the Lord Treasurer; Lord Admiral; Earls of Shrewsbury, Worcester, Lords Cobham, Grey.

'I dined with Dr Parry in the Privy Chamber, and understood by him, the Bishop of Chichester, the Dean of Canterbury, the Dean of Windsor, etc, that her Majesty hath been by fits troubled with melancholy some three or four months, but for this fortnight extreme oppressed with it, insomuch that she refused to eat anything, to receive any physic, or admit any rest in bed, till within these two or three days'.

'She hath been in a manner speechless for two days, very pensive and silent; since Shrovetide sitting sometimes with her eye fixed upon one object many hours together, yet she always had her perfect senses and memory, and yesterday signified by the lifting up of her hand and eyes to heaven, a sign which Dr Parry entreated of her, that she believed that faith which she hath caused to be professed, and looked faithfully to be saved by Christ's merits and mercy only, and no other means'.

'She took great delight in hearing prayers, would often at the name of Jesus lift up her hands and eyes to heaven. She would not hear the Archbishop speak of hope of her longer life, but when he prayed or spoke of heaven and those joys she would hug his hand, etc. It seems she might have lived if she would have used means; but she would not be persuaded, and princes must not be forced. Her physicians said she had a body of a firm and perfect constitution, likely to have lived many years'. [*Diary*, 205-208].

March 23-24, Wed-Thur: Robert Carey's account of the Queen's last hours.

'On Wednesday morning, the 23rd of March, she grew speechless. That afternoon, by signs, she called for her Council, and by putting her hand to her head when the King of Scots was named to succeed her, they all knew he was the man she desired should reign after her'.

'About six at night she made signs for the Archbishop and her Chaplains to come to her; at which time I went in with them, and sat upon my knees full of tears to see that heavy sight'.

'Her Majesty lay upon her back, with one hand in the bed and the other without. The Bishop kneeled down by her, and examined her first of her faith, and she so punctually answered all his several questions, by lifting up her eyes and holding up her hand, as it was a comfort to all the beholders. Then the good man told her plainly, what she was, and what she was to come to; and though she had been long a great Queen here upon earth, yet shortly she was to yield an account of her stewardship to the King of Kings'.

'After this he began to pray, and all that were by did answer him. After he had continued long in prayer, till the old man's knees were weary, he blessed her, and meant to rise and leave her. The Queen made a sign with her hand. My sister Scrope, knowing her meaning, told the Bishop the Queen desired he should pray still. He did so for a long half-hour after, and then thought to leave her'.

'The second time she made sign to have him continue in prayer. He did so for half an hour more, with earnest cries to God for her soul's health, which he uttered with that fervency of spirit, as the Queen to all our sight much rejoiced thereat, and gave testimony to us all of her Christian and comfortable end'.

'By this time it grew late, and everyone departed, all but her women that attended her'...

'I went to my lodging, and left word with one in the Cofferer's chamber to call me, if that night it was thought she would die'...

'Between one and two of the clock on Thursday morning, he that I left in the Cofferer's chamber brought me word the Queen was dead'.

'I rose and made all the haste to the gate to get in...I entered the gate, and came up to the Cofferer's chamber, where I found all the ladies weeping bitterly...Thence to the Privy Chamber, where all the Council was assembled; there I was caught hold of, and assured I should not go for Scotland till their pleasures were further known...From thence they all went to the Secretary's chamber'.

[For the Queen's alleged 'last words' see Anecdotes ('Queen's last words')].

Carey rode to Charing Cross, and waited for the Councillors to arrive at Whitehall Garden. Then, against the Council's wishes, he 'took horse between 9 and 10 o'clock, and that night rode to Doncaster', Yorks. [Carey, 59-62].

Court news. March 24, John Manningham noted: 'This morning...her Majesty departed this life, mildly like a lamb, easily like a ripe apple from the tree...Dr Parry told me that he was present and sent her prayers before her soul; and I doubt not but she is amongst the royal saints in heaven in eternal joys'.

'About 10 o'clock the Council and divers noblemen, having been awhile in consultation, proclaimed James the 6, King of Scots, the King of England, France, and Ireland, beginning at Whitehall gates, where Sir Robert Cecil read the Proclamation, which he carried in his hand and after read again in Cheap-side. Many noblemen, Lords spiritual and temporal, knights, 5 trumpets, many Heralds...The Proclamation was heard with great expectation, and silent joy, no great shouting. I think the sorrow for her Majesty's departure was so deep in many hearts they could not so suddenly show any great joy'. [Diary, 208-9].

March 24: Lady Anne Clifford: 'King James was proclaimed in Cheapside by all the Council with great joy and triumph. I went to see and hear. This peaceable coming-in of the King was unexpected of all sorts of people'. [Diary, 4].

March 24, London, Thomas Screven to Earl of Rutland, at Belvoir: 'The Lords and Council are gone this afternoon to the Tower to settle things there. Her Majesty's corpse and the Household shall come presently to Whitehall'.^{RT}

St Margaret Westminster: 'For ringing the 24th of March 1602, 3s4d'.

St Benet Gracechurch, 1603: 'Paid for candles for the lantern this year and the time of the Queen's sickness, 7s4d; for a table for the Queen's Arms, 1s'.

At Austin Friars, the Dutch Church in London, the Strangers noted: 'She was truly a mother in Israel, a refuge for the Strangers, a helper to her neighbours, and famed throughout the world'.

Mar 26, Sat evening Queen's corpse was moved to Whitehall by river.

Whitehall Palace was made ready 'for her Majesty' by Richard Coningsby, Gentleman Usher, with one Yeoman Usher, four Yeomen and two Grooms of the Chamber, two Grooms of the Wardrobe and one Groom-Porter, £13. They also made 'an alteration at Whitehall with blacks for her late Majesty's funeral'.^T

Description by John Clapham (1566-1618), one of Sir Robert Cecil's clerks:

'The corpse was conveyed by night with multitude of torches burning from Richmond by water to Whitehall. The barge wherein it lay was covered with black, divers ladies of honour and some Privy Councillors being there present with the Pensioners and Officers of the Household that followed after in other barges. The body being brought to the Palace was carried into the Withdrawing Chamber and there placed upon a bed of state, certain ladies continually attending it, till the day of the funerals'. [Clapham, 110].

Lady Anne Clifford: 'Queen Elizabeth's corpse came by night in a barge from Richmond to Whitehall, my mother and a great company of ladies attending it, where it continued a great while standing in the Drawing Chamber, where it was watched all night by several lords and ladies, my mother sitting up with it two or three nights, but my Lady would not give me leave to watch, by reason I was held too young'. [Diary, 4]. Anne Clifford was aged 13.

March 26, in Edinburgh, at night: Sir Robert Carey reached King James:

'I kneeled by him, and saluted him by his title of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland...After he had long discoursed of the manner of the Queen's sickness and of her death, he asked what letters I had from the Council. I told him none ...and yet I had brought him a blue ring from a fair lady, that I hoped would give him assurance of the truth that I had reported. He took it and looked upon it, and said "It is enough, I know by this you are a true messenger".'

[Carey, 63-64]. A sapphire ring had been sent by the King to Sir Robert's sister Lady Scrope, to be returned as a token as soon as the Queen died.

King James was proclaimed King of England all around the country when news came of the Queen's death, as in Bristol on March 26:

'King James was proclaimed at the High Cross in Bristol...First Triggess the trumpeter sounded four times solemnly and mournfully, turning himself four several ways upon the Cross, for the death of her Majesty, and so for a while rested. Then began again, sounding four times and four ways, turning his face as before, but now joyfully for the entrance of King James'. [REED: Bristol, 157].

King James I of England and VI of Scotland arrived in London on May 7. Sir Robert Carey was created (1622) Baron Carey; (1626) Earl of Monmouth.

Court news. March 30, London, John Chamberlain (a friend of Dr William Gilbert, one of the Queen's physicians) to Dudley Carleton (in France):

'I make no question but you have heard of our great loss...and no doubt but you shall hear her Majesty's sickness and manner of death diversely related: for even here the Papists do tell strange stories, as utterly void of truth, as of all civil honesty or humanity'.

'I had a good means to understand how the world went, and find her disease to be nothing but a settled and unremovable melancholy, insomuch that she could not be won or persuaded neither by the Council, Divines, physicians, nor the women about her, once to taste or touch any physic: though ten or twelve physicians that were continually about her did assure her...of perfect and easy recovery if she would follow their advice...They say she died only for lack of physic'.

'Here was some whispering that her brain was somewhat distempered, but there was no such matter, only she held an obstinate silence for the most part, and because she had a persuasion that if she once lay down she should never rise, could not be gotten to bed in a whole week till three days before her death, so that after three weeks languishing she departed the 24th'...

'The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, the Almoner, and other her Chaplains and Divines had access to her in her sickness divers times, to whom she gave good testimony of her faith by word, but specially towards her end by signs when she was speechless, and would not suffer the Archbishop to depart as long as she had sense'...

'She made no will, nor gave anything away, so that they which come after shall find a well stored Jewel-house and a rich wardrobe of more than 2000 gowns with all things else answerable...The Council went on Saturday to Richmond and that night late brought the corpse with an honourable attendance to Whitehall where the household remains'.^{CHA}

*Thomas Dekker: 'Upon the Queen's last Remove, being dead.
The Queen's removed in solemn sort,
Yet this was strange, and seldom seen,
The Queen used to remove the Court,
But now the Court removed the Queen'.
[The Wonderful Year (1603)].*

Court news. April 4, John Manningham noted: 'Dr Parry told me the Countess Kildare assured him that the Queen caused the ring wherewith she was wedded to the Crown to be cut from her finger some six weeks before her death, but wore a ring which the Earl of Essex gave her unto the day of her death'.

April 8: 'I heard the Queen left behind her in money, plate and jewels, the value of £12,000,000, whereof in gold is said £400,000'.

'It was said for a truth that the Countess of Essex is married to the Earl of Clanricarde, a goodly personable gentleman something resembling the late Earl of Essex. The Lord Keeper, Sir Thomas Egerton, hath married his son, before the Queen died, to the Countess of Derby's daughter, his Lady's daughter - blood royal'. [Diary, 222,231]. John Egerton married his step-sister Lady Frances Stanley, and had 15 children. He was created Earl of Bridgewater in 1617.

Court news. April 12, London, John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton:

'The Queen's funeral is appointed the 28th...It shall be kept at Westminster and the Lady Arbella is to be Chief Mourner [she declined], accompanied with two Marquises, 16 Countesses and 30 Baronesses with all their train, besides the greatest part of the nobility, all the Council and officers of household'...

'Yesterday came Sir Oliver St John [from Ireland] with news that Tyrone hath yielded and submitted himself to the Lord Deputy...so that it appeareth the Queen's good fortune followed her after her death'.^{CHA}

April 23-24: Description by Francis Thynne, Lancaster Herald, of
 'What was done with the body of Queen Elizabeth'.

April 23, Easter Saturday: The body was 'brought out of the Withdrawing Chamber and set under the cloth of state in the Privy Chamber'.

April 24, Easter Day: 'The body was brought and set under the cloth of state in the Chamber of Presence'...

'The body was brought out of the Presence through the Great Chamber and Hall and carried on the shoulders of the Pensioners...unto the Chapel'...

'Service began very solemnly', before the Heralds, the Council, the Bishops.
 [BL Stowe 1047, f.269v-270].

Apr 28, Thur Funeral of Queen Elizabeth, at Westminster Abbey.

Description by John Clapham, 1603:

The funeral was 'solemnised with great pomp and magnificence'.

'First went two hundred and sixty poor women, four in a rank, apparelled in black, with linen kerchiefs over their heads; the inferior Officers of the Household and gentlemen of meaner quality following after them'.

'The standards of the Dragon, of the Greyhound and the Lion, the supporters of the Arms of England, were carried in convenient distance and intermingled with the train; among which also there were led along by certain Equerries of the Stable two great horses, the one covered with black cloth, the other with velvet; whereto the escutcheons of the Arms of England and France were fastened. Then came the Gentlemen and Children of the Chapel in copes and surplices, singing in a mournful tune'.

'The ensigns of the Earldom of Chester, of the Duchy of Cornwall, of the Principality of Wales, and of the Kingdom of Ireland, were severally borne by some of the nobility...Between them were placed the Aldermen of the City of London, the Justices of the Benches, and the Gentlemen Pensioners, whose pole-axes were covered with black and the heads of them carried downwards'.

'Then followed the Mayor of the City, the Privy Councillors, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the chief officers of the Kingdom'.

'The Agent for the States of the United Provinces in the Low Countries accompanied the Principal Secretary of State. The French Ambassador, representing the person of the King his master, went alone by himself, having the train of his robe, being of great length, carried up behind him'.

'The Agent for the State of Venice...was expected to have been there, but he excused his absence upon pretence of fear, lest by assisting at the ceremony in the church he might incur the Pope's excommunication'.

'The banner of England richly embroidered was borne by one of the chief peers of the realm. The coats of arms, the sword, target [shield], helm and crest were carried by the Officers of Arms'.

'Then was there an open chariot drawn by four horses trapped with black velvet, beset with the Arms of England and France, wherein lay the body of the dead Queen embalmed and enclosed in lead; and over that her image in her Parliament robes, with a crown on her head and a sceptre in her hand, all very exquisitely framed to resemble the life. At the sight thereof divers of the beholders fell a-weeping, especially women, who naturally are tender of heart and have tears at commandment'...

'The mourners passed along attending the corpse, which was assisted by six earls (certain knights holding a canopy over the chariot) and six barons on each side carrying bannerols with the arms of her predecessors, Kings and Queens of England; and the Master of the Horse leading behind it the palfrey of honour, covered over with black velvet, which was garnished with small scutcheons and pennons of arms. The Chief Mourner was the Lady Marchioness of Northampton, who was assisted by the Lord Treasurer and the Lord Admiral of England; and they also had two earls assigned to them for their assistants'...

'After the Chief Mourner there followed fourteen countesses and divers baronesses and Maids of Honour. Lastly came the Captain of the Guard [Raleigh] with his company, five in a rank, holding their halberds downward'.

'In this manner the corpse was conveyed to the church at Westminster, where it was placed under a sumptuous hearse'.

'The Bishop of Chichester, her Almoner, made the funeral sermon, wherein he declared how many blessings the land had enjoyed during her reign; that she had been a defender of the true faith, a maintainer of peace, a protector of the afflicted; and that, having run her full race in this life, she had now attained the goal of eternal happiness. Much more was spoken to this effect, but the conclusion tended to the praise of the King whom God had elected as a means to continue and increase those great benefits to the comfort of his subjects'...

'After the sermon ended the funeral ceremonies were performed according to the usual manner and the body of the Queen entombed in the sepulchre of her grandfather, King Henry VII'. [Clapham, 111-115].

John Speed, *History*: 'She laid her head in the grave, as the most resplendent sun setteth at last in a western cloud'.

John Stow, *Annals*: 'The city of Westminster was surcharged with multitudes of all sorts of people in their streets, houses, windows, leads and gutters, that came to see the obsequy, and when they beheld her statue or picture lying upon the coffin set forth in royal robes having a Crown upon the head thereof ...there was such a general sighing, groaning and weeping, as the like hath not been seen in the memory of man, neither doth any history mention any people, time or State, to make like lamentation for the death of their Sovereign'.

Stow himself died in 1605 aged 80; his monument in St Andrew Undershaft, London, depicts him writing with a quill-pen, regularly ceremonially renewed.

St Margaret Westminster: 'For ringing at the funeral of the Queen, 12d'.
St Aldate's Church, Oxford: 'For ringers for the Queen's funeral, 3s6d'.
St Martin's Church, Oxford: 'Paid for drink at the funeral of the Queen to Mr Chamberlain Smythe, 9d'.

Court news. [May 2, London], Philip Gawdy to his brother: 'The funeral was upon Thursday performed with great solemnity and reasonable store of mourners. My Lady Marquis was the chief, and her train was carried by Mr Vice-Chamberlain and three countesses. I saw all the ceremonies performed which held some six hours with the sermon and I saw all the white staves broken upon their heads'.^{GY}

The Queen's principal officers broke the staves signifying their offices.

Colour drawings of part of the Funeral Procession, and of the hearse, are reproduced in Elizabeth, edited by Susan Doran, 248-249.

The Queen's corpse was later moved, when King James erected monuments in the Abbey to the Queen and to his mother Mary Queen of Scots.

Among hundreds of tributes to the Queen, in verse and prose:

John Clapham, 1603: 'She outreigned two Emperors of Germany, four French Kings, eight Bishops of Rome, surpassing in number of years all her predecessors, two only excepted, and in felicity of government excelling them all without exception'...

'She held her reputation both at home and abroad even to the last, as a Prince feared of her enemies, honoured by her confederates, beloved of her own people; living peaceably, and dying happily to enjoy an immortal crown in Heaven, and to leave a perpetual memory of her name to posterity upon earth'.

Venetian Agent in England, 1603: 'She died a Queen who had lived for long, both gloriously and happily in this world'.

At St Peter Cornhill Church, William Averell, merchant tailor, poet and Parish Clerk (whose wife Gillian died in 1596 'of her 17th child'), wrote in the Register of Baptisms, after the last baptism in the Queen's reign:

'Here end their births by her sweet death,
Under whose reign they took their breath.
A peerless prince, a Virgin Queen,
Whose like on earth was never seen.
England put on sad sable black,
With brinish tears lament her lack
And mourn for her that now hath been
Forty-five years thy nurse and Queen.
Whose golden virtues to recite
No tongue can tell, no pen can write.
Elizabeth thy glorious name
Shall live while earth doth keep her frame.
And when the earth shall melt and waste
In heaven thy fame shall live and last'.

Thomas Dekker: *The Wonderful Year* (1603).

'The Queen's Sickness...Death made him his herald, attired him like a courtier, and in his name charged him to go into the Privy Chamber of the English Queen, to summon her to appear in the Star Chamber of heaven'.

'Her Death. The summons made her start, but having an invincible spirit, did not amaze her; yet whom would not the certain news of parting from a kingdom amaze? But she knew where to find a richer, and therefore lightly regarded the loss of this, and thereupon made ready for that heavenly coronation, being (which was most strange) most dutiful to obey, that had so many years so powerfully commanded. She obeyed Death's messenger, and yielded her body to the hands of Death himself. She died, resigning her sceptre to posterity, and her soul to immortality'.

'The general terror that her death bred'.

'The report of her death (like a thunder-clap) was able to kill thousands, it took away hearts from millions: for having brought up (even under her wing) a nation that was almost begotten and born under her; that never shouted any other Ave than for her name, never saw the face of any Prince but herself, never understood what that strange outlandish word *Change* signified: how was it possible but that her sickness should throw abroad a universal fear, and her death an astonishment? She was the Courtier's treasure, therefore he had cause to mourn; the Lawyer's sword of justice, he might well faint; the Merchant's patroness, he had reason to look pale; the Citizen's mother, he might best lament; the Shepherd's Goddess, and should not he droop?'...

'Never did the English nation behold so much black worn as there was at her funeral...Her hearse as it was borne seemed to be an island swimming in water, for round about it there rained showers of tears'...

'Three places are made famous by her for three things, Greenwich for her birth, Richmond for her death, and Whitehall for her funeral'.

1605: William Camden, historian, Clarenceux King of Arms:

'Our late Sovereign, of most dear, sacred, and ever-glorious memory, Queen Elizabeth, the honour of her time, and the mirror of succeeding ages'.

Camden defines the name Elizabeth as: 'Hebrew. Peace of the Lord, or quiet rest of the Lord; the which England hath found verified in the most honoured name of our late Sovereign'. [Remains concerning Britain (1605)].

1611: John Speed, of 'Her sway and estimation in foreign countries':
 'If her incomparable virtues and praises were truly and exactly described...
 future ages will somewhat stagger and doubt whether such celebration of her
 were not rather affectionately Poetical, than faithfully Historical'.
 'For the great affairs of Europe mainly depended upon her directions,
 who sitting at the helm of the ship...guided their estates both in peace and
 war. Spain, seeking to overflow all, was beaten back, and scarcely able to
 maintain her own banks. In France the house of Valois under-propped by her
 counsel; that of Bourbon advanced by her countenance, forces, and treasure;
 Scotland relieved by her love; Netherlands by her power; Portugal's King by her
 bounty; Poland by her commiseration; likewise Germany, Denmark, Sweden, often
 took up and laid down arms at her beck and dispose. Neither could the utmost
 bounds of Europe (the Russians and Tartars) contain the limits and extent of
 her great fame; but that the same pierced further into the remoter parts of
 Asia, Africa, America, among the Turks...among the Persians, Barbarians,
 Indians, and where not'. [History of Great Britain (1611)].

1612: In *The Crown Garland of Golden Roses*:
 A short and sweet Sonnet made by one of the Maids of Honour, upon the
 death of Queen Elizabeth, which she sewed upon a sampler, in red silk'.
 To a new Tune, or to 'Phillida flouts me'.
 'Gone is Elizabeth, whom we have loved so dear
 She our kind Mistress was full four and forty year.
 England she governed well, not to be blamed.
 Flanders she succoured still, and Ireland tamed.
 France she befriended, Spain she hath foiled.
 Papists rejected, and the Pope spoiled.
 To Princes powerful, to the World virtuous,
 To her Foes merciful, to Subjects gracious.
 Her Soul is in Heaven, the World keeps her Glory,
 Subjects her good deeds, and so ends my Story'.

1613: *Henry VIII*, by William Shakespeare and John Fletcher. Final scene:
 Elizabeth's christening in 1533, by Archbishop Cranmer, who addresses the King:
 'This royal infant - heaven still move about her -
 Though in her cradle, yet now promises
 Upon this land a thousand thousand blessings,
 Which time shall bring to ripeness. She shall be -
 But few now living can behold that goodness -
 A pattern to all princes living with her
 And all that shall succeed...
 She shall be loved and feared. Her own shall bless her;
 Her foes shake like a field of beaten corn,
 And hang their heads with sorrow. Good grows with her.
 In her days, every man shall eat in safety
 Under his own vine what he plants, and sing
 The merry songs of peace to all his neighbours...
 She shall be to the happiness of England
 An aged princess. Many days shall see her,
 And yet no day without a deed to crown it.
 Would I had known no more. But she must die:
 She must, the saints must have her. Yet a virgin,
 A most unspotted lily, shall she pass to the ground,
 And all the world shall mourn her'.

c.1614: Sir George Buc (c.1563-1622), Master of the Revels 1610-1622: Lord Admiral Howard in 1588 'preferred me to Queen Elizabeth my most gracious mistress, who now is in glory in heaven and shall for her rare virtues above her sex be ever honoured above the earth...Now King Arthur is come again, for this is that prince and that heroical lady that did not only affect and desire to do good to her kingdom and to procure and advance the flourishing state thereof as King Arthur did, but also she fully accomplished it'. She was called by Du Bartas '*Claire Perle du Nord*', by another poet '*Etoile du Nord*', the north star, and she did 'in brightness of wisdom and of high exploits and in fortune and in glory outshine and surpass all her progenitors'. [R.C.Bald, 'A Manuscript Work by Sir George Buc', *Modern Language Review*, 30 (1935), 6-9].

1617 March 24: Paul's Cross sermon by John Donne (1572-1631):
 'In the death of that Queen, unmatched, inimitable in her sex...we were all under one common flood, and depth of tears'...
 'Of her we may say...she knew the world would talk of her after her death, and therefore she did such things all her life were worthy to be talked of'...
 'It is wonderful...that a woman and a maid should have all the wars of Christendom in her contemplation, and govern and balance them all'.
 On this day 'God emptied the throne here, by translating that Queen to a throne more glorious'.

1620: John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, 'from London this 17th day of November, the happiest day that ever England had to my remembrance'.^{CHA}
 Queen Elizabeth's Accession Day.

1621 Nov 27: in the Commons: Sir Edward Coke, in a tribute to the Queen:
 'She was the flower of queens, as the rose queen of flowers'.

Thirty-two City of London churches with memorials to the Queen are listed in John Stow's *Survey of London* (1633 edition), 821-882.

Seven churches had this verse:

'Here lies her Type, who was of late
 The prop of Belgia, stay of France,
 Spain's foil, Faith's shield, and Queen of State,
 Of Arms, of Learning, Fate, and Chance.
 In brief, of Women ne'er was seen
 So great a Prince, so good a Queen'.

The most popular verse, in eleven churches, was:

'Spain's rod, Rome's ruin,
 Netherlands' relief,
 Heaven's gem, Earth's joy,
 World's wonder, Nature's chief.
 Britain's blessing, England's splendour,
 Religion's Nurse, the Faith's Defender'.

Several added: 'Many Daughters have done well, but thou excellest them all.
 I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith'.

St Mary le Bow added [quoted from a popular short poem of 1603 entitled *Brittain's Lachrimae*, i.e. Britain's Tears]:

'She was, and is,
 What can there more be said?
 On Earth the Chief,
 In Heaven the second Maid'.