

At **GREENWICH PALACE**, Kent.

Jan 1, Mon New Year gifts.

Among 185 gifts to the Queen:

by the Earl of Leicester: 'A carcanet of gold containing 19 pieces of letters and ragged staves garnished with diamonds with one broad piece in the midst like a sun, the beams garnished with sparks of diamonds with a ruby in the midst thereof cut with her Majesty's picture, and a bear with a ragged staff garnished with sparks of diamonds and rubies hanging thereat';

by William Dethick, Garter King of Arms: 'A book covered with purple velvet';  
by John Thornborough, Clerk of the Closet [a chapel]:

'A small book covered with carnation velvet being entitled Speculum virtutis';

by Petruccio Ubaldini: 'Two books of Italian'.<sup>NYG</sup>

Also Jan 1: play, by the Children of Paul's.<sup>T</sup>

'Galathea', by John Lyly, was published in 1591, entitled:

'Galathea. As it was played before the Queen's Majesty at Greenwich, on New Year's Day at night. By the Children of Paul's'.

With a Prologue addressed to the Queen. Set in Lincolnshire.

[Jan 2], Paris, Bernardino de Mendoza (Spanish Ambassador to France), to King Philip II: 'The result of the Earl of Leicester's arrival has been the sending by the Queen to the Scottish Border of a Scots heretic called Douglas, who was at her court. He is taking a sum of money, and is to offer the King the title of Duke of Lancaster from the Queen, with a pension of £6000...holding out great hopes also that ultimately this may lead to his being declared her successor'. [Span.iv.192]. Douglas: Archibald Douglas, resident Scottish Ambassador to England. King James did not become Duke of Lancaster.

Jan 4: Queen's gift: To Sir Christopher Hatton, Lord Chancellor:

'One bowl of gold with a cover...given to her said Majesty by Sir Thomas Rivett in progress'.<sup>NYG</sup> Given in Cambridgeshire in 1578. As usual Hatton had already received at New Year 400 ounces of gilt plate, and Leicester 132 ounces.

Hatton had given many jewels to the Queen at New Year.

Court news. Jan 6, London, Thomas Screven to the Earl of Rutland:

'The Lord Admiral [Lord Howard] still continues at the Lands End with his ships [in Kent], and Sir Francis Drake took his journey westward last Thursday'.

'Her Majesty is in health (thanks be to God) and still at Greenwich, but as we say purposeth shortly to ride abroad to Wimbledon and Richmond if the weather do continue fair'...

'I have received a letter from the Lord Steward [Leicester]...and a piece of fair wrought velvet russet, containing fully 26 yards, which he sends you for a New Year's gift. He has used the same himself for a night-gown for his own wearing, and I think there will be nearly sufficient for a gown for you and another for my lady'.<sup>RT</sup>

Also Jan 6: play, by the Queen's Men.<sup>T</sup>

[Jan 6], Mendoza to Philip II, of hurried naval preparations in England:

'A Council of War has...been formed to advise the Queen, and also a secret committee of the Privy Council, consisting only of four members. All reports from England agree that great alarm and confusion reign'. [Span.iv.193].

Jan 7/16: Allhallows London Wall churchwardens paid: 'For the making up of the books and for the deliverance up of them to the Aldermen for viewing or mustering of the parish and taking of their names according to a commandment from her Majesty and a Precept from my Lord Mayor, 2s'.

Jan 8: Queen's gift: 'To Madame Brevell a French lady a basin and lair gilt'.<sup>NYG</sup> John Pigeon, Jewel-house Officer, went from Greenwich to the Tower 'for plate given to a French lady named Madame Brevele'.<sup>T</sup>

Jan 10, court, Roger Manners to Earl of Rutland: 'Things are quiet and the great bruit of wars begins to cease...Her Majesty, God be thanked, is very well, and so well disposed as she intendeth this next week to make a little progress to the Bishop of London's house and so to Hounslow a-hawking'.

'The Earl of Leicester told me that you sent him a pair of very fair flagons for the New Year, which he accepted in most friendly manner'...

'The Pensioners were commanded to muster, but that is deferred. The Lord Admiral lies with the Queen's great ships at Queenborough [Kent]'.<sup>RT</sup>

Jan 11: Queen's gift: 'To Lady Stafford late wife of Sir Robert Stafford knight our Serjeant-Porter [of Whitehall Palace]', £200.<sup>PS</sup>

Court news. Jan 15, London, Thomas Screven to Earl of Rutland: 'The treaty of peace with Spain goeth on slowly...the matter is more likely to break than take effect...The States [of the Low Countries] are still divided, and the most part of them unwilling for peace...The Lord Admiral was at court on Saturday [Jan 13] and yesterday returned to his ships at Queenborough. It is thought they will go no farther, but that Sir Francis Drake will hold on his voyage'.

'Her Majesty seems determined this week to make a little progress to the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth, to the Bishop of London at Fulham, and so to Hounslow and the parts thereabouts'.<sup>RT</sup>

[Jan 19,Fri] dinner, Lambeth Palace, Surrey; Archbishop of Canterbury.<sup>T</sup> John Whitgift. **Start of SHORT PROGRESS** in Surrey and Middlesex.

Jan 19,Fri **FULHAM**, Middlesex; Bishop of London's palace.<sup>C,T</sup>  
John Aylmer (1521-1594), Bishop of London 1577-1594;  
wife: Judith (King) (1540-1618), widow of Nathaniel Trahere.

*One of the Marprelate Tracts, which satirised Aylmer and other bishops, accused Aylmer ('Mar-elm') of felling trees (to sell the timber).*

*The Epistle (Oct 1588): 'Who hath cut down the elms at Fulham? John London'. Aylmer defended himself in Thomas Cooper's Admonition to the People of England (1589): 'Master Vice-Chamberlain at her Majesty's being at Fulham, told the Bishop that her Majesty misliked nothing, but that her Highness's lodging was kept from all good prospects by the thickness of the trees'.*

Jan 20,Sat **HOUNSLOW**, Middlesex; Mr Crompton.<sup>C,T</sup>  
Cranford manor-house; owned by Thomas Crompton, died 1601; wife: Mary (Hodgson). In his will Crompton referred to 'my office of Cirographer' and to the profits out of 'the office called the Cirographer's Office of the Common Pleas, otherwise called the Fine Office'. Conveyances were registered by 'final concord'.

*Jan 20: Scandalous words at Wethersfield, Essex.  
Roger Baker, of Wethersfield, husbandman, said 'That the Earl of Leicester was a knave and a villain and it were a good deed he were hanged, and that unless they did rise and cut him off they should never have other laws'.*

*Verdict: Guilty; to be pilloried and lose his ears. [Assizes, Essex, 315].*

Jan 21: christening. Queen was godmother to 'Lord St John Paulet's son'.<sup>T</sup> Parents: William Paulet, Lord St John, son of William 3rd Marquis of Winchester (and himself later 4th Marquis); wife: Lucy (Cecil), daughter of Sir Thomas Cecil and grand-daughter of Lord Burghley. Anthony Wingfield went 'from the court at Hounslow to London' to make ready, January.<sup>T</sup> Queen's gift, Jan 21: one cup with a cover of silver and gilt.<sup>NYG</sup> 1st child: William Paulet, later Lord St John (1588-1621); married (1614) Mary Browne.

Jan 22: christening. Queen was godmother to 'Mr John Harington's son'.<sup>T</sup> Parents: John Harington (also a godson of the Queen), of Kelston, Somerset; wife: Mary (Rogers). Simon Bowyer went 'from the court at Hounslow into Somersetshire' to make ready, January.<sup>T</sup> Queen's gift, Jan 22: gilt bowl with a cover.<sup>NYG</sup> 1st son; died in infancy. Harington wrote 'An Elegy of a pointed Diamond given by the Author to his wife at the birth of his eldest son'.

Jan 24: Funeral: St Olave Silver Street, London: Dr Richard Master, physician to the Queen since 1559; his New Year gifts to her were a pot of green ginger and another of orange flowers (customary gifts from the royal physicians).

He made bequests to four royal physicians and surgeons, six Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber, and the Queen's Apothecary, viz:

'To my very good friends' Mr Doctor Bayley, Mr Doctor Lopez, Mr John Stanhope, Mr Baptist, Mr Sackford, Mr Killigrew, Mr Darcy, Mr Michael Stanhope, Mr Hugh Morgan and his wife, Mr Balthrop, Mr Gooderus. To each: 'A cramp ring of gold of the value of 5 shillings apiece'. Overseer: Mr Robert Cecil: 'For his pains therein to be taken 20 angels and my little bay horse instead of a hunting nag'.

Cramp rings: rings blessed by the Sovereign (until the Queen discontinued the custom), supposedly helped to cure cramp, epilepsy, rheumatism.

Jan 25, Thur dinner, Kensington, Middlesex; Mr Malin. Anthony Wingfield made ready 'a dining house for her Majesty at Mr Malinge's near Kensington'.<sup>T</sup> \*Ferdinando Malin; married; died 1605.

In his will Ferdinando Malin, then of the Old Park, Nonsuch, Surrey, left 40 shillings to 'the poor people of Kensington...where I lately did dwell'.

Jan 25, Thur **LAMBETH PALACE**, Surrey; Archbishop of Canterbury.<sup>C,T</sup> John Whitgift. St Margaret Westminster: 'Paid the 25th of January for ringing when the Queen's Majesty came from Kensington to the Lord of Canterbury's, 6d'. Lambeth Church: 'To the ringers for ringing when the Queen came from Hounslow to my Lord Grace, and the morrow when her Majesty went to Greenwich, 6s8d'.

Jan 26, Fri **GREENWICH PALACE**.<sup>C</sup>

By January 26-March: King of Denmark's envoy in London.

Alex Durham, the Danish envoy, arrived with Daniel Rogers, whom the Queen had sent to Denmark in September 1587. Durham, a Scotsman, came after a report of hostilities between England and Scotland. He was also to beg the Queen to come to terms with Spain, and to confirm that King Frederick wished to marry one of his daughters to King James (who married Anne of Denmark in 1589).

Durham initially lodged at the house of Raphael van der Putt, the Dutch Post of London, before better accommodation was provided (February 10).

January to mid-February: Robert Carey was special Ambassador to Scotland. Carey, a cousin of the Queen, was sent to King James after the arrival of the envoy from Denmark. His embassy marked the re-opening of diplomatic relations with Scotland after a year. Carey recalled that he was at Dumfries with the King for two weeks, 'nobly entertained', and that on his return to court 'the Queen and Council allowed very well of what I had done'. [Memoirs, 8-9].

\*January: Jerome Horsey at Greenwich with the Queen.

Jerome Horsey, Agent to Russia 1586-1587, was previously at court in October 1587 on his return from Russia. His ships having now arrived in London, he presented Emperor Feodor's gifts, as he recalled:

'I made means for a new audience; at Greenwich I was called for'.

'I had twelve servants and attendants well attired carrying my presents, which her Majesty would have brought up a back way against my will, conducted by Mr Henry Sackford; came into a Withdrawing Chamber where her Majesty sat, accompanied with the Earl of Essex, the Lord Treasurer, Sir Christopher Hatton, Sir Francis Walsingham, Sir Thomas Heneage, Sir Walter Raleigh and others, the Lady Marquis [of Northampton], the Lady Warwick, and other ladies'.

'I delivered my letters from the Prince Boris' ['the Prince Protector'] with 'love and most humble salutations of service, and to make known unto her Highness that, above all the princes and potentates of the world, he most desired to adore and serve her most imperial and sacred Majesty'.

"If this prince be so illustrious in words, what will his letters declare? Pray open them; let them be read, Mr Secretary". Who said "It requires some time, and please your Majesty, to translate: I will trust them with him that brought them". Then her Majesty asked for the presents. They were attending in the gallery. Commanded some to forbear and withdraw, fearing belike some would be bagging. I delivered to her Highness, she touching every parcel with her hand, first four pieces of Persia cloth of gold, and two whole pieces of cloth of silver, of curious works; a large rich cloth of state of white arras, the representation of the sun shining in his full splendancy; gold and silver beams interwrought with most orient colours; silks, silver and gold...a fair large Turkey carpet; four black very rich timbers [bales of 40 skins] of sables; six white well-grown spotted luzerns [lynx]; two shubs or gowns of white ermines'.

'The Queen did even sweat by taking pains to handle the canopy cloth of gold, especially the rich sables and furs; commanded Mrs Scudamore and Mrs Radcliffe, both of her Majesty's Bedchamber, and Mr John Stanhope, to help them to lay these things into her Majesty's closet'.

Falcons and hawks 'she looked upon out of the windows; commanded my Lord of Cumberland and Sir Henry Lee to take charge and give good account of them'.

'Her Majesty held up her hand and said this was a rare and a royal present indeed; gave me thanks and dismissed me'.

'I prayed Mr Vice-Chamberlain to be a means that the artisans of London might be called for to make estimate of the furs; the mercers of the cloth of gold, my Lord of Cumberland and Sir Henry Lee to value the worth of the hawks'.

'The letters were translated and the privileges [for London merchants]'...

'I was weary with the holy water of the courts, as my honoured good friend, Sir Francis Walsingham, termed good words and applauding commendations; was willing to retire myself to a more safer private and quieter life than I had spent these seventeen years past'. [Horsey, *Travels*, 233-4].

c. January: Trial, Greenwich. Works made ready 'a Session house in the Friars Church for the arraignment of Thomas Hall, one of the Yeomen of the Guard'.

Feb 1, Thur Peace Commissioners at Greenwich to take leave.

[Antonio de Vega, Feb 5]: On the 1st 'the Commissioners took leave of the Queen, and each one is to travel his own way to Dover'. [Span.iv.205].

*February 2: Dutch Deputies arrived in London. The States-General sent Sebastian van Loosen, Councillor of State, and Leonard de Casembrot, of the Council of Holland, Zeeland, and West Frisia; assisted by Joachim Ortell, resident Dutch Agent in England. They came to thank the Queen for all her favours, to ask for more aid, and to urge her not to make peace with Spain.*

*They discussed the future of the Cautionary Towns held by the English.*

Feb 2, Fri, Candlemas play, by the Children of Paul's.<sup>T</sup>

'*Endymion*', by John Lyly, was published in 1591, entitled:

'*Endymion, The Man in the Moon. Played before the Queen's Majesty at Greenwich on Candlemas Day at night, by the Children of Paul's*'.

With a Prologue and Epilogue at court.

*Endymion* is in love with Cynthia (the Moon, a virgin goddess and Queen).

A Greek philosopher and an Egyptian soothsayer conclude the play. Pythagoras:

'I had rather in Cynthia's court spend ten years, than in Greece one hour'.

Gyptes: 'And I choose rather to live by the sight of Cynthia, than by the possessing of all Egypt'.

Feb 4, Sun knighting: Lord Mayor of London, George Bond, haberdasher.

With the customary speech to the Mayor and Aldermen by the Recorder of London (William Fleetwood), and reply by the Lord Chancellor (Sir Christopher Hatton).

Philip Gawdy to his father, Feb 9: 'I lay two nights at the court'...

'Upon Sunday last my Lord Mayor made his wife a lady, where I heard a very excellent good oration from my Lord Chancellor to the Mayor and his brethren'.<sup>GY</sup>

Also Feb 4: Dutch Deputies at Greenwich for audience.

[Antonio de Vega, Feb 5]: On the 2nd 'Commissioners from the States of Holland arrived, 'saying that they had decided not to come to terms with the King [of Spain], and requesting the Queen to surrender the fortresses she held, as they themselves will defend them. They were to return tomorrow, but will stay a few days longer. The Queen after hearing them yesterday referred them to the Council which is to meet tomorrow. She is determined to make peace if she can'.

The English Peace Commissioners 'are only being sent to gain time'...

'They know very well that peace will not be made'. [Span.iv.205].

Feb 5: Report of the Queen's reply to a request by the Dutch Deputies for more aid. 'The Queen complains of the ingratitude of the States after all she has done for them. She swears by the living God it is terrible, and she does not believe such ungrateful people as they live upon the earth. She has sent them thousands of men whom they have not paid, but let them die or desert. She cannot suffer such conduct. She can do without them. Why should she not live at peace and be friendly with the King of Spain, as she was originally?'

'She complains of the way they treated Leicester after giving him the title of Governor. If she had accepted for herself the title they offered her, by God! they would have found she would not have put up with such treatment. They are now saying she is making peace without their knowledge. She would rather be dead than give ground for such an assertion. She will do nothing, however, without them. What more can they want?' [Span.iv.202-3]. The Deputies had audience at Greenwich again on February 11.

[Feb 10], The Hague, Cornelius Coels to the Queen: Sieur de Combes some days ago presented to you certain *Synonyms* of some importance; I have now charged him with a present of *Ecclesiastes* to be offered to you. [SPF.xxi(3).457: French].

Coels, imperial notary, had previously written to the Queen [19 December 1587] offering his translation of the *Ecclesiastes* of Solomon as proof of his respectful duty. To Walsingham [31 July 1588]: Combes tells me I must apply to you for any reward. I pray you therefore to present this trifle to her Majesty in the hope that it will bring me some refuge in my old age (70 and infirm).

To Walsingham [August 18]: As Conrart de Combes was unable to present my book to her Majesty he left it with you; I beg you to present it to her if you think it worthy. [SPF.xxi(4).73; xxii.93,142].

Feb 10, Sir Francis Walsingham to Daniel Rogers, Clerk of the Council, of a house for the Danish envoy, Alex Durham, who was at the Dutch Post:

'Sheriff Catcher's house is found a convenient place to lodge the King of Denmark's servant in; and therefore I pray you to take the pains to view the same, and afterwards to conduct the gentleman thither, and to excuse unto him... that her Majesty is greatly offended and sorrowful that there was not care taken to lodge him in a better place than a common hostelry'. [SP12/208/61].

Alderman John Catcher, Sheriff of London 1587-1588, lived in Lothbury.

Feb 12, Mon Sir Richard Bingham at Greenwich to take leave.

Bingham (c.1527-1599), former Governor of Connaught, who had been serving in Flanders in 1587, was now restored as Governor, and Chief Commissioner of Connaught and Thomond. [SP63/133/45]. He returned to Ireland in March.

Feb 13: news of the young Lord Bourke, who was brought to England from Ireland in November 1580, and became 2nd Lord Bourke on his grandfather's death in 1584.

Feb 13, Greenwich, Lord Bourke to Lord Burghley: 'I have remained here in England the space of eight years, all the which time I have been under the tuition of those where I have profited neither in learning nor any other good exercise fit for my calling. The loss of which time is grievous unto me, and now since the death of my grandfather I have attended the court as a humble suitor unto her Majesty to obtain money to transport me into my country'...

'And whereas I had money appointed by her Majesty a year since and somewhat more [May 1586], there never came any of it into my hands, but by Mr Secretary Davison it was paid unto my creditors, and nothing remained for my conveyance into Ireland...To live thus idly at the court at her Majesty's charges it is little pleasure unto me and less profit'. [SP63/133/46]. Bourke was still in England when he was killed prior to a duel, January 1591.

Feb 13, Tues, Star Chamber. Proclamation (697): Enforcing Statutes and Orders for Apparel. Similar to Proclamations from 1559 onwards.

Feb 14, Queen to Sir William Russell (Governor of Flushing), praising his 'discreet manner of proceeding', and the 'devotion towards us' of 'the Captains of Camphire'. 'For the more encouragement of the Captains...we have given order that there shall be sent over to each of them a chain of fifty pounds value as a present'. [SPF.xxi(4).89].

Nicholas Pigeon, Jewel-house Officer, went to London 'for the provision of four chains sent by her Highness's commandment beyond the seas'.<sup>T</sup>

Gold chains 'Sent beyond the seas', February 21:

The Queen sent 'to Sir William Russell knight Lord Governor of Flushing by him to be disposed according to our express commandment signified unto him by our letters in that behalf four chains of sundry goodnesses'.<sup>NYG</sup>

*February 15 and 16: English Peace Commissioners arrived at Dover, accompanied by Robert Cecil (1563-1612), Lord Burghley's younger son.*

*Feb 16, Dover, Cecil to Burghley: 'I received a gracious message from her Majesty, under her sporting name of pygmy, bidding me take care of my health, and looking to hear from me. I have not presumed to write'...*

*'I enclose open, for you to see, a letter to my cousin Stanhope, which I know he will show her. I show that I mislike not the name she gave me, only because she gives it. It was interlaced with fairer words than I am worthy of'.*

*Stanhope: John Stanhope, a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber. [SP15/30/80].*

*The Commissioners sailed on February 24 and 26.*

Feb 17, Sat new appointment: Sir William Fitzwilliam to be Lord Deputy of Ireland; his second term of office.

Feb 18, Shrove Sunday play, by the Queen's Men.<sup>T</sup>

\*Feb 19, Shrove Monday Thomas Churchyard's Shrovetide show, in verse.  
 'A sumptuous show in Shrovetide, by Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Robert Carey, Mr Chidley, and Mr Arthur Gorges, in which...was the whole service of my Lord of Leicester mentioned that he and his train did in Flanders, and the Gentlemen Pensioners proved to be a great piece of honour to the court'.

*Churchyard's Show is listed in his book Churchyard's Challenge (1593). It is not dated and not extant, but at Shrovetide 1587 Robert Carey was at Berwick; Leicester finally returned from Flanders in December 1587.*

Feb 20, Shrove Tuesday bear-baiting, at Greenwich.<sup>T</sup>

Also: play, *The Misfortunes of Arthur*, by Gray's Inn.

'Certain devices and shows presented to her Majesty by the Gentlemen of Gray's Inn at her Highness court in Greenwich...'

'The Misfortunes of Arthur...reduced into tragical notes by Thomas Hughes... of Gray's Inn'. With Dumb Shows partly devised by Christopher Yelverton, Francis Bacon, John Lancaster, and Francis Flower 'who with Mr Penruddock and the said Mr Lancaster directed these proceedings at court'.

Works made 'a great scaffold with degrees and partitions for a play presented to the Queen's Majesty by the Gentlemen of Gray's Inn'.

*The play, set in Ancient Britain, includes a prophecy:*

'Let Virgo come from Heaven, the glorious Star:  
 The Zodiac's joy: the Planet's chief delight...  
 That virtuous Virgo born for Britain's bliss:  
 That peerless branch of Brute...  
 Which time to come, and many ages hence  
 Shall of all wars compound eternal peace.  
 Let her reduce the golden age again,  
 Religion, ease and wealth of former world.  
 Yea, let that Virgo come and Saturn's reign,  
 And years oft ten times told expired in peace.  
 A Rule that else no Realm shall ever find,  
 A Rule most rare, unheard, unseen, unread,  
 The sole example that the world affords'.

*Revels: Christmas 1587-Shrovetide 1588, including 'Shows by...Gentlemen of Gray's Inn, on whom was employed divers remnants of cloth of gold and other stuff out of the store'. Gray's Inn 'delivered to Mr Flower 18 February for and towards the charges of the Tragedy, £20', and more on 20 February, £20.*

*The Misfortunes of Arthur was printed in 1588: date on title-page February 28, but in 1588 this fell in Lent, when plays were never performed at court.*

*Gray's Inn payment: Records of Early English Drama: Inns of Court, i.111.*

Feb 21, Wed Dutch Deputies at Greenwich to take leave.

The Deputies received the Queen's final answer. A French version is endorsed 'Satisfieth the States in her purpose of treaty with the Prince of Parma. Recommendeth unto them the cause of certain in Utrecht'. [SPF.xxi(4),118]. The Deputies left for home. Joachim Ortell, their Agent, remained in England.

*Feb 24: death. John Manners, 4th Earl of Rutland, died at Nottingham. Funeral: April 2, St Mary's Church, Bottesford, Leics, where his monument remains. His son Roger Manners (1576-1612), who was studying at Queens' College, Cambridge, became 5th Earl of Rutland.*

*The widowed Elizabeth (Charlton), Countess of Rutland, died in 1595.*

Feb 24/26-August: *Peace Commissioners in the Low Countries and France.*  
*Their ships included The Charles and The Martin.*

Feb 24: Sir James Croft landed in Dunkirk, a town held by the Spaniards, before continuing to Ostend on Feb 27; this aroused suspicion in England that he was secretly negotiating with Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma (1545-1592), Regent of the Low Countries for King Philip II of Spain.

Feb 26: Henry Stanley 4th Earl of Derby; William Brooke 10th Lord Cobham; with Dr John Rogers, accompanied by Robert Cecil, landed at Ostend.

Dr Valentine Dale, already in the Low Countries, joined the Commissioners. Disagreements as to the place of meeting, which the Queen wished to be Ostend, delayed the first meeting to April 11.

Court news. Feb 27, London, Sir Francis Walsingham to the Earl of Shrewsbury: 'The preparations of Spain are in that forwardness as they will be ready to set forth by the end of March. Her Majesty doth therefore continue her force on the seas, having ordered Sir Francis Drake to repair with his fleet to the coast of Spain to withstand that nothing be attempted either against Ireland or Scotland, and in case they have a meaning to come into the Narrow Seas, that there my Lord Admiral shall encounter them with his strength'. [Bath, v.86].

Feb 28: Allhallows Barking: burial: 'Berangier Duportell, esquire, General of Guyen'. General Portall lived in England from time to time, supplied news to the King of France, and had received a gift from the Queen in June 1576.

Beringiner Portall, described as Councillor of the King of France and General in Guyenne, made his will in Paris in 1583 'written in the latter end of a book of Discourse', and stipulated that the Discourse and will were to be printed.

In 1586 he was listed among 'Frenchmen repaired into England for religion'. [SPF.xx.292]. His will was translated into English for probate, 1590.

c. February/March: *Sir Richard Bulkeley*, Earl of Leicester, and the Queen.

Description by William Walter, c.1674: Sir Richard Bulkeley, of Anglesey, Wales, 'was a great house-keeper...an excellent horseman, and an expert tilter ...He kept many servants and attendants, tall and proper men; two lackeys in livery always ran by his horse; he never went from home without 20 or 24 to attend him. He was a great favourite of Queen Elizabeth'.

The Earl of Leicester told the Privy Council that in 1586 Bulkeley had been in the mountains of Snowdonia conferring with one of those executed later in 1586 for his part in the Babington Conspiracy.

'Sir Richard being called before the Council and examined absolutely denied the whole matter...The Earl...went to the Queen, and told her how the Council had been examining Sir Richard Bulkeley about matters of treason; that they found him a dangerous person and saw cause to commit him to the Tower, and that he dwelt in a suspicious nook or corner of the world'.

"What! Sir Richard Bulkeley!" said the Queen, "he never intended us any harm. We have brought him up from a boy, and have had special trial of his fidelity; you shall not commit him".

"We" (said the Earl) "have the care of your person, see more and hear more of the man than you do: he is of an aspiring mind, and dwells in a remote place".

"Before God" (said the Queen) "we will be sworn upon the holy Evangelist he never intended us any harm". And so ran to the Bible and kissed it, saying

"You shall not commit him, we have brought him up from a boy".

The Council wrote a letter to the Bishop of Bangor, Dr Hugh Bellot, 'to examine the truth of the accusations laid to Sir Richard Bulkeley's charge; which the said Bishop found false and forged, and so certified the Council. Whereupon Sir Richard was cleared, to the Queen's Majesty's content, the joy of his country and his own great credit and reputation'...



'And that Sir Richard Bulkeley might not rest in peace and quietness, one Green, belonging to the Earl of Leicester, in the name of one Bromfield, a Pensioner, came to...challenge him to meet the said Bromfield in the field.

"Have you no other errand?" (quoth Sir Richard). "No" says Green'.

'Then Sir Richard drew his dagger, and broke Green's pate, bidding him carry that errand along with him. Telling him...if Bromfield had any quarrel with him, he might meet him abroad where he durst. This knock did enrage Green and highly increase the anger of the Earl, insomuch that Bromfield, Green, and other retainers of the Earl plotted mischief against Sir Richard Bulkeley's person. But he stood upon his guard, keeping always 24 stout and lusty men, with swords, bucklers, and daggers, to defend his person from attempts and assaults'.

'The said Green...and other conspirators hired boats and wherries upon the Thames (furnished them with billets or pieces of wood...and other necessities), to drown Sir Richard Bulkeley as he should go from Westminster to London'.

'But Sir Richard, having private notice thereof, borrowed the Lord Mayor of London's barge, furnished it with men, muskets, billets, drums and trumpets. And so rowed along the Thames, shot the bridge and went down to Greenwich (where the Queen kept her court at that time), and at a landing place over against the Palace of Greenwich, he caused his company to discharge their muskets and beat their drums and sound their trumpets in a bravado'.

'The Earl of Leicester...repaired to the Queen and informed her that Sir Richard Bulkeley, more like a rebel than a subject, had come with barges, men, muskets, drums, and trumpets; and had shot several pieces over against her Majesty's court, to the great terror of the court, a matter not to be suffered'.

'The Queen...sent for Sir Richard Bulkeley, and after hearing his apology for himself, made the Earl friends with him, though the friendship was but cool'.

'Within a while after the Earl sent for Sir Richard Bulkeley to his chamber... Sir Richard was bidden to dinner, but did eat or drink nothing save what he saw the Earl taste of, remembering Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, who was said to have received a fig [poison] at his table'. [*Anglesey Antiquarian and Field Club Transactions* (1948), 20-31].

*Sir Richard Bulkeley (c.1534-1621) was a Gentleman Pensioner 1568-c.1582. William Bromfield was a Pensioner 1569-1578, but died in 1582. Leicester had a Gentleman Usher called William Green.*

*Hugh Bellot, Bishop of Bangor from January 1586, examined one Owen Wood about Bulkeley's matter on 12 March 1588, referred to in the Privy Council Register.*

*Sir Nicholas Throckmorton died at Leicester House in 1571; there were rumours that he was poisoned.*

Court news. [March 1, London, from Antonio de Vega]: 'The Queen sent [Daniel] Rogers, Clerk of the Council, to Denmark three months ago to renew her friendship with that King...The King sent back with Rogers, as his Ambassador, a Scottish captain who serves him as Vice-Admiral [Alex Durham]. The Queen has made much of him, and gives out that he has come to her with offers, in order to make people think that she is not without friends. But I know that he has pressed upon her, in the name of his master, the great importance of her coming to terms with the King of Spain and the risk she runs if she does not do so'...

'Don Antonio is sad, and wishes to get away, but cannot do so for lack of money...He went yesterday with only three persons to a pleasure house eight miles from London for a week, without telling anyone where he was going. He acted in this way so that the Queen and others may not think it strange if he considers it necessary to absent himself'. [*Span.iv.228-9*].

Don Antonio, former King of Portugal, went to Brentford, Middlesex, well-known as a destination for pleasure-seekers and referred to in several plays.

March 2: Pope Sixtus V and the Queen.

[March 2], Rome, Venetian Ambassador, to the Doge and Senate:

'His Holiness asked if I had any news from Constantinople; I replied "No". His Holiness then said "We hear that the Turk is preparing a great fleet, and that the Queen of England is urging him to send it out; for this she promises him 300,000 ducats". He added "She is a great woman; and were she only Catholic she would be without her match, and we would esteem her highly. She omits nothing in the government of her kingdom; and is now endeavouring, by way of Constantinople, to divert the King of Spain from his enterprise. The King has prepared his Armada, it is true; but he is so slow in resolution that we have no idea when he will carry his project into effect, nor do we see what he can do, for the Queen has 140 ships on the sea; she is supported by Denmark and Saxony; she is fortified, and has had every opportunity to fortify".

Also [March 9], describing the same audience: 'The Pope said he had news from Spain that the Armada was ready. But the English, too, are ready.

"She certainly is a great Queen", he said, "and were she only a Catholic she would be our dearly beloved. Just look how well she governs; she is only a woman, only mistress of half an island, and yet she makes herself feared by Spain, by France, by the Empire, by all. She enriches her kingdom by Spanish booty, besides depriving Spain of Holland and Zeeland". [Ven.viii.344-5].

Mar 3, Sun Sir William Fitzwilliam at Greenwich to take leave.

March 3, Greenwich, Lord Burghley to the Earl of Shrewsbury:

'Sir William Fitzwilliam hath this day taken his leave to depart towards Ireland to serve as Lord Deputy there'. [Bath, v.87].

Fitzwilliam arrived in Dublin on June 23 to succeed Sir John Perrot, who returned to England.

c.March 4: Madame de Châteauneuf, wife of the resident French Ambassador, was preparing to leave for France, for fear of a Spanish invasion.

c.March 5: Queen to Catherine de Medici, of her 'grief to lose the benefit of the conversation of one in whom we took so great delight'.

She is 'most worthy to be always in company of a great princess'... 'How greatly I was contented with her company, as a lady thoroughly furnished with such rare virtues as doth make her an ornament in any prince's court'.

[English draft: SPF.xxi(1).538]. The Ambassador remained in England until January 1589.

March 5, Ostend, Richard Spencer (who had accompanied the Earl of Derby), to Lord Burghley, of a meeting with the Duke of Parma at Ghent on February 29:

'He asked me of her Majesty's health, and where she was. I told him I thought at Greenwich, which he said he knew well, having been there in Queen Mary's time. In talking of her Majesty's rare virtues he asked if she took pleasure to speak in the Spanish tongue. I told him that she was often pleased to speak in that tongue, as well as in the Italian, French, Latin and others, being perfect in them all'.

'His Highness spoke of the pleasures of...hunting in England, and asked whether her Majesty did take pleasure to hunt herself...and whether she did go on horseback, in coach, or litter, whereunto I made answer sometimes in coach but never in litter, and might easily perceive how greatly he did honour or rather admire her'. [SPF.xxi(4).171].

March 10, Robert Cecil to Lord Burghley, of Dr Dale's meeting in Ghent with the Duke of Parma on March 9, to discuss the place for the Peace Conference, and the exchange of commissions from the Queen and King Philip giving powers to treat. The Duke alluded to the Queen's 'honourable opinion concerning his sincerity and word', and said 'her Majesty may be assured that I shall always have especial regard of my word to so great and famous a Queen as her Majesty... I am weary to behold the miserable estate of this people...Right glad am I that the Queen is not behind me in zeal for peace'.

[March 10], Duke of Parma to King Philip: 'As to the commissions, it will be absolutely necessary for your Majesty to send them, for - unless the Armada arrive soon - it will be indispensable for me to have them, in order to keep the negotiation alive...Richardot [one of the King's Commissioners] is aware of the secret which your Majesty confided to me, namely, that the negotiations are only intended to deceive the Queen and to gain time for the fleet'...

'Probably, before the answer arrives to this letter, the fleet will have arrived, and I shall have undertaken the passage to England'.

[Motley, *United Netherlands*, ii.349-350, 355].

Court news. [March 12], London, Portuguese report of Don Antonio's attempt to escape from England, attended by Edward Perrin. The writer at once informed the Queen, and orders were sent to the Lord Admiral to stop Don Antonio.

Don Antonio was reported to be apprehensive about the peace negotiations between England and Spain. By March 15 he was caught in Kent with Captain Perrin, who was imprisoned. [Span.iv.240,261]. Audience: April 9.

Mar 12, Tues Dutch Agent at Greenwich for audience.

Joachim Ortell, resident Agent, on behalf of the States of Zeeland complained of Sir William Russell, Governor of Flushing. [SPF.xxi(4).186].

March 15, London, anon newsletter: 'An Ambassador from Denmark [Alex Durham] has arrived here, of whom they are making as much as possible'. [Span.iv.240].

During March Nicholas Pigeon, Jewel-house Officer, went from Greenwich to London 'for the provision of one chain given to a gentleman sent from the King of Denmark'. Stephen Fulwell, Jewel-house Officer, went from Greenwich to London and back again 'to convey chains of gold to ambassadors'.<sup>T</sup>

Queen's gifts, 1588: 'To a gentleman sent from the King of Denmark one chain of gold'. 'To a messenger sent from Duke Charles [of Sweden], brother to the King of Denmark, one chain of gold'.<sup>NYG</sup>

March 16, Greenwich: Council: Warrant to the Treasurer of the Chamber to pay to Van der Putt, the Dutch Post of London, £7.15s 'which he had laid out for the charges of a gentleman that lay at his house, which came from the King of Denmark'.<sup>APC</sup>

March 17-April: *King of Navarre's envoy in London and at court.*

Henri de Bourbon, Prince of Condé, one of the King's allies, died in February.

On March 17 Michel Hurault de l'Hôpital, Sieur du Fay, arrived in London. He was Secretary to the King of Navarre.

March 18, Buzenval (resident Agent from Navarre) to Sir Francis Walsingham: 'He brings the King of Navarre's innermost mind to the Queen, and started after the death of the Prince'. [SPF.xxi(1).549]. In July the Princess of Condé was executed for poisoning her husband.

Mar 19, Tues King of Navarre's envoy, Du Fay, at Greenwich for audience.

March 20, Du Fay to Sir Francis Walsingham, earnestly hoping the Queen has been satisfied with what he had in charge, which was chiefly to inform her as to all their actions, both past and present, and to show her how entirely they desire to depend upon her, so far as she will be pleased to suffer it.

[March 20, London, Antonio de Vega]: An envoy 'has arrived here from the Duke of Vendôme [King of Navarre], well attended, and had audience yesterday. His object is to prevent the Queen from making peace with the King of Spain'.

[SPF.xxi(1).549; Span.iv.242].

Court news. March 22, London, anon newsletter, of recent 'marvels': 'On the window of the Queen's Presence Chamber at court were found a vast number of fleas collected together; and 30 great fish, commonly called porpoises, came up the river to the water-gate of the Queen's court'. [Span.iv.252].

*March 26: Treasonable words. Francis Nevell, who works for the miller 'who keepeth the mill in the field near Charing Cross', was examined.*

*He had declared that King Edward was still living in Spain or France, and that the Earl of Arundel was next heir to the throne. [SP12/209/34].*

*Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel (1557-1595) was in the Tower of London from 1585 until his death.*

Mar 31, Palm Sunday French Ambassador at Greenwich for audience. Anon newsletter [April 6], London: 'They are certainly now in great fear here that his Majesty's [King Philip's] preparations are intended to be used against this country, and they expect the arrival of his forces in May. They are therefore making ready by sea and land...The Queen is much afraid of the League... She sent for the French Ambassador on Palm Sunday and begged him to write to the King about it. She had a great many explanations to give him, and caressed him greatly'. She said 'that the world should see that she had omitted no effort to make peace with the King of Spain. She had sent her Commissioners'...

'The Ambassador swears that she and Leicester and the Admiral (who comes backwards and forwards every five or six days to see Walsingham) were trembling with fear whilst she was talking with him'. [Span.iv.267-8].

Apr 2, Tues King of Navarre's envoy at Greenwich to take leave. Du Fay's request for assistance for the King had previously received 'a very cold answer, and such as I am greatly perplexed how to disguise to my master'. I was commanded 'to continue my journey into Germany, to solicit the princes, with the assurance that when her Majesty should see what aid and succours they would give my master, she on her part would consider what she ought to do'.

Du Fay left for Germany. [SPF.xxi(1).574,580].

Apr 4, Maundy Thursday ceremonies and alms-giving, Greenwich parish church. By John Piers, Bishop of Salisbury, the Queen's Almoner:

to 53 poor women, each 20s in a red purse and 53d in a white purse.<sup>T,W</sup>

Works: 'mending the pews and seats that were broken by the people'.

The Queen herself altered the Maundy warrant correctly drawn up for 54 women to 53. [Arnold, 68].

*April 4, in Denmark: death. King Frederick II of Denmark (1534-1588), K.G. His son Christian (1577-1648) became King Christian IV. The widowed Queen Sophia became Regent. The four Governors of Denmark sent the news to Queen Elizabeth by an express messenger, whom she returned with her condolences. In June she sent Daniel Rogers on a special embassy to Denmark to condole and congratulate.*

Apr 7, Sun Dutch envoy at court, from the Captains of Camphire.

The Earl of Leicester resigned as absolute Governor of the United Provinces in December 1587. The news reached the States General only on March 21, and had 'greatly dismayed' those of Camphire [Veere] and Arnemuïden, both in the Island of Walcheren, near Flushing.

The Captains 'desiring only to live and die in the service of her Majesty' sent Martin Blavoet to endeavour to persuade her 'to embrace the cause of this island, seeing that the public welfare and the preservation of the state depend thereon'. Sir William Russell, Governor of Flushing, described him as 'a very honest, peaceful man', well affected to England.

April 7: Sir Francis Walsingham received Martin Blavoet's Memorial to be presented to the Queen, asking her to take the Island of Walcheren into her protection and appoint Sir William Russell its Governor.

April 8, A.M. [Walsingham] to Sir William Russell: I fear that Blavoet will return with a very cold answer, as her Majesty does not seem disposed to enter into any increase of charges. [SPF.xxi].

The Queen's response: April 26.

Apr 9, Tues Don Antonio, former King of Portugal, at Greenwich. [April 12, London, from Antonio de Escobar]: On April 9th 'Don Antonio was with the Queen...She was full of caresses and promises, and he returned contented to London the same day'. He has gone 'for pleasure to Brentford with four persons only', and 'intends to go to Holland, he having arranged with the Deputies who came, and he has sent to take a house at Utrecht. He will take with him Edward Perrin, and a dog he is very fond of, and which caused him to be recognised when the Admiral caught him before. The Admiral took him to the fleet with great ceremony and rejoicing, firing a royal salute, and accompanied him to court'.

'The Queen expressed her sorrow at his small regard for her, to wish to leave her country in that manner, seeing how little cause she had given him to treat her so. She begged him to be tranquil where he was...Don Antonio excused himself as well as he could, and they became the best of friends. They agreed to spread the rumour that he had gone to see the fleet, and he returned to his house in London. He has only seen the Queen once since then'. [Span.iv.271-272].

April 9: *A further envoy from Navarre left for England, sent by the King of Navarre to inform the Queen of the state of their affairs, concerning the advancement of the true religion and the maintenance of those who are oppressed for it. Envoy: François de Quincampoix, Sieur de Mouy. [SPF.xxi(1).586].*

April 11, in Flanders: *English and Spanish Peace Commissioners held their first much delayed meeting, in tents near Ostend.*

*Disagreement as to the place for negotiations on the Peace Treaty, and as to the Duke of Parma's Commission from King Philip, and as to the cessation of arms during negotiations, delayed the start of the principal business until May 27, in northern France.*

Apr 12, Fri **HACKNEY**, Middlesex; Sir Rowland Hayward.<sup>C,T</sup>  
Kingshold manor-house, called King's Place.

Owned by Sir Rowland Hayward (c.1520-1593), clothworker, an Alderman of London 1560-1593, twice Lord Mayor.

2nd wife: Catherine (c.1564-1617), daughter of 'Customer' Smith.

April 13, Hackney, Lord Admiral Howard to Lord Burghley, of a letter from Captain Frobisher with news 'that the Spanish fleet is at the sea' and that on April 5th 'there passed by Calais a hundred pilots...gone to meet the Spanish fleet. Her Majesty's pleasure was that this letter should be sent to Sir Francis Drake' and 'that he should send two or three nimble barks to intercept them, if it be possible, and also if they meet with any that come out of Spain, to learn what they can of the readiness of the army there, which in my opinion is readier than we do think they be'. [Laughton, i.151].

April 15/19: dinner, Tottenham, Middlesex; Mr Alderman Martin.<sup>T</sup>  
Tottenham High Cross house of Richard Martin (1534-1617), goldsmith, Alderman of London; later twice Lord Mayor; knighted 1589; Master of the Mint 1581-1617.  
1st wife: Dorcas (Ecclestone) (c.1536-1599), translator, bookseller.

April 15/19: dinner and hunting, Stoke Newington, Middx; Mr Townshend.<sup>T</sup>  
Stoke Newington house leased from Thomas Sutton by Roger Townshend (c.1544-1590), of Norfolk; knighted at sea in July 1588.

2nd wife: Jane (Stanhope), daughter of Michael Stanhope, a Groom of the Privy Chamber; she married (2) Henry 7th Lord Berkeley, and died in 1618.

Richard Brackenbury made ready a dining house and a standing.<sup>T</sup>  
Works: 'A standing at Newington, and for repairing the same after it came home'.

Apr 16, Tues Robert Cecil, Lord Treasurer Burghley's son, came to the court at Hackney with letters from the Peace Commissioners at Ostend.<sup>T</sup>

Anon newsletter [April 16], London: 'Two hours ago the younger son of the Treasurer arrived. He had gone with the Commissioners, and reports that they had met on Thursday last [April 11] the Commissioners on the other side... in some tents outside Ostend...They are pleased at this'. [Span.iv.274].

April 17, Queen to the Earl of Derby and Lord Cobham, with complaints of Sir James Croft, another Peace Commissioner, whose behaviour she 'greatly dislikes'. For example, he has called Sir John Conway, Governor of Ostend, 'a fool and inept' and 'gave him the lie in an open place and hearing of divers of his garrison'. 'We so also greatly dislike' his late meeting with the Duke of Parma without leave'. You are to admonish Croft in our name. [SPF.xxi(4).299].

April 18, *The Hague, Henry Killigrew to Lord Burghley:*  
'Of late I have had some conference with men of good judgement touching the Duke of Parma's preparations of places in the coast of Flanders; whether they should be for this country or England. They are of opinion they are for England; and whereas it is thought they cannot brook the seas, that experience teacheth they have oftentimes crossed over in such flat-bottoms to Newcastle for coal. Moreover, that they are so made as they will transport 40 horse, and run their noses up to the very land. It is thought in the North country, near Scotland, at a place called Hartlepool [County Durham], they might find a good landing'.

Note by Burghley: 'This place would be looked unto'.  
[SPF.xxi(4).303].

Apr 20, Sat **GREENWICH PALACE.**<sup>c</sup>

Apr 22, Mon Eve of Garter ceremonies, Greenwich.

At a Chapter held in the Great Closet [a chapel] Sir Amias Paulet was sworn Chancellor of the Order of the Garter in the presence of the Queen.

She then appointed a Lieutenant, who went to evening service with the other Garter Knights.

Apr 23, Tues St George's Day Garter ceremonies, Greenwich.  
 Queen's Lieutenant: Charles 2nd Lord Howard of Effingham, the Lord Admiral.  
 Six other Garter Knights. The Queen was in processions and at the service.  
 After dinner the Lords took a scrutiny of votes for proposed new Knights.  
 Queen's gifts, April 23: To Earl of Essex 'one Garter enamelled red and white, having on the buckle a diamond, and on the pendant a rock ruby with a pearl pendant, and seven small rubies between the letters'.  
 To Earl of Ormond 'one George of gold enamelled white and set with four rubies and six opals; one Garter of the Order enamelled white, having on the buckle six diamonds and four rubies, and on the pendant four diamonds and two rubies'.  
 To Sir Christopher Hatton 'one George of gold enamelled white; one Garter of gold enamelled white, having on the buckle four diamonds, and one diamond on the pendant'. [Jewels, 1561-1565].

Apr 24, Wed Final 1588 Garter ceremonies, Greenwich.  
 Three new Knights elected: Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex;  
 Thomas Butler, 10th Earl of Ormond; Sir Christopher Hatton, Lord Chancellor.  
 'In the forenoon her Majesty called the Lords into her Privy Chamber where she held a Chapter and there did choose the Earl of Essex to be one of the Order a Knight of the Garter, and put a George on his neck and a Garter on his leg herself. He was brought in by two Earls'. Ormond and Hatton in turn were then brought in and invested by the Queen. 'She said she would within 20 days appoint when they should be stalled at Windsor'. The Lords went to service.  
 [Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 468]. Installation at Windsor: May 23.

April 25/30: dinner, Erith, Kent; Mr Compton.<sup>T</sup>  
 Erith manor-house; occupied by a kinsman of the owner, Henry 1st Lord Compton, whose main residences were in Middlesex, Northants, and Warwickshire.

April 25/30: dinner, Lewisham, Kent.<sup>T</sup>  
 Lewisham manor-house (Crown property), was leased by Sir Francis Knollys, Treasurer of the Household.

The Queen's visit may however have been to Sir Richard Bulkeley, after the incidents described above (February/March). His wife Mary (Burgh), was a former Maid of Honour; they married at court in 1577. The Queen went 'Maying' at their house at Lewisham in 1602.

April 26, Greenwich: Queen's warrant to pay Martin Blavoet, a Dutch envoy, an annuity of 3s a day for his faithful good services, to begin from the Feast of the Nativity last past [Christmas Day] and to continue during her pleasure. The Queen wrote to the Captains of Camphire: 'We are resolved to hold you in our protection and service'. [SPF.xxi(4)].

April 28, Plymouth, Sir Francis Drake sent a Captain with news, and a letter: 'Most gracious Sovereign...I have three sundry ways received advertisements that the enemy continueth his preparations very mightily'. Frenchmen returning from Spain report 'that their fleet is in number between four and five hundred sail, ready furnished with seventy or eighty thousand soldiers and mariners'... 'Most renowned Prince...if a good peace for your Majesty be not forthwith concluded...these great preparations of the Spaniard may be speedily prevented as much as in your Majesty lieth, by sending your forces to encounter them somewhat far off, and more near their own coasts, which will be the better cheap for your Majesty and people, and much the dearer for the enemy'... 'The promise of peace from the Prince of Parma and these mighty preparations in Spain agree not well together'. [Laughton, i.165-7]. News of Spanish preparations continued to arrive. Drake himself soon went up to court.

April 30, Queen to the Peace Commissioners, with instructions on drawing 'this cause to some speedy conclusion'. Postscript, in the Queen's own hand: 'Let not the Duke [of Parma] think that we would so long time endure these many frivolous and unkindly dealings but that we desire all the world to know our desire of a kingly peace; and that we will endure no more the like nor any, but will return you from such charge'. [SPF.xxi(4).341-2].

May 1 (o.s.), in *France: On the 'Day of the Barricades' Henri Duke of Guise made himself master of Paris. Next day King Henri III fled from Paris.*

May 1, Wed **CROYDON**, Surrey; Archbishop of Canterbury.<sup>c</sup>  
John Whitgift, unmarried; at Croydon Palace.

Francis Coot made ready 'the Lord of Canterbury's house at Croydon'.<sup>T</sup>

May 2/3: Croydon horse-race, attended by the Queen.  
At Croydon the Works made 'a standing there for her Majesty to see the horse-race run'. Francis Coot made ready 'a standing for her Majesty at Croydon against the running of the horses there'.<sup>T</sup>

May 4, Sat **GREENWICH PALACE**.<sup>c</sup>

May 6, Mon Colonel Sir Martin Schenk at Greenwich for first audience.  
Sir Martin Schenk (1549-1589), a Dutchman knighted by Leicester at Utrecht in 1586, and a renowned commander, arrived in London from Utrecht on May 3 and stayed a month.

Court news. May 7, Lord Talbot to the Earl of Shrewsbury, his father, from Coleman Street near Moorgate: 'Her Majesty meaneth this day to go to Wanstead to see my Lord of Leicester, who hath been there sick this fortnight'.

'The King of Denmark died about a fortnight or three weeks since, wherewith her Majesty is greatly grieved, for that he was a most constant, well affected prince towards her as she had in Christendom'...

'Within these few days there is grown at court and here in London some better expectation of some good conclusion of peace than was before. Our Commissioners and theirs meet often, and very shortly it is thought they will grow to resolution. In the meantime my Lord Admiral remaineth at the court, having her Majesty's Navy in readiness. Sir Francis Drake is also there, having his fleet ready also in the West, but both of them are to go to sea or altogether to stay, as this Treaty of Peace falleth out...Captain Schenk (who my Lord of Leicester knighted in the Low Countries) came to this town on Friday last'. [Bath, v.90].

May 7, Tues **WANSTEAD**, Essex; Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester.  
Wanstead manor-house; owned by Leicester, who was sick.

May 8, Wed **GREENWICH PALACE**.<sup>c</sup>

Court news. May 9, London, Philip Gawdy to his father:  
'The Queen was at Wanstead upon Tuesday, and lay there that night'.<sup>GY</sup>

May 9, Lord Burghley to Sir James Croft: 'Lord Buckhurst is not yet restored to her Majesty's presence and the Council because the matters betwixt my Lord of Leicester and him [in 1587] are not yet determined'. [SPF.xxi(4).373].



May 9, Thur French Ambassador at Greenwich for audience.  
 [from Antonio de Vega] [May 11], London: 'On Tuesday midnight [May 7] the French Ambassador received news of the seizure of Paris by Guise. This news is rejoiced at here', as it may cause the King of France 'to join those of the "religion", Vendôme [the King of Navarre] and the Queen of England'.

On Wednesday the Queen 'sent Walsingham to the Ambassador to beg him to assure her whether the rumour was true...After much discourse upon the subject, Walsingham returned to the Queen, who is at Greenwich, and wrote a letter [to Châteauneuf, the Ambassador] saying that her Majesty would be pleased to see him, and would await him next morning in the garden. He was obliged to go, and was with her from 10 o'clock until nearly one. She assured him that if the King would join her and Vendôme against the King of Spain and the League, she would place all her forces by sea and land in the struggle, and promised him "mountains and fountains" if he would join her'. [Span.iv.299-300].

*May 10-late May: Thomas Bodley was Agent in France, sent to King Henri III at Chartres. The Queen expressed her sympathy for the King's misfortunes, asking him to read her letter privately and to give favourable audience to Bodley as secretly as seems good to him. She offered troops; the King wrote that he found more kindness in her than in all his friends and allies, but that he did not doubt that he would be able to chastise his enemies with his own forces. [SPF].*

May 12, Sun Lord Mayor of London at Greenwich with the Queen.  
 Sir George Bond, of the Haberdashers' Company. The Livery Companies had 'set forth' 16 warships and four pinnaces.

*Description to the Companies at London Guildhall on May 14 by Wilbraham, Common Sergeant of London:*

'Upon Sunday last in the afternoon my Lord Mayor was by her Highness sent for unto the court, who, accompanied with certain Aldermen his brethren, presently repaired thither. Who, staying awhile there in my Lord Chancellor's chamber was sent for unto the Lord Steward's chamber, and her Majesty being told of his Honour's being there, sent my Lord Steward and my Lord Treasurer [Leicester and Burghley] to bid him welcome unto the court, and to deliver unto him how thankfully she did accept of his Lordship's pains together with all her citizens' charges and travail of their own accord so willingly showed and performed'.

"And tell my Lord Mayor" (said this worthy Prince) "I will myself speak with him". 'The which they did accordingly, and from thence brought my Lord Mayor into the Council Chamber and afterwards into the Chamber of Presence, where her Highness came and said: "My Lord Mayor, you are heartily welcome unto us", and put forth her hand unto his Lordship and said: "We greatly thank you in the name of all our faithful and good subjects of our City of London, for your and their diligent forwardness and willing expedition, together with their liberal contribution towards our necessary affairs so lovingly done unto us, in setting forth and so well furnishing their 16 ships and four pinnaces, and other great charges so willingly and diligently expedited, and I pray you my Lord Mayor tell them I thank them all for it, and desire them to pray for me and I will pray for them, and that I would be sorry mine enemies should have the like subjects, for", said her Highness "I think no Prince in Christendom hath the like or can have better, for whom I am greatly bound to God, and I assure you the same shall be employed for the wealth and honour of my country".

'In which words her Majesty so displayed her hands often times, as though she would have embraced my Lord Mayor, and, after he had kneeled very long and was stiff therewith, her Highness willed one of her Lords to help him up, and came towards him herself to have helped him'.

[Drapers' records, in A.H.Johnson, ed. *History of the Worshipful Company of the Drapers of London* (Oxford, 1915), ii.148-150]. See May 14, Guildhall.

May 12: Sphaera Civitatis, by John Case, of Oxford.  
 [Sphere of Citizenship]. On the right administration of the State and Laws.  
 Frontispiece woodcut of the Queen, above spheres representing Majesty,  
 Prudence, Fortitude, Religion, etc. Dedication to Sir Christopher Hatton.  
 Preface to the Christian Reader, 12 May 1588. Latin. 400p. (Oxford, 1588).  
 John Case (c.1539-1599), philosopher, wrote several commentaries on  
 Aristotle's works. The Sphaera is a commentary on Aristotle's Politics.  
 The frontispiece is reproduced by Roy Strong, Gloriana, 133.

May 13, Queen wrote to the Peace Commissioners, with instructions.  
 Postscript. 'Be plain with the Duke [of Parma] that we have tolerated so many  
 weeks in tarrying a commission that I will never endure more delays. Let him  
 know he deals with a Prince that prizes ever honour more than her life. Make  
 yourselves such as stand of your reputations'. [SPF.xxi(4).387].

May 14, Tues Lord Admiral Howard left Greenwich.  
 Lord Howard led 15 ships from the Thames to Plymouth to join his Vice-Admiral,  
 Sir Francis Drake; Lord Henry Seymour remained in the Narrow Seas with 14 ships,  
 and others sent by several ports. [Laughton, i.167-8,187].

May 14, at the London Guildhall:  
 Description in the Drapers' records:  
 There 'appeared 27 of the Assistants and Livery at Guildhall summoned the one  
 day before upon commandment from my Lord Mayor, there being then all the other  
 Liveries of this City. To whom was declared by Master Wilbraham Common Sergeant  
 of this said City the most gracious acceptation of her most excellent Majesty of  
 the willing and voluntary contribution of her Highness's subjects of this City  
 for the preparation of her Highness's needful service in effect as followeth:  
 "Right blessed and thrice happy" (said he) "ye worthy and worshipful Citizens  
 of this City of London, to whom amongst many other His great blessings God hath  
 given a most virtuous and a godly Prince, who before she came unto the Crown  
 suffered many afflictions for the Gospel sake, and since her obtaining of the  
 Sceptre hath carefully planted and maintained the same; this most gracious  
 lady hath not imposed upon you any intolerable yoke or hard taxation, but as  
 a natural mother to her children hath with her most honourable Council always  
 studied to keep you in peace and tranquillity, which hath been greatly to  
 God's glory, and wealth to this her country. If I should stand to recite the  
 innumerable benefits which Almighty God hath sent us by her, I should trouble  
 you over long and enter into that which I should never make an end of".  
 Wilbraham then described the Lord Mayor's audience on May 12, as above.

Wilbraham continued his speech at Guildhall:  
 "Oh most precious Prince and jewel inestimable, whose hairs of her head her  
 subjects are, I heartily pray unto God" (said he) "that if she have any loose  
 hairs that will not stick to her head, she may cast them into the fire and burn  
 them; for as long as Samson had his hair fast to his head he was able to over-  
 come 1000 men, but when it was taken away his strength failed him. She is our  
 Princess and we her subjects, she is our mother and we her children"...  
 "I am with you greatly to thank God, and I heartily rejoice that I, the least  
 of a thousand, am in place to speak these glad reports unto you and that you are  
 so happy to hear the same, being from so excellent a Queen, the heavenly dew of  
 God's blessing. Who long bless her and preserve her the mother of His children,  
 and give her Highness the victory over all His and her enemies. Amen".  
 [Johnson, Drapers, ii.148-150].

Also May 14: *The Lord Mayor and Aldermen ordered Sir Rowland Hayward, with other Aldermen, 'to repair to the Queen's Majesty for toleration of Apparel'. They were to make a plea concerning the Proclamation of February 13 for enforcement of the Statutes of Apparel. [London: Repertory 21, f.556].*

May 15, Wed Deputy from Friesland at Greenwich.  
 Duco Aysma, brother of the President of Friesland, 'exhibited to her Majesty' 'the request of the Deputies of Friesland'. Aysma had been sent because 'the pitiful and calamitous state of their Province has constrained them to have recourse to her Majesty, for it is impossible without God's aid and hers that they can any longer hold out against the common enemy'. [SPF.xxi(4).280,396].

Court news. May 17, London [from Antonio de Vega]:  
 The Admiral and Drake are 'to unite and sail for the coast of Portugal... This fleet is being sent in the interests of Don Antonio...The Queen promised Don Antonio on the 9th that if peace were not made he should go in this fleet, and he was so delighted that he kissed her garments'. [Span.iv.298].  
 A fleet went to Portugal in 1589 to endeavour to restore the ex-King.

May 19, Sun Envoy from Duke Casimir at Greenwich.  
 Dr Pierre Denais, one of John Casimir's Councillors, was sent about 'matters which much concern the Duke's welfare', and to request financial aid. The Duke had furnished Denais with 27 pages of instructions in Italian for the speech to be made on his behalf.  
 The Queen responded that she did not care to lose money for nothing. 'Given to a gentleman sent from Duke Casimir...a chain of gold'.<sup>NYG</sup>  
 [HT.iii.323; SPF.xxi(1).616]. Casimir had visited the Queen in 1579.

May 20: **Spanish Armada** sailed from Lisbon for the 'Enterprise of England'. The Armada, commanded by the Duke of Medina-Sidonia, planned to link up with the Duke of Parma's troops in the Low Countries before jointly invading England. There were 130 ships with some 27,000 men. They were delayed by contrary winds. Some ships were near the English Channel in June, some were dispersed by storms. A fleet of 125 ships finally sailed from Corunna in Spain on July 12.

*Some accounts of the Armada date the events as the Spaniards did, in 'new style' dates, 10 days in advance of the 'old style' used in England. 'Old style' dates are used here, in accordance with English custom, since England followed the Julian Calendar, not the new Gregorian Calendar decreed by Pope Gregory in 1582.*

*Events of 1588 are described in a journal entitled 'The English Mercurie, published by authority for prevention of false reports'. This purports to be published in 1588 and has been supposed to be the first printed English newspaper. It is a forgery of the 1760s concocted by Philip Yorke, 2nd Earl of Hardwicke, and others, and is printed on paper with a Hanoverian watermark.*

May 21, Sir Francis Walsingham to Lord Willoughby (in Zeeland):  
 'Our treaty of peace is no further forward than it was the first day after the Commissioners arrived, saving that they have viewed each other's commissions, for nothing hath been done in the body of the matter'.

May 21, Queen to the Peace Commissioners, recalling Sir James Croft to answer why he has presumed to deal privately (again) with the Duke of Parma.  
 Croft prepared to obey the Queen's command, but fell ill because of her displeasure; by June 7 he was permitted to remain with the other Commissioners, at Bourburgh, France. [SPF.xxi(4).413,423,468].

May 23, Plymouth, Lord Admiral Howard to Lord Burghley: Upon May 21st I sailed 'assigning unto my Lord Henry Seymour those ships appointed to stay with him on the Narrow Seas; and so parting companies the same morning athwart of Dover, and with a pleasant gale all the way long, came and arrived this day ...at this port of Plymouth, whence Sir Francis Drake came forth with 60 sail very well appointed to meet with me...I mean to stay these two days to water our fleet, and afterwards, God willing, to take the opportunity of the first wind serving for the coast of Spain, with intention to lie on and off betwixt England and that coast, to watch the coming of the Spanish forces'. [Laughton, i.179].

Flagships: Lord Admiral Howard: *The Ark* (or *Ark Royal*).  
 Sir Francis Drake: *The Revenge*.  
 George Clifford, 3rd Earl of Cumberland: *The Elizabeth Bonaventure*.  
 Lord Thomas Howard: *The Lion* (or *The Golden Lion*).  
 Lord Henry Seymour: *The Rainbow*.  
 Edmund 3rd Lord Sheffield: *The Bear* (or *The White Bear*).  
 Martin Frobisher: *The Triumph*; John Hawkins: *The Victory*;  
 William Wynter: *The Vanguard*.

'Flags, Ensigns, Streamers and Pendants etc, bought for the use of her Highness's ships', viz. Flags of St George, 32; Ensigns, 15; Streamers, 70; Pendants 'to discern their Company from the Enemy', 110. [Laughton, ii.320].

May 23,Thur: at Windsor, Installation of new Knights of the Garter:  
 Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex; Thomas Butler, 10th Earl of Ormond;  
 Sir Christopher Hatton, Lord Chancellor.

Installed by the Queen's Commissioners: William Somerset, 3rd Earl of Worcester; Arthur 14th Lord Grey of Wilton; Henry Carey 1st Lord Hunsdon.

May 26, Whit Sunday: Arthur Hall, the Countess of Sussex and the Queen.  
 Arthur Hall (1539-1605), of Grantham and London, a ward of Lord Burghley in his youth, now a widower with five children, had a quarrelsome nature, and a chequered history of financial difficulties and of conflict with Parliament.

He had for two years been an unwelcome suitor to Frances (Sidney), Dowager Countess of Sussex. When he was rebuffed he went into print to vindicate himself, because of Lady Sussex's alleged 'foul speeches'.

Matters came to a head on Whit Sunday in the Presence Chamber at court.

Court news. May 27, London, Arthur Hall to Lord Burghley: 'Yesterday...after I saw your Honour before her Majesty going to the Chapel and before her Highness returned thence, Mr Brackenbury [Gentleman Usher] came to me in the Presence with this message from my Lord Chamberlain [Hunsdon] that there was no place for me, having matters to answer, that I should speedily avoid thence, and that if he found me there at her Majesty's coming back he would send me to prison'...

'I know no reason, my good lord, but that my Lady of Sussex cannot abide to look upon my evil face, for so reported she about ten days past'.

(Sequel: June 1, Hall's letter).

May 28, Plymouth, Lord Admiral Howard to Lord Burghley:

'My departure from the court...was the 14th of this month'. There is news 'that the Spanish fleet was to come out with the first wind...And therefore, God willing, the first wind that will serve to put us out, we will be gone towards them; for we have done watering, and are only watching here for a wind'...

'God knoweth which way the Spanish fleet will bend, either to England, Ireland, or Scotland...If the wind hold here but six days they will knock at our door'.

[2nd letter] 'There is here the gallantest company of captains, soldiers, and mariners that I think ever was seen in England'. [Laughton, i.187-9].

May 28, Whit Tuesday bear-baiting, at Greenwich.<sup>T</sup>

May 30, Greenwich, Queen to the States General and to Lord Willoughby, in favour of Colonel Sir Martin Schenk. [SPF.xxi(4), 431-2].

May 31, court, Sir Robert Sidney to Lady Sidney:

'My dearest Barbara...I am commanded by Mr Secretary to stay here till Schenk hath his dispatch, which will be tomorrow'.<sup>SD</sup> (See June 1).

May 31: *Earl of Leicester perused an Inventory of his Wardrobe, being 'all his Lordship's Robes at court or elsewhere'. Headings:*

*Night-gowns, 10; short gowns, 14; cape cloaks, 5; short cloaks, long cloaks, riding cloaks, 19; riding slops [breeches], 6 pairs; coats, 5; cassocks, 12; hose and slops, 28 pairs; doublets, 48; jerkins, 6; buttons, brooches, tags of points, of gold; caps and hats, 37; boothose and stockings, 27 pairs; rapiers and daggers, 28 [many being gifts]; hangers, falchions, wood-knives, 16; buskins, 20 pairs; shoes, pumps, slippers, boots, 58 pairs; hunting horns. [Bath, v.210].*

May, end, to mid-June: Sir Thomas Leighton was special Ambassador to France. Sent to offer the King forces which the Queen was pledged by treaty to furnish. She deplored his lack of resolution after 'the Day of the Barricades'.

June 1, Sat Sir Martin Schenk at Greenwich to take leave.

Nicholas Pigeon, Jewel-house Officer, went from Greenwich to London in May 'to her Highness's goldsmiths to make provision for three chains of gold, the one to be given to Sir Martin Schenk, the others to remain in store'.<sup>T</sup>

Queen's gift to Sir Martin Schenk, June 3: 'Part of a chain of gold'.<sup>NYG</sup>

June 1, *The Marshalsea [Prison], Arthur Hall to Lord Burghley:*

*'The chiefest points...laid to me in the behalf of my Lady of Sussex were these: that I commenced suit of marriage to her, and would not upon her short answer desist therefrom; that I had written a book greatly to her dishonour; and that I gazed upon her at Shrovetide at the court to counter-countenance her'.*

*Hall was transferred to the Fleet Prison, whence he wrote to Burghley, 2 February [1589]: 'This day my poor daughter...moved her Majesty to be gracious to me. I cannot write it without tears...her Highness's answer was, the place I remained in was too good for me, and Bedlam a fitter'.*

*[The Countess of Sussex died on 9 March 1589; Hall was later released.*

*H.G.Wright, Life and Works of Arthur Hall of Grantham (1919), 194-201].*

June 5: death. Countess of Oxford died at Greenwich Palace.

Anne (Cecil) (1556-1588), daughter of Lord Burghley and wife of Edward de Vere 17th Earl of Oxford. June 13, London, Philip Gawdy to his 'sweet brother':

*'Brother I forgot to write to you of the death of a great lady...My Lady of Oxford died at the court, and is interred at Westminster. There is a great funeral a-preparing, and I need not to write to you of the heaviness and mourning of many of her best friends'.<sup>GY</sup> Funeral: June 25, Westminster Abbey.*

*Her monument in the Abbey (St Nicholas Chapel) has the effigies of her and her mother Lady Burghley, who died in 1589.*

*Earl of Oxford married (2) (1591) Elizabeth Trentham, a Maid of Honour.*

6 June 1588-Sept 1589: Dr Giles Fletcher was special Ambassador to Russia. On his return he wrote a description of Russia, dedicated to the Queen (1591).

June 10: Conference at Lord Treasurer Burghley's house.

Many resolutions were made concerning action to be taken in the Low Countries, and as to the negotiations for a Peace Treaty. [SPF.xxi(4).471-4].

[June 11], King Philip to the Duke of Parma: 'Keep the negotiation alive till my Armada appears, and then carry out my determination, and replant the Catholic religion on the soil of England'. [Motley, *United Netherlands*, ii.389].

June 11, Tues Queen's gift to 'Mr George...servant to the King of Denmark, part of a chain of gold'.<sup>NYG</sup> Messenger sent after the death of King Frederick.

June 12-August: Daniel Rogers was *special Ambassador* to Denmark. Rogers was sent to condole on the death of King Frederick II and to congratulate the boy King Christian IV, and also to negotiate on trading and fishing rights. He had his first audience on July 7, and met the four Governors of Denmark, one being George Rosencrantz, and the Marshal, Peter Guildenstern.

June 12, Lord Burghley received a copy of a book by William Allen: 'An Admonition to the Nobility and People of England concerning the present wars made for the execution of his Holiness's sentence, by the high and mighty King Catholic of Spain'. 'By the Cardinal of England'.

'We will set down what manner of woman she is against whom this holy enterprise is made...She usurped by Luciferian pride the title of Supreme Ecclesiastical Governor, a thing in a woman, in all men's memory, unheard of...and to Catholics in the world most ridiculous, absurd and detestable'...

'She unlawfully intruded herself...into possession of the Crown of England... being...known for an incestuous bastard, begotten and born in sin, of an infamous courtesan Anne Boleyn. She did immediately...abolish the whole Catholic religion and faith' and 'all the holy sacraments of Christ's Church'.

Allen gives a long catalogue of her supposed crimes against the Catholic Church and her people, e.g: 'She hath exalted one special extortioner [Earl of Leicester] only to serve her filthy lust' who 'caused his own wife cruelly to be murdered'. She 'made her court as a trap...to entangle in sin and overthrow the younger sort of the nobility and gentlemen of the land'; she has refused to allow her successor to be named; she has dealt with the Great Turk himself; she has 'caused the annual day of her Coronation to be sacredly kept and solemnised, with ringing, singing, shows, and ceremonies'.

Allen justifies the right of the Pope to depose the Queen, and to renew Pope Pius V's Bull of 1570 excommunicating and deposing her. All Catholics are urged to join and to aid the Spanish forces. (Antwerp, 1588).

William Allen (1531-1594), lived abroad from 1565, became a Catholic priest, and in 1587 a Cardinal. His book was intended to be distributed in England after a successful Spanish invasion, but some copies got into circulation.

Allen summarised his Admonition to...England in a broadside as: 'A Declaration of the Sentence and Deposition of Elizabeth, the usurper and pretended Queen of England'. (Antwerp, 1588).

June 12, in haste, from my Cabin, Burghley to Walsingham, having just received 'a vile book', which should be suppressed and answered. [SP12/211/15]. (See Burghley's further letter, June 24).

June 14, Queen to the Peace Commissioners, with instructions.

You should take occasion to say 'that the world finds it strange she should continue the Treaty, seeing the great preparations for invasion, and that she only does so to show the world her reluctance to omit any occasion of peace, though she has small cause to think it will come to pass, when she considers the course held since they went over, the absence of a commission, the difficulties about the place, and lastly about the cessation [of arms]'. [SPF.xxi(4).485-6].

June 15 and onwards: preparations at court against a Spanish invasion. [SPD].

June 18, Queen wrote to several lords, of the necessity for speedily putting the realm in a posture of defence to resist the attempts of Spain, and relying upon them to put themselves in readiness to attend upon her person, with lances and light horse. [SP12/211/34].

Court news. June 18, London, Philip Gawdy to his father:

'Sir Thomas Leighton hath been of late in France, and suddenly returned. I talked with him myself...We are like to have wars as well with France as Spain, and jointly together. It is expected there should be open wars proclaimed upon the coming home of the Commissioners, which is now somewhat fresh in speech, and their return very shortly expected'.<sup>GY</sup>

[June 20], Bruges, Duke of Parma's secretary wrote to Don Ferdinando Lopez, enclosing an order from the King of Spain: 'The King, as an obedient Catholic and defender of the faith, has raised a great army and a strong fleet to be used for the extirpation of heresy and the undoing of the ministers of Satan, to unite in England, the nursery of all the pestilential sects where so much blood of martyrs has been shed. To attain this end he charges all faithful men to pray God to guide the force to a safe port, to bring victory to the army and success to all the King's enterprises'. [SPF.xxi(4).503-4: Spanish].

June 22: 'Advertisements on shipboard'. At Dunkirk the Duke of Parma has 30 sails of flyboats, with 240 flat-bottomed boats to join them.

'His flat-bottomed boats are not to be adventured upon the seas, but in the shortest places of passages, and in fair weather, and therefore most likely for Kent; where nature of itself hath planted a most strong situation, Sandwich town. Likewise the weakest parts to win at the first: the three castles of the Downs, which are unfurnished of men, munition, and powder'. [SPF.xxi(4).511].

June 22, 'aboard *The Ark*', Lord Admiral Howard to Sir Francis Walsingham:

'I am very sorry that her Majesty will not thoroughly awake in this perilous and most dangerous time...For the love of God, let the Narrow Seas [English Channel] be well strengthened, and the ships victualled for some good time'...

'Sir, I pray let her Majesty be earnestly persuaded withal to have some forces of ten or twelve thousand soldiers near to her...Her Majesty must assure herself she is not now in peace, and therefore...provide as in war'.

June 23, 'aboard *The Ark*', Lord Admiral Howard to Walsingham:

'Let her Majesty trust no more to Judas' kisses; for let her assure herself there is no trust to French King nor Duke of Parma. Let her defend herself like a noble and mighty prince, and trust to her sword and not to their word, and then she need not fear, for her good God will defend her'.

June 23, Lord Admiral Howard to the Queen:

'For the love of Jesus Christ, Madam, awake thoroughly, and see the villainous treasons round about you, against your Majesty and your realm, and draw your forces round about you, like a mighty prince, to defend you. Truly, Madam, if you do so, there is no cause to fear'...

'I am now in haste, and long to set sail'...

'From aboard *The Ark*, ready to weigh, this Sunday night at 12 of the clock'.

June 24, Sir Francis Drake to Walsingham: 'The Spanish forces are descried to be near at hand in several companies on our coast, as it is reported for certain by three barks unto whom they gave chase and made shot'...

'From aboard her Majesty's ship *The Revenge*'.

[Laughton, i.219-220, 225-229].

June 24, Lord Burghley to Sir Francis Walsingham, having received the copy of 'a roaring hellish Bull', of which 12,000 copies had been printed in Antwerp.

He approves of the Proclamation for its suppression. Ends his letter 'a dark night afore a black morning for me and mine'. [His daughter's funeral, June 25].

Encloses: 'Declaration by Queen Elizabeth to all her faithful subjects setting forth the ambitious designs of the King of Spain against England, her endeavours to preserve peace by treaty with the Duke of Parma, the delays practised in order to enable the King of Spain to raise a mighty power for invasion of the realm...Her Majesty's care for defence of the realm. She exhorts all her subjects to pray to God for His protection to defeat the malice of her enemies, to the exaltation of His glory and the honour of the realm'.

Endorsed: 'A draft of a Proclamation, but not published'. [SP12/211/56]. A different Proclamation was published on July 1; for Dr Dale's description of the so-called Bull see July 12.

June 24, Lutzelstein, George John, Palatine of the Rhine, to the Queen, warning of plans for 'the dangerous poisoning of your Majesty...There were two appointed to do it, each of them receiving 5000 crowns for the poisoning, which they had undertaken to carry out upon the chief gates and doors of your gardens and fountains of your court, not being able to find means to touch your Majesty's person'. One is an apothecary, the other a priest. They were then 'to withdraw into Scotland, to...Monsieur de Courcelles [French Agent], there to receive the rest of their promised reward'...

'As you are the chief pillar of the church of God, we must all desire to preserve you'. [SPF.xxi(1).647].

June 27,Thur: Speeches by Lord Burghley and Sir Christopher Hatton.  
July 7, London, anon newsletter: [On June 27] 'the Lord Treasurer and the Lord Chancellor made public speeches at Westminster to all the nobility who had been summoned. They assured them that the Duke of Parma had written to the Queen three times asking her to enter into negotiations for peace, and...she had consented to send her Commissioners...After they had arrived, he, the Duke, said he had no commission from the King, the only object being to gain time'...

'She hoped with the help of God, and the co-operation of her subjects, to overthrow her enemies, and she urged them all to lend willing hands to so just a cause as the defence of their faith, their Sovereign, their homes, their wives, and their children. Notwithstanding all this, people, large and small, are sorely afraid, and place all their hopes in their fleet'. [Span.iv.345].

June 29: Stationers entered: 'A ditty of encouragement to English men to be bold to fight in defence of prince and country'.

30 June 1588-January 1590: William Ashby was **Ambassador** to Scotland. The Queen sent King James £2000, and in September a further £3000.

June 30, The Hague, Henry Killigrew to Lord Burghley:

'The place of descent for the Spanish army should seem by most advices to be in some part of Scotland; others say in the west of Ireland; and the Duke of Parma, some say at Sandwich, others fear Romney Marsh, where the landing is easy, the ground full of cattle and horse...They say the King's forces be 30,000 foot and 2000 horses; his ships of war 150...The Duke's forces about 3500 footmen and 1000 horse, all ready to embark at Newport [Nieuport] and Dunkirk...It is feared also that the Duke of Guise's party will be in this enterprise...When all is done, God is above, who hath the sceptre in his own hand; against whom they strive in vain. To entreat him to favour us, they have proclaimed in all these Provinces a public fast...They believe if her Majesty should quail they were all undone'. [SPF.xxi(4).532].



June/July: Queen at Turks' feats of activity, Greenwich Park.

Works: 'Carpenters for making of one great scaffold in the Park for the Lord Chamberlain and sundry other noblemen and gentlemen to stand on to see the Turks play on ropes before the Queen's Majesty'.

'Making scaffolds in the Park for the ladies and gentlemen to stand on to see the Turks play their feats of activity'.

July 1, Greenwich. Proclamation (699):

'Against the bringing in, dispersing, uttering and keeping of Bulls from the See of Rome, and other traitorous and seditious Libels, Books and Pamphlets'.

*July 2, The Hague, Henry Killigrew to Lord Burghley: M.de St Aldegonde desires an answer 'for the dedicating of his book to her Majesty or no'.*

*To Burghley, August 16: St Aldegonde, on my advice, has dedicated his book to the Church instead of to her Majesty. [SPF.xxii.2,140].*

*Philippe de Marnix, Sieur de St Aldegonde, was well-known in England; the book is not named.*

July 2, Tues Deputies of Dutch Churches with Sir Francis Walsingham.

The Deputies of the Reformed Churches informed Walsingham that they had come hoping for comfort, specially because of their anxiety as to the treaty of peace with Spain; and to propose to the Queen the need for unity of churches within the Low Countries and England. They came to implore her to accept Sovereignty of the Low Countries and to break off negotiations with Spain.

They were specially addressed to Walsingham, as a sincere lover of the true religion, and read him a long memorial filled with parallels between their own position and those of ancient peoples. He said it was too long, and must be put on one sheet of paper, if the Queen was expected to read it.

He said: "Great princes are not always so zealous in religious matters as they might be. Political transactions move them more deeply, and they depend too much on worldly things". A Deputy asked if peace negotiations would be renewed, if the Spanish fleet fails. "By no means; the Queen can never do that, consistently with her honour. They have scattered infamous libels against her - so scandalous that you would be astounded should you read them. Arguments drawn from honour are more valid with princes than any other".

As to a Dutch proposal to exclude all religious worship but that of the reformed church, Walsingham said: "Her Majesty is well disposed to permit some exercise of their religion to the Papists", but as regards the maintenance of the reformed religion "that is a matter of necessity...since otherwise all the pious would depart, and none would remain but Papists, and what is more, enemies of England". He then advised the Deputies to hand in the memorial to the Queen without any long speeches. [Motley, *United Netherlands*, ii.415-417].

The Dutch report gives 'new style' dates, altered here to 'old style'.

July 5, Fri Dutch Deputies and the Queen, Greenwich.

As the Queen was leaving for Richmond, with a throng of noblemen and ladies about her, the Deputies fell on their knees before her. Daniel de Dieu began an oration: "Oh! illustrious Queen! the churches of the United Netherlands - "

The Queen interrupted: "Oh, I beg you - at another time - I cannot now listen to a speech. Let me see the memorial". The memorial was presented, and the Queen mounted her horse and rode off. The memorial was an exhortation to sustain religion, and to keep clear of all negotiations with idolaters and unbelievers; it included copious Biblical references. With regard to any agreement with Spain, 'a burnt cat fears the fire'. If the Queen followed their advice, she would gain a glorious and immortal name.

[Motley, *United Netherlands*, ii.418]. Audience: July 10.

July 5, Fri dinner, Stockwell, Lambeth, Surrey; Mr Pender.<sup>T</sup>  
 Lambeth Church: 'For ringing when the Queen dined at Stockwell when she removed from Greenwich to Richmond, 3s'.

Stockwell manor-house, Lambeth parish; owned by Anthony Browne, 1st Viscount Montagu, but occupied by a tenant or lessee, as Richard Brackenbury made ready 'Stockwell, Mr Pender's of London'. [BL Add MS 5750, f.14].

July 5, Fri **RICHMOND PALACE**, Surrey.<sup>C</sup>

July 5: One of the Queen's surgeons, George Baker (1540-1612), was summoned to the College of Physicians, charged with practising illegal medicine.

Baker refused 'because he was in the Queen's house and did not have sufficient leisure to enable him to come easily'. Even if he had he would refuse to obey, saying that 'he marvelled much how the President durst be so saucy as to send for him to the College'. [Annals of the College].

July 5: *Scandalous words at Rochester, Kent.*  
 William Simkins, of Rochester, yeoman, said 'I will serve in the field against my Prince'. Verdict: Guilty of scandalous words; remanded. [Assizes, Kent, 291].

July 6, Lord Admiral Howard to Sir Francis Walsingham:  
 'I have divided myself here into three parts, and yet we lie within sight one of another, so as if any of us do discover the Spanish fleet we give notice thereof presently the one to the other...Sir Francis Drake hath 20 ships and 4 or 5 pinnaces...and Mr [John] Hawkins, with as many more, lieth towards Scilly'...  
 'From off aboard her Majesty's good ship The Ark'. [Laughton, i.247].

July 6, Sat: Affray between servants of two Ambassadors, the Sieur de Mouy, from Navarre, and Châteauneuf, the resident French Ambassador.

Seven servants of the King of Navarre's Ambassador went to Southwark 'to see the Turks play, but they played not that day'. On their way back they met 12 or 15 of the French Ambassador's servants, who claimed that Navarre's men 'beat them with daggers, cudgels, and the pommels of their swords, calling them Spaniards, Papists, and enemies of the Queen's Majesty'. Navarre's men, who denied all, were imprisoned for more than a week; some of the French Ambassador's servants were also held briefly in the Marshalsea, Southwark. To pacify the irate French Ambassador the Queen on July 10 ordered examinations to be taken of both sides. [Reported in detail, SPF.xxii.22-24,86].

July 6: St Mildred Poultry Church: burial: 'The prisoner that stole the Queen's gloves'. Near the church was a prison: the Counter in the Poultry.

July 7, anon newsletter: On July 3 'a woman of the Queen's Chamber, a Fleming named Jane Agnas, was arrested. The cause of this was that she, having charge of the Queen's gloves, a servant of hers stole some of them with diamonds on them. This was discovered and the servant man condemned to death. Just as they were about to cast him on the gallows he begged them to stay their hands, as he wished to communicate something of importance to the life of the Queen. On being interrogated by the Aldermen he declared that his mistress was privy to the Babington Conspiracy to kill the Queen [1586], and the fact was referred by the Aldermen to the Council. The mistress was examined, and was afterwards carried to the house of Alderman Martin, but not much credit is given to the story'. [Span.iv.346]. No more is heard of Jane Agnas.

July 9: *Stationers entered: 'A ballad of encouragement to English soldiers valiantly to behave themselves in defence of the true religion and their country'.*

July 9 [court], Sir Francis Walsingham to Edward Norris, at Ostend:

'For the navy of Spain we have lately received advertisements that by reason of their great wants, as well of mariners as of necessary provisions, but especially through the infection fallen among their men, they are forced to return, and have dispersed themselves'. [Read, *Walsingham*, iii.310].

July 10, 'at the court in haste', Earl of Leicester to Edward Norris:

'We have small news here, but that we expect great matters out of Spain; and yet, for anything that is hitherto known, the Spanish fleet is rather returned back, and the opinion now is doubtful, whether they will come or not forward'...

PS. 'Mr Ned, I am persuaded if the Spanish fleet break, that the Prince of Parma's enterprise for England will fall to the ground, and then are you to look to Ostend'. [SPF.xxii.25-6].

July 10, Wed Dutch Deputies at Richmond for audience.

Earl of Leicester asked the Deputies of the Reformed Churches to come to court.

They reported that between 6 and 7 in the evening the Queen came into the throne-room, and they fell on their knees before her, and remained kneeling.

The Queen proceeded to make many remarks touching her earnestness in the pending negotiations to provide for their religious freedom; they objected that the King of Spain would never allow it. After some discussion on this the Queen asked if the Deputies were sent only from Holland and Zeeland. There were two from Utrecht; the Queen exclaimed on the apparent youth of one of them, saying:

"It was with us, at first, considered a scandal that a man so young as that should be admitted to the pulpit. Our antagonists reproached us with it in a book called *Scandale de l'Angleterre*, saying that we had none but schoolboys for ministers. I understand that you pray for me as warmly as if I were your sovereign princess. I think I have done as much for the religion as if I were your Queen", which they willingly acknowledged.

De Dieu: 'Your Majesty has many enemies. The Lord hath hitherto supported you, and we pray that He may continue to uphold your Majesty.'

The Queen: "I have indeed many enemies; but I make no account of them".

The Deputies asked that Sir William Russell should remain Governor of Flushing; the Queen summoned his sister, the Countess of Warwick, saying: "If you could speak French, I should bid you reply to these gentlemen". As the Deputies took their leave, they requested an answer to their memorial, which was graciously promised. Three days later, July 13, Walsingham gave them a written answer to the memorial; support for the Dutch, and stipulations for the free exercise of their religion were promised. [Motley, *United Netherlands*, ii.419-421].

*Later in July the Deputies of the Churches of Friesland, Guelders, Overijssel, Utrecht, and Zeeland, wrote to the Queen, thanking her for granting them audience and favourable answer. They had been sent to desire that the free exercise of the one true religion may be preserved, and the re-establishment of the Papistical or any other religion prevented; and that she will continue her favour and aid to their churches. July 22, Richmond, Ministers of Utrecht to Walsingham, referring to their leave-taking on July 20. [SPF.xxii.70,94].*

July 10: death. Edwin Sandys (c.1519-1588), Archbishop of York, died at Southwell, Notts. Funeral: Southwell Minster, where his monument remains, depicting also his 2nd wife Cecily (Wilford) and their nine children.

New Archbishop (1589): John Piers, Bishop of Salisbury.

The widowed Mrs Sandys died in 1610; her monument, showing her praying in an arbour, remains at Woodham Ferrers Church, Essex.

July 10: John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, wrote to his Suffragan Bishops announcing the printing of a Form of Prayer, because of 'the dangerousness of the time'. Queen's Printer, Christopher Barker, printed 'A Form of Prayer, necessary for the present time and state'.

The Preface was reprinted from the Form of Prayer of August 1563; the rest was reprinted from that of October 1572, with additional prayers. [*Liturgy*, 469,608-618].

July 12: St Margaret Patten: 'For three new books of prayers lately set out to be used in every church, 18d'.

1588: St Michael le Querne: 'For two books of prayers and order of service for the present time and state, 6d'. Next payment: 30 shillings for soldiers when they went to Gravesend.

July 12: **Spanish Armada** sailed from Corunna, Spain. The Armada had already turned back once, because of sickness and storms. The Duke of Parma's men awaited it in the Low Countries, preparing to embark and cross the seas to invade England

July 12, Bourburgh, Dr Dale (one of the Peace Commissioners), to the Queen, of an audience at Bruges with the Duke of Parma, when on her instructions he complained about Cardinal Allen's *Admonition to...England and Ireland*, and a Bull issued by Pope Sixtus V against the Queen.

'The Pope doth pronounce a sentence to declare my said sovereign and mistress illegitimate and an usurper, with other matter too odious for any prince or gentleman to name or hear, and not to be tolerated...The Pope saith that he hath dealt with the King Catholic [Philip of Spain] to employ all the means that he hath to the deprivation and deposition of my said sovereign and mistress, and doth charge her Majesty's subjects to assist the army appointed by the King Catholic for that purpose under the conduct of your Altesse'.

The Duke said he had never read or seen the book, and did not know what Bull the Pope had set forth. [He had had Allen's book translated].

The Queen wrote an angry answer to the Duke, but 'stayed' it. [*SPF.xxii.33,51*].

July 12, Dr Dale to Lord Burghley: 'I have written two or three verses out of Virgil for the Queen to read, which I pray your Lordship to present unto her. God grant her to weigh them!'. Enclosing lines from *The Aeneid*, Book 11.

On May 24 Dale had also sent a line of Virgil to Burghley to present to the Queen, writing: 'I have heretofore rehearsed it to her in speech'. [*SPF.xxi(4).419; xxii.35-6*].

July 13,Sat, Richmond, Queen to Lord Chancellor Hatton to cause Letters Patent to be addressed 'to all manner of printers, booksellers, stationers and other our officers, ministers, and subjects'. 'Our well beloved subject Timothy Bright Doctor of Physic hath lately invented a short and new kind of writing by Character to the furtherance of good learning'. Bright is to be privileged for 15 years 'to teach, imprint and publish...in or by Character'.

Bright (c.1550-1615), Physician of St Bartholomew's Hospital, London, had invented a system of shorthand. His Patent was dated July 26. Later in 1588 he dedicated to the Queen a book on Characterie. (See end December). [W.J.Carlton, *Timothe Bright Doctor of Physicke* (1911), 72-74].

July 13, Coleman Street, Gilbert Lord Talbot to the Earl of Shrewsbury, his father: 'It is certain that ill weather and the great visitation of sickness and death that happened in the Spanish Navy did lately sever and separate their ships. But where they are now or whether they are joined and met together again or not, I think (at this present) is not here known. All our preparations against invasion still hold...All the chief recusants here are this day sent towards Ely, where they are to be kept in the Bishop's house as close prisoners until it be known what will become of these Spanish forces'. [Bath, v.92].

Court news. [July 14], Paris, Bernardino de Mendoza (Spanish Ambassador to France), to Philip II: 'When the Queen was informed that your Majesty's Armada had returned to Corunna she swore by God's death, as she is accustomed to do, and with a great deal of brag, that she would send her fleet to disperse your Armada, even if it were in the interior of Spain. When a few days afterwards she was informed that your Majesty's fleet had again been sighted at sea, she did not answer a word, but remained very sad'. [Span.iv.353].

July 14: Allhallows London Wall: 'For two books of prayers for the Queen's Majesty the 14th of July sent by the Bishop of London, 8d'. [John Aylmer].

1588: St Margaret Westminster: 'For two prayer books when the Spanish fleet was upon the Narrow Seas, 3d'. [The English Channel].

July 16, Tues Sir Edward Hoby at Richmond from Plymouth. Lord Admiral Howard sent Hoby to the Queen. July 16, Hoby made a memorandum: 'The occasion of my Lord Admiral his sending me up hath been only to signify unto her Majesty what hath passed in all this season, and to resolve her Highness of the present estate of her army; as also to bring down with me her Majesty's resolution and free liberty how she would have him to lie, or attempt aught on the enemy's coast'. [Laughton, i.262].

Court news. July 16, Lord Burghley to Sir Francis Walsingham: Message is to be returned to the Duke of Parma that her Majesty thought the treaty for peace was merely designed to gain time, but she will be contented to renew the treaty when these great forces shall have done their worst. [SP12/212/52].

July 17, court, Sir Thomas Heneage to the Earl of Leicester: Intelligence has been received 'that the Duke of Parma resolutely purposeth to attempt London, however he may, whether it be by water or by land'. [Wright, ii.378].

July 18, Lord Henry Seymour to Sir Francis Walsingham: 'I find no manner of difference between winter and summer, saving that the days be now longer'. The storm 'hath scattered many of our fleet'. 'From aboard The Rainbow... at anchor in the Downs, in most foul weather'. [Laughton, i.282-3].

July 18: death. Dowager Countess of Pembroke (1524-1588) died in London. Anne (Talbot), widow of (1) Peter Compton; (2) William Herbert 1st Earl of Pembroke; she was mother of Henry 1st Lord Compton.

Bequests included: To Lord Compton 'my gold ring with a diamond set therein which I late had of the gift of Queen Mary late Queen of England'; to Frances, wife of Lord Wharton: 'a gold ring being white enamelled and having an emerald set therein, which the Queen's Majesty that now is gave unto me'.

Funeral: August 7, Erith, Kent.

July 19, Fri **Spanish Armada sighted.**

The Armada was sighted off the English coast on its way to rendezvous with the Duke of Parma's men. Beacons were lighted in Cornwall, then along the coast and inland. Much of the English fleet was in harbour at Plymouth, Devon.

July 20, Sat The Armada was sighted from Plymouth.

July 21, Sir Francis Drake to Lord Henry Seymour: 'The army of Spain arrived upon our coast the 20th of this present. The 21st we had them in chase, and so coming up unto them there hath passed some cannon shot between some of our fleet and some of them, and as far as we perceive they are determined to sell their lives with blows...Written aboard her Majesty's good ship The Revenge, off of Start, the 21st late in the evening, 1588'. PS. 'The fleet of Spaniards is somewhat above a hundred sails, many great ships'. [Laughton, i.290].

Plymouth Corporation records: Lord Admiral Howard, with Drake, Hawkins, and others, 'having under his charge divers of the Queen's ships, set forth to impeach the King of Spain's fleet, which were expected to come to invade this land, arrived here in this harbour with other merchant ships in number about 120 and here remained until intelligence was given that the enemies were upon our coast, and then they put forth. This being the 21st of July the Sunday... and our ships giving them chase and so put all to the eastward and had many fights together. But, God be praised, the enemy had never power to land so much as one man upon any territory of ours'. [HMC 9th Report, Part 1].

For Sir Francis Drake's legendary (but apocryphal) game of bowls on Plymouth Hoe see 'Anecdotes' (Drake).

July 22: During the running fight up the Channel a damaged Spanish flagship laden with money and jewels, the Nuestra Senora del Rosario, was captured when its commander Don Pedro de Valdes, commander of the Andalusian Squadron, surrendered to Sir Francis Drake, who kept him and other prisoners aboard his own flagship The Revenge for ten days. Stationers entered, Aug 10: Thomas Deloney's ballad, entitled: 'A joyful new Ballad, Declaring the happy obtaining of the great galleazzo, wherein Don Pedro de Valdes was the chief, through the mighty power and providence of God, being a special token of his gracious and fatherly goodness towards us, to the great encouragement of all those that willingly fight in the defence of his gospel and our good Queen of England'. 'To the Tune of Monsieur's Almain'.

July 23, Tues Richmond: Privy Council to the Archbishop of Canterbury 'upon new advertisement of the discovery again of the Spanish Fleet, to pray his Lordship to give order to all the Bishops and pastors in all the Diocese in his Lordship's Province to move their auditories and parishioners to join in public prayers to Almighty God, the giver of victories, to assist us against the malice of our enemies'. The Council summoned 15 lords 'to repair to the court with such numbers of lances and light horse as they are able to make'.<sup>APC</sup>

There is a separate list of 'The Numbers of Footmen appointed to repair out of sundry counties of England to attend on her Majesty's person'. They are to be at London on dates varying from July 23 to August 10, depending on how near a county is to London. Total 34,400. A further 483 Lances and 1431 Light Horses are to be at London by August 6 to attend on the Queen. Ordnance appointed for the Guard of the Queen to consist of: cannons, demi-cannons, culverins, demi-culverins, sacres, and minions, all with horses. [Murdin, 612-614].

Also July 23: new appointment: Earl of Leicester: 'Lieutenant-General of her Majesty's forces in the South parts'. [HMC Foljambe MSS, 49].

July 24, Queen to the Peace Commissioners, in France:

As the arrival upon the English coast of the Spanish navy, and their present course, show their meaning to join the Duke of Parma's forces in an invasion of her realm, the Treaty being a mere device to abuse her, they shall require the Duke's Commissioners to inform him that she cannot honourably continue them there any longer and to desire him to give order for their safe return by way of Calais. [SPF.xxii.81].

July 24, Gravesend [Kent], Earl of Leicester to the Council: Nothing must be neglected to oppose this mighty enemy now knocking at our gates...The words the Queen spoke to me at my departure have given great comfort to all, and I have not spared to blaze them abroad. I am going to Chelmsford. The camp is at West Tilbury [in Essex, across the Thames from Gravesend]. [SP12/213/21].

Chelmsford Church: 'Paid for ringing when my Lord of Leicester came, 12d'. Leicester was assembling men at a 'Camp Royal' at West Tilbury, located near the Thames to attempt to prevent the Spaniards from reaching London.

Leicester was in overall command, Earl of Essex in command of the cavalry, Sir John Norris of the infantry, with the title 'Lord Marshal' of the camp.

Brewers' Company: 'Paid to our Beadle and one of my Lord Mayor's officers for their pains for going amongst all the Beer-brewers to see them ship their beer down to Gravesend, to our Camp of soldiers which lay at Tilbury hope, being commanded by the Council, 4s'.

July 25, court, Robert Cecil to Mr Manners: [Describes events of the past days]. 'The court comes on Monday to London...It is comfort to see how great magnanimity her Majesty shows, who is not a whit dismayed herewith, as I hope in God she shall have no cause...But their fleet is of no small strength'.<sup>RT</sup>

July 25, 'In hot haste going to our Camp again', Earl of Leicester to Francis Walsingham: 'We have here news commonly spread abroad that my Lord Admiral hath taken either Admiral or Vice-Admiral and the great galleass, besides one great ship sunk. The Almighty God be praised therefor, and to give further victory, to his glory and the comfort of his poor church,...with the greatest renown and perpetual fame to her Majesty that ever came to any prince'...

'I have here now assembled in camp 4000 footmen, as gallant and as willing men as ever was seen...I am here cook, cater, and hunt, for as I myself have not only set the men a-work here about the forts, and was present among them all the first day, but also did peruse and made choice of the ground fittest for the encamping of the soldiers; and yesterday went to Chelmsford to take order for the bringing of all the soldiers hither this day'. [Laughton, i.305].

July 25: Bishop's Stortford, Herts, St Michael:

'For ringing upon St James's Day in rejoicing of the victory, 15s'.

1588: St Botolph Bishopsgate, London:

'To the ringers for drink when Don Pedro was taken, 6d'.

July 26, Fri from Richmond the Queen sent Sir Thomas Gorges (a Groom of the Privy Chamber) to Lord Admiral Howard, to inform him of her orders that as 'the enemy is very well provided of shot' [musketeers], some of the 'best and choicest shot' in Kent 'should be forthwith sent to the seaside', ready if necessary to 'double man' the ships. [Laughton, i.317].

July 26, at sea, aboard The Ark: 'The Lord Admiral knighted the Lord Thomas Howard, the Lord Sheffield, Roger Townshend, John Hawkins, and Martin Frobisher, for their valour'. [Camden, Annals].

July 27, Gravesend, Earl of Leicester to the Queen:

'My most dear and gracious Lady...It doth much rejoice me to find by your letters your noble disposition, as well in present gathering your forces, as in employing your own person in this dangerous action. And because it pleaseth your Majesty to ask my advice touching your army, and to acquaint me with your secret determination for your person, I will plainly and according to my poor knowledge deliver my opinion to you...For your person, being the most dainty and sacred thing we have in this world to care for...finding your Majesty to have that princely courage to transport yourself to your utmost confines of your realm, to meet your enemies and to defend your subjects, I cannot, most dear Queen, consent to that, for upon your well doing consists all'...

'Thus far, if it please your Majesty, you may do, to draw yourself to your house at Havering, and your army being about London, as Stratford, East Ham, Hackney, and the villages thereabout, shall be always not only a defence but a ready supply to these counties, Essex and Kent, if need be; and in the meantime your Majesty, to comfort this army, and people of both these counties, may if it please you, spend two or three days to see both the Camp and Forts'.

'It is not above fourteen miles at most from Havering, and a very convenient place for your Majesty to lie in by the way, and to rest you at the Camp'.

'I trust you will be pleased with your poor Lieutenant's cabin, and within a mile there is a gentleman's house, where your Majesty may also lie. You shall comfort not only these thousands, but many more that shall hear of it'.

'And thus far but no further can I consent to adventure your person. And by the grace of God there can be no danger in this, though the enemy should pass by your fleet. But your Majesty may without dishonour return to your own forces, being but at hand, and you may have 2000 horse well to be lodged at Romford, and other villages near Havering, and your footmen to lodge near London'...

'From Gravesend, ready to go to your poor but most willing soldiers'...  
'Your Majesty's most faithful and ever obedient servant'. [Kemp, 286-9].

July 28, Sun, Richmond: Council wrote to 13 counties to send up trained men 'for the guard of her Majesty's person', to be at London by specified dates, e.g. Surrey, 500 men, Aug 6; Devon, 2000 men, Aug 10. Letters were sent of 'her Majesty's intention to erect a Camp for the guard of her person'.

To the Lord Mayor of London to take order with 'bakers, brewers and all other victuallers in and about the City' to provide victuals for the 'horsemen and footmen appointed to guard her Majesty's person'.<sup>APC</sup>

To Lord Henry Seymour: 'As her Majesty seeth how greatly it importeth her service to have somewhat done to distress the Spanish navy before they shall join with the Duke of Parma's forces by sea, her pleasure is that you should join with the Lord Admiral to do your best endeavour, being joined together, to distress the said army'...

[PS]: 'And further her Majesty hath especially commanded us to signify unto your Lordship that she nothing doubteth, with the assistance of Almighty God, that when both your forces shall be joined together but that he will bless you with a most happy and glorious victory'. [Laughton, i.335].

July 28: news. Elizabeth Countess of Lincoln to Sir William More, July 30:

'Upon Sunday night late [July 28] my Lord of Essex and Sir Thomas Gorges came to the court from Dover and brought advertisement that they discerned the Spanish fleet lying over against Calais'...

'There is much grief conceived in the court that my Lord Admiral hath suffered them to pass on so far without fight, and that he prevented not the opportunity they have now gotten of refreshing their men'. [HMC 7th Report, 645].

July 28, at night: The English sent fire-ships towards the Armada anchored off Calais. On their approach the Spanish fleet cut or let slip their anchors and cables and drifted out to sea, some colliding with one another.



July 29: new appointment: Henry Carey, 1st Lord Hunsdon:  
'Lieutenant, principal Captain and Governor of and over the Queen's Army  
then assembled for defence of her royal person'. [Berkeley MSS, ii.395].

July 29, Mon dinner, Putney, Surrey; Mr [John] Lacy.<sup>T</sup>

July 29, Mon **ST JAMES'S PALACE.**<sup>C</sup>

July 29, at sea: Battle of Gravelines, between the two fleets.

July 29, Sir Francis Drake to Sir Francis Walsingham: 'God has given us so  
good a day in forcing the enemy so far to leeward as I hope in God the Prince  
of Parma and the Duke of Sidonia shall not shake hands this few days'...

'From aboard her Majesty's good ship *The Revenge*'.

July 29, Lord Admiral Howard to Walsingham: 'We have chased them in fight  
until this evening late, and distressed them much; but their fleet consisteth  
of mighty ships and great strength; yet we doubt not, by God's good assistance,  
to oppress them'. 'From aboard her Majesty's good ship *The Ark*'.

[PS]: 'Their force is wonderful great and strong; and yet we pluck their  
feathers by little and little'. [Laughton, i.340-342].

July 31, Wed St James: 'A Memorial for Richard Drake esquire, being sent to  
the Lord Admiral, of such things as her Majesty doth desire to be informed of'.

Sir Francis's cousin took numerous queries for Lord Howard. [Laughton, i.354].

Richard Drake later claimed 'for his charges in going to Dover and from  
there to Sandwich where he did embark, and understanding by such vessels as he  
did meet on the seas that her Majesty's Navy was gone far northwards so as it  
was a great adventure to find the same'. [Spanish Armada Prisoners, 88].

July 31, Sir Francis Drake to Sir Francis Walsingham:

'I am commanded to send these prisoners ashore by my Lord Admiral...  
Let me beseech your Honour that they may be presented unto her Majesty...  
The one, Don Pedro, is a man of greatest estimation with the King of Spain,  
and thought next in his army to the Duke of Sidonia'...

'There was never anything pleased me better than the seeing the enemy  
flying with a southerly wind to the northwards'. [Laughton, i.364].

July 31, Stationers entered: 'A godly prayer for the preservation of the  
Queen's Majesty, and for her Armies both by sea and land, against the enemies  
of the Church and this Realm of England'. The Godly Prayer was written by  
Anthony Marten, one of the Sewers of the Queen's Chamber. [Liturgy, 624-5].

Aug 1: The recalled Peace Commissioners arrived at Calais.

Aug 2: in Bridewell Prison, London: Prisoners captured in Don Pedro's  
ship were examined, a series of questions being put to them.

Answers by the Captain included that: 'The Duke of Parma...was the man  
that should take upon him the conquest of England'...

'The place of their landing should be within the river of London; and it  
was resolved...that in what place soever they should enter within the land,  
to sack the same, either city, town, village, or whatsoever'...

'They were determined to put all to the sword that should resist them'...

'It was commonly bruited amongst them that a third part or one half of the  
realm of England would join to their aid so soon as they should enter upon the  
land...The Duke of Guise would aid them with 30,000 men'. [Laughton, ii.18-20].

*Don Pedro de Valdes, the Spanish commander whom Drake captured on July 22, was also brought to London. One Simon Wood testified in 1605 that 'as the late Queen's Majesty walked in St James's Park and talking with the said Sir Francis and seeing the said Don Pedro in the Park, her said late Majesty did say unto the said Sir Francis..."Drake, God give thee joy of this prisoner"'. [Spanish Armada Prisoners, 82].*

*With two Captains of Footmen Don Pedro was put into the custody of Drake's cousin Richard Drake at Esher, Surrey. In September the Kingston, Surrey, churchwardens paid: 'To ringers when Don Pedro came through the town, 2s6d'.*

*In summer 1589 'the ship lately Don Pedro's' was taken by 40 mariners from Dartmouth, Devon, to Chatham, Kent.<sup>N</sup> Don Pedro was released in January 1593.*

Aug 3, Sat Privy Council sent letters to 16 counties 'for the sending back of the footmen that are appointed to repair hitherward out of those counties', and to seven of the same counties 'for the stay of the horsemen'.<sup>APC</sup>

Aug 3: Stationers entered: 'An excellent new song of prayer and prowess'.

Aug 4: 'A joyful sonnet of the readiness of the shires and nobility of England to do her Majesty's service'.

Aug 4, Sun Privy Council 'to our very loving friends the gentlemen and Captains that have the charge of the leading and conducting the footmen that are sent out of the County of Surrey': London is greatly embarrassed with troops sent to it from divers parts of the country, for whom no fit entertainment in lodging and food can be made. [HMC 7th Report, 645].

Aug 4, Edinburgh, King James to the Queen: 'Madame and dearest sister. In times of straits true friends are best tried'. I 'offer unto you my forces, my person, and all that I may command, to be employed against yon strangers in whatsoever fashion and by whatsoever mean as may best serve for the defence of your country. Wherein I promise to behave myself not as a stranger and foreign prince but as your natural son and compatriot of your country in all respects'..

'Wishing you a success convenient to those that are invaded by God's professed enemies, I commit, madame and dearest sister, your person, estate, and country to the blessed protection of the Almighty'. [Akrigg, 88].

August 5: Preparations for the Queen's visit to Tilbury Camp.

[Aug] 5, Earl of Leicester to the Queen: 'I have received in secret this morning those news that pleaseth me most, next the well-doing of your sacred person, which is that your Majesty doth intend to behold the poor and base company that lie here in the field most willingly to serve you - yea, most ready to die for you...Good sweet Queen, alter not your purpose if God give you good health. It will be your pain for the time, but your pleasure to behold such people, and surely the place, I know, must content you, being as fair a soil and as goodly a prospect as may be found, as this extreme weather hath made trial, which doth us little annoyance, it is so firm and dry a ground. Your Usher also liketh your lodging, a proper sweet cleanly house, your Camp within a little mile of you, and your person to be as sure as at St James's, for my life'.

'Only we had a mishap of our landing place, where hoys and boats had somewhat broken the bridge, but all to be repaired fully by tomorrow night and ready against the next day to do you service: God grant that so to be. You shall make glad many thousands, both here and not far off, and shall see here soldiers rather of a year's experience than of a month's camping'. [SP12/214/34].

Aug 5: Privy Council assessed the numbers at Tilbury Camp as: 18,000 footmen, 2000 horsemen.<sup>APC</sup>

Aug 6, Tues King of Navarre's special Ambassador at St James's for audience. Georges de Clermont d'Amboise, Baron de Bussy, who went first to King James in Scotland, claiming that storms had blown him off course; after long conferences with James he came to England to ask for aid for the Huguenots.

Aug 6, Sir Francis Walsingham to the Earl of Leicester: 'This day Monsieur Clermont d'Amboise had audience. His errand...is to solicit support, but finding the time unseasonable he meaneth to forbear to deal therein'... 'I mean to steal to the Camp when her Majesty shall be there'. [Wright, ii.384].

[Aug 6], Middelburg, Council of States of Zeeland to the Queen: Our fleet under Count Justinus of Nassau shut up the Prince of Parma in Dunkirk and Nieuport...We have taken three ships from the Armada, with 400 prisoners... All the prisoners agree that they were to join the Prince of Parma and invade England. From Spain there came some 40,000 men...The Prince keeps his army of 15,000 men still ready, with ships full of saddles, boots, etc. The King of Spain is said to have sent him the crown and sceptre of England, blessed by the Pope...Return of the Armada to join him is expected. [SPF.xxii.111-112: French].

Aug 7, 'from aboard The Ark', Lord Admiral Howard to Sir Francis Walsingham, of the Armada: 'We are persuaded that either they are passed about Ireland, and so do what they can to recover their own coast, or else that they are gone for some part of Denmark'. [PS]: 'Good Mr Secretary, let not her Majesty be too hasty in dissolving her forces by sea and land'.

Aug 8, Margate road [Kent], Lord Admiral Howard to Sir Francis Walsingham: 'I know not what you think of it at the court, but I do think, and so doth all here, that there cannot be too great forces maintained yet for five or six weeks, on the seas; for although we have put the Spanish fleet past the Firth, and I think past the Isles...I think they dare not return [to Spain] with this dishonour and shame to their King, and overthrow of their Pope's credit'.

'Sir, sure bind, sure find. A kingdom is a great wager'...

'All the world never saw such a force as theirs was. And some Spanish there we have taken that were in the fight of Lepanto do say that the worst of our four fights that we have had with them did exceed far the fight they had there'.

Battle of Lepanto, against the Turks, 1571. [Laughton, ii.52-54, 59-60].

Aug 8, The Revenge, Sir Francis Drake to the Queen, asking her not to lay up any of her forces. [Illustrated: Pryor, No.41].

August 8: The recalled Peace Commissioners arrived at Dover.

#### **August 8-9: Tilbury visit.**

The Queen's route to and from Tilbury is shown in a map of the Thames from Westminster to Tilbury, by Robert Adams, in which 'The pricked line showeth her Majesty's progress to the Camp'. [Reproduced, *Armada*, 256].

Ballads and poems celebrated the Queen's visit, giving details of it, and versions of the Queen's speeches.

Those quoted here are: Thomas Deloney's ballad 'The Queen's visiting of the Camp at Tilsburie with her Entertainment there'. To the tune of Wilson's wild.

Anon: 'A Joyful Song of the Royal Receiving of the Queen's most excellent Majesty into her Highness's Camp at Tilsburie in Essex'. Tune: Triumph and Joy.

[Both entered by the Stationers on August 10].

James Aske's verse narrative 'Elizabetha Triumphans'. [Entered Nov 23].

[Sources: F.O.Mann, ed. *Deloney's Works* (1912), 474-8; H.L.Collmann, ed. *Ballads and Broad-sides* (1912), 162-165. Modern edition of Aske's verses: Nichols, *Progresses* (2014), iii. 430-469].

The famous version of the Queen's speech is that given by Dr Lionel Sharp (1560-1631), who attended on the Earl of Leicester at Tilbury; he included it in a letter to George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, c.1623.

First published in Cabala, 1654, from which it is quoted here.

A copy of the speech is described as 'Gathered by one that heard it and was commanded to utter it to the whole army the next day, to send it gathered to the Queen herself'. This is in Dr Sharp's hand.

[Janet M.Green, "I My Self": Queen Elizabeth I's Oration at Tilbury Camp', Sixteenth Century Journal, xxviii/2 (1997), 421-445; Elizabeth, Works, 325-6].

The Queen made more than one speech. Tilbury was visited in 1635 by a Lieutenant Hammond: 'Mine host, a little old man...did somewhat refresh me... with a long and tedious relation of that great Camp, how the men were billeted, drilled, ordered, and quartered; there stood, quoth he, her Majesty's tent; there she viewed her troops of horse, with their warlike riders; here her regiment of foot; there rode the Navy Royal; in this place she encouraged her brave commanders, in another place her private soldiers; and all my host... related as if it had been but the other day'. [Camden Soc. Misc.16 (1936), 6-7].

There are two versions of another speech:

1. At St Faith's Church, Gaywood, Norfolk, beneath a painting of the Queen at Tilbury, on a white horse. With a companion painting of the trial of the Gunpowder Plotters, and probably painted soon after 1605.

2. In a sermon by William Leigh. In Queen Elizabeth Paralleled in her Princely Virtues with David, Iosua and Hezekia (1612), preached some years earlier.

These speeches are quoted from Susan Frye 'The Myth of Elizabeth at Tilbury'. [Sixteenth Century Journal xxiii/1 (1992), 95-114].

Aug 8, Thur Queen arrived at **Tilbury Camp**, West Tilbury, Essex.

St Margaret Westminster: 'To the ringers the 8th of August when the Queen's Majesty went from St James's to the Camp, 12d'.

Queen's route from St James's: from Westminster across the river to Lambeth, overland to Greenwich Palace, and by river to West Tilbury.

In the afternoon the Queen landed at Tilbury, was escorted to the Camp on and around Tilbury Hill, and through the Camp. There she first received news that the Spanish fleet had fled northwards, but also had news next day that the Duke of Parma and his men had embarked and were about to land in England.

*Joyful Song*: On the Queen's arrival she was saluted by 'great shot' from forts on each side of the river. There were 3000 tents and cabins, some built with boughs, some of canvas. Each Captain had his colours set over his tent.

'The other lodgings had their sign, For soldiers where to sup and dine, And for to sleep'. 'Victualling booths, there plenty were, Where they sold meat, bread, cheese and beer'. To welcome the Queen there was 'playing on fifes and many a drum', 'displaying of ensigns', 'throwing of hats', 'cries of joy, God keep and save our noble Queen of England'.

To bid the Queen goodnight 14 pieces of ordnance were shot off.

*Deloney*: The Queen came by barge with trumpets and drums sounding, and was received by the Lords and Captains on horseback.

'All the way her Grace was riding, on each side stood armed men,

With muskets, pikes and good calivers, for her Grace's safeguard then'.

The Queen was minded 'to view them all', and had tears in her eyes.

'Lord bless you all my friends (she said), but do not kneel so much to me'. She saw the hill covered with armed men, and tossed up 'her plume of feathers to them', bowing and waving as she passed to her lodging.

*James Aske*: The Queen landed at the Block-house, was met by Leicester, was saluted by cannons, and to music of drum and fife passed in her coach through the ranks of the men, thanking them as they knelt and prayed for her. The coach sides were 'beset' with emeralds, diamonds and rubies.

The Queen was escorted by 1000 horsemen and 2000 footmen.

'From out the Camp unto her lodging then,  
Full three miles distant from that warlike place,  
Prepared for her to Master Rich his house'.

The footmen guarded the house all night.

Aug 8, 'at the camp, in the Lord General's tent', Sir Francis Walsingham to Lord Burghley: 'Immediately upon my arrival at the camp I met with the Earl of Cumberland, sent hither unto her Majesty from the Lord Admiral'.

'By his Lordship's letter [of August 7]...you may perceive where he left the Spanish fleet. It is hard now to resolve what advice to give her Majesty for disarming, either by sea or by land, until it shall be known what is become of the said fleet'. [Laughton, ii.69].

Aug 8, Thur night **HORNDON-ON-THE-HILL**, Essex; Edward Rich.

Richard Brackenbury with nine men made ready 'Mr Rich's house in Essex'.<sup>T</sup>

'Mr Edward Rich, a Justice of that shire'. [Stow, *Summary to 1590*].

Saffron Garden house; owned by Edward Rich, died 1599; wife: Joan.

Cofferer of the Household paid at Tilbury, August 8: £130.12s5d.

**Aug 9, Fri morning Queen reviewed her army and made her 'Tilbury Speech'.**

*Lord Burghley's description*: The Queen 'first saw the people as they were, by their counties, lodged and quartered in their several camps, which she viewed from place to place. Afterwards, when they were all reduced into battalions, ready as it were to fight with any enemy, she rode round about them, and did view them curiously, being accompanied only but with the General, and three or four others attending on her...She had the Sword carried before her by the Earl of Ormond. There she was generally saluted with cries, with shouts, with all tokens of love, of obedience, of readiness and willingness to fight for her ...all which she requited with very princely thanks, and good speeches'...

'And besides such particular acclamations, the whole army in every quarter did devoutly at certain times sing in her hearing, in very tunable manner, divers psalms put into form of prayers in praise of Almighty God...which she greatly commended, and with very earnest speech thanked God with them'. [Somers, i.442].

**Queen's speech**, sent by Dr Lionel Sharp to the Duke of Buckingham:

'I remember in 88 waiting upon the Earl of Leicester at Tilbury Camp... The Queen the next morning rode through all the squadrons of her army, as armed Pallas, attended by noble footmen, Leicester, Essex and Norris, then Lord Marshal, and divers other great lords, where she made an excellent oration to her army, which the next day after her departure I was commanded to re-deliver to all the army together, to keep a public fast. Her words were these:

"My loving people, we have been persuaded by some that are careful of our safety to take heed how we commit ourself to armed multitudes, for fear of treachery; but I assure you I do not desire to live to distrust my faithful and loving people. Let Tyrants fear; I have always so behaved myself that, under God, I have placed my chiefest strength and safeguard in the loyal hearts and goodwill of my subjects. And therefore I am come amongst you, as you see, at this time, not for my recreation and disport, but being resolved, in the midst and heat of the battle, to live or die amongst you all, to lay down for my God, and for my Kingdom and for my people, my honour and my blood, even in the dust".

"I know I have the body but of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart and stomach of a King, and of a King of England too, and think foul scorn that Parma or Spain or any Prince of Europe should dare to invade the borders of my Realm, to which, rather than any dishonour shall grow by me, I myself will take up arms, I myself will be your General, Judge, and Rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field. I know already for your forwardness you have deserved rewards and crowns; and we do assure you, in the word of a Prince, they shall be duly paid you. In the meantime my Lieutenant-General shall be in my stead, than whom never Prince commanded a more noble or worthy subject, not doubting but by your obedience to my General, by your concord in the Camp, and your valour in the field, we shall shortly have a famous victory over those enemies of my God, of my Kingdoms, and of my People".

*Dr Sharp (to the Duke of Buckingham): 'This I thought would delight your Grace, and no man hath it but myself, and such as I have given it to'.*

*Another speech (preserved at Gaywood Church, Norfolk):*  
 'Now for the Queen and for the kingdom. I have been your Queen in peace, in war, neither will I bid you go and fight, but come and let us fight the battle of the Lord. For what are these proud Philistines that they should revile the host of the living God. It may be they will challenge my sex for that I am a woman, so may I charge their mould for that they are but men, whose breath is in their nostrils, and if God do not charge England with the sins of England we shall not need to fear what Rome or Spain can do against us: who is but an army of flesh, whereas with us is the Lord our God to fight our battles and to help with us it skills not greatly if all the devils in hell be against us'.

*A similar speech (from William Leigh's sermon):*  
 The Queen 'with God in her heart, and a commanding staff in her hand, uttered these or the like words in her Princely march'.  
 'Come on now my companions at arms, and fellow soldiers, in the field, now for the Lord, for your Queen, and for the kingdom. For what are these proud Philistines, that they should revile the Host of the living God? I have been your Prince in peace, so will I be in war; neither will I bid you go and fight, but come and let us fight the battle of the Lord. The enemy perhaps may challenge my sex for that I am a woman, so may I likewise charge their mould for that they are but men, whose breath is in their nostrils, and if God do not charge England with the sins of England, little do I fear their force'...  
 '*Si deus nobiscum quis contra nos?*'. [If God is for us who can be against us?].

*Deloney:* The Queen came riding on a palfrey, preceded by ten trumpeters, the King of Heralds, two mace-bearers, the Lord General and Lord Marshal. She was 'attired like an angel bright', with eight footmen beside her, and her Ladies of Honour, adorned with pearls and diamonds; after her rode her Guard, in scarlet, with bows and arrows. The Captains and their men came marching to the sound of drums, then stood still. 'Because it was our Prince's will, to ride about the Army round'. She left her ladies and her Guard behind her, and the Lord General and Lord Marshal conducted her.

'The pikes, the colours, and the lances, at her approach fell down apace. And then bespake our noble Queen, my loving friends and countrymen:  
 I hope this day the worst is seen, that in our wars ye shall sustain.  
 But if our enemies do assail you, never let your stomachs fail you,  
 For in the midst of all your troop, we ourselves will be in place:  
 To be your joy, your guide and comfort, even before your enemies' face'.  
 The soldiers all gave a mighty shout, and the Queen rode with trumpets sounding to dine in the Lord General's tent.

*James Aske:* The Queen came in her coach to see a 'royal battle' between two battalions, which marched to and fro before her at 'the place of arms'. She then mounted on horseback, took a commander's truncheon in her hand and reviewed the men, before riding to 'the tent of her Lieutenant'.

*Godfrey Goodman:* 'She was of a wonderful courage and an undaunted spirit... She did ride up and down amongst the soldiers and did encourage them, and told them that she would strike the first blow in that battle, which did much hearten the soldiers'. [Goodman, i.161].

*Joyful Song:* When the army was set in battle array 'A martial staff my Lord did yield unto her Highness...Then rode she along the camp to see'.  
 'What princely words her Grace declared, what gracious thanks in every ward...  
 What princely promise none should lack, meat or drink, or cloth for back,  
 Gold and silver should not slack, to her martial men of England'.  
 Every soldier shouted 'For our good Queen we'll fight or die'. Captains kissed her hand as she spent two hours passing through every band before going to Leicester's 'sumptuous, fair and famous tent' for dinner 'with martial men'.

Aug 9, 'at the court in the camp', Sir Francis Walsingham to Lord Burghley:  
 'To the end that her Majesty might grow to some full resolution what forces were meet to be kept both by sea and by land, I moved her to send for my Lord Admiral, and to appoint both his Lordship and the Lord Steward [Leicester] to be at the court on Sunday next at St James's, there to confer with the rest of her Council what were fit to be done therein; whereunto her Majesty assented'...  
 'This day, at noon, her Majesty dining with the Lord Steward in his tent at the camp, had advertisement sent unto her from Sir Thomas Morgan, who is arrived at Margate...that the Duke of Parma was determined this spring tide to come out, and that he looked that by that time the Spanish fleet would be returned'...  
 'A conceit her Majesty had, that in honour she could not return, in case there were any likelihood that the enemy would attempt anything'.

Aug 9, 'at Sawmund's, near the court' [Samons, near Horndon], Sir Thomas Heneage wrote to Walsingham of news brought by the Earl of Cumberland.

Aug 9, Gravesend, Walsingham to Burghley: 'It were not wisdom, until we see what will become of the Spanish fleet, to disarm too fast, seeing her Majesty is to fight for a kingdom'. [Laughton, ii.82-84,95].

*James Aske:* In late afternoon the Queen in her coach passed through the ranks of Captains, now in 'court-like costly suits'.

She called the Serjeant-Major [Captain Nicholas Dawtrey] to her coach and gave him a message to be passed on to the men.

Aske gives a version of it, but says 'though nothing like her speech'.

The Queen passed to the waterside, and after she embarked cannons were discharged from Tilbury Hill and the Block-house.

*Joyful Song:* 'In the evening when the tide was come, her Highness thanked them all and some'. To the sound of trumpets and drums she took her barge.

Aug 9, early evening Queen left Tilbury to return by river to London. [There was a sudden violent thunderstorm, described by James Aske. The Queen disembarked and spent the night at Erith, where no preparations had been made].

Aug 9, Fri night **ERITH**, Kent; Lord Compton.<sup>C.W</sup>  
 Erith manor-house; owned by Henry, 1st Lord Compton (1538-1589), whose mother's funeral was at Erith on August 7.

2nd wife: Anne (Spencer), widow of Lord Monteagle; she died in 1618.

Aug 10, Sat **ST JAMES'S PALACE.**<sup>c</sup>

Queen's route from Erith: by river from Erith to Greenwich Palace; overland to Lambeth; across the river to Westminster, and return to St James's.

Lambeth Church: 'For ringing at her Majesty's going and coming to and from the Camp at Tilbury in Essex, 2s'. St Margaret Westminster: 'To the ringers the 10th of August when the Queen's Majesty came from the Camp to St James'.

Aug 10, Brentwood, Edward Radcliffe to the Earl of Sussex, Captain of her Majesty's Town of Portsmouth: 'Her Majesty hath honoured our Camp with her presence, and comforted many of us with her most gracious usage'...

'Whilst her Majesty was at dinner in my Lord General's tent, there came a Post and brought intelligence that the Duke with all his forces was embarked for England, and that he would be here with as much speed as possibly he could. The news was presently published throughout the Camp...we having in the whole Camp of horse and foot not above 16,000'. [Ellis (2), iii.142].

Aug 11, Thomas Fowler to John Montgomery: 'I came in haste yesternight from the Camp...my Lord [Leicester] being with the Queen at Erith, but I must return this night...because our news on Friday, the Queen being at dinner in the Camp, that the Prince of Parma was embarked with 50,000 men foot and 6000 horse, and that he put to sea yesterday, and it was surely expected he would land here or somewhere upon this island tomorrow, being the height of the spring [tide]'.

'Whereupon I mean to be at Camp this night again'. [Bath, v.211].

The news that the Prince of Parma had embarked proved to be mistaken.

Aug 12 onwards: Shows of horsemen before the Queen, St James's Park.

*James Aske*: 'There by her gates do every day pass by  
Divers brave troops of well appointed horse:  
They thither come, triumphant triumphs make,  
And bravely run at Tilt and Tourney then,  
To show their prowess to our Goddess there'.

*Lord Burghley*: Many noblemen 'came to the Queen, bringing with them...goodly bands of horsemen', lances, light horse, carabiniers, 'lodging their bands round about London and maintaining them in pay at their own charges all the time, until the Navy of Spain was certainly known to be passed beyond Scotland'.

'And of these noblemen many showed their bands of their horsemen before the Queen even in the fields afore her own gate'.

First Viscount Montague (a Catholic peer), 'though he was very sickly, and in age...came personally himself before the Queen, with his band of horsemen being almost 200; the same being led by his own sons, and with them a young child, very comely seated on horseback, being the heir of his house, that is the eldest son to his son and heir...At this time the Earl of Lincoln, and the Lord Windsor, with some knights and gentlemen with them, showed their bands, as the Lord Montague had done'. [Somers, i.442-3].

Anthony Browne, 1st Viscount Montagu (1528-1592); with his grandson Anthony Maria Browne, a godson of the Queen, born in February 1574.

Aug 15, 'from the Camp', Earl of Leicester to the Earl of Shrewsbury:

'Our gracious mistress hath been here with me to see her camp and people, which so inflamed the hearts of her good subjects as I think the weakest person amongst them is able to match the proudest Spaniard that dares land in England. But God hath also fought mightily for her Majesty'...

'A fair show I made my Lord Treasurer [Lord Burghley], who came from London to see us'. [Wright, ii.391].



c. Aug 15, Queen to King James, taken to Scotland by Sir Robert Sidney:

The 'fleet well beaten in our Narrow Seas, and pressing with all violence to achieve some watering place to continue their pretended invasion, the winds have carried them to your coasts, where I doubt not they shall receive small succour and less welcome...I send you this gentleman, a rare young man and a wise, to declare unto you my full opinion in this great cause'...

'I doubt no whit but that all this tyrannical, proud, and brainsick attempt will be the beginning, though not the end, of the ruin of that King, that, most unkingly, even in midst of treating peace begins this wrongful war. He hath procured my greatest glory, that meant my sorest wreck, and hath so dimmed the light of his sunshine, that who hath a will to obtain shame let them keep his forces company'.  
[Camden Soc. 46, (1849), 53].

August 15-Sept 15: Sir Robert Sidney was special Ambassador to Scotland. Sir Robert (1563-1626), was younger brother of Sir Philip Sidney, died 1586.

c. Aug 15, Sidney 'to my most dearly beloved the Lady Sidney at Wilton':  
'I am sent away in haste into Scotland...I hope to be back again within three weeks'.<sup>SD</sup> Thomas Nevitt recalled: 'Your honour was sent Ambassador into Scotland at which time your servants' cloaks were lined with hare coloured velvet and trimmed with hare colour and gold lace, which journey was very chargeable unto you'.  
[Sidneiana, 84].

Sidney left London on August 15, with Arthur Throckmorton, who noted their overnight or longer stops: Ware; Stamford; Doncaster; York; Durham; Newcastle; Berwick; Haddington; Edinburgh. First audience: August 31.<sup>TH</sup>

A portrait of Sidney, c.1587-88, in mourning for his brother, and another of c.1588, are reproduced in Robert Dudley, by Elizabeth Goldring, 160-161.

August 16-17: Dutch Admiral in Kent, forced over by storms.

Justin of Nassau (1559-1631), 'base son' of William of Orange, was Lieutenant-Admiral of Zeeland and had blockaded the Flemish coast to prevent the Duke of Parma's men from joining the Armada.

Aug 17, Lord Henry Seymour to Walsingham: 'Monsieur de Nassau was driven over ...and came yesternight to Dover, and this morning followed me to the Downs with 40 sails well appointed and furnished. When I anchored he came to dinner unto me'. I have 'this morning set a-land Monsieur de Clermont returned to Boulogne'.  
'In some haste, from aboard The Rainbow...in the Downs'. [Laughton, ii.123-4].

Aug 17, St James, Council to Earl of Leicester, advising him that the Queen thinks 'it not needful that the Camp under his Lordship's charge should be continued any longer; and therefore her pleasure is that his Lordship should dismiss the companies, both horsemen and footmen, with thanks and commendations'.<sup>APC</sup>  
Received by Leicester at Wanstead, Essex, on August 18.

Aug 18, Sun Verses presented, St James's Park.  
By David Gwyn, who describes his verses as gifts to the Queen.

Stationers entered, Aug 27: 'Certain English verses presented to the Queen's most excellent Majesty in the park of St James on Sunday the 18 of August 1588'.

Published as 'Certain English verses penned by D.Gwyn, who for eleven years and ten months was in the galleys of Spain, and now lately delivered'.

David Gwyn, a Welsh mariner, a galley-slave, in July had led the other slaves on the Spanish galley Vasana in killing all the Spaniards aboard.

He brought that and a second galley to the French coast. The 466 escaped slaves made their way to La Rochelle, where Gwyn met the King of Navarre; he then went on to England, where he was well commended by the Queen.

[Motley, United Netherlands, ii.447-449; however according to Gwyn's biography in the ODNB most of his story is a fabrication].

Aug 19: Preparations to escort Lord Howard's sister from France to England. Douglas (Howard), Lady Sheffield; widow of John 2nd Lord Sheffield and wife of Sir Edward Stafford, Ambassador to France since 1583, who remained in France.

Aug 19, *The Rainbow*, Lord Henry Seymour to Lord Admiral Howard: 'Because your Lordship sets down the time of my Lady Sheffield's repair to Dieppe not before the 26th of this month...I have made some stay of sending *The Achates*'.

[PS]: 'I have dispatched away *The Achates*...to clear the coasts [of pirates] and to transport my Lady your sister'. [Laughton, ii.129-130]. Catherine de Medici wrote to Queen Elizabeth [Aug 13] to commend Madame de Chefy, and to desire to see the Queen and her whole kingdom good Catholics. [SPF.xxii.132].

Lady Sheffield returned to England in September with Richard Hakluyt, Stafford's Chaplain, whose *Voyages* were published a year later.

Aug 19, Mon dinner and review, Ely House, Holborn; Sir Christopher Hatton. [From Marco Messia, a Genoese spy], Sept 7, London: 'They have recently held reviews of the forces which had been raised by private persons for the Queen's service. The first was that of the Lord Chancellor's force, which was mustered in the Queen's presence on the 19th August. After her Majesty had been entertained at dinner at the Chancellor's house, he presented to her a company of 100 men-at-arms, very well accoutred, in uniforms of red and yellow'...

'The next day the Lord Treasurer held a similar review'. [Span.iv.418-419].

Aug 20, Tues At Paul's Cross: Sermon of Thanksgiving. The Livery Companies and Privy Councillors attended a sermon by Dean Nowell. The Drapers' Company, whose Hall was (and is) in Throgmorton Street, noted:

'Going to Paul's to thank God for the driving away the Spaniards'.

'Upon commandment from my Lord Mayor, the four Master Wardens, Assistants, and Livery...assembled here and from hence went in their best livery to Paul's Cross where preached Mr Dean of Paul's, whereat was the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord of Derby, Mr Treasurer and Mr Controller, viz. Sir Francis Knollys and Sir James Croft, knights, at which sermon every man praised God for our delivery from the Spaniards and driving them out of the Narrow Seas'. [Drapers' Minutes]. The Queen went to a Thanksgiving Service at St Paul's on November 24.

Aug 20-24: Shows of horsemen continued, in St James's Park. Shown on Aug 20 by Lord Burghley. Then by the Earl of Warwick, and Lord Compton; finally by the Earl of Leicester, and Lord Rich. There were also shows by Sir Walter Mildmay, Sir Henry Cromwell, and Sir John Poyntz. They 'showed every of them several strong bands of horsemen, to the great liking of the Queen, and of all the people that were there, being many thousands'. [Somers, i.444].

Aug 21: Stationers entered: 'Psalms of Invocation upon God to preserve her Majesty and the people of this land from the power of our enemies'.

Aug 23: 'An excellent song of the breaking up of the Camp'.

Aug 24: Sir James Croft (c.1518-1590), Controller of the Household and a Privy Councillor, was sent to the Fleet, by command of the Queen.<sup>APC</sup>

Croft's imprisonment arose out of his suspicious conduct as one of the Peace Commissioners. After pleas from his friends he was released on December 18, and in January 1589 resumed attendance at the Privy Council.

Aug 25, Lord Admiral Howard to Sir Francis Walsingham:

'I have sent a good many of ancients [ensigns] and banners by this bearer, Thomas Cely; but, Sir, they must be returned when they have been used; they may be kept till I do come home'. 'From aboard her Majesty's good ship *The Ark*'.

[Laughton, ii.158-9]. Flags were displayed at Paul's Cross on September 8.

Aug 26, Mon Earl of Essex's Show, St James's Park.  
Followed by Course of the Field, and Tourney on horseback.

*Burghley*: 'The Earl of Essex, being Master of the Queen's Horse, with certain principal gentlemen, his servants, friends and followers, showed afore the Queen above 300 horses...and a great number of carabiniers, and a fair band of footmen all musketeers. This show exceeded in number any other particular band, and the Earl himself with a great number of lances horsed and armed did run very many courses, and especially with the Earl of Cumberland...the Course of the Field... and did also himself and his company tourney on horseback a very long time, and caused also his carabiniers and his footmen to make skirmishes there, to the great liking of the Queen, and of the multitude of people, which were many thousands'. [Somers, i.444].

*Description of Essex's Show by Marco Messia, Sept 7*:  
'I was present at the last review...which I am assured was the best of them all. There was a company of 60 musketeers, 60 arquebusiers on horseback, and 200 light horse. The uniforms were of orange-coloured cloth, with facings of white silk, and several of the light horsemen had surcoats of velvet of the same colour, trimmed with silver. The review was held in a field in front of the house, and her Majesty witnessed it from a window'.

'A joust was then held in the open field, and the Earl of Essex ran two tilts against the Earl of Cumberland. As they are two of the best horsemen in the country the spectators were much pleased at this. Several other gentlemen then joined, and they tilted first two against two, and then four against four; the Earl of Essex always running against the Earl of Cumberland'.

'When they had finished with the lance they drew their swords, but when her Majesty saw this she made a sign with her hand that they were to cease, but they set to and she shut the window, in order not to see them. When they ceased, after being at it for some time, the whole of the cavalry were divided into two squadrons and ran several times one squadron against the other, lowering their swords as they approached, so as not to wound. The whole of the musketeers and arquebusiers fired off their pieces at the same time. It was a beautiful sight. Then they all returned in the same order as they had entered'.

'The standard of the arquebusiers was white, with "Hazard" on it; that of the light horse was of red damask, with a veil worked with gold on the top, which no doubt was a lady's favour'. [Span.iv.419].

*Aug 27: Earl of Leicester left to go in the direction of Kenilworth Castle, and the baths at Buxton, Derbyshire.*

*Aug 28, York House, Earl of Essex to Leicester, his stepfather*:  
'Since your Lordship's departure her Majesty hath been earnest with me to lie in the court, and this morning she sent to me that I might lie in your Lordship's lodging, which I will forbear till I know your Lordship's pleasure, except the Queen force me to it'. [Bath, v.216].

*Aug 28: Stationers entered*: 'A proper new ballad briefly showing the honourable Companies of horsemen and footmen which divers nobles of England brought before her Majesty'.

[Aug 29, from Lord Norris's Oxfordshire house], Earl of Leicester 'to the Queen's most excellent Majesty', 'sending to know how my gracious lady doth'...  
'Hoping to find perfect cure at the bath, with the continuance of my wonted prayer for your Majesty's most happy preservation, I humbly kiss your foot. From your old lodging at Rycote this Thursday morning, ready to take on my journey. By your Majesty's most faithful and obedient servant, R.Leycester. Even as I had written this much I received your Majesty's token by young Tracy'.  
[The Earl died on Sept 4. The Queen wrote on this 'His last letter'; it was found in a casket near her bed after she died]. [Illustrated: Pryor, No.43].

Aug 29, Dover, Lord Admiral Howard to Sir Francis Walsingham: 'I think that myself, my Lord Harry Seymour, my Lord Thomas Howard and [my Lord] Sheffield will be at the court on Sunday [Sept 1]'. [Laughton, ii.185].

Aug 31, Rapamet (near Constantinople), Edward Barton (Agent in Turkey) [\*to Walsingham], of Murad III, the Sultan or Grand Signor:

'The Grand Signor earnestly desires friendship with her Majesty, as well for the marvel he hath of her Majesty's sex to be ruler of so valiant a people and wisdom to govern them so politicly, as especially for that her Majesty nor hers worship not idols as other Christians (which bring them in great contempt to him and his); insomuch that he often hath desired the furtherance of her Majesty's enterprises by sending out his navy against the King of Spain'. [SPF.xxii.173].

\*August: Queen's Printer, Barker, printed 'A Psalm and Collect of Thanksgiving, not unmeet for this present time: to be said or sung in Churches'.

The Psalm describes how multitudes of mighty enemies 'came suddenly upon us', but the Lord 'fought against them that fought against us. The Lord scattered them with his winds...The sea swallowed the greatest part of them'.

Lambeth Church, 1588: 'For two prayer books of thanksgiving for our safe delivery from the Spaniards, 8d'.

A Prayer was published in 1610 as 'Queen Elizabeth's Prayer of Thanksgiving, for the overthrow of the Spanish Navy, sent to invade England, Anno 1588'. [Liturgy, 619-623].

Sept 1: Ships which served against the Armada.

Approximately 200 ships served, ranging in tonnage from 20 to 1100 tons, and including the Queen's ships, merchant ships, ships 'set forth' by the City of London, coasters, 'voluntary ships', ships 'that transported victuals westward'.

The largest royal ships (400+ tons) were: Antelope, Ark, Bear/White Bear, Dreadnought, Elizabeth Bonaventure, Elizabeth Jonas, Golden Lion/Lion, Hope, Mary Rose, Nonpareil, Rainbow, Revenge, Swiftsure, Triumph, Vanguard, Victory.

The smaller royal ships were: Achates, Advice, Aid, Brigandine, Bull, Chance, Charles, Cygnet, Delight, Foresight, George, Merlin, Moon, Scout, Spy, Sun, Swallow, Tiger, Tramontana.

Among many merchant ships were: Edward Bonaventure, Galleon Dudley, Galleon Leicester, Merchant Royal, The Virgin God Save Her. [Laughton, ii.324-331].

Sept 2: Stationers entered a book by Anthony Marten, published as:

'An Exhortation, to stir up the minds of all her Majesty's faithful Subjects, to defend their Country in this dangerous time from the invasion of Enemies. Faithfully and zealously compiled by Anthony Marten, Sewer of her Majesty's most honourable Chamber'. With 'His prayers to this purpose, pronounced in her Majesty's Chapel, and elsewhere'. Dedicated to the Queen.

Two prayers, including: 'Now is the time (O Lord) now is the time, that by a glorious victory in thine own cause thy Son Christ Jesus, and his holy word, shall be magnified in all the world. For lo, thine enemies have sworn to lay waste thy Sanctuary, and that thy servant Elizabeth, her people and kingdom, shall be rooted out, and no more remembered upon the earth...And now that we have long and earnestly sought unto them for peace, they are most proudly come forth by land and sea against us'. 'Destroy their Armies, confound their forces, terrify their Captains. Scatter, break and sink into the sea their huge and strong Vessels'. 40p. (London, 1588).

Anthony Marten (c.1542-1597) was appointed by the Queen in August 1588 as Keeper of the royal library at Whitehall Palace for life, 20 marks p.a.

Sept 3, Stratford [Middx], Edmund Yorke (returned from Tilbury) to Sir Francis Walsingham: 'I have begun...to set down the true manner of our encampment, the receiving of her Majesty into her army, the battalions which were presented before her Majesty the next day in the great place of arms, which I will (as near as I can) perform without omitting of anything in particular, either the place or person, which I hope to have finished within this five days. It being done, I will attend your Honour'. [SP12/216/1].

Sept 3: death. Richard Tarlton died in Shoreditch, Middlesex, and was buried on the same day at St Leonard's, Shoreditch. He was the leading comedian in the Queen's company of actors, a Groom of the Chamber and Master of Defence, and had frequently jested before the Queen. See 'Anecdotes' (Tarlton).

Sept 4: death. **Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester** (c.1532-1588), K.G., died at Cornbury, Oxon. His many posts included: Lord Steward of the Household, Privy Councillor, Master of the Horse 1558-1587, Chancellor of Oxford University.

Will (1 Aug 1587): 'First of all before and above all persons it is my duty to remember my most dear and most gracious Sovereign whose creature under God I have been and who hath been a most bountiful and most princely mistress unto me as well in advancing me to many honours as in maintaining me many ways by her goodness and liberality. And as my best recompense to her most excellent Majesty can be from so mean a man chiefly in prayer to God, so whilst there was any breath in this body I never failed it even as for my own soul. And as it was my greatest joy in my life-time to serve her to her contentation, so is it not unwelcome to me being the will of God to die and end this life for her service'.

'And yet albeit I am not able to make any piece of recompense of her great goodness, yet will I presume to present unto her a token of a humble faithful heart as the last that ever I can send her, and with this prayer withal that it may please the Almighty God not only to make her the oldest prince that ever he gave over England but to make her the godliest, the virtuous and the worthiest in his sight that ever he gave over any nation, that she may indeed be a blessed mother and nurse to this people and church of England, which the mighty God grant for his Christ's sake'.

'The token I do bequeath unto her Majesty is the jewel with three great emeralds with a fair large table diamond in the midst, without a foil, and set about with many diamonds without foil, and a rope of fair white pearl, to the number of six hundred, to hang the said jewel at, which pearl and jewel was once purposed for her Majesty against a coming to Wanstead'.

To the Earl of Warwick: 'I leave to him first as dear an affection as ever brother bore'. 'For a remembrance I send him a cup of gold...which hath the French Order [St Michael] and the English [the Garter] in one with a plain gold chain at it...in remembrance that his brother was of both the Orders and not only so but almost the eldest of both the Orders in both the Realms. But what is this but vanity and so much vanity'. Also to the Earl: Kenilworth Castle, and after his death to Robert Dudley, Leicester's 'base son' by Lady Sheffield.

Wanstead manor, Essex: to the Countess of Leicester.

Leicester refers to being 'I know not how many thousands above twenty in debt'.

Funeral: Oct 10, St Mary's Church, Warwick. Chief Mourner: Earl of Essex (stepson). His monument remains, with his 2nd wife, erected by her.

The widowed Countess of Leicester (1543-1634) married (3) (1589) Sir Christopher Blount (executed for high treason in 1601, as was Essex).

Inventories were made of Leicester's works of art at Kenilworth, Leicester House, and Wanstead, including many portraits of himself, and several of the Queen. Described and illustrated by Elizabeth Goldring in Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, and the World of Elizabethan Art (New Haven and London, 2014).

*Sept 7, Sat: Queen's birthday celebrations, e.g.*  
*St Dunstan in the West: 'Paid unto four ringers the 7th day of September, 16d'.*  
*Salisbury, St Thomas: 'Ringing on the Queen's birthday, 2s6d'.*

Court news. Sept 7, Sir Francis Walsingham to Sir Robert Sidney:  
 'Her Majesty...will not suffer anybody to have access unto her, being very much  
 grieved with the death of the Lord Steward...He died suddenly, contrary to the  
 expectation of the physicians or those that were about him'. [Scot.ix.611].

Sept 7, Marco Messia, of the Earl of Leicester:  
 'The last time I saw him was at the Earl of Essex's review [August 26] at the  
 window with the Queen. On the previous week I had seen him go all through the  
 city, accompanied by as many gentlemen as if he were a king, and followed by his  
 household and a troop of light horse. He was going from a country house of his  
 to St James's, and was quite alone in his coach. He had gone though a few days  
 before on horseback, even more splendidly accompanied, and showed every appear-  
 ance of perfect health, as if he would have lived for years. For the last few  
 months he has usually dined with the Queen, a thing, they say, such as has never  
 been seen in this country before'.

[Sept 7] anon newsletter: 'The Earl of Leicester died almost suddenly on his  
 way to the baths...The Queen is sorry for his death, but no other person in the  
 country. She was so grieved that for some days she shut herself in her chamber  
 alone, and refused to speak to anyone until the Treasurer and other Councillors  
 had the doors broken open and entered to see her. The Lord Chancellor [Hatton],  
 now that Leicester is dead, has much more power than before'. [Span.iv.420,431].

Stow, *Annals*: 'All men, so far as they durst, rejoiced no less outwardly at  
 his death than for the victory lately obtained against the Spaniard'.

*Sept 7: Stationers entered: 'The martial shows of horsemen before her  
 Majesty at St James'.*

*Sept 8, Sun: At Paul's Cross at a Sermon of Thanksgiving: 'There was then  
 openly showed eleven ensigns, being the banners taken in the Spanish navy, and  
 particularly one streamer wherein was an image of our Lady with her Son in her  
 arms, which was held in a man's hand over the pulpit. The same banners the next  
 day were hanged on London Bridge towards Southwark'. [Stow, *Annals*].*

Sept 9: **Thomas Cavendish** returned from his voyage around the world.  
 Cavendish, the third man, after Magellan and Drake, to sail around the world,  
 returned to Plymouth in his ship *The Desire*, after a voyage begun in July 1586.

Sept 9, Plymouth, Thomas Candish to Lord Hunsdon, Lord Chamberlain, touching  
 the success of his voyage about the world, asking him 'to make known unto her  
 Majesty the desire I have had to do her Majesty service in the performance of  
 this voyage. And as it hath pleased God to give her the victory over part of  
 her enemies, so I trust ere long to see her overthrow them all. For the places  
 of their wealth, whereby they have maintained and made their wars, are now  
 perfectly discovered: and if it please her Majesty, with a very small power she  
 may take the spoil of them all. It hath pleased the Almighty to suffer me to  
 circumpass the whole globe of the world, entering in at the Strait of Magellan,  
 and returning by the Cape of Buena Esperanza [Good Hope]. In which voyage  
 I have either discovered or brought certain intelligence of all the rich places  
 of the world that ever were known or discovered by any Christian'...

'All which services with myself I humbly prostrate at her Majesty's feet,  
 desiring the Almighty long to continue her reign among us: for at this day she  
 is the most famous and victorious prince that liveth in the world'.

[*Hakluyt*, viii.278-280].

[\*Sept 12], Cockington [Devon], Sir George Carey to his sister: 'We have a rich ship come into Plymouth. A young gentlemen, one Mr Candish, who hath been at the West and East Indies, and hath been absent this 2 years and 6 weeks, is returned very rich; chiefly laden with silks; he hath musk and civet great store, some gold, and other goods'. [Trevelyan Papers, Camden Soc (1872), 21].

Cavendish, circumnavigator, sailed to the court at Greenwich in November.

Sept 16, Mon Sir Robert Sidney at St James's Palace on return from Scotland. Arthur Throckmorton, who accompanied Sidney on his special embassy to Scotland, noted in his Diary that on September 9 they received news of the death of Sidney's uncle the Earl of Leicester and left Edinburgh next day, arriving in London on September 15, and that next day he spoke to Sir Francis Walsingham.<sup>TH</sup>

Sept 16, London, Sir Robert Sidney to Lady Sidney: 'Sweet wench...I came yesternight very well to this town and will make all haste to come to you. I must have some time to discharge myself of my service in Scotland'.<sup>SD</sup>

[Sept] 19, St James, Sir Francis Walsingham to Sir Edward Stafford: 'For the matters of Scotland, Sir Robert Sidney is of late returned, with a very good answer from the King, who giveth great assurance to maintain good amity with her Majesty'. [Hardwicke, i.367].

Sept 22: News of William Morgan's translation of the Bible into Welsh. Y Beibl. Latin Dedication to the Queen, arguing against those who opposed the licensing of such a translation. (London, 1588).

Sept 22, Privy Council to the Bishop of Llandaff (William Blethin): 'Whereas the translation of the Bible into the Welsh or British tongue, which by Act of Parliament should long since have been done, is now performed by one Dr Morgan and set forth in print, their Lordships' pleasure is that he give present warning to the Churchwardens...of the several parishes and chapels within the precinct of his Lordship's Diocese' that before Christmas 'they provide and have one Bible and two Psalters of the said translation'.

Similar letters to four other Bishops.<sup>APC</sup>  
Dr Morgan (c.1545-1604), a Welsh vicar, stayed in Westminster for over a year correcting proofs whilst the Bible was being printed by the Queen's Printer; it included a revision of William Salesbury's Welsh New Testament, dedicated to the Queen (October 1567). Morgan became Bishop of Llandaff in 1595. He may be the most important single figure in the history of the Reformation in Wales.

Sept 23: Sir Christopher Hatton was elected Chancellor of Oxford University.

Sept 25: christening. Queen was godmother to 'Sir Richard Knightley's son'.<sup>T</sup> Parents: Sir Richard Knightley; 2nd wife: Lady Elizabeth Seymour, daughter of the Duke of Somerset (executed in 1552). Child: not further identified.

Richard Brackenbury made ready 'riding in haste...from St James unto Warwickshire...return to St James'.<sup>T</sup>

Knightley was of Fawsley, Northants, close to the Warwickshire border. Queen's gift: 'one cup with a cover of silver gilt'.<sup>PS</sup> Given on Sept 25.<sup>NYG</sup>

Sept 26: death. Sir Amias Paulet (c.1532-1588), last Keeper of the Queen of Scots, Privy Councillor, died in London. Sept 27: burial: St Martin in the Fields. When St Martin was rebuilt in 1728 Sir Amias's remains and his monument were moved to the church at Hinton St George, Somerset, near the family estates.

His monument has epitaphs in English, French, and Latin; an English verse, reputedly by the Queen, is headed E:R.

'Never shall cease to spread wise Poulet's fame  
These will speak & men shall blush for shame  
Without offence to speak what I do know  
Great is the debt England to him doth owe'.

Sept 26: At Norwich the Mayor had decreed that September 26 would be a Day of Thanksgiving and that henceforth yearly on that day 'all the citizens and inhabitants of this City shall assemble themselves in some public place... and that there shall be preaching and thanksgiving for so gracious deliverance. And that all shops be shut up and labours and work to cease for the time of the same exercise'. Norwich chamberlains paid for an Armada Thanksgiving 1588-1602, the payments being combined with those for Accession Day. [REED: Norwich].

Norwich, St Peter Mancroft: 'Paid for ringing on the triumphing day had of the Spaniards set down by Mr Mayor, 3s'. From 1589 onwards this day was celebrated at Norwich on November 18, the day after Accession Day.

Sept 27, London, Sebastian à Bergen to Walsingham, having been sent in July from the Senate of Hamburg on a mission concerning trade and the Hanse Towns, and about to leave. The Queen made a detailed answer. [SPF.xxii.2,224,226-8].

Sept 28: Stationers entered: 'A ballad entitled the late wonderful distress which the Spanish Navy sustained in the late fight in the Sea, and upon the west coast of Ireland in this month of September 1588'.

Lord Burghley noted in the autumn: 'The great Navy of Spain forced into North Seas, and so with great wreck passed homewards about Scotland and Ireland'.<sup>B</sup>

Sept 29: St Clement Danes: Victorious Brown baptised (buried 13 Jan 1589).

Sept 30: Arthur Throckmorton noted: 'Isaac falconer came to London with my hawks out of Scotland'.<sup>TH</sup>

Sept 30, Mon St James: Privy Council to Bishops of Salisbury and Lincoln: The Queen 'thought it very necessary that certain sermons should be made of thanksgiving to God'. She wishes for your 'present repair hither'.<sup>APC</sup>

[Oct 3], Paris, Mendoza (Spanish Ambassador to France) to Philip II, of King Henri III of France's praise of the Queen:

'This King, in conversation with some of his favourites, greatly praised the valour, spirit and prudence of the Queen of England, aided, as she was, by marvellous good fortune. He said that what she had done lately would compare with the greatest feats of the most illustrious men of past times, for she had ventured, alone and unaided, to await the attack of so puissant a force as Spain, and to fight it whilst preventing the passage of the Duke of Parma's fleet, which was as powerful as the Spanish. He said that it had taken your Majesty four years to gather these great fleets, which had been the wonder of the world, and yet it might be said that the Queen of England had triumphed over them'. [Span.iv.470].

Oct 7: Stationers entered: 'A ballad of thanksgiving unto God, for his mercy toward her Majesty, beginning Rejoice England'.

Oct 7: News of Colonel Sonoy (1529-1597), coming to England from Holland.

Diderik de Sonoy, formerly Governor of North Holland, had been one of the Earl of Leicester's most loyal supporters, and in acting on his commands was now said to be ruined. He hoped for audience with the Queen, to explain his position.

Oct 7, The Hague, Henry Killigrew to Walsingham, recommending Colonel Sonoy, who is 'going on a sudden' to England, and is 'singularly devoted' to the Queen.

Oct 16, Killigrew to Burghley: Sonoy will probably live in England 'upon his own, who is well able of himself so to do'. [SPF.xxii.208,250,254,267].

Isaac Oliver, who painted a number of miniatures of the Queen, painted one of Sonoy in 1588. [Reproduced, Roy Strong, English Renaissance Miniature, 153].

After several years in England Sonoy returned to Holland, where he died, 1597.



Oct 20-December: Sir John Norris was special Ambassador to the Low Countries. Norris arrived at Flushing on October 20 to urge a reconciliation between the Provinces, and to ask for assistance for an expedition to Portugal in 1589.

Oct 20, Sun sermon, St James's: Dr Tobias Matthew, Dean of Durham. Text: Ephesians 4:15-21, beginning: 'But speaking the truth in love, may grow up into him in all things, which is the head, even Christ'.

Oct 21: marriage: Edward Cordell, of Fleet Street, one of the Six Clerks in Chancery, married (2nd wife) Lady Digby, a Lady of the Privy Chamber. She was Abigail (Heveningham), a kinswoman of the Queen, and widow of Sir George Digby. Queen's gift: one cup with a cover of silver gilt, given at 'Lady Digby's marriage to Edward Cordell, esquire'.<sup>PS</sup> Given on Oct 21.<sup>NYG</sup>

Oct 25, Fri **GREENWICH PALACE**, Kent.<sup>C</sup>

Works, 1588-1589: Richard Dixon carved four seats for outdoors, 6 feet long. They were carved 'with a lion, and a dragon supporting the Queen's badges, with two arches under the seats and two elbows to lean on, carved with a pyramid crested for the weather, carved with the Rose and Crown with the Queen's letters, with an ostrich, a tassel, and an eagle crowned holding a sceptre crowned, for which seats he is allowed 40s the piece'. [King's Works, iv.110].

Oct 26: Seditious libel at East Molesey, Surrey. John Udall of London, clerk, advanced seditious doctrines in a tract, writing, for example: 'Who can, without blushing, deny you (meaning the bishops) to be the cause of all ungodliness, seeing your government is that which giveth leave to a man to be anything saving a sound Christian. For certainly it is more free in these days to be a Papist, Anabaptist, of the Family of Love, yea any most wicked one whatsoever, than that which we should be...You care for nothing but the maintenance of your dignities...Remember that one day you must be presented before the tribune seat of Jesus Christ, to be arraigned for all the souls that have gone to hell (seeing you will needs be the rulers of the Church) since the Gospel first appeared in this land. Then shall you not be excused with this, the Queen and Council will have it so'. Trial at Croydon Assizes, July 1590: found guilty; sentenced to death, March 1591; died in prison, c. December 1592. [Assizes, Surrey, 348-9]. For Udall and the aftermath of his trial see ODNB. The Queen had a copy of his posthumously published Sermons. (1596).

Oct 27: christening. Queen was godmother to 'Earl of Ormond's daughter'.<sup>T</sup> Parents: Thomas Butler, 10th Earl of Ormond, an Irish peer.

2nd wife: Elizabeth (Sheffield) (also the Queen's god-daughter), daughter of John 2nd Lord Sheffield. Francis Coot made ready 'at the Abbey of Westminster'. John Pigeon, Jewel-house Officer, went from Greenwich to the Tower for a gift.<sup>T</sup>

Queen's gifts: 'one basin and ewer of silver gilt, and one pair of gilt stopes [drinking vessels]'.<sup>PS</sup> Given on October 27.<sup>NYG</sup>

Child: Lady Elizabeth Butler (1588-1628) married (1603) Theobald Butler, her cousin; (1614) Richard Preston, Lord Dingwall.

Court news. Oct 30, Thomas Windebank (Clerk of the Signet) to Sir Francis Walsingham: 'I have broken with her Majesty the matter touching Monsieur de Meetkerk, whereupon her Highness answered that she knew not what to give him for that she thought his first coming was for some great relief, upon his word to her Majesty that he had already sustained loss and was in danger to lose all that he had there. Hereupon I demanded of her Majesty if it would please her that I might write to you to know how much your Honour thought good should be bestowed upon him out of the Privy Purse, which she would not consent I should do (fearing I think you should name too great a sum)'.

'And yet sir, if it please you, I may understand from yourself what sum your Honour thinketh meet her Majesty should give out of the Privy Purse, and I may name so much as of myself'.

'She is writing with her own hand to my Lord Willoughby, not to hazard himself so much'. [SP12/217/64].

Adolf van Meetkerk, former President of Flanders, and his wife, lived in London as refugees, but Captain Nicolas van Meetkerk was also in London from August-October, sent by the States of Utrecht. [SPF.xxii.134,289].

*October: The first of the anonymous 'Marprelate Tracts' was secretly printed. Satirical attacks on the Bishops, answering in particular: A Defence of the government established in the Church of England for ecclesiastical matters, by Dr John Bridges, Dean of Salisbury. (1587).*

*The first Tract is known by its short title as: The Epistle. (52p).*

*It begins 'Oh read over Dr John Bridges for it is a worthy work'.*

*'Printed oversea in Europe within two furlongs of a Bouncing Priest at the cost and charges of M.Marprelate gentleman'.*

*One section is headed 'That our prelates usurp their authority'...*

*'Our Bishops and proud, popish, presumptuous, profane, paltry, pestilent, and pernicious prelates'.*

*The Tract concludes: 'By the reverend and worthy Martin Marprelate gentleman'. It was printed at East Molesey, Surrey, at the house of Mrs Elizabeth Crane, widow of Anthony Crane, Master of the Royal Household at his death in 1583.*

*The Tracts had a sensational success. For their popularity see the second Tract, end November. [bouncing priest: swaggering priest].*

Nov 3, Sun Greenwich, Privy Council to the Archbishop of Canterbury (John Whitgift) and the Dean of York (Matthew Hutton): The Queen's 'express pleasure and commandment' is 'to appoint some special day wherein all the Realm might concur in giving public and general thanks unto God'.<sup>APC</sup>

*Nov 3: Stationers entered: 'A new ballad of the glorious victory of Christ Jesus, as was late seen by the overthrow of the Spaniards'.*

*'A ballad of the most happy victory obtained over the Spaniards and their overthrow in July last 1588'.*

*Nov 4: Stationers entered: 'A song wherein is contained the Treachery of the wicked and is made to be sung on the Coronation Day or at any other time'.*

Nov 4, court, Lord Burghley to the Earl of Shrewsbury:

*'As your deputy [as Earl Marshal] I have filled up the post of Lancaster Herald by the appointment of Nicholas Paddy and that of Rouge Cross is given to one Raven. For that of Norroy the name of Edward Knight, the oldest Herald, is mentioned, and for his place that of James Thomas, now Bluemantle'...*

*'Her Majesty will openly go to Paul's or Westminster to give public thanks to God for his miraculous goodness in overthrowing of our mortal enemies and the sworn enemies of Christ; the same notion is meant to be celebrated through the whole realm the same day, if knowledge may come in time, for it was concluded but yesterday in Council. All our friends in Scotland, in Denmark, in the Low Countries, in all the countries of Germany that are Protestants, have performed this in great solemnity'. [Bath, v.95].*

*Nicholas Paddy had become Lancaster Herald on June 7.*

*John Raven succeeded him as Rouge Dragon Pursuivant on June 8.*

*James Thomas became Chester Herald in May 1590.*

*Edmund Knight was Norroy King of Arms, 1592-1593.*

Court news. Nov 5 [from Marco Messia]: 'The Queen is much aged and spent, and is very melancholy. Her intimates say that this is caused by the death of the Earl of Leicester; but it is very evident that it is rather the fear she underwent and the burden she has upon her'...

'Don Antonio sent his younger son to Barbary, as the Sheriff had promised him a large sum of money on him...If this money is forthcoming there is no doubt that the Queen and Don Antonio will make an attempt against Portugal'.

[*Span.iv.481-2*]. The 'Sheriff' of Morocco had promised that if the Armada was defeated he would assist in restoring Don Antonio as King of Portugal.

Don Antonio's son went as a hostage or pledge for his loan. See Nov 10.

*Nov 8, Lord Mayor of London's Precept to the Livery Companies:*

'Where the Queen's most excellent Majesty intendeth to come in her Majesty's most royal person, on the 18th day of the present month, from Somerset House to Paul's to hear a sermon. These therefore shall be to require and charge you in her Majesty's name that you take especial care that all persons of the Livery of your said Company may be in a readiness against the said time, with their livery hoods, attired in their best apparel, to wait and attend her Majesty's coming'.

Additional note: 'The whole number of your Livery. Whifflers in coats of velvet and chains, 10 at the least. Your standings to be strong and well railed, the fore rail to be covered with a fair blue cloth. Your standards and streamers to be set up as shall best beseem the place'. [*London: Journal 22, f.233*].

Lord Mayor: Martin Calthorpe, draper. The date for the Queen's coming to St Paul's was altered twice.

*8 Nov 1588-June 1593: Thomas Bodley was a Councillor on the Dutch Council of State, with George Gilpin as his interpreter for the Flemish tongue.*

*Bodley reached Flushing on December 5, to replace Henry Killigrew.*

Nov 8, Fri Cavendish's ship *The Desire* at Greenwich.

Thomas Cavendish had returned in September from his voyage round the world.

Venetian Ambassador in Paris, Oct 17: 'He brings great wealth and also some natives from India, who they say accompanied him of their own accord through a desire to see the Queen'. [*Ven.viii.403*].

Anon newsletter, Nov 11: 'On Friday last, although it rained heavily all day, Cavendish's ship was taken up to Greenwich before the Queen's house. It is said that her sails were of damask. She fired off a great quantity of artillery, and was a most beautiful sight'. [*Span.iv.487*].

Captain Francis Allen to Anthony Bacon, 17 August 1589: 'The passing up the river of Thames by Mr Candish is famous, for his mariners were clothed in silk, his sails of damask, his top-masts cloth of gold, and the richest prize that ever was brought at one time into England'. [*LPL 647/122*].

Nov 9, Sat Queen visited Sir Francis Drake's new ship.

Anon newsletter, Nov 11: 'On Saturday her Majesty went to see a 300 ton ship from Danzig which, they say, is very beautiful, and has been bought by Drake'. [*Span.iv.488*].

Nov 10, anon newsletter: Don Cristobal 'sailed for Barbary with four ships of war and six merchantmen, and a large household of Portugal and English - over 40 persons. He takes several musical instruments, and rich household appointments ...The officers of his household are splendidly fitted, and the rest of the men very decently. Edward Perrin commands the four men-of-war'. [*Span.iv.486*].

Nov 10, Sun sermon, Greenwich: Dr Tobias Matthew, Dean of Durham.

Text: Matthew 22:15-22, beginning: 'Then went the Pharisees, and took counsel how they might entangle him in his talk'.

Court news. Nov 10 [London], Philip Gawdy to my 'sweet brother':  
 'The Queen cometh to Somerset House upon Friday [Nov 15], and...is appointed to hear a sermon at Paul's, upon Tuesday come sennight [Nov 19], there is preparation made by my Lord Chamberlain for her'.<sup>GY</sup>

Court news. [Nov 11], anon newsletter: 'On Thursday [Nov 7] the wife of the Earl of Pembroke [Mary Sidney] made a superb entrance into this city. She has been for more than a year on her estates in the country. [Wiltshire]. Before her went 40 gentlemen on horseback, two by two, all very finely dressed with gold chains. Then came another coach in which was the Countess and a lady, then another coach with more ladies, and after that a litter containing the children, and four ladies on horseback. After them came 40 or 50 servants in her livery with blue cassocks. A few days previously the Earl had entered London, and it is said that he had in his train at least 150 horsemen'...  
 'Great preparations are being made for a fine joust' [on Accession Day].  
 [Span.iv.487-8].

Nov 11, Manchester, Bishop of Chester (William Chaderton) to Mayor of Chester:  
 'I have special direction from her Majesty to appoint general prayers and thanksgiving to be made in every Church throughout my diocese upon Tuesday, which shall be the 19th of this instant November, a day to be celebrated throughout the whole Realm for our deliverance from the Spaniards, and the wonderful overthrow of that power which they had prepared against us, whereof I thought good to advertise you and the rest of your Brethren, to the end that you might be all at home and in readiness to celebrate that day accordingly, not only in your hearts but with your bodily presence at the said prayers, in your most comely and decent manner, after the order of your city, wishing that you would also appear yourself and procure your Brethren and other of your well affected citizens to communicate (for there will be a general Communion) and further that you would cause all shops, taverns and tippling houses to be shut up all that day (as they were and will be in London), lest through any worldly occasion those who are not fully grounded in goodwill might withdraw themselves from that most Godly action'.  
 [HMC 8th Report, 374].

The General Thanksgiving was on November 19, as appointed, but the Queen deferred her visit to St Paul's to November 24.

Nov 11: Scandalous words at Canterbury, Kent.  
 John Gardner, of Westgate, Canterbury, yeoman, said 'The Pope and his religion must needs have good success here in England, for that their religion is good. And being told of the repulse of the Spaniards, said that it was lies, and we should hear other news shortly, rejoicing when any report was of their good success, and sorrowing for the contrary...And that it was not fit that a prince should govern the realm'.

Verdict: Guilty of scandalous words; remanded. [Assizes, Kent, 290].

Nov 12, Tues Cavendish's ship *The Desire* again at Greenwich.  
 Stationers entered 'A new ballad of the famous and honourable coming of Master Cavendish's ship called *The Desire* before the Queen's Majesty at her court at Greenwich the 12 of November 1588'.

Anon newsletter [Nov 17]: 'Thomas Cavendish's ship...was sailed before the court at Greenwich. Amongst other things the Queen said "The King of Spain barks a good deal but does not bite. We care nothing for the Spaniards; their ships, loaded with silver and gold from the Indies, come hither after all". Every sailor had a gold chain round his neck, and the sails of the ship were of blue damask, the standard of cloth of gold and blue silk. It was as if Cleopatra had been resuscitated...Cavendish must have brought great riches'. [Span.iv.491].

Nov 12: Parliament met, having been summoned by the Queen's writ, October 15. The Archbishop of Canterbury and others declared in the Upper House that 'for divers good causes' the Queen now prorogued Parliament to 4 February 1589. [Lords Journal].

Nov 14: Stationers entered: 'A joyful ballad of the royal entrance of Queen Elizabeth into her city of London the - day of November 1588 and of the solemnity used by her Majesty to the glory of God for the wonderful overthrow of the Spaniards'.

Nov 15: A complaint from one of Lord Burghley's petitioners, who had hoped for his assistance to become a Herald or a Pursuivant at the College of Arms.

Nov 15, Clerkenwell, Francis Thynne to Burghley: 'The office of Norroy was gone before I came, the place of Chester was granted before I sued. The door was locked, I knocked too late. I slept with the five foolish virgins'.

'I will not anatomize every man's default lest I be counted one of the foolish sons of Martin Marprelate'.

'I know that the glorious vanity of Garter, the subtle conveyance of Clarenceux, the weak estate of Chester, the skill of Richmond, the plain meaning of York, the poetical pen of Somerset, the small knowledge of Lancaster, the feeble government of Windsor, the blemished actions of Rouge Cross, the small experience of Rouge Dragon, and the late preferment of Portcullis and Bluemantle, would speak all they could against me a stranger in that office'.

[SP12/218/23]. Francis Thynne was Lancaster Herald from 1602-1608.

Nov 16, Sat **SOMERSET HOUSE**, Strand; Crown property.

Keeper: Henry Carey, 1st Lord Hunsdon, Lord Chamberlain, the Queen's cousin; wife: Anne (Morgan).

Part of the royal household remained at Greenwich whilst the Queen was at Somerset House.<sup>c</sup>

Lambeth Church: 'For ringing the 16th and 17th of November when the Queen's Majesty came from Greenwich to Somerset House, 7s6d'.

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

St Alban Wood Street: 'For ringers on the Queen's night and for prayers for her Majesty, 5s6d'.

St Dunstan in the West: 'Paid unto the ringers on the Queen's day for their pains and for bread and drink, 5s'.

St Michael Cornhill: 'For two pound of virgin wax containing 31 candles at 2s4d the pound, spent upon the 17th of November in the church, 4s8d; a pound of candles for the singers in the church, 4d; a prayer book for the church, 2d; two torches for the singers, 2s; one virgin wax candle, 8d; paid to the singers by the order of Mr Deputy for that they met twice, 20s'. Dec 1: 'At the viewing of a new bell...at which time we had with us a musician to sound the bell, 14d'.

Bishop's Stortford, Herts, St Michael: 'For ringing upon the Coronation day in rejoicing of the Queen's prosperous reign in meat and drink, 11s8d; for ringing the Tuesday after and for one pound of candle, in rejoicing of our deliverance from the Spaniards, 8s10d'.

Bungay, Suffolk, Holy Trinity: 'Paid to Pattin for ringing on the Coronation day, 18d; for bread and wine for the Communion on the Coronation day, 6½d'.

Cratfield Church, Suffolk: 'For bread and wine for the Communion the 17th day of November, 19d; paid to the ringers of the Crowning day, 2s'.

Hastings, Sussex, All Saints: 'For beer and drink and cheese at the ringing day for the Queen's Majesty, 3s; for mending a bell on the ringing day, 8d; for meat and drink at the last ringing day for the Spaniards, 2s2d'.

Heckington Church, Lincs: 'For wine of the Anniversary day of the Queen's Majesty, 20d; bestowed upon the ringers 3 days, 6s8d'.

Ipswich, Suffolk, Chamberlains: 'Paid for paper and thread to bind up the gunpowder against the Coronation day and another day of triumph, 2s; paid to Hugh Shill for powder by him delivered to the Town use on the Coronation day, and at another day after for triumph, 32s'.

Leicester, St Martin: 'To the ringers on St Hugh's Day, 8d'.

Leverton Church, Lincs: 'Paid for candle and grease against the two ringing nights, 6d; for bread and drink then, 2s'.

Lydd, Kent, Chamberlains: To two men 'for playing upon our drums on the Queen's day, 12d'.

Maidstone, Kent, Chamberlains: 'Money laid out on the Coronation day', including: 'Paid the joiner for setting together the frame with other work about the pageant, 4s; for silk and making the coats, 3s; Anthony the Dutchman for boards for the pageant, 12d; paid the painters for all their work, 6s8d; 14lb of powder, 14s; brown paper, white paper and resin, 4s8d; wax candles, 2s6d; nails great and small about the pageant, 11d; more nails about the scaffold, 23d; inkle [linen thread] and other necessaries about the children, 16d; cord for the fireworks, 2s; trumpeters, 10s; musicians, 10s; 6 dozen of links, 15s; 6 dozen of white tin-foil, 2s; 6 dozen of yellow tin-foil, 5s; 4 staff-torches, 3s4d; canes to make the fireworks, 10d; 2 dozen of paste-boards, 22d; 12 quire of white paper, 3s; for wharfage, 4d; for bringing the links to the water, 6d; fetching the links at Chatham, 12d; the carpenter that set up the stage, 3s4d; his man that helped him, 18d; paid them that bore the pageant, 2s4d; Goodman Marshall for tin-foil, 8s; paid unto Mr Symonson [of Maidstone Grammar School] for his painstaking on the Coronation day, 10s'.

Market Deeping Church, Lincs: 'Paid for bread and drink on St Hugh's Day and the Tuesday following, 16d'.

Nottingham Chamberlains: 'Given to our own Waits the day of rejoicing for her Majesty, 12d'.

Oxford, St Mary the Virgin: sermon by John Prime: 'The Consolations of David, briefly applied to Queen Elizabeth'. [Printed, 1588].

Salisbury, St Thomas: Ringing: 'Coronation day, 8s. On the Tuesday and following for the great Victory against the Spaniards by the mighty hand of God, 8s'.

Warwick, St Nicholas: 'Paid unto the ringing on the 17th day of November being the entrance of the 31 years of the prosperous reign of our Sovereign Lady Queen Elizabeth long and long to endure, 2s6d'.

Nov 17, Sun Accession Day sermon, Somerset House.

Text: 2 Chronicles 9:8: 'Blessed be the Lord thy God, which delighted in thee to set thee on his throne, to be king for the Lord thy God. Because thy God loved Israel, to establish them for ever, therefore made he thee king over them, to do judgment and justice'. Sermon on the superiority of government by monarchy, and on the burdens and duties of regal judgment and justice.

Headed 'On the Queen's Day 1588 before the Queen'. Preacher not named.

Accession Day Tilt preparations.

Francis Coot made ready 'the gallery at Whitehall and divers other chambers for her Majesty'.<sup>T</sup> Works: 'mending the tilt pales, boards, and other decayed places there, with making scaffolds for her Majesty to see the running at tilt'.

Revels paid 10 shillings 'for the fair writing of all the devices on the 17th day of November...in two copies for the Queen'. [Revels, 391].

Tilt-list: College of Arms MS M.4, f.36.

Nov 17, Sun **Accession Day Tilt**, Whitehall, 1588. 12 pairs.

Sir Henry Lee	v	Earl of Essex
Lord Strange	v	Sir Edward Wingfield
Sir William Knollys	v	John Chidley
Sir Philip Butler	v	Sir Charles Blount
Robert Knollys	v	Ralph Bowes
Henry Brouncker	v	Robert Alexander
Thomas Gerard	v	William Gresham
Henry Noel	v	Thomas Vavasour
Anthony Cooke	v	Everard Digby
William Harvey	v	John Needham
Gervase Clifton	v	Richard Skipwith
Earl of Cumberland	v	Earl of Essex [again].

[Nov 18]: *Carpenters' Company paid 'at The Red Lion by St Nicholas Shambles upon the whole Livery when the Queen should have come to Paul's Church and did not', for bread, ale and beer, seven legs of mutton and the dressing, double ribs of beef, three capons and roasting of them, fire, total 43s8d.*

*Cutlers' Company 'spent at the Hall the 18th of November that day the Queen should have gone to Paul's, £3.11s9d'.*

Nov 19, Tues: General Day of Thanksgiving for Defeat of the Spanish Armada.

'The 19th...was this year kept Holy day throughout the realm, with sermons, singing of psalms, bonfires, etc, for joy, and a thanksgiving unto God for the overthrow of the Spaniards our enemies on the sea, and the citizens of London assembled in their liveries had that day a sermon at Paul's Cross, tending to that end'. [Stow, Annals].

*St Olave Jewry: 'Paid to a Preacher on the day of Thanksgiving when the Spaniards passed, 6s8d'.*

*St Martin in the Fields paid 4d 'to the Paritor for a warrant to keep holy the 19th day, at which time her Majesty should a gone to Paul's'.*

*Paid to the Apparitor, a church official.*

*Bristol: 'The day appointed by her Majesty for a general thanksgiving on account of the defeat of the Spanish Armada, the same was observed here with the greatest solemnity. The Mayor and all the Council in scarlet, with the Serjeants and other officers before them, and every company and craft in their proper dresses, and with their proper ensigns, went to the College [Cathedral] and heard a sermon; after which they received the Holy Communion, and as they went home the magistrates with other well-disposed persons gave money to the poor, delivering it to those persons which were appointed to stand at Sir John Young's house, and at the Grammar School gate'. [Annals: Seyer, ii.252].*

*Cambridge, Great St Mary: 'Paid to the ringers at the Triumph, 12d'.*

*Lambeth Church: 'For ringing the 19th of November being commanded a general festival day, 6s; for two books of prayer against the same festival day, 6d'.*

*Norwich Chamberlains: 'Triumph. To the Waits for their service then, 20s'.*

*Norwich, St Margaret: 'For bread and beer for the ringers the 18 19 days of November when as the triumph was for the safe deliverance of our Queen and the Realm from our enemies, 12d'.*

*Norwich, St Peter Mancroft: 'Ringing on the victory day that the Lord gave us over the Spaniards appointed by her Majesty, 2s4d'.*

Rowington Church, Warwicks: 'Spent on the ringers on the new holiday, 2s; the Clerk's wife for candle and bread and ale, 6d; to the Summoner at the Queen's holiday, 4d'.

St Peter's parish, Herts, churchwardens: 'Paid to Grinsell the Paritor for a note by him brought to ring for our good success against the Spaniards, 4d; paid the ringers at that time, 4s8d'. [John Grinsell, apparitor].

Shrewsbury, Shropshire, Nov 19: 'Was a solemn day in Shrewsbury, and all people that day kept it holy unto the Lord, that had given her Majesty such victory and blessed overthrow of the Spanish power and huge navy, to the great rejoicing of all England. God be praised. Amen'. [H.Owen and J.B.Blakeway, A history of Shrewsbury, 2 vols (1825), i.390].

Warwick, St Nicholas: 'Ringing on the 19th day...being the worthy remembrance of the victory over our enemies by God's providence most prosperous, 20d'.

By November 24: Preparations at St Paul's Cathedral.

'At Paul's Chancel against her Majesty's coming thither to hear the sermon, for making a travers in the Chancel for her Highness, making a floor joisted and boarded, laying fir-poles over the top thereof to bear the hangings. And making, joisting and boarding a floor for her Highness's passage out of the Bishop's Palace into the Church'.<sup>w</sup> Francis Coot, Gentleman Usher, made ready 'Paul's Church in London' and 'the Bishop of London's house'.<sup>T</sup>

Sources: William Segar, Honor, Military and Civil (1602), 244-247. Segar, who was Portcullis Pursuivant in 1588, lists in order all those in the procession. Stow, Annals; Edward Dering: Kent History and Library Centre, Dering MS.U350/Z7; Livery Company archives, Guildhall Library, London; A.H.Johnson, History...of the Drapers of London, (Oxford, 1915), ii.152; Black Books of Lincoln's Inn. Garnet's letter, in translation: Philip Caraman, Henry Garnet 1555-1606 and the Gunpowder Plot (1964), 82-3.

The Queen composed two 'Songs', one sung before her at Paul's Cross. See December, end.

Nov 24, Sun Queen at **Armada Thanksgiving service**, St Paul's.

Queen went in ceremonial procession from Somerset House to St Paul's, where the Bishop of Salisbury (John Piers) preached a sermon at Paul's Cross on the text: Exodus 15:10: 'Thou didst blow with thy wind, the sea covered them, they sank as lead in the mighty waters'. Queen dined with the Bishop of London (John Aylmer) at the adjacent Bishop's Palace, and returned by torch-light to Somerset House.

Segar: 'Against her Highness coming in the morning, the streets were railed and hung with blue broadcloths for their several Companies in their liveries to stand, and every Company distinguished by Banners, Standards, and Pennons of their Arms richly painted and illumined. The Gentlemen of the Inns of Court likewise (being placed near Temple Bar) stood orderly within their rails'.

'All the fronts of houses were covered with rich Arras and Tapestry, and the windows and streets replenished with all sorts of people innumerable, who with great applause and joyful acclamations both graced and honoured her Majesty's most Royal proceeding'.

Cutlers' Company (in Fleet Street). Her Majesty was 'in a fair and seemly throne carried by the force of two horses where in a chair she did sit, her ladies of honour following on horseback after her. And thus she passed through Fleet Street where the Companies on both sides railed in and in their best liveries with their streamers and standards did welcome her into the City. And so passing forwards she went to Paul's and then heard a learned sermon'.



*Stow*: 'Her Majesty, having attendant upon her the Privy Council and nobility and other honourable persons, as well spiritual as temporal, in great number, the French Ambassador [Châteauneuf], the Judges of the Realm, the Heralds, Trumpeters, and all on horseback, did come in a chariot-throne made with four pillars behind to have a canopy, on the top whereof was made a Crown Imperial, and two lower pillars before, whereon stood a Lion and a Dragon, supporters of the Arms of England, drawn by two white horses from Somerset House to the Cathedral Church of St Paul, her Footmen and Pensioners about her'.

'Next after rode the Earl of Essex, Master of her Horse, leading her Majesty's horse of state richly furnished; after him a great number of Ladies of Honour; on each side of them the Guard on foot in their rich coats, and halberds in their hands'.

'At what time before she came at the Temple Bar, Edward Schets Corvinus, an officer of her Privy Chamber, gave her Majesty a jewel containing a crapon or toad-stone set in gold, which she, graciously accepting, said it was the first gift she had received that day'.

'The same day also her Highness received a book entitled *The Light of Britain*, by the gift of Henry Lyte of Lytescary, gentleman, the author thereof'.

'Over the gate of the Temple Bar were placed the Waits of the City. And at the same Bar the Lord Mayor and his brethren the Aldermen in scarlet received and welcomed her Majesty to her City and Chamber, delivering to her hands the sceptre, which after certain speeches had her Highness re-delivered to the Mayor, and he again, taking his horse, bore the same before her'.

'The Companies of the City in their liveries stood in their rails of timber covered with blue cloth, all of them saluting her Highness as she proceeded along to Paul's Church, where at the great west door, she dismounting from her chariot-throne between the hours of twelve and one was received by the Bishop of London, the Dean of Paul's, and other of the clergy, to the number of more than 50, all in rich copes, where her Highness on her knees made her hearty prayers unto God'.

'Which prayers being finished she was, under a rich canopy, brought through the long west aisle to her travers in the Choir, the clergy singing the Litany. Which being ended she was brought to a closet of purpose made out of the north wall of the church, towards the Pulpit Cross, where she heard a sermon made by Dr Piers, Bishop of Salisbury, and then returned through the church to the Bishop's Palace, where she dined; and returned in like order as afore, but with great light of torches, to Somerset House'.

*Segar's* additional details of the Queen at St Paul's:

'At the West door, before her Majesty's entrance in, there was provided a rich Chair of Estate, and...her Majesty kneeled down against a desk covered with very Princely furniture, and said the Lord's Prayer; and then the Bishop of London in his Cope delivered her a book containing all the Orders, Charters, and Privileges belonging to the said Church: which her Majesty receiving did confirm and redeliver unto the Bishop in the presence of all the Prebends and Churchmen, who attended her Highness in very rich Copes; and so with the whole Choir singing before her she proceeded up into the Chancel, where within a Travers she rested until the Procession and other divine Anthems were sung'.

'After which her Majesty entered into the place ordained for the Duchy of Lancaster, which at that time was newly re-edified with fair and large glass windows, in which she stayed during the Sermon preached at the Cross by Doctor Piers...where with the whole assembly of the people she gave God public thanks for that triumphant and ever memorable victory over the Spanish Fleet, proudly by them called Invincible'.

*Drapers' Company description, the Lord Mayor being Martin Calthorpe, draper (Lord Mayor from 28 October 1588 until his death in office, 3 May 1589):*

The Company 'to the number of 40 or thereabouts in their best liveries furred and best apparel about 8 o'clock in the morning went from Drapers' Hall to their standings, being set up near Temple Bar'...

'Then came the Lord Mayor and Aldermen on horseback, the Lord Mayor taking his place alone at the uppermost end of our Company's standing, with the Sword-bearer holding down his sword and the Aldermen staying on horseback on the left hand, attending her Majesty's coming to Paul's to hear a sermon there, who entered into the City at Temple Bar between 11 and 12 o'clock'.

'Before whom first came gentlemen riding two and two together with a very comely grace; after them followed the Aldermen in like manner; after them the Queen's Attorney-General being Mr Popham, and Mr Egerton the Queen's Solicitor; next unto them proceeded the Serjeants at the Law and Judges...After them came the knights, then the noblemen, then her Highness's most honourable Privy Councillors...then the French Ambassador accompanied with his gentlemen'. Then Lord Hunsdon, Lord Chamberlain; then the Earl of Oxford; then the Pensioners.

'Then her Majesty riding or sitting in a most stately and princely couch all open, in the top whereof was a gilded globe, all being white, except the globe being with gold, borne up with two horses all white with caparisons of white velvet spangled'.

'And as her Majesty entered into Temple Bar, the Lord Mayor kneeling down presented her Highness with the sceptre belonging to the City, which she received and delivered him again, saying that he had well begun and willed him so to proceed during his time. Then did the Lord Mayor bear the same sceptre before her Majesty, and after her Highness did ride the Earl of Essex being Master of her Majesty's horses; then followed the ladies and their gentlewomen'.

'The which being past the Company departed and met at the Hall again about 3 o'clock in the afternoon, and from thence went to their standings, and about 5 o'clock her Majesty returned in like order as before'.

'God give her Majesty long life and a prosperous reign over us. Amen'.

*Henry Garnet, Jesuit Father, watched from a house on Ludgate Hill. Garnet to Claudio Aquaviva, General of the Society of Jesus in Rome, Dec 4:*

'A solemn procession, or perhaps I should call it a pageant, was held to give thanks to God for the scattering of the Spanish fleet. It was led by noblemen of the Queen's household, all mounted on horses caparisoned beyond my power of description...Behind them rode the Queen's Councillors, and among them the pseudo-bishops conspicuous in their square caps and rochets [surplices]; then the Queen herself, escorted by her ladies-in-waiting, and followed by the principal ladies of the realm all mounted in like manner'.

'The Queen was carried in a gilded chair. High above her head it was covered with a royal awning; it hung down behind, but was open in front and on both sides. She was drawn by two grey horses royally caparisoned. The unceasing uproar of the vast crowds echoed all round her'....

'She was acclaimed by members of the legal profession - with the exception of the judges, who, in their robes, already formed part of the procession - a very large and decorative assembly, and by representative merchants and craftsmen... from every guild, all accommodated on seats constructed in splendid tiers along the whole route'.

'As she passed there were bands of musicians playing in appointed places. Also there were some charming tableaux'.

'Then her clergy came forward to meet her. They looked silly in the eyes of all, dressed up as they were in Catholic copes: copes which heretofore they had burned or cut up in pieces and used for profane purposes. They had been forced to fetch them, in mutilated condition, from the Queen's chapel or from an old armoury in the Tower. The Dean of St Paul's was 'decked up in cloth of gold'...

'Entering the Cathedral, the Queen knelt and offered her prayers. All then advanced to the place where the high altar used to stand. There the rest of the ceremonies were performed. Very many took communion...it was now close on midday. After this the Queen advanced to the Cross in the churchyard, where sermons are customarily preached. Here from a raised platform she heard the sermon. From time to time, in the course of it, she applauded the preacher in a loud voice when he was either praising the Queen's clemency or asserting that she was anxious before all else to establish peace'...

'This pageant had been long awaited in the city. It had been said that the Queen was afraid to show herself in public - a report confirmed by the order that in every single household along the route no one should be allowed to look out from the windows while she was passing, unless the householder was prepared to stake his life and entire fortune on his trustworthiness. However, there were persons who vouched for me, for they believe I have the Queen's safety more at heart than her own Calvinistic ministers'.

*Edward Dering of Kent's additional details:* Outside the west door of Paul's were 'carpets laid along the ground strewn thick with rushes'.

The Queen, after dining at the Bishop of London's house, 'about 4 o'clock took her chariot again and so proceeded in good order to Somerset House being guarded with the Pensioners on foot and her ladies after her on horseback, and came thither with torch-light. Whereas from Paul's to Temple Bar on both sides of the streets as place would serve was railed for the Companies of London to stand, which there did attend until her Majesty was past, every Company under his standard with the banners of their arms of the Companies. And the people to see innumerable. The inhabitants hanged out of their windows the best carpets and coverlets to garnish the street withal, whose windows were full of gentlewomen to see and behold that fair sight'.

*Francis Bacon, of Gray's Inn:* 'In eighty-eight, when the Queen went from Temple Bar along Fleet Street, the lawyers were ranked on one side, and the Companies of the city on the other. Said Master Bacon to a lawyer that stood next him: Do but observe the courtiers: if they bow first to the citizens, they are in debt; if first to us, they are in law'. [Spedding, *Works*, vii.175].

*The Livery Companies made many payments, and memoranda. A selection:*

*Brewers' Company's standing was set up 'at the west door of Paul's Church over against the Bishop's house, south-west of the Brazen Pillar, the Company of Dyers over against us on the north, our standing being there set double and covered with blue cloth, yet it was with press of people and horse overthrown, broken and spoiled, although we had six whifflers in coats of velvet and chains of gold to attend on us'.*

*Coopers' Company:* 'For white staves when the Queen came to Paul's Cross, 4s; hire of a blue cloth, and carriage, 2s6d; carriage of our standing from Ludgate to our hall, 8d; monies received of members, for gilding her Majesty's arms in the hall, and for making our own ensign, £11.8s2d; to the painter, for painting the Queen's arms in the hall, and the Company's arms in the ensign, £4.10s; for 13 ells of silk, to make the ensign, at 8s2d the ell'.

*Cutlers' Company:* 'For carriage of the blue cloth to and fro, 6d; for 5 links at night to set the standing, 20d; to the carman for carrying the standing to and fro, 3s4d; to the carpenters to make them drink, 12d; to a porter to load and unload the carts, 6d; for candles, 4d'.

*Grocers:* 'Received of John Cheney for a fine for refusing to attend of her Majesty when she came to Paul's as a whiffler being thereunto commanded, 12d'.

*Ironmongers:* 'For a dozen of staff-torches, 11s; to Richard Oliver, whiffler, and for burnt wine and cakes for the Company in Fleet Street, 3s8d; for watching our standing, white staves, links, cord, carriage and re-carriage of our timber, and for other attendance and work done, 35s10d'.

*Lincoln's Inn paid £3.11s for one quarter of the charges for the rails and cloth for the stand for the gentlemen of the four Inns of Court.*

*St Ethelburga Bishopsgate: 'To ringers when the Queen came to London, 8d'. [For Armada portraits, coins, jewel, medal, tapestries, see end 1588].*

*Nov 24: Henry Lyte presented to the Queen: 'The Light of Britain. A Record of the honourable Original and Antiquity of Britain'. Dedicated to the Queen: 'Most dread Sovereign Lady Elizabeth, by the grace of God: the Phoenix of the world, the Angel of England...the chaste Diana...the chaste Maiden Atalanta, a figure (as I take it) of your Majesty, that hath wounded the wild Boar'...*

*'I doubt not but our Meleager (even Jesus Christ the righteous) when he hath cut off the head of that monstrous wild Boar, shall at last take you to his spouse, and increase your joy with an eternal diadem, and crown of glory'...*

*'My dear and dread Sovereign, whom this day I do behold and see...come to the Church and house of God amongst his Saints in the congregation, to give all the honour and glory unto God...To you I am come with this small offering'. (20p).*

*Henry Lyte had dedicated a Herbal to the Queen, New Year 1578.*

*Nov 25: Stationers entered: 'A joyful song or sonnet of the royal receiving of the Queen's Majesty into the city of London on Sunday the 24th of November 1588 all along Fleet Street to the Cathedral church of Saint Paul'.*

*Nov 26: Stationers entered: 'An excellent ditty of the Queen's coming to Paul's Cross the 24th day of November 1588'.*

*Nov 26: christening. Queen was godmother to 'Lord Rich's daughter'.<sup>T</sup> Parents: Robert 3rd Lord Rich, of Leez Priory, Little Leighs, Essex; wife: Penelope (Devereux), sister of Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex.*

*Anthony Wingfield made ready at Lord Rich's house in Essex.<sup>T</sup> Queen's gift, November 26: one bowl with a cover of silver gilt.<sup>NYG</sup>*

*3rd daughter: Mary Rich, whose elder sisters were Lettice and Essex.*

*Henry Constable published in 1592 a series of sonnets entitled Diana. One sonnet is 'A calculation of the nativity of the Lady Rich's daughter born upon Friday in the year 1588, commonly called the year of wonder'.*

*Another sonnet laments the child's 'untimely death'.*

*Nov 27: Stationers entered: A ballad entitled 'The joyful triumphs performed by divers Christian princes beyond the seas for the happiness of England and the overthrow of the Spanish Navy, showing also the Jousting at Westminster on the Coronation Day in the 31st year of her Majesty's reign'.*

*Court news. [Nov 28, London, Antonio de Vega]: 'An ambassador [Jacob Rostrup] has arrived here from Denmark to confirm the alliance'...*

*'Every year on the 17th November the Queen celebrates the feast of her Coronation; and this year on the 19th, which is St Elizabeth's Day, she determined to hold another festival, in celebration of the recent events. There was a great public procession, jousts, and great bonfires all over the city. The Queen decided to go in state to St Paul's, and invited the French ambassador [Châteauneuf]. But he excused himself by saying that he had no orders from his King to be present at any rejoicings in celebration of her success over the King of Spain'.*

*'There was much wrangling about this; and at last she said she was going to give thanks to God for allowing her to reign 30 years, and to beg Him to allow her to reign for the rest of her life in peace, and it was to this ceremony that she had invited him. He therefore accepted the invitation, on condition that the festival was extended for another day, so that the visit to St Paul's should not take place on the same day as the jousts, bonfires, etc. It was therefore postponed until Sunday the 24th'. [Span.iv.494].*

*Note: Antonio de Vega's reference to jousts on St Elizabeth's Day is misleading: there is no evidence for any Tilt on the Day of Thanksgiving; the first known Tilt on November 19 was in 1590, on a special occasion, after Sir Henry Lee's resignation on Accession Day, November 17.*

Nov 29, Fri **GREENWICH PALACE.**<sup>c</sup>

Lambeth Church: 'For ringing when the Queen went from Somerset House to Greenwich, 12d'.

Court news. [Nov 29, London] Philip Gawdy to his 'good brother':  
 'Upon Sunday last the Queen was at Paul's, very honourably waited upon, you may imagine there wanted no company'...  
 'The Queen removeth as this day to Greenwich'.<sup>gy</sup>

Nov 30 (suggested date): see 'Miscellaneous': 'Show at Greenwich Park'.

*November: The second Marprelate Tract was secretly printed. This continues the answer to Dr John Bridges, begun in the first Tract. Known by its short title as: The Epitome. 'By the reverend and worthy Martin Marprelate gentleman, and dedicated by a second Epistle to the Terrible Priests'. 'Printed on the other hand of some of the Priests'. The Epistle claims: 'I am favoured of all estates (the Puritans only excepted). I have been entertained at the Court; every man talks of my Worship. Many would gladly receive my books, if they could tell where to find them'... 'I say, John Canterbury and all ought to be out of his place. Every Archbishop is a petty Pope, so is every Lord Bishop...The Puritans are angry with me; I mean the Puritan preachers. And why?...because I jest...What! will the Puritans seek to keep out the Pope of Rome, and maintain the Pope at Lambeth?'... 'Bishops, I would I could make this year 1588 to be the wonderful year, by removing you all out of England'...*

*'Either from Country or Court*

*Master Martin Marprelate will do you hurt'.*

*This Tract was printed at Fawsley House, Northants, owned by Sir Richard Knightley (to whose son the Queen was godmother on September 25).*

*The Bishops and Privy Council made great efforts to find the Marprelate press and printer. Thomas Cooper, Bishop of Winchester, published an answer: Admonition to the People of England (1589).*

*This led to a third Tract: Hay any work for Cooper.*

*'Printed in Europe not far from some of the Bouncing Priests'.*

*Secretly printed at Whitefriars, Coventry, March 1589.*

*A Proclamation ordered destruction of the Tracts: see 13 Feb 1589.*

Dec 3: Queen's gift: To Mr Jacob Rostrup of Jutland sent from the King of Denmark, part of a chain of gold.<sup>NYG</sup>

Dec 5, Thur dinner aboard Thomas Cavendish's ship, *The Desire*.

Anon newsletter, Dec 7: On the 5th 'the captain who recently came from Peru gave a banquet to the Queen in his ship, where she boasted more than I could repeat. The sails were all of damask, and the sailors were dressed in the same. The cabin where the Queen dined was hung with cloth of gold and silver, and the flags were marvellously rich'. [Span.iv.493].

Gift by Mr Cavendish [1588]: 'One cup fashioned like a scallop', of agate garnished with gold, set with pearls, diamonds, and rubies; 'the cover having in the top thereof two antique horses of agate'. [Jewels, 1585].

Probably from Thomas Cavendish.

Dec 9: Stationers entered 'Master Doctor Fulke's Answer against the Rhemish Testament'. [Translated by English Catholics at Rheims, 1582].

William Fulke, Doctor of Divinity, dedicated to the Queen:

'The Text of the New Testament of Jesus Christ, translated out of the vulgar Latin by the Papists of the traitorous Seminary at Rheims. With arguments of Books, Chapters, and Annotations, pretending to discover the corruptions of divers translations, and to clear the controversies of these days'.

'Whereunto is added the Translation out of the original Greek, commonly used in the Church of England, with A Confutation of all such Arguments, Glosses, and Annotations, as contain manifest impiety, of heresy, treason, and slander, against the Catholic Church of God, and the true teachers thereof, or the Translations used in the Church of England. Both by authority of the holy Scriptures, and by the testimony of the ancient fathers'.

Dr Fulke's Epistle Dedicatory: 'To the most high and mighty' Queen.

'At such time as I published a defence of our English translations of the holy Scriptures against the malicious cavils of Gregory Martin, and was bold to offer the same unto your Majesty's most honourable protection [in 1583]...I thought myself discharged in duty from any further dealing against these Rhemish glosses ...But so many years having passed, and the expectation of many godly men not yet being satisfied with a full and general answer...I have attempted to set forth by myself that which I have long looked for, and much rather desired to be performed by others'.

In their translations and notes 'they have declared their special malice against your Majesty's most lawful and godly government'. They have sent over Jesuits and Seminary Priests 'to prepare a way to those most detestable practices that...by secret conspiracies have been attempted against your Majesty's most sacred life (which by the miraculous providence of Almighty God hath hitherto been preserved); and lately by open and invincible force (as they boasted) hath been assayed, against the life and liberty, not only of your most excellent Majesty, but also of all your faithful subjects, and to the utter subversion of the happy estate of our most dear country forever'.

But 'Jesus Christ our Lord...hath mightily and miraculously defended your Majesty and his Church'. 'The God of heaven...bless this Autumn of your Majesty's age, with most excellent fruits of godly, prosperous, and victorious government, that his glory may be advanced above all things, and your honour endure unto all posterity. Amen'. With a Preface to the Reader (38p).

Text: 496p, and 'A Table of Controversies'. Printed by the Queen's Printer. (London, 1589). Dr Fulke (c.1536-1589), Master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, published answers to 21 Catholic writers.

Dec 13 (o.s.), in France: Henri Duke of Guise was murdered.

Dec 14 (o.s): Cardinal of Guise was murdered; both by orders of Henri III.

Dec 16: anon newsletter: The King of Spain makes a Parliament and demands 5,000,000 of gold and 50,000 men, to have his revenge upon England.

He will probably come earlier than this year, because he will bring galleys to land men, probably in the West country...

Probably the King 'will maintain his wars against France by Flanders and Savoy, and so by this means he thinks to embrace all Christendom. And I think that his ambition will never cease till he be possessed of a piece of ground seven foot long'. [SPF.xxii.382].

Dec 17, Greenwich, Thomas Windebank (Clerk of the Signet) to Sir Francis Walsingham: 'This night at 6 o'clock...I procured her Majesty to dispatch the letter to the Count de Newenar...At my first presenting of this letter her Majesty stopped me from speaking of any other bills, for she complained of want of sleep, and unquietness, whereof I said I was sorry and therefore would not trouble her Majesty, although I had sundry things committed to me by your Honour for dispatch of poor suitors, her Majesty's own servants and others, with much else I hoped her Majesty would sign before Christmas. Whereunto her Majesty answered "God forbid else!". But I replied that I feared she could not sign them by reason of her sudden remove. Then she said that my Lord Chancellor and my Lord Admiral could not abide in their chambers for ill airs, which her Majesty said came through the sinks'.

'I did of purpose cast out these words of her remove, to sound whether her Majesty continued her purpose therein'.

Dec 19, court, John Wolley (Latin Secretary) to Walsingham:

'Her Majesty even now hath taken order to depart hence toward Richmond upon Saturday next, meaning to rest by the way at Mr Clerke's'.

'The disorder happened by my Lord of Essex troubleth her Majesty...There hath been a challenge sent by my Lord of Essex to Sir Walter Raleigh, which is sought by the Council here to be repressed and to be buried in silence that it may not be known to her Majesty'. [SP12/219/31,33].

The Queen stayed two nights at Lambeth, instead of resting 'by the way at Mr Clerke's', Dr Bartholomew Clerke's house at Clapham, Surrey.

Dec 19, in Russia: Dr Giles Fletcher, special Ambassador, had audience of Emperor Feodor. He reported to the Queen: 'When I arrived at the Moscow, I found a league in hand betwixt the Emperor and the King of Spain, about an opposition against the Turk...This treaty of league with the Spaniard was a cause of more sad countenance towards me at my first arrival'.

'But after your Highness's victory against the King of Spain was well known there (which I understood by letters sent me by Sir Francis Drake, which I caused to be translated into the Russ tongue together with your Highness's oration made to the army in Essex), all this conceit of a Spanish league vanished away'. [E.A.Bond, ed. *Russia at the Close of the Sixteenth Century* (1856) 346-347].

*December 21: The Queen left Greenwich.*

*Stephen Fulwell and Nicholas Pigeon, Jewel-house Officers, with two men for two days, 'giving their attendance on her Majesty's jewels and plate being left behind at Greenwich after her Majesty's remove and for the safe conveying thereof to the court at Richmond...and for the hire of three carts carrying the said stuff from Greenwich to Richmond', 40s.<sup>T</sup>*

Dec 21, Sat **LAMBETH PALACE**, Surrey; Archbishop of Canterbury.<sup>T</sup>

John Whitgift. Part of the royal household remained at Greenwich.<sup>C</sup>

Lambeth Church: 'For ringing when the Queen came from Greenwich to Lambeth the 21st of December, 3s; for candle the same time, 1d'.

Whitgift's gift to the Queen, late 1588: 'One cup of gold with a cover with an angel in the top thereof'. [Jewels, 1579].

Dec 22, Sun sermon, Lambeth Palace: Dr Tobias Matthew, Dean of Durham.

Dec 23, Mon **RICHMOND PALACE**, Surrey.<sup>c</sup>

Anon newsletter [2 Jan 1589]: 'The Queen went from Greenwich to Richmond two days before Christmas to pacify a quarrel between her two favourites, the Earl of Essex and Raleigh. Drake was at court'. [Span.iv.504].

A portrait of Sir Walter Raleigh, 1588, depicts him in the Queen's colours of black and white. National Portrait Gallery, London.

Reproduced in *Elizabeth I & her People*, ed. Tarnya Cooper, 92-93.

By December 24: *William Harborne* returned to London from Turkey.

*Mendoza*, in Paris, had London news [of December 24] 'that the Hamburg fleet had arrived, and with it the Queen's Ambassador in Constantinople'. [Span.iv.505].

*Harborne*, Ambassador to Turkey 1582-1588, left Constantinople on August 3, with a suite of 30, and returned via Thrace, Romania, Wallachia, Moldavia, Poland and the Hanse Towns, including Danzig and Hamburg. 'In all these places they presented me sundry sorts of their best wine and fresh fish, every of them with a long discourse, congratulating in the names of their whole Senate her Majesty's victory over the Spaniard, and my safe return, concluding with offer of their ready service to her future disposing'. [Hakluyt, iii.368-9].

*Harborne* brought a letter from Murad III, Sultan of Turkey, July 28, Constantinople, addressed to 'most shining Elizabeth, Queen of England and Prince of the magnanimous followers of Jesus', wishing that she 'as a friend to our friends and enemy to our enemies persevere in true friendship'.

[HT.xiii.378-80: Latin].

Dec 25, Wed, Christmas Day sermon, Richmond: Dr Tobias Matthew.

Text: Isaiah 9:6-7, beginning: 'For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given, and the government shall be upon his shoulder; and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, The mighty God, The everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace'.

Christmas 1588-Shrovetide 1589: at Richmond and Whitehall there were presented before the Queen seven plays 'besides sundry feats of activity and tumbling and matachins [sword-dancers]'. Revels bought gloves for tumblers, and 'a pair of flannel hose for Symons the tumbler'. [Revels, 388,390].

At Richmond: Preparations for plays, and New Year, by the Office of Works. 'Framing posts and rails for plays, setting up degrees in the Great Chamber, nailing one bracket and boards for the people to sit on, making new halpace there for the Queen's Majesty's use, and a new stage of 14 foot square for the players to play on, and halpaces for the lords and ladies to sit on, and three other halpaces for the people to stand on, and after the plays ended for taking down and removing the provisions, making a new table and trestles to set the Queen's banquet on'.

Dec 26 (o.s.), in *France*: Catherine de Medici, the Queen Mother, died of illness, at Blois.

She was widow of King Henri II, and mother of King François II, and of King Charles IX, and of King Henri III, the reigning King of France.

Dec 26, Thur play, by the Queen's Men.

Dec 27, Fri play, by the Children of Paul's.

Dec 29, Sun play, by Admiral's Men.<sup>T</sup>



Dec 30, Lord Burghley to Sir Francis Walsingham, from my house in the Savoy:  
 'I send you, translated out of the Spanish, lies which I have termed a Pack  
 of Spanish Lies...with the discovery of the same pack in English. I mean to  
 have the same printed in Spanish'. [SP12/219/46].

'A Pack of Spanish Lies sent abroad in the world, first printed in the Spanish  
 tongue, and translated out of the original. Now ripped up, unfolded and by just  
 examination condemned, as containing false, corrupt and detestable wares worthy  
 to be damned and burned'. Anon. Written by or for Burghley. (1589).

Dec 31: William Tedder and Anthony Tyrrell, former Catholic priests who  
 had recently recanted at Paul's Cross, dedicated to the Queen:

'The Recantations as they were severally pronounced by William Tedder and  
 Anthony Tyrrell (sometime two Seminary Priests of the English College in Rome,  
 and now by the great mercy of Almighty God converted unto the profession of  
 the Gospel of Jesus Christ) at Paul's Cross'. (50p).

Epistle Dedicatory: 'To the most noble, virtuous and gracious' Queen.  
 'Your Majesty's two late converted Subjects (from Papistry, unto the profession  
 of the Gospel of Jesus Christ) William Tedder and Anthony Tyrrell, wish long  
 health and a most prosperous reign, and finally the eternal health of body and  
 soul with Jesus Christ in the world to come'...

'How miserably we have been tossed on the surges of schisms and divisions,  
 how sore we have been overwhelmed with the waves of heresies, and overflown  
 with the floods of Idolatry and superstition, how unnaturally we have been  
 carried away from our dutiful allegiance, and how miraculously we have been  
 brought home again, your Majesty in viewing this short discourse that followeth  
 in part may understand...It hath pleased God to convert us unto his truth, and  
 your Highness to pardon our offences and treacheries past'...

'We have presumed to present your Majesty (as a New Year's gift) the first  
 fruits of our repentance...Your Highness's most humble and daily Orators'.

Tyrrell's Preface 'To the Christian Reader', is dated 31 December 1588.

December: Queen at Privy Council meeting, described by Gabriel Goodman (1583-  
 1656), son of the Dean of Westminster, and himself later Bishop of Gloucester:

'In the year '88, I did then live at the upper end of the Strand near St  
 Clement's Church, when suddenly there came a report unto us (it was in December,  
 much about five of the clock at night, very dark), that the Queen was gone to  
 Council, and if you will see the Queen you must come quickly. Then we all ran;  
 when the Court gates were set open, and no man did hinder us from coming in.  
 There we came where there was a far greater company than was usually at Lenten  
 Sermons; and when we had stayed there an hour and that the yard was full, there  
 being a number of torches, the Queen came out in great state'.

'Then we cried "God save your Majesty! God save your Majesty!"  
 Then the Queen turned unto us and said "God bless you all, my good people!"  
 Then we cried again "God save your Majesty! God save your Majesty!"

'Then the Queen said again unto us "You may well have a greater prince, but  
 you shall never have a more loving prince;" and so looking one upon another  
 awhile the Queen departed. This wrought such an impression upon us, for shows  
 and pageants are ever best seen by torch-light, that all the way long we did  
 nothing but talk what an admirable Queen she was, and how we would adventure  
 our lives to do her service'. [Goodman, i.163]. Note: All recorded December  
 1588 Council meetings were at Greenwich or Richmond.

Two 'Songs' by the Queen: in December the Stationers entered a book by John Rhodes entitled *The Country Man's Comfort*. The 1588 edition is not extant, but in 1637 was published '*The Country Man's Comfort, or Religious Recreations, fit for all well disposed persons. Which was printed in the year of our Lord 1588, and since corrected, amended, and enlarged by the same author, I.R.*'

This includes: 'Two most excellent songs or Ditties, made by Queen Elizabeth, as it is credibly reported (and as it is very likely by some words in it) in the year 1588. When the Spaniard came to possess this land and is in manner of a prayer to God'.

'Deliver me O Lord my God, from all my foes that be:  
And eke [also] defend all Christian souls that put their trust in thee.  
Preserve us now and evermore from all the wicked train,  
Who long and thirst for Christians' blood and never will refrain.

Mine enemies O Lord be strong, and thou the same dost know,  
And that without offence in me, they seek mine overthrow.  
My hope and help in all distress hath ever been in thee:  
And thou, O Lord, of thy goodness, didst still deliver me.  
Come now and end this strife likewise, the cause is wholly thine:  
Wherefore to thee myself and suit, I wholly do resign'.

John Rhodes also includes: 'The other song of Queen Elizabeth made in manner of a thanksgiving to God for her and our deliverance from the invincible Navy of the Spaniard (as he termed it) which thanks and praise was performed at Saint Paul's cross in London'.

'Look and bow down thine ear O Lord,  
From thy bright sphere behold and see  
Thy handmaid and thy handiwork,  
Among thy Priests offering to thee.  
Echoes resounding up the skies,  
Myself and sceptre sacrifice.

My soul ascend his holy place,  
Ascribe him strength and sing him praise,  
For he restraineth Princes' spirits,  
And hath wrought wonders in our days.  
He made the winds and waters rise,  
And did destroy mine enemies.

This Jacob's head, this Israel's God,  
The fiery pillar and the cloud  
Which kept the Saints from Pharaoh's rod,  
And drenched the honour of the proud,  
He hath preserved now in love,  
The soul of me his turtle dove'.

The second 'Song', with differences in the wording, is also found entitled: 'A song made by her Majesty and sung before her at her coming from Whitehall to Paul's through Fleet Street in Anno Dmi 1588. Sung in December after the scattering of the Spanish Navy'. [Steven W. May, ed. *Queen Elizabeth I. Selected Works* (New York, 2004), 22-23]. The Thanksgiving service was on November 24.

1588: Theodore Beza dedicated verses: Ad Serenissimam Elizabetham Angliae Reginam. On the Defeat of the Armada. Latin, English, Dutch, Spanish, Hebrew, Greek, Italian, French. Described as an Epigram.

The English version, 24 lines, including:

'The Spanish Fleet did float in narrow Seas,  
And bend her ships against the English shore,  
With so great rage as nothing could appease,  
And with such strength as never seen before,  
And all to join the kingdom of that land,  
Unto the kingdoms that he had in hand...  
And now, O Queen above all others blest,  
For whom both winds and waves are prest to fight,  
So rule your own, so succour friends oppressed,  
(As far from pride, as ready to do right)

That England you, you England long enjoy,  
No less your friends' delight, than foes annoy'.  
[Printed in the form of a broadside. London, 1588].

Dr Beza (1519-1605), dedicated several theological works to the Queen.

1588: Timothy Bright, Doctor of Physic, who in July 1588 had received licence for printing and publishing his Charactery (shorthand), dedicated to the Queen: 'Characterie. An Art of short, swift, and secret writing by Character'.

'To the most high and mighty' Queen.

'Cicero did account it worthy his labour, and no less profitable to the Roman common weal...to invent a speedy kind of writing by Character...Upon consideration of the great use of such a kind of writing, I have invented the like: of few Characters, short, and easy, every Character answering a word... The uses are divers: Short...Secret, as no kind of writing like'...

'This my invention I am emboldened to dedicate unto your Majesty, in that among other your Princely virtues your Majesty is wont to approve of every good and profitable invention of learning; and...from whom I have received assurance of the fruit of my studies, by your Majesty's most gracious privilege'...

'To this new sprung imp, and to me the parent thereof, nothing can be more comfortable than your Majesty's gracious acceptation, by whom all the land flourisheth, and is at the very heart cheered'. 256p. (London, 1588).

Bright's invention involved memorising characters or symbols for 537 words, and a system for representing words which had no separate symbol. Some sermons which had been taken down in Charactery were printed, and Jane Segar presented the Queen with a short book partly written in it. (See 1589, end).

1588: N.Eleutherius [pseudonym] addressed to the Queen: Triumphalia de Victoriis Elizabethae. Latin prose description of the naval battles fought by Lord Admiral Howard and Sir Francis Drake.

With verses, including an Ode to two Counts Palatine of the Rhine, and verses to King Philip of Spain. 64p. (1589).

1588: Giorgio Rizza Casa dedicated to the Queen: *La fisionomia*.  
Italian treatise on physiognomy.

With a licence from the Inquisition, procured with difficulty.

Dedication, in Italian, to Elizabeth, Queen of England.

His veneration for this wonderful Queen and her heroic virtues is as great as that felt by any of her fortunate subjects. When the King of Spain sought to make himself tyrant of the whole world his great Armada was defeated by her and her subjects, and he hopes to see in the future that the poor afflicted peoples will be delivered, through her most glorious aid, from tyranny, as Judith delivered the people of Israel. So there may one day be an end to fear, to fire and sword, prison, chains, and death. He prays God for the success of the Queen's undertakings.

In two parts, dealing with the outward signs of different types of human character, and the signs from each part of the body. (Carmagnola, 1588).

[Described by Frances Yates, Astraea (1975), 118-119].

1588: John Tolmer [pseudonym] dedicated to the Queen:

*Naumachiae, seu navalia praelia*. In Latin verse, with dedication in verse.

A detailed description of the naval battles between the English and Spanish fleets in the summer of 1588. The Queen is compared to each of the Nine Muses. With a foldout page showing the fleets at sea near Dover. 76p. (Naples, 1588).

A comprehensive and extensively illustrated account of Armada year is the Catalogue of the Four Hundredth Anniversary Exhibition at Greenwich, 1988:

*Armada*, ed. M.J.Rodriguez-Salgado and the staff of the National Maritime Museum (1988).

The 'Armada Portrait' of the Queen depicts in the background fire-ships advancing on the Spanish fleet, and wrecked Spanish ships.

Three versions exist, one in the National Portrait Gallery, London.

One version is reproduced in *Dynasties*, ed. Karen Hearn; also a general view of the Armada, including the Queen at Tilbury on a white horse. (p.88-89).

Armada coins particularly commemorated the fire-ships. Coins 'were stamped, some in memory thereof with a fleet flying with full sails, and this inscription 'Venit, Vidit, Fugit', that is 'It came, it saw, it fled'; others in honour of the Queen, with incendiary ships and a fleet confused, and inscribed 'Dux femina facti', that is 'A woman was leader of the deed'. [Camden, *Annals*].

The 'Armada Jewel' or 'Heneage Jewel', a locket with a miniature of the Queen by Nicholas Hilliard, was allegedly given to Sir Thomas Heneage (a favourite).

The 'Danger Averted' Medal has on the reverse a bay-tree (supposedly immune from lightning strikes) on an island; in the distance lightning destroys a ship.

Both jewel and medal are reproduced in *Elizabeth*, ed. Susan Doran, with another version of the 'Armada Portrait'. (p.230-232,238-240).

Lord Admiral Howard commissioned Brussels tapestries depicting the course of the Armada campaign, known now from engravings by John Pine. [*Armada*, 248-251].