

At **WINDSOR CASTLE**, Berks.

Jan 1, Sat New Year gifts.

Among 146 gifts to the Queen:

by Sir Gilbert Dethick, Garter King of Arms: 'One Book of the Arms of the Garter, covered with black velvet and edged with passamain of silver';

by Sir John Mason, Treasurer of the Chamber:

'In a purse of crimson silk and gold £8, and a book in Greek';

by Lady Gresham: 'A horse. In the Stable';

by Edmund Guest, Bishop of Rochester, Queen's Almoner:

'In a purse of black silk in dimy sovereigns £13.7s, and a Book of the Exposition of the New Testament in Latin';

by Levina, Teerlinc: 'A certain Journey of the Queen's Majesty and the Train finely wrought upon a card';

by Thomas Heneage: 'A ring of gold made like a yoke set full of sparks of diamonds with this word in it Iugum necessitatis' [motto: yoke of necessity];

by Petruccio Ubaldini, Florentine: 'A Book containing the Ceremonies of the Coronation of the Emperors'.^{NYG}

Jan 1, court: Petruccio Ubaldini dedicated to the Queen two sonnets. Italian, with dedication in Italian. [BL Royal MS 14 A.VIII].

Jan 1, Paris, Sir Thomas Smith (Ambassador) to the Queen, sending two books, one in rhyme, containing an argument of the greatness and power of God; the other an Epistle sent from the Pope's man to a Queen. [SPF.vii.1].

New Year: Duchess of Parma's envoy in England.

Jacques de la Torre, Secretary of the Council of the Duchess of Parma, Regent of the Low Countries, came on behalf of King Philip II of Spain and the Duchess, to treat of commercial differences between England and the Low Countries, as the King was imposing duties on English merchandise.

The Secretary's dispatches, and Report to the Duchess, in French, are printed by Kervyn de Lettenhove, iii. Given here in English versions. [KL].

Court news. New Year's Day, De la Torre to the Duchess of Parma, from Langley [Berkshire]: 'I arrived at this place (the lodging of old Ambassador De Quadra, a good Flanders league from court) very early yesterday morning, and sent one of my people to court to inform Secretary Cecil of my arrival and to pray him to arrange some lodging for me by a Harbinger, and to learn when it would please her Majesty to give me audience...hoping that she would grant me it in the afternoon. The Secretary sent back my man, charging him to return this morning for a reply'.

'And now, having returned, he tells me that today there is a great feast at court and a solemn day on which all the governors of the kingdom are accustomed to renew their oath to her Majesty, so that she cannot give me audience today but will do so tomorrow afternoon. So tomorrow at midday I will ride over to Windsor'. [KL.iii.589]. Nothing is heard elsewhere of any renewal of oaths at New Year.

Jan 2, Sun Duchess's envoy at Windsor for first audience. (See Jan 8).

Jan 2: *Complaints from the Provost of Eton College about the French hostages, who were at Eton to avoid the plague in London.*

'Information of the disorders of Frenchmen since their coming to Eton College', including:

'Sebastian the butler, about Michaelmas last, attempted to enforce a young woman that brought them victuals from the country; a lewd woman, taken in a barn, confessed that she came thither by one of the Frenchmen's appointment; they attempted to corrupt two of the Ushers' scholars to bring unto them evil women; their kitchen being under the Ushers' chamber, they have thrust up spits in places where the boards be not closely joined, and also discharged their dags upon other places of the boards; they have and do daily kill pheasants, heron-shaws, mallards, teals and doves with their hand-guns; the Provost lent them beds etc. at their first coming which they now refuse to return'. [SPF.vii.1-2].

Jan 6, Thur Epiphany service, Windsor.
Queen's Apothecary charged 6s8d for silks and myrrh 'for the offering on Twelfth Day'. [For further purchases from the Apothecary see end June].

Jan 8, Windsor Castle, De la Torre to the Duchess of Parma:

'Last Sunday at two o'clock the Queen was pleased to give me a very kind audience, with great gentleness...When I took leave of her the Marquis of Northampton, Admiral Clinton and Secretary Cecil came to bid me welcome'.

Lord Robert Dudley invited me to dinner on Tuesday [Jan 4], with his brother the Earl of Warwick and several Councillors 'to whom I declared the cause of my coming'...

'Last Wednesday, Twelfth Night, I dined with the Council...where Secretary Cecil...declared to me that nothing was dearer in the world to the Queen than to live in amity with his Majesty [King Philip]'...

'This afternoon I was summoned to the Council'. We discussed where to hold a conference on commercial affairs. [KL.iii.593,595].

Jan 10, at Norwich: *death. Duchess of Norfolk, a few weeks after childbirth. She was Margaret (Audley), second wife of Thomas Howard, 4th Duke of Norfolk. Burial: Framlingham Church, Suffolk.*

Funeral: Jan 24, Norwich Cathedral. Chief Mourner: Countess of Surrey.

John Parkhurst (Bishop of Norwich) to Josiah Simler, Feb 17, Ludham:

'I preached her funeral sermon. There were no ceremonies at the funeral, wax candles, or torches. Except the sun nothing shone, which sadly annoyed the Papists. Nothing of the kind has been ever seen in England, especially at the funeral of a peer or peeress'. [Zurich, 190].

The Duke married (3) Lady Dacre, in 1567.

At Framlingham Church there are effigies of the Duke's first and second wives, with a vacant space between them for the Duke. He was executed for high treason in 1572 at the Tower of London and was buried there. At Framlingham Church are also the monuments of his grandfather the 3rd Duke (died 1554), and his father Henry Howard Earl of Surrey, a poet (executed 1547), with his wife (died 1577).

Hans Eworth painted the Duke in 1563, and his second wife in 1562. Portraits reproduced in Elizabeth I & her People, ed. Tarnya Cooper, 80-82.

Jan 13, Thur Duchess of Parma's envoy at Windsor to take leave.

De la Torre's passport, January 13, allowed him to export three hackneys. He was at Dunkirk by January 23. As plague continued in England, on January 27 the Duchess of Parma extended until Easter her ban on importing cloth and wool from England. She asked for a conference to be held at Bruges. [KL.iii.633].

January 15: *Duke of Wurttemberg's envoy* arrived at Windsor.

Ahasverus Allinga, a Frisian, was sent by Duke Christopher of Wurttemberg, to attempt to resume negotiations for the Queen to marry Emperor Ferdinand's son Archduke Charles of Austria. Neither the Emperor nor Archduke Charles knew beforehand of Allinga's mission, which was conducted with some secrecy.

Allinga's report to the Duke from London, Jan 30, from which details of his embassy are taken, is translated from Latin and French by Victor von Klarwill, ed. *Queen Elizabeth and some Foreigners* (1928), 180-199. Shown below as ^K.

Jan 15: 'On my arrival at Windsor...Commissary Herle, who is a master of the Latin and French and German languages, received me most heartily, procured me quarters and promised that I should have admittance as soon as possible'.

Jan 16: 'I was summoned to Cecil, and told him that my master was a follower of the true faith, and that he wished to send him, as a fellow-believer, some books as a token of his esteem'...

'He wished me joy on my arrival and declared that my embassy...was very welcome to him, as the choicest men in the country...desired that there should be an heir to the realm, for the sake of universal peace, of religion, of all Christendom'.

Cecil had repeatedly advised his Sovereign to marry 'but had never been able to induce her to come to a decision...Till now the greatest hindrance had been that the Emperor had refused to send his son hither'. I said that a marriage 'with Charles of Austria would, by virtue of his dowry, family, character and talents, be much more advantageous than one with anyone else'...

'Cecil advised me to set to work cautiously, to procure assent in all quarters, and then to work upon the Queen and, so to speak, lure her on, although she displayed reluctance. I here said that I wished to speak at first only of marriage in general, but that when I came to talk of a possibility of a marriage with Charles, I should omit nothing that might serve to promote the marriage'.

Cecil went to announce my arrival to the Queen, saying I should be received after dinner, but the Queen deferred the audience until next day.^K

Jan 17, Mon *Duke of Wurttemberg's envoy* at Windsor to meet the Queen. Allinga's report to the Duke: Sir William Cecil 'again requested me to proceed cautiously, as she had dedicated herself to celibacy'...

'Towards 3 o'clock I was conducted into the courtyard, and then up some secret stairs into a hidden chamber, where I met her. She entered with Cecil and two Maids of Honour, greeted me and held out her hand, which I, as prescribed by the customs of the country, kissed. I then delivered to her your Highness's letter. On reading it she learned that some books had been sent her. I kissed each of these books singly and gave them to her. She took them, read the superscriptions, and at the title *De Missa* she said "O venerable name for the Mass".

[Allinga then began a long speech in Latin]. I explained that the Duke had sent books 'refuting the superstitious abuse of the Mass'.

I said 'Your Majesty is on many sides beset by Papacy', and 'is no less a champion of true religion than the pious mother of her realm and territories beloved by all'. 'If you die without heirs...your realm will so to speak be motherless, and this prosperous kingdom and its loyal subjects will by reason of their creed be exposed to dire evils...Your Majesty can avert all these ills and dangers...by marrying with the assent of your nobility...Marriage can bring your Majesty and your realm nothing but advantage, weal and blessing; whereas celibacy involves the fall, desolation and ruin of all things...My master has through this embassy ventured to exhort your Majesty to marry'...

'When I in the course of my speech called marriage a desirable evil, she laughingly asked "Desirable?". But when I had finished, she said that she admitted my reasonings' but 'would never be induced by any appeals to reason, but only by stern necessity...In years gone by she had been desired in marriage by many, and although she had refused and determined to have nothing to do with wedlock, and had not yet had the leisure to think of marrying, she had been obliged to modify her view somewhat'.

She listed her previous suitors, and discussed at some length how negotiations with the Emperor for Archduke Charles had been broken off (in 1559-1560).

She had 'vowed to marry no one whom she had not seen...She knew how disastrous it had been for her sister Mary that she had not seen Philip before the marriage was concluded'.

She 'made excuses for her faulty Latin, saying that she was unaccustomed to use it, but she had also employed that tongue when speaking to the Count von Helfenstein [who came on two embassies in 1559]. "He", said she "exceeded the bounds of truth when he so highly praised my accomplishments...Your phrasing is so felicitous, Your Majesty, that it can never be extolled too much" said I'.

The discussion turned to the advantages of a marriage to Archduke Charles. I said 'It is certain that a marriage with any other foreign prince would not offer so many advantages'. "But the magnates of my realm desire me to marry an English nobleman; but this irks me and I shall never make one of my subjects my husband". After further discussion the Queen said "I am about to depart for six days, in order to attend an assembly of the nobles...and during this time I will send you to a Bishop with whom you could treat. When this assembly is dissolved I will call you back, and thereby our business will remain a secret'.^K

There was a Convocation of Bishops in London. Allinga spent a week with Edmund Grindal, Bishop of London. The Queen apparently remained at Windsor.

Jan 18, Hamburg, Duke Otto of Brunswick to the Queen, sending Andreas Saur to her. I have long intended to come into England, and will do so next Spring, if you approve of it. [SPF.vii.21]. The Duke is not known to have come.

Court news. Jan 20: Allinga, Wurttemberg envoy, was told by Sir William Cecil: 'Although the magnates of the realm at one time thought that they would have to force the Queen to marry one of themselves, they have now changed their opinion and would prefer that she marry a foreigner, fearing that the *novus homo* [new man] who rose to kingship from their midst would favour his own family and oppress the others'.^K

Jan 21, Edinburgh, Thomas Randolph (Agent in Scotland) to the Queen:

The Cardinal of Lorraine (uncle of Mary Queen of Scots) has written to the Queen of Scots that her honour shall not be advanced 'by marrying of any so base as either my Lord Robert or Earl of Warwick, of which two your Majesty is determined to take the one and to give her the other'.

The Cardinal has heard of a 'token' lately sent 'unto her from your Majesty with pearls and many rich jewels, to move her mind that way'.

The Queen Mother (Catherine de Medici) has written to the Queen of Scots 'that she wished herself...to be at the interview this next summer'.

[Scot.ii.37].

Jan 21, Fulham, Bishop of London (Grindal) to Sir William Cecil, of new prayers: 'I have committed the prayers to the printer, and hope to proceed at London to the publication thereof on Wednesday next [January 26].

The thanksgiving for the Queen's Majesty's preservation I have inserted into the Collect'.

Jan 22: Queen's printers, John Cawood and Richard Jugge, printed 'A Short Form of Thanksgiving to God for ceasing the contagious sickness of the plague, to be used in common prayer on Sundays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, instead of the common prayers used in the time of mortality'.

Set forth by the Bishop of London. The Collect gives thanks that God has been pleased 'not only heretofore to deliver our most gracious Queen and Governor from all perils and dangers, yea, even from the gates of death; but now also to preserve her from this late most dangerous contagion and infection'.

[Grindal, Remains, 115-120,267-8].

Court news. Jan 22, Langley, Luis Roman to Cardinal Granvelle:

'This week has arrived in this court a German gentleman from Duke Eric [Otto] of Brunswick, who has had audience...With him came an Italian, from Count Juan-Baptista de Arco, who has also had audience...The Queen has summoned to court all the lords in this Kingdom, and all the Councillors'. [KL.iii.612].

Court news. Jan 24, Fulham, Bishop of London (Grindal) to Sir William Cecil:

'The Duke of Wurttemberg's gentleman, which you commended unto me, returneth herewith to court again. I could have been contented to have had his company longer, I like it so well. He was a student in the civil law at Strasbourg when I was there'. [Wright, i.163].

Jan 26, Wed Duke of Wurttemberg's envoy at Windsor to take leave.

Allinga's Report: The Queen 'asked me how I liked the country and the people'. I praised 'the magnificence' with which the Bishop of London had received me.

I pressed the Queen to resume marriage negotiations with the Emperor. She replied: "I shall most certainly not fall into the trap by declaring that I desire to marry the Emperor's son". She continued: "I have told you more than any other envoy and more than I have told my Estates, who receive from me no other answer than that I am too much burdened with cares to turn my attention to marriage; for Love is usually the offspring of leisure, and as I am so beset by duties, I have not been able to think of love"...

"If I am to disclose to you what I should prefer if I follow the inclination of my nature, I will tell you. It is this: Beggarwoman and single, far rather than Queen and married. Only necessity and no other reasons...would induce me to marry. Let this suffice you. I cannot name this man or another"...

'I now began to speak French: "Madam, I was confident that your Majesty would have deemed me worthy of a better answer"..."Do you desire me to speak French?" said she. "That shall be as your Majesty pleases", said I. She now began to reiterate that it was not she, but the Emperor, who had broken off the negotiations'. She mentioned other foreign suitors. I said "there are no two nations in the world so much alike, both in manners and in dress, as the English and the Germans. Charles...cannot possibly have any but the very best of manners. For in this respect the Germans hold with the Italians". "That pleases me", said she "for I like the manners and customs of the Italians better than those of all the rest of the world, and I am, as it were, half Italian".

The Queen continued to be noncommittal, and Allinga took his leave.^K

Court news. Jan 27: Allinga told Sir William Cecil 'that a longer stay was quite useless, for all hopes of obtaining a better answer had yesterday been definitely cut off. Whereupon he said: "But the Queen praised your French conversation highly, and said that she had much enjoyed it".

"Nevertheless", said I, "she could not be induced by all my eloquence to swerve from the resolve she had already taken". "Why", cried he, "she told me most expressly that she was quite willing to contract the marriage!"

Cecil advised that the first step must be taken by the Emperor, and that an embassy should then be sent.^K

Jan 27, Queen to the Duke of Wurttemberg: In reply to your offer to assist me in preferring me in marriage to some foreign prince, although I am not weary of my single life, yet, as I am the last issue that my father left, this and other reasons induce me to alter this course of life. In consideration of the leave given me by my subjects to make my own choice, I am bound to make such a choice as shall be for their benefit. [SPF.vii.546].

The Duke sent Allinga's Report and the Queen's letter to Emperor Ferdinand. In May 1565 the new Emperor Maximilian II sent an envoy to resume marriage negotiations on behalf of Archduke Charles, his brother.

Court news. Jan 29, Langley, Luis Roman to Granvelle: 'The German gentleman who came here from the Duke of Brunswick has left... The other here from Count Arco has not been dispatched'. [KL.iii.623-4].

Jan 29: *St Mary Woolnoth, London, churchwardens paid: 'For little books of thanksgiving at the ceasing of the plague, 4d'.*

1564. *St Margaret Westminster: 'For 4 books of prayer to God at the ceasing of the plague, 8d'.*

St Mary Magdalen Milk Street: 'For 3 books of prayers sent by the Bishop for the stopping of the plague, 8d'.

St Mary Woolchurch Haw: 'For 3 books of thanksgiving after the plague, 3d'.

St Michael Cornhill: 'Paid to the Summoner for a new book of thanksgiving, 2d; paid for 4 books more of thanksgiving, 4d'.

St Peter Westcheap: 'For 4 books of prayer and thanksgiving for withdrawing the sickness, 4d'.

Feb 2, Wed play at Windsor, by an unknown company. [Revels, 116].

Feb 10: death. Henry Neville, 5th Earl of Westmorland (c.1524-1564), K.G., died at Kelvedon, Essex. Funeral: Staindrop Church, County Durham, where his monument, with two of his three wives, remains.

His son Charles, Lord Neville (c.1542-1601), became 6th Earl of Westmorland; he was a leader of the Northern Rising in 1569.

The widowed Margaret (Cholmley), Countess of Westmorland, died in 1570.

Feb 20, Sun new appointment: Francis Russell, Earl of Bedford, to be Governor of Berwick. He took the oath at Berwick on March 30.

Feb 21, Edinburgh, Thomas Randolph to Sir William Cecil, explaining at length the reasons for the Queen of Scots' reluctance to marry anyone under the degree of a Prince. Lord Robert Dudley and Lord Darnley have been mentioned.

There were Shrovetide banquets, and at one feast 'gentlemen apparelled all in white and black' sang verses. The Queen gave me 'the self same that were sung' and 'willed me to do with them as I liked. I trust your Honour will present them to the Queen's Majesty'. [Scot.ii.43-47].

Feb 23: Queen's gift: To Monsieur Teligny 'sent from the Admiral of France, one chain of gold'.^{NYG} Charles de Teligny (c.1535-1572), son-in-law of Gaspard de Coligny.

Mar 1, Wed sermon, Windsor: Thomas Cole, Archdeacon of Essex (c.1520-1571).
Text from 2 King's 10:15: 'Is thine heart right?'

Cole also quotes Isaiah: 49:23: 'Kings shall be thy nursing fathers, and their Queens thy nursing mothers'.

'The Church of God is here taken for the nursling...These qualities would have been easier conceived in this place, if it had pleased God to have showed his mercy upon us in giving your Grace a nursling of your own womb in that chaste estate of Matrimony, more profitable in my conscience to your realm and people than Virginity, and no less honourable unto God, which God grant our eyes to see...It is for our plague as yet otherwise'.

Cole goes on to criticise conforming Catholics, to call for strict enforcement of the Oath of Supremacy, to satirise courtly ambition and envy, and to call for the destruction of all images remaining in churches. 'Burn them with copes and all other Popish dregs'. He declares that Princes should maintain true religion 'without any mingle-mangle of their own inventions'.

Printed, 1564, as 'A Godly and Learned sermon made this last Lent at Windsor before the Queen's Majesty'. It was 'put in writing...at the earnest request of certain Godly persons which were present when it was preached'.

March 3-April: John Shers was special Ambassador to the Duchess of Parma. Shers, lawyer, had instructions, February 20, and his credence, March 3. [SPF].

He joined Dr Dale, resident Ambassador, in asking for the ban on English goods to be lifted.

March 5, Windsor, Queen to Thomas Randolph, instructing him to offer Lord Robert Dudley as husband for the Queen of Scots. [Scot.ii.54].

Randolph had been waiting three months to ascertain Mary's intentions as to marriage, but had been forbidden previously to name Lord Robert.

Mary's response: March 30.

*March 5: christening. Queen was godmother to 'Dr Master's child'.^T
Parents: Dr Richard Master, one of the Queen's physicians; wife: Elizabeth (Fulnetby). Ralph Morton, gentleman usher, made ready at Kew, Surrey.^T*

Queen's Apothecary had provided, March 4: 'one ounce of perfumes for the christening of Dr Master's child, 8d'.

Queen's gift, March 5: 'One gilt cup with a cover made like a gourd', given to the Queen 1 January [1564] 'by Mr John Astley, Master and Treasurer of her Highness's Jewels and Plate'.^{NYG}

Child: Henry Master (1564-1631), one of seven sons.

March 5, Copenhagen, King Frederick II of Denmark to the Queen:
We have intercepted letters from the King of Sweden to you, one offering marriage. I have informed the Landgrave of Hesse, as the King was seeking the Landgrave's daughter in marriage. [SPF.vii.50,69].

Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, broke off the match.

King Eric was declined by both Queen Elizabeth and the Queen of Scots. He eventually married his mistress, a Swedish woman of low birth.

In 1568 he was deposed for alleged insanity, and replaced as King by his brother John Duke of Finland (who was in England Sept 1559-April 1560).

Eric was imprisoned in a castle in Stockholm until 1577, when on his brother's orders he was poisoned.

March 8, Edinburgh, Thomas Randolph to the Queen: Randolph had not yet received the Queen's letter of March 5, but had had audiences with Mary.

The effect of the Queen of Scots' answer I send to your Majesty; the circumstances I have written to Mr Secretary [Cecil].

'Princes at all times (as she saith) have not their wills; but her heart being her own, is immutable, and without evil meaning towards your Majesty'.

March 8, Randolph to Sir William Cecil, of a long audience on February 27 with the Queen of Scots: The remembrance of her late husband is so fresh in her mind that she cannot think of any other. Her years are not so many but she may abide, and, that which is most of all, she is neither sought nor desired of any. She uttered many words of affection towards my Sovereign. I should confer with the Lords Moray, Argyll, and Lethington, by whom I should know further of her mind.

When I met the lords great protestation was made by Lethington of this Queen's good meaning to satisfy my Sovereign's demands. The case was full of difficulty, fitter to be talked of among the Queens themselves than to be handled between subjects. They, seeing my proposition, as they said, was only general, thought that their Sovereign, for lack of full knowledge of my Sovereign's mind, could but give as uncertain an answer as I came with a doubtful message. They desired that I should plainly understand their Sovereign's mind, that she desired nothing more than the Queen's contentment, with her own honour and weal of her country. I said that their answer might as well have been given on the first or third day as now, at the end of three months that I have waited for the same.

Two days after, I communed with the Queen herself. She confirmed all that the others had said. [Scot.ii.49-51].

Court news. March 10, Antwerp, Richard Clough to Sir Thomas Chaloner:

The plague is ceased in London, where died last week 13 persons, so good hope that it is wholly ceased. The Queen and Council are well, but lately they were afraid in the court, for a servant of Mr Leisfelld's died of the plague.

*Thomas Lichfield, Groom of the Privy Chamber. [SPF.vii.76].

March 11, Langley, Luis Roman to Granvelle: 'Here has arrived a man called Don Alonso de Fez, said to be the son of the King of Fez, with a petition for the Queen...He is at Lord Robert's house and eats at his table'. [KL.iii.667].

March 17-April 20: John Somers was special Ambassador to France. Somers took instructions to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton and Sir Thomas Smith, who were in France negotiating jointly for a peace Treaty. [SPF.vii.80-83].

Court news, of the Duchess of Somerset, mother of the Earl of Hertford.

March 18, Hanworth, Earl of Hertford to Lord Robert Dudley, with thanks for the honourable reception his mother has had at court. He prays for his and his wife's restoration to the Queen's favour.

March 22, Dudley to Hertford: I have moved the Queen on your behalf for your further liberty, which was not disliked. Your mother also has done her part. [SP12/33/27,28].

The Duchess of Somerset: Anne (Stanhope) (c.1510-1587), widow of the Duke of Somerset ('Protector Somerset', executed in 1552). Her son Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, who secretly married Lady Catherine Grey in 1560, had two sons born in the Tower. He was in his mother's custody at her house at Hanworth, Middlesex, whilst Lady Catherine was at Lord John Grey's house in Essex.

Their hopes for 'further liberty' were dashed by the discovery of a book by John Hales favouring Lady Catherine's claim to the Throne.

See Cecil's letter, April 27, and the 'Interrogatories', April-May.

Mar 23, Thur, Windsor. Draft Proclamation (520):
Cancelling the Queen's attendance at the annual Maundy ceremony, for fear that those assembled might include persons 'infected with contagious sickness'.

Instead the Queen's Almoner is to distribute at Eton College 'the ordinary alms of money, meat, and apparel that should have been distributed by her Majesty...The residue of her Majesty's godly alms and charity that should be distributed to all the multitude of other poor people usually resorting to her court upon that day' is to be given to the poor in and around Windsor and Eton.

March 23, Wells [Somerset], Nicholas Poyntz to Sir William Cecil:

'If the greatest comfort that ever was showed to a poor subject might have healed my mother's broken heart, it had been the Queen's Majesty's most loving and honourable letters', delivered on March 21 'with £30 to buy her apothecary stuff'. She died the same day. [Wright, i.170].

Nicholas Poyntz was one of the Queen's Esquires for the Body. His mother Joan (Berkeley), widow of Sir Nicholas Poyntz, was one of the Extraordinary Ladies of the Privy Chamber; she died after prolonged mis-treatment by her second husband Sir Thomas Dyer (who died in 1565).

March 25: News of Emden Trade Commissioners in England.

March 25, London, Luis Roman to the Duchess of Parma: Three ambassadors have come here on behalf of the town of Emden, to say that English merchants would be well received there. [KL.iv.1]. The Commissioners returned to Emden on April 9.

Mar 30, Maundy Thursday ceremonies and alms-giving, at Eton College, Bucks.
By Edmund Guest, Bishop of Rochester, Queen's Almoner:
to 30 poor women, each 20s in a red purse and 30d in a white purse.^T

March 30, Berwick, Thomas Randolph to the Queen, after receiving her letter of March 5 (instructing him to name Lord Robert Dudley as a suitor):

I went to court and let the Queen of Scots understand that now I was come so fully instructed so to deal with her that she should find nothing in me but plainness. After I had somewhat said of your goodwill towards her, I offered her the choice of your subjects in marriage, and named in special Lord Robert. We talked very long, and she heard me with meetly good patience. Her resolution was that she would think more of the matter for that I had taken her upon the sudden. I have written more at length to Mr Secretary [Cecil]. [Scot.ii.54].

March 30, Randolph to Sir William Cecil, with more details of his audience. When I named Lord Robert, the Queen of Scots seemed almost to doubt what to say. She said that I had taken her at advantage. She thought little of such matter at this time as I now propounded. I said it was long since my Sovereign made the first overture unto her touching her marriage. She asked whether I thought this to be a matter so easily to be resolved upon? Did I remember what my mistress wrote unto her touching her marriage: that in three points she ought to have special regard, whereof honour was the special? And did I think that it may stand with her honour to marry a subject? I said that in my judgement greater honour she could not attain unto, than to match herself with such a one by means of whom she may perchance inherit such a kingdom as England.

She looks not she said for the kingdom, for her sister [Elizabeth] may marry, and is like to live longer than she is. She acknowledged, she said, her sister's goodwill, and knew by good report those virtues to be in the man I commend; but that is not enough. I asked what was further required?

She said she would sit down and reason homely with me. The gentlemen were commanded to give leave, only a few ladies left.

"Now Mr Randolph" says she, "does your mistress in good earnest wish me to marry my Lord Robert?". I assured her it was so. "Is that," she said, "conformable to her promise to use me as her sister or daughter, to advise me to marry my Lord Robert - to ally myself with her own subject?".

I said it might well stand with her promise, for there was not a worthier man to be found. She said "was it not better to match her where some alliance and friendship might ensue, than to marry her where neither of them could be increased?". I answered that the chief alliance my Sovereign desired was to live in perpetual amity with Scotland. The Queen, she said, being assured of her, might let her marry where she likes, and she always remains a friend to her. What if the Queen, she said, should marry herself, and have children. "What have I then gotten? Who will say I have acted wisely to take this step, which requires long consideration, on so sudden a proposal as this?".

I desired her to take sure advice of those whom she trusted best, as Lords Moray, Argyll, and Lethington. She was content so to do.

Next day Lethington gave me Mary's answer. This matter coming upon her unlooked for, being of great importance, could not straight be answered. She desired to have further knowledge what the Queen would do. What should be the conditions, and what the assurance? For the person she could have no mislike, of whom the report was so good, and by her sister so recommended. Wherefore she desires that the Queen will appoint to come to Berwick one to confer with such as she will appoint to deal in this case. She thinks better of no man than the Earl of Bedford. [Scot.ii.55-58].

In October Bedford and Randolph had instructions again to offer Lord Robert Dudley (newly created Earl of Leicester) to the Queen of Scots.

April 4, Windsor, Queen to the Duchess of Parma, in recommendation of the Lady Marquis of Northampton, 'having for a long time esteemed her worthy of our love and favour and holding her in the first place amongst the ladies near our person'. We have given her licence to travel to the Low Countries, because of 'her belief that she can never be cured of an illness, which she has long had in a breast, anywhere but in that country'. [KL.iv.4: French].

The Lady Marquis: Elizabeth (Brooke) (1526-1565), wife of William Parr, Marquis of Northampton, and sister of William Brooke 10th Lord Cobham.

From April 16-c.July she was in the Low Countries to consult physicians and surgeons; accompanied by the Marquis, and Lord and Lady Cobham.

At Antwerp they met Dr John Dee, who had been abroad for two years.

April 7: Lord Mayor's Precept to the 'Aldermen of the Ward of Cheap':

The Aldermen are to command all the Constables of the Ward 'to prepare, provide and appoint harness [armour], weapon and apparel made decent and convenient for them to use and wear' to attend upon the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs in Watches 'upon May Even at night and also upon St Peter's Even at night' [June 28], in the same manner as 'upon St Peter's Even now last past'. They are to provide cressets and 'good and sufficient quantity of cresset light'.

Lord Mayor: John White, grocer. [London: Journal 18, f.319].

The Queen saw St Peter's Watch on June 28.

For details of preparations made on such occasions see: 'Miscellaneous': London: Midsummer Watches.

April 11, in France: **Treaty of Troyes**. Peace Treaty with France.
The Queen's Commissioners were Sir Nicholas Throckmorton and Sir Thomas Smith.

April 12: Treaty for the liberation of the four French hostages in England. The King of France is to pay 120,000 French crowns to the Queen. After payment of 60,000 crowns the first two hostages are to be permitted to depart; after payment of the further 60,000 the other two hostages. The Queen is to send two men-of-war to convey the money from Calais or Boulogne to Dover.

April 13, Emden, George Needham to Sir William Cecil, having arrived in Emden with returning Trade Commissioners: 'Earl John, the Countess of Emden's youngest son, declared that the Queen had accepted him into her service and...was content to give him a pension of 3000 crowns. He understands she will abate him a third part of that pension because he is the youngest brother, and she thought he had been the eldest, whereat he is abashed'. [SPF.vii.105].

April 14, Troyes, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton to Lord Robert Dudley:
'The great Treaty was signed...The King will send to England in about six weeks' time the Prince of Mantua and Monsieur de Gonor...The King and Queen Mother wish you to come here'...

'This King has told De Mauvissière to bring him some good fighting mastiffs and two or three pretty curtals [horses with docked tails] that will gallop, and the Queen has told him to bring two or three geldings'. [Pepys, 18-19].

Mauvissière was on his way to England; De Gonor came in June to witness the ratification of the Treaty; Lord Hunsdon was appointed to go to France.

April 18: christening. Queen was godmother to 'Lady Throckmorton's child'.^T
Parents: Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, special Ambassador to France (who returned to England in May); wife: Anne (Carew). Queen's gift, April 18, to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton's child: one gilt cup with a cover.^{NYG} Child: died in infancy.

Court news. April 19, Richard Clough to Sir Thomas Chaloner: 'The Queen of Scots will come into England and the Queen will meet her at York'. [SPF.vii.114]

April 20, Windsor. Proclamation (522). Announcing Peace with France.

April 20: French special Ambassador arrived at Windsor.

Michel de Castelnau, Sieur de Mauvissière, who came to witness the public Proclamation of Peace. He was accompanied by John Somers, who brought two Treaties, and arrived at Windsor with the resident Ambassador, Paul de Foix.

Mauvissière's Mémoires (Paris, 1621), were written in England 1581-1585, whilst he was Ambassador; quoted here from a translation (London, 1724).

Apr 21, Sun Two French Ambassadors at Windsor for audience.
Mauvissière recalled: 'As soon as the Peace was proclaimed, the King deputed me to wait upon the Queen of England, and represent his readiness in forwarding the Treaty to her, with a full assurance of his friendship for the future; provided he met with a mutual return. I was likewise particularly instructed to inform her Majesty (in case I found her well disposed to our Court) how great a desire the late King Henry had to have her for a daughter-in-law; which I did, along with De Foix (who was our Minister at that time) when we had settled the Peace with her, and procured the release of the French gentlemen that were sent as hostages, without calling them so. Upon my arrival in England the Queen gave a favourable audience'. [Mauvissière, *Memoirs*, 275-6].

The hostages were the last four held under the terms of the Treaty of Câteau-Cambrésis, 1559. The Queen gave orders to proclaim the Peace at Windsor, London, and elsewhere.

April 22: In Westminster and London two Heralds proclaimed Peace with France:
 (1) 'Afore the great Hall door at Westminster, the Lord Keeper and Justices sitting in their court'; (2) 'At the Cross in Cheap' before the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Sheriffs in scarlet, 'which ended all the trumpets sounded'; (3) 'At Leadenhall corner'; (4) 'At St Magnus corner'. The Heralds then rode to Windsor to join their colleagues there. [Bodleian Ashmolean MS 1108].

Apr 22, Mon Eve of Garter ceremonies, Windsor.
 At a Chapter of Garter Knights the Queen appointed a Lieutenant, as customary.
 Apothecary: 'For 2 oz of perfumes for the Chapel on St George's Even, 16d'.

Apr 23, Sun, St George's Day. Proclamation of Peace, Windsor.
Garter ceremonies. Queen's Lieutenant: Henry Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel.

Heralds' descriptions: 'The Queen's Majesty wore her robes, and rode from the court, and all the Knights of the Garter with her to the church in Windsor Castle. And as she was going to the church Clarenceux King of Arms proclaimed the Peace between England and France. The Queen's Grace with all the Knights of the Garter, the French King's Ambassador, with the four hostages, stood by and heard the said Proclamation proclaimed. That done went to the church'.

The Proclamation was made 'at the top of the hill beside the gate before the College'.

After dining in the Privy Chamber the Queen came to the Presence Chamber 'in her whole habit of the Order...and long time talked with the Ambassador of France and four hostages, and after returned into her Privy Chamber for that night'. [Bodleian Ashmolean MSS 1108, 1109].

Mauvissière recalled: On April 23rd the Proclamation was made 'about eleven o'clock in the morning; at which time her Majesty went to Windsor Chapel, attended by all the Knights of the Garter, and a great number of other lords and gentlemen, and gave us an invitation to see the ceremony, which was performed with drums, trumpets, hautbois, and all the joy that is usual upon such occasions. When the ceremony was over, her Majesty sent to invite De Foix and me to dine with her, in company of the Knights of the Garter, and having drunk the healths of the King and Queen Mother she sent us the cup to do the same'.

'After dinner, we were to speak about releasing the hostages, which were Moy, Nantouillet Provost of Paris, Palloiseau, and La Ferté, who came all to be presented by me, in order to have their liberty. But as soon as we mentioned it to the Queen, and desired leave for them to return, she began to give us an account of their lives and actions. How they were practising to make their escape (which was the reason of putting them upon their Parole) and carrying on some underhand dealings; and withal, that Nantouillet was the most disagreeable to her amongst them; not only because he attempted, like the rest, to get away, but fomented some idle practices to disturb her Government; even at a time when she showed them most favour, and there was more likelihood of a Peace than War'.

'Upon which, she declared herself willing to release Moy, Palloiseau, and La Ferté, but could by no means consent to part with the other, and threatened to send him to the Tower of London. Then, recounting several particulars of his behaviour pretty sharply to him, she declared "That she would not release him". To which I made answer "That this would be destroying the Peace at its very birth, to make a difficulty about an affair of so little consequence".

'But however, after a good deal of discourse upon the matter, her Majesty at last consented to his liberty, and likewise released about a hundred and fifty other prisoners that were taken at sea, and other places'. [Memoirs, 277-8].

There was no separate Feast for the Garter Knights in 1564.

On April 23, as the Queen 'lay at Windsor, she went in person to the forenoon prayer, and therefore it served for that year's Feast. Also in memory whereof the Queen's choir and the whole choir of the College dined at the Feast dinner prepared at the Queen's cost, in the old hall called the Common Hall beside the College, and the Officers of Arms had meat allowed in the court'. [SP12/33/68].

April 23, Antwerp, Lord Cobham to Sir William Cecil, sending:
'a book of Master Dee, dedicated to the King of Romans, which I do as well for the rareness as newness of it'. [SP12/33/67].

Dr Dee accompanied the Lady Marquis of Northampton back to Greenwich a few weeks later. He discussed his book Monas Hieroglyphica with the Queen in July.

Apr 24, Mon Final 1564 Garter ceremonies, Windsor.

Three new Knights of the Garter elected; King Charles IX of France; Francis Russell, 2nd Earl of Bedford; Sir Henry Sidney.

Sidney was invested in the Privy Chamber; Bedford was absent as Governor of Berwick, and Garter King of Arms left on May 1 to go to invest him there.

Bedford and Sidney were installed at Windsor, May 14. King Charles IX was invested in France 24 June 1564, and installed by proxy 16 January 1566.

April 25, London, John Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury, sent the Queen his own handwritten translation from Latin into French of his Apologia pro Ecclesiae Anglicanae, 1562. 'Apologie pour l'Eglise'. 112p. [BL Royal MS 19 B.III].

Also in 1564 Lady Bacon, wife of Lord Keeper Bacon, made a translation into English of the Apology; the Archbishop of Canterbury arranged publication of his manuscript copy; the translation was much praised and much reprinted.

c. Apr 27, Thur French special Ambassador took leave.

April 27: Queen's gift to Monsieur Mauvissière, 'one chain of crown gold'.^{NYG}

Mauvissière recalled: 'Being very nobly entertained by the Queen for several days, she made me a present of a chain that was worth three thousand crowns, and a great many dogs and horses, besides those which were presented to the King. Upon which, having finished my business, I had my audience of leave, and so returned to his Majesty'. [Memoirs, 278].

Apr 27, Thur **RICHMOND PALACE**, Surrey.

Luis Roman to Duchess of Parma, April 29, London: [Describes St George's Day].

'Four days later the Queen and court moved to Richmond, seven miles from London, where she will stay until eight days after the feast of Corpus Christi [June 1], and it is believed she will go to Warwick, 70 miles from London...to a castle of the Earl of Warwick, Lord Robert's brother'. [KL.iv.13].

The Queen changed her plans for a progress to Warwickshire.

Court news. April 27 [Westminster], Sir William Cecil to Sir Thomas Smith:

'Mr Somers and Mauvissière came to Windsor the 20th of this month, and the Treaty must take place the 23rd, which was a very short time to procure knowledge to our western sea coasts, or to Ireland, but what could be done in such a case was expedited. It was proclaimed in London the 22nd, and on the 23rd a notable good sermon made at Paul's, with *Te Deum* and all incident solemnities'.

'The same day it was published at Windsor in the Queen's Majesty's presence going to the church, having with her Majesty the French Ambassador, so as nothing wanted to show contentation'...

'The Treaties are in new writing and engrossing, to be here ratified'...

'The hostages were put to liberty the 23rd, at Windsor'. [They left in May].

Mauvissière 'hath been well used here'...

'Here is fallen out a troublesome fond matter. John Hales had secretly made a book in the time of the last Parliament [1563], wherein he hath taken upon him to discuss no small matter, viz. the title to this Crown after the Queen's Majesty, having confuted and rejected the line of the Scottish Queen, and made the line of the Lady Frances, mother to the Lady Catherine, only next and lawful. He is committed to the Fleet for this boldness, specially because he hath communicated it to sundry persons. My Lord John Grey is in trouble also for it. Besides this, John Hales hath procured sentences and counsels of lawyers from beyond seas to be written in maintenance of the Earl of Hertford's marriage. This dealing of his offendeth the Queen's Majesty very much'.

[Wright, i.171-3].

[April] James Melville in England with the Queen.

Melville (1535-1617) in his *Memoirs* describes this visit as on his way home from the Elector Palatine (Frederick III) in Germany to Scotland, where he was received by the Queen of Scots on May 5 (the only date given).

On a previous visit to the Elector his son Duke Casimir (1543-1592) had been angry because Melville had refused to be sent to England 'to propose his marriage to that Queen; being persuaded thereto by the Vidame of Chartres, lately come there from the court of England [1563]; who thought himself so familiar with the said Queen, that he sent a gentleman Italian of his to propose that marriage as he alleged at the instance of the Elector Palatine'.

'To whom the Queen gave a general alluring answer, desiring the young prince to come in England, either openly or privily disguised; and how that she would never marry any man till she might first see him. Still I dissuaded his father to send him, alleging that it would be great charges to him, and get nothing but scorn for recompense; whereat the young prince was so moved that he left the court for three days'...

'So we were agreed that at this time I should carry with me his picture, and present it to the Queen of England in my home passing through England... which I was content to do, providing that I might also have home with me the picture of his father, his mother, and of all the rest of his brothers and sisters, together with a familiar writing from the Elector, whereby I might have the better occasion and access to bring in the purpose of the pictures as by accident; hoping that she would desire to see them, specially the picture of the said young Duke'.

'And having obtained my desire, I took my leave and parted from Heidelberg, where my good lord Elector held his court for the time; who gave me commission to the Queen of England, to wit, an answer to her demanded alliance offensive and defensive with the Princes Protestant of Germany'.

The answer, to be kept secret by the Queen, was that they deferred making any such alliance. She complained about the Princes being slow to decide. Melville praised their good qualities, and especially the Elector Palatine.

I showed 'how loath I was to leave him; and for to have the better remembrance of him I desired to carry home with me his picture, and the pictures of his wife and all his sons and daughters. So soon as she heard of the pictures, she failed not to enquire if I had the picture of the Duke Hans Casimir, and desired very earnestly to see it; and when I alleged that I had left the said pictures at London, she being then at Hampton Court ten miles from London, and that I was ready to pass forward, she said I should not depart till she had seen the whole pictures'.

'So the next day I delivered them all unto her Majesty, and she desired to retain them all night; but she took my Lord Robert Dudley to be judge of the Duke Casimir's picture, and appointed me to meet her the next morning in her garden; where she caused deliver them all unto me, and gave me thanks for the sight of them. I again offered unto her Majesty any of the pictures, so she would let me have the old Elector and his lady; but she would have none of them. I also had intelligence how first and last she despised the said Duke Casimir'.

'Therefore I wrote back from London in cipher, to his father and himself both, dissuading them to meddle any more in that marriage; and received great thanks afterward from the said young Duke, who married incontinent [at once] the Duke August Elector of Saxony's eldest daughter'.

James Melville, Memoirs of his Own Life, Bannatyne Club, 17 (1827), 101-104. Melville wrote in Scots; spelling has been Anglicised here for ease of reading. He was writing in his old age; he says the Queen was at Hampton Court, but she did not stay at Hampton Court from 1562-1567; Casimir did not marry until 1569.

Melville also says that about two or three months after his home-coming he was sent by the Queen of Scots to the Queen of England, and he goes on to describe that special embassy (see late September 1564).

April-May: There were 'Interrogatories', of John Hales and others suspected of a conspiracy to advance the Earl of Hertford's claim to the Throne.

John Hales, a Chancery clerk, wrote a pamphlet entitled:

'A Declaration of the Crown Imperial of England' (1563), excluding the Queen of Scots from the succession as alien born, and supporting the claim of Lady Catherine Grey and her sons by the Earl.

The first question which John Hales 'must answer by the Queen's Majesty's commandment': 'Who moved him at the first to meddle in the case of the Earl of Hertford and the Lady Catherine, touching the matter of her issue, or of the marriage?'. 'He saith...Mr Newdigate and my Lord John'.

Francis Newdigate was married to the Earl's mother, the Duchess of Somerset; Lord John Grey was Catherine's uncle.

[Interrogatories: *Haynes*, 412-417].

May 1, Sir William Cecil to Sir Thomas Smith: John Hales 'is in the Fleet and like to go to the Tower. The Earl of Hertford is with Mr Mason [Sir John Mason], the Lord John is here in custody'. [Wright, i.174].

Indictment against John Hales, gentleman, for having 'presumptuously and contemptuously discussed both by words and in writing' the question of the succession to the Crown if the Queen should die without issue. [HT.i.290].

Francis Newdigate was not taken into custody; Lord John Grey died at his Essex house, 19 November 1564.

John Hales, of London and Coventry, was in the Tower for a year, and then under house arrest in London; he died in 1572.

His book circulated in manuscript, but was first printed in 1723, as A Declaration of the Succession of the Crown Imperial of England.

May 5: Duchess of Parma's Ambassador at Richmond. *Francois de Halewyn, Sieur de Sweveghem (or Zweveghem), was sent from Brussels to congratulate the Queen on the Treaty of Troyes, but also to complain that she had prohibited imports from Flanders, and about acts of piracy.*

His report in French to the Duchess, Regent of the Low Countries, is printed by Kervyn de Lettenhove, vol.iv. Given here in an English version. [KL].

May 5, Fri Duchess of Parma's Ambassador at Richmond for audience.

May 6, London, Sweveghem to the Duchess of Parma: 'I was here from Monday without being able to obtain audience of the Queen until yesterday, because I arrived at the time of the great 'pleadings' of this Kingdom, which are held at Westminster in presence of the Lords of the Council'.

'And so, at the Queen's command, yesterday morning I was taken to Richmond Palace, to which she withdrew a few days ago because there were three or four sudden deaths at Windsor. There it pleased her, about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, to send to me Sir George Howard, a gentleman of her chamber, brother of the Lord Chamberlain, and soon after she gave me audience'.

The Queen wished for a resident Spanish Ambassador, and stated that she was allowing her merchants to trade with Hamburg and Emden, instead of Antwerp.

She said of the Duchess 'that your Highness and her Majesty were two ladies like two lights seated on the summit of two high mountains, the cynosure of all eyes'. Cecil informed me that I could return to London 'to avoid the extreme inconvenience of Richmond'. Next day 40 ships left for Emden. [KL.iv.14-17].

May 7: The Queen wrote to the Duchess of Parma with her reply, proposing that the Duchess should send someone to England to discuss trade. [KL.iv.20].

May 9: Queen's gift to Monsieur Francis Halewyn, 'ambassador out of Flanders, one chain of gold'.^{NYG}

May 9, Paris, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton to the Queen, of the embassy coming with congratulations on the Peace, to be led by Monsieur de Gonor.

'The whole number to be horsed from Dover to the court amounts to 80 persons. He also requires to be furnished with 10 carts for the baggage'. [SPF.vii.128].

May 12, Bar le Duc, Sir Thomas Smith to the Queen, of an audience with King Charles IX:

'The King said he esteemed her love and amity more than gold or silver; also that in recompense of the honour done him by the Queen in electing him of her Order, if a woman might be of his Order [of St Michael] he would send it her'...

'Mauvissière is come again, well contented. He can never say good enough of her, Lord Robert, and all the court. And he is not a little proud of the chain given him'. De Gonor, who 'was Governor of Metz...is in great credit with the Queen [Queen Mother]. He shall come with a train of 60 or 80 gentlemen'.

He is kinsman to the Queen, and by the mother's side of kin to the King. Sends the Treaty ratified with the King's hand and Great Seal. [SPF.vii.131-2].

May 12: Sir William Cecil made a 'Memorial of things to be considered' for De Gonor's reception, viz: 'The Sheriff of Kent be commanded to repair to Dover with such gentlemen as shall be special named, and also with such others as he can otherwise procure to receive the French ambassador'. Sir George Howard to be sent from the Queen to welcome him 'and to have commission to provide him of all necessaries'. The Archbishop of Canterbury to lodge him at Canterbury. The Lord of Burgeny [Abergavenny] to meet him at Rochester and to conduct him to Greenwich. A nobleman to bring him by barge to the court. Post-horses to be provided. Lists of Kent gentlemen to attend the Sheriff to Dover; of noblemen to be sent for; of eight 'gentlemen to attend having languages'.

'To foresee for his lodging in the court'.

[BL Add MS 35831, f.169].

May 14, Queen to the Archbishop of Canterbury (Matthew Parker), to receive the Ambassador at Canterbury or 'at your house at Bekesbourne, and there lodged, and so from thence the Sheriff to take the charge of his conduction'. [Parker, 212].

May 14, Queen to Lord Abergavenny, giving directions to meet the Ambassador at Dover and to escort him through Kent to Greenwich.

Also to the Sheriff of Kent, to prepare for the Ambassador's honourable reception at Dover, and to escort him to Rochester.

Also to the Lieutenant of Dover Castle, to join with the Sheriff in honourably receiving him. [SP12/34/9,10,11].

May 14, Sun: at Windsor, Installation of new Knights of the Garter.

Francis Russell, 2nd Earl of Bedford (by proxy, Sir George Howard, the Earl being absent as Governor of Berwick); Sir Henry Sidney.

Installed by the Queen's Commissioners:

Edward 9th Lord Clinton; Henry Carey 1st Lord Hunsdon.

Sir Henry Sidney, Lord President of Wales, made payments 'to the Heralds for a scutcheon; for a George, enamelled; to a Pursuivant for banners and scutcheons; and for 'getting my Lord's arms within five Garters'. [De L'Isle, i.241].

May 15, Paris, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton to the Queen:
Monsieur de Gonor intends to be at Boulogne by May 20th.

A merchant from Antwerp is here; I have seen his jewellery, and think you would gladly either have such things for your own use, or make some of them a present to the French King. I have covenanted in your name to pay for a clock, a chain, and a jewel, 1500 crowns within 20 days. In case you shall not buy them, for staying them unsold for 20 days you must give him 50 crowns. When I return to England I will show your Majesty 'the fashion of these things'.

Encloses the contract with the merchant, and valuation of the gold and workmanship - 1770 crowns of the sun. [SPF.vii.133-4].

*May 20: christening: Queen was godmother to 'Sir Henry Neville's child'.^T
Parents: Sir Henry Neville, of Berkshire; 1st wife: Elizabeth (Gresham), daughter of Sir John Gresham. St Ann Blackfriars, London, register:
May 20: baptised: 'Henry Neville, son to Sir Henry Neville'.*

Henry Neville (1564-1615) married (1584) Anne Killigrew.

May 22, Edinburgh, Thomas Randolph to Sir William Cecil, of the proposed meeting between the two Queens: 'I see no likelihood of the interview for this year...They lay many causes'. [SPF.vii.137].

May 25: John Somers arrived at Calais for the 60,000 crowns required by Treaty for the liberation of the first two former French hostages. He was 'viewing and telling the payment' for three days. [SPF.vii.144].

Court news. May 27, London, Luis Roman to Guzman de Silva:
'It was said positively lately that the Queen would go to the North this summer, and would there see the Queen of Scots, but they now assert that she will not leave the neighbourhood of London, and that in September, when the city will be clean and free from pestilence, she will return hither. There are various opinions. Some say that she is pregnant and is going away to lie in, others that she is to meet the Queen of Scots to arrange for her to marry the son [Lord Darnley] of Lady Margaret Lennox'. [Span.i.361-2].

May 29, Danzig, Vitus Wolfius to the Queen, sending the preface to a book which he is about to publish upon military matters. [SPF.vii.143].

Court news. May 31, Antwerp, Richard Clough to Sir Thomas Chaloner:
 'The Queen goes in a progress into Warwickshire, where she will remain awhile at Lord Robert's house. She has given the Earl of Warwick £500 a year in land'.
 'The Earl of Bedford is in Scotland, whence men suspect that the Queen of Scotland might come into England this summer'. [SPF.vii.145].

See 'Proposed progresses: 1564' for itineraries for a progress to Lord Robert Dudley at Kenilworth Castle, Warwickshire, and plans for fireworks. The Queen made her first visit to Kenilworth in 1566.

May 31: John Somers arrived at Dover at 3 p.m. with 'the treasure', all in French crowns; by 6 p.m. it was on land in Sir Thomas Gresham's hands; at 8 p.m. the hostages embarked from Dover for France.

June 1: At Calais Somers had the second payment of 60,000 crowns brought aboard, and permitted the last two hostages to leave his ship. He returned to Dover the same day, informing Cecil that De Gonor arrived there by the same tide. At Dover 120 horses were provided, with 8 or 10 carts. [SPF.vii.145-6].

June 1: Queen's gift to Monsieur Carovacant, 'merchant, one chain of gold'.^{NYG} Eschiata Cavalcanti, a Venetian merchant, brother of Guido Cavalcanti.

June 1-c.July 31: Lord Hunsdon was Ambassador Extraordinary to France. The Queen sent her cousin Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon, to witness King Charles IX's ratification of the Treaty of Troyes, and to invest him with the Garter. On June 1 Lord Hunsdon crossed from Dover to Boulogne with a large entourage including Lord Strange and Garter King of Arms (Sir Gilbert Dethick). The Garter insignia which Hunsdon took: 'One Collar of the Order of the Garter with a George of gold borrowed of the Lord Robert Dudley, Master of the Horse... One fair Garter with buckles, pendants and letters of goldsmiths' work, the buckle and pendant set with four rock rubies and five table diamonds set between the words, with 283 seed pearls set in the edge of the Garter...One George of gold enamelled and set with nine diamonds and three pearls pendant'.^{NYG}

June 1: French special Ambassador arrived in England. Artus de Cossé, Sieur de Gonor, a kinsman of the King of France, and one of his Council, came to witness the Queen's ratification of the Treaty of Troyes. De Gonor had a retinue of 123, including his nephew Count Brissac and the Bishop of Coutance. They landed at Dover on June 1.

June 1, Dover, John Somers to Sir William Cecil: 'Gonor tomorrow night will be with the Archbishop of Canterbury. The rest of his train must lie at Canterbury. On Saturday the gentlemen will bring him to Sittingbourne, and Sunday to Greenwich. There is plague at Rochester and Gravesend'. [SPF.vii.146].

June 2, London, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton (just returned from France) to Lord Robert Dudley: The French Ambassador desires that Count Brissac may be lodged at Richmond House and accompany Gonor, and that the Bishop of Coutance may be lodged with the Ambassador at Sheen. [SPF.vi.378].

Edmund Forster, Gentleman Usher, made ready for the Ambassadors at Sheen.^T

June 2: De Gonor arrived at Bekesbourne, Kent, on the way to Greenwich and Richmond. Thomas Thoroughgood, Yeoman Usher, made ready 'at Greenwich and Hampton Court against the French Ambassadors' coming thither'.

William Tanner and Ralph Morton, Gentlemen Ushers, with 24 yeomen and 7 grooms, attended at Greenwich 'upon the Ambassadors there'.^T

c.June 2: William Buckland of Kingston, waterman, for himself and six men with his barge one day, carrying the Guard from Richmond to Greenwich'.^T

June 3, Bekesbourne, Archbishop of Canterbury (Parker) to Sir William Cecil:

'I note this gentleman, Monsieur de Gonor, to be outwardly of a good gentle nature, and methink I espy that he hath schooled his young gentlemen attending upon him to note and mark not only the tract of our country, but also curiously to search the state of our doings and the order of our religion, as the most of them were very inquisitive therein. He coming unto me by Friday at two o'clock.. after his reposing in his chamber, I walked in my garden...talking familiarly with my neighbours the gentlemen of the country. He shortly after came down unto us into the garden, and brought especially with him the Bishop of Coutance as interpreter betwixt us; who appeareth to be a good soft-natured gentleman'.

'The substance of his inquisition was much for the order and using of our religion; the particularities whereof I discoursed unto him'...

'The young gentlemen were well advertised to see to their behaviour within the realm. For...I could not charge them either with word or deed, or purloining the worth of one silver spoon, somewhat otherwise than I did doubt of before'...

'I thought good to have a piece of mine armoury in a lower chamber, nigh to my court, subject to their eyes; whereby they did see that some preparation we had against their invasion, if it had been so purposed'...

'This Bishop showed me that he intended to present unto the Queen's Majesty Hieronymus Osorius's Epistle, translated and printed by his procurement (as he said) into French. I asked what was his meaning? He answered, because it expressed so well the Queen's Majesty's graces and gifts, etc. I told him that I thought the Queen could take more pleasure to read it well in Latin than in French, and that so he might have better gratified the Queen's highness with causing Mr Haddon's answer thereto to be translated...He had not heard of any answer thereto, and therefore I gave him a book for the Ambassador and him to read by the way. If you dislike the Bishop's intendment you may dissuade him'.

[Parker, 214-217].

Bishop Osorio had written a Latin Epistle to the Queen, with a view to her conversion to Catholicism; Dr Walter Haddon, a Master of Requests and noted Latinist, published an answer in Latin. (See 1563, end).

June 4, Sir William Cecil noted: 'The Scots Queen refused to meet with the Queen's Majesty in England, except she might be by the Parliament established heir apparent, or adopted daughter to the Queen's Majesty'.^B

June 5, Edinburgh, Thomas Randolph to Lord Robert Dudley: 'You need be at no charges this year for the interview, for yesterday it was debated in Council that this Queen cannot leave her country this year'. [Scot.ii.65].

June 6, Madrid, Sir Thomas Chaloner to Sir John Mason, sending a few verses, which, if he likes, he prays him to give to the Queen. [SPF.vii.149].

June 6, Tues French special Ambassador at Richmond to meet the Queen. 'Monsieur de Gonor came to Richmond, brought by the Lord Abergavenny, for to join with Monsieur de Foix for to receive confirmation of the Treaty'.^B

June 7, Wed Queen's ceremonial oath at Richmond. 'The Queen gave her oath at Richmond for the ratification of the Peace of Troyes'.^B

The Queen dined with De Gonor and De Foix, the French special and resident Ambassadors.

Afternoon: running at the ring; hunting, Richmond Green. [Details of June 7-9: 'The English Entertainment for the French Ambassadors in 1564', by C. Edward McGee, *Early Theatre* 14.1 (2011), 79-100].

June 8, Thur De Gonor visited Hampton Court, Middlesex, and hunted.

Evening: Barriers [combat on foot], at Richmond Palace.

Queen to Lord Hunsdon and Sir Thomas Smith, June 15: We 'caused De Gonor and the Ambassador to dine with us on Wednesday...and to see certain pastimes of running at the ring mingled with a device of hunting and killing of three stags upon the green at Richmond before our gate, and the next day being spent by Gonor at Hampton Court in viewing the house and hunting there and at night beholding of the barriers and other honourable pastimes in our hall'. [SPF.vii.156].

June 9: Queen's reward to Don Philippo Dawsfrior, £33.6s8d.^T

June 9, Fri masque, and device with men at arms; at Richmond. Apothecary, June 9: 'For perfumes for the gallery to the Queen's standing at the triumph, 12d'. Revels: 'Repairing and new making of three masques with their whole furniture and divers devices and a castle for ladies and an arbour for lords, and three heralds and four trumpeters to bring in the device with the men of arms and shown at the court of Richmond before the Queen's Majesty and the French ambassadors'. Also payments to tailors, painters, mercers, linen drapers 'and silkwomen for fringe and tassels to garnish the old garments to make them seem fresh again'. [Revels, 116].

It is likely that the masquers included Christopher Hatton, of the Inner Temple (Dudley's Inn of Court), and that this was the occasion which first brought Hatton to the Queen's notice, and launched his brilliant career.

He became a Gentleman Pensioner in this month: see June 30.

June 10: Lord Robert Dudley's payments: to Benedict Spinola (merchant), 'for the charges of the masque made at Richmond of 6 horsemen and 9 footmen', £293.10s9d. Hosier 'making of 9 pair of hose...for the 9 footmen', £12.11s8d.

Tailor 'making of 9 doublets for the same 9 footmen', £7.14s6d. Saddler 'making of saddles and caparisons'. £4.5s. [Longleat Dudley, V, f.147].

June 10: The French Ambassadors left Richmond for Southwark and Westminster. Anthony Light made ready 'at St Mary Overy's and at Westminster against the said Ambassadors coming thither'; James Harman 'for fetching rich stuff from the Tower and for making ready the house at Westminster against the Ambassadors coming thither'.^T Four Privy Councillors appointed by the Queen conferred with the French at Whitehall Palace on June 11.

June 10, Privy Council to Sheriff of Kent, complaining of the non-attendance of the gentlemen of Kent on the entry of the French Ambassador and commanding the Sheriff to see that better attendance be given on his return.

Lord Abergavenny is appointed specially to attend him. [SP12/34/28].

June 11: Queen's gifts to Monsieur Gonor, Ambassador from the French King: One bowl of gold with a cover, borrowed of Lord Robert Dudley; three gilt bowls with a cover; one gilt bowl with a cover; two pair of gilt pots; two pair of gilt flagons; three gilt cups with three covers; two gilt lairs; two gilt basins and two ewers gilt; two gilt salts with one cover; four gilt candlesticks of her Majesty's store.^{NYG}

June 15, Queen to Lord Hunsdon and Sir Thomas Smith, in France: On Friday [June 9] I appointed the Marquis of Northampton, my Secretary [Cecil], Mason, and Wotton, to hear the French matters, who (because on Saturday the French departed to London) could not confer with them before Sunday. After this the matters were by the French put in writing, to which I caused answer to be made, which was also put in writing. [SPF.vii.156]. The French left later in June.

June 15, Paris, Lord Hunsdon to Sir William Cecil:

I wish that the King's Garter had been better considered of, for it is neither rich nor fair; and besides it is so great as he can neither put it on nor wear it. Is it possible to get one of King Edward's or King Philip's sent? I have had divers chains here to buy one for the King, and as yet can see none that can for shame be given him. I would scant wear any of them myself. I ask you to desire her Majesty to consider these things, for they touch her honour more than any chain or garter or George is worth. 'I assure you if I had such as my Lord Robert hath, a should have one of mine'. The Duke of Savoy will be there, who had so fair a garter, chain, and George, sent him by Queen Mary, which he will wear now. [SPF.vii.157].

June 18, Sun: **New Spanish Ambassador** arrived in London.

Don Diego Guzman de Silva (Ambassador 1564-1568); the first resident Spanish Ambassador since Alvaro de Quadra died in September 1563.

Sir Thomas Chaloner to the Queen, 19 December 1563, from Spain:

A Canon of Toledo is to be sent. 'They make this election because they send to a place of contrary religion, and he is not so apt to receive any new impression; secondly, his quality of the long robe has been considered, where those of the short robe are commonly unlearned'. Dec 25: Don Diego 'is arrived...He is a comely tall priest, about 50 years of age'. [SPF.vi.632-3,641].

De Silva's dispatches to Philip II, and a few to the Duchess of Parma, are quoted from the translations in Calendar of State Papers Simancas.

Other dispatches to the Duchess are printed by Kervyn de Lettenhove, vol iv. Given here in English versions. [KL].

June 19, Mon The Queen sent to welcome the new Spanish Ambassador.

De Silva to Philip II, June 27: *'I arrived in London on the 18th instant and on the following day, Monday 19th, the Queen sent a Gentleman of her Chamber to visit me and congratulate me on my arrival in this country with many compliments and courtesies. Lord Robert had previously sent and made me a similar visit... I asked through him an audience of the Queen which he obtained at once, and fixed the 22nd for it to take place'.* [Span.i.364].

June 20, Tues Thomas Randolph at Richmond on return from Scotland.^B Randolph had been Agent in Scotland since November 1563.

June 22, Thur New Spanish Ambassador at Richmond for first audience.

De Silva to Philip II, June 27: *On June 22 'I left London for Richmond where the court now is, and disembarked near the palace'. I was escorted from the river-bank to the palace and the Council Chamber.*

Lord Darnley 'led me to the door of the Presence Chamber, where I was met by the Lord Chamberlain who entered with me and accompanied me to the Queen. She was standing in the Chamber listening to a keyed instrument that was being played, and as soon as she saw me took three or four steps towards me and embraced me. Addressing me in the Italian language she said she did not know in what tongue to speak to me, and I answered her in Latin, with a brief discourse'.

She read a letter from King Philip 'and answered me in Latin with elegance, facility, and ease, appearing to be very glad of my coming and saying how much she had desired it'. Later she spoke in Italian 'which she speaks well'.

She told me 'that when I liked and as often as I liked she would hear me with pleasure'. After she had left, Lord Robert Dudley, several other lords, and Secretary Cecil, 'came separately and embraced me, congratulating me on my arrival and expressing pleasure'. [Span.i.365].

June 24: christening. Queen was godmother to 'Mr Charles Howard's daughter'.^T
 Parents: Charles Howard, son of William 1st Lord Howard of Effingham, the Lord Chamberlain (and himself later 2nd Lord Howard and 1st Earl of Nottingham);
 wife: Katherine (Carey), daughter of Henry Carey 1st Lord Hunsdon, the Queen's cousin. Queen's gift, June 24: one gilt bowl with a cover.^{NYG}

1st child: Elizabeth Howard (1564-1646); she married (1583) Robert Southwell; (1604) John Stewart, who was created (1628) Earl of Carrick.

June 24, in France: at Lyons: King Charles IX ratified the Treaty of Troyes, and was invested with the Order of the Garter.

June 27, Lyons, Sir Thomas Smith to the Queen: Upon June 20th I was presented from the King with a cupboard of gilt plate, weighing 1154 ounces, which may be esteemed betwixt 500 and 600 marks. I gave the messenger 40 French crowns.

There never was an Ambassador better liked than Lord Hunsdon. [SPF.vii.166-7].

June 27: christening. Queen was godmother to 'Mr Mackwilliam's daughter'.^T
 Parents: Henry Macwilliam, a Gentleman Pensioner 1564/66-1586;
 wife: Lady Cheke, a Lady of the Privy Chamber 1559-1603; she was Mary (Hill), widow of Sir John Cheke, a Tutor to King Edward VI.

Queen's gift, June 27: one gilt cup with a cover.^{NYG}
 Child: Elizabeth Macwilliam, 4th of six daughters; she died young.

June 28, Wed dinner, Baynard's Castle, London; Earl of Pembroke.
 William Herbert, 1st Earl of Pembroke (c.1506-1570); 2nd wife: Anne (Talbot).
 The Queen came to view St Peter's Watch, for which the Lord Mayor had sent a Precept to the Aldermen on April 7.

De Silva to Philip II, July 2, London: 'I think well to communicate what happened here on the night of St Peter's Eve. A large number of armed people went about the parishes perambulating the principal streets until the morning with lights and much merriment...The Queen came secretly from Richmond to see it, and dined in the Earl of Pembroke's house'. [Span.i.366].

Stow: 'Through the earnest suit of the Armourers there was on the Vigil of St Peter a certain kind of Watch in the City of London, which did only stand in the highest streets of Cheap, Cornhill, and so forth towards Aldgate, which was to the commons of the same city (for the most part) as chargeable as when in times past it was most commendably done, whereas this being to very small purpose was of as small a number of people well liked'. [Summary, 1566].

Richard Grafton: The Watch 'was so disorderly done and varied so far from the beautiful shows and sights that in time past had been used, that it was worthy of small commendation'. [Abridgement, f.205]. Watches were held in 1562,1563.

June 30, Richmond: Queen's warrant to Sir George Howard, Master of the Armoury, to make a suit of armour for Christopher Hatton, Gentleman Pensioner, to be delivered to him on his paying the just value thereof. [SP12/34/33].

John Clapham (1603): 'Sir Christopher Hatton, being a young student in an Inn of Court, was first made known to the Queen in a show or device presented before her at a festival time; whereupon being called to her service, she made him one of her Pensioners, then Captain of her Guard, and afterwards Vice-Chamberlain, and of her Privy Council; continuing and increasing her favour toward him till in the end she advanced him to the Chancellorship of England. And it hath been thought he was the more gracious for that he lived unmarried'. [Clapham, 91].

Robert Naunton (1641): 'Sir Christopher Hatton came to the court...by the galliard, for he came thither as a private gentleman of the Inns of Court in a masque, and for his activity and person, (which was tall and proportionable), taken into favour'. [Fragmenta Regalia].

Thomas Fuller (1662): Hatton came 'to court in a masque, where the Queen first took notice of him, loving him well for his handsome dancing, better for his proper person, and best of all for his great abilities'. [Worthies, Northants].

June: Queen's Apothecary: John Hemingway's account, January-June 1564.

There were frequent purchases of rose water, perfumes (e.g. for the Chapel, the Council Chamber, the Robes), barley water, cloves.

The charges included:

'Feb 9: a glass of rose water for the perfume pan in the Privy Chamber, 8d.

March 28: for 2oz of perfumes to air the Great Chamber and the Presence Chamber at Windsor after the making clean, 16d.

April 3: one ounce of perfumes for the litter, 8d.

April 19: for perfumes for my Lord Chamberlain's chamber and the Council Chamber at the Ambassadors' coming, 12d.

April 22: 2½oz of perfumes delivered to Stone, groom, for Richmond house, 20d.

April 30: for carriage of the bane [bath] with certain glasses of waters from Windsor to Richmond, 16d.

May 18: one ounce of perfumes for the Ambassadors' lodgings at Sheen, 8d.

June 4: for 2oz of perfumes for the Ambassadors' lodgings, 16d.

June 9: one ounce of perfumes delivered to Anno, groom, for Hampton Court, 8d; one ounce of perfumes delivered to Stone for Whitehall, 8d.

June 24: one ounce of perfumes for the banqueting-house, 8d'.

Also brief accounts for: Mrs Astley; Mrs Marbury; Mr Baptist;

Mr Sackford; Mr Carey; Thomas Astley, Groom of the Privy Chamber.

Total sum £21.16s, paid by the Treasurer of the Chamber, 12 November 1564.

[BL Add MS 5017 (4)].

July 3, London, John Utenhove to Sir William Cecil:

Earl John of East Friesland accepts the pension of 2000 French crowns or £600 promised by the Queen; he hopes payment will begin next Michaelmas [Sept 29], and be made twice yearly. He has already incurred expense in collecting Captains for an emergency. [HT.i.297].

The Earl (also known as Count John of Emden) made repeated requests before payment of his pension began in 1565. He visited the Queen in 1581.

Court news, of a sermon by Dr James Calphill (c.1530-1570), Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Oxford.

[July 4], *Pridie nonas Julii*, Dr Walter Haddon to the Archbishop of Canterbury (Matthew Parker) in Latin:

'Calphill has preached a sermon before the Queen which dealt with military matters, in every part of which was offensive matter, so that I do not wish to recall it...More moderation is required in the presence of the Queen...Never there did anything satisfy less, which brought great sorrow to everyone'...

'The Queen's progress is set down to start on July 20, to go towards Stamford; but nothing is certain'. [Parker, 218; translated].

*July 4, Tues **WHITEHALL PALACE.**

July 5, Wed visit, Sackville House, London; Sir Richard Sackville. Formerly Salisbury Court; purchased in 1564 by Sackville, son of John Sackville and Margaret Boleyn; a first cousin of the Queen; Privy Councillor; died 1566; wife: Winifred (Brydges), daughter of Sir John Brydges, draper, Lord Mayor of London 1520-1521; she married (2) John Paulet, later 2nd Marquis of Winchester; she died in 1586.

The Queen dined with the French Ambassador, who left after dinner. In the afternoon the new Spanish Ambassador joined the Queen and remained for supper, a play and a masque.

De Silva to Philip II, July 10: 'When I arrived at the house where the Queen was they showed me into a room until the Queen knew of my arrival. She was walking in the garden with her ladies and sent the Lord Chamberlain for me to go to her. She raised me with a great show of pleasure, and said that her ardent wish to see me had caused her to give me this trouble, and that I was to forget that the Queen was there and look upon her as a private lady, the preparations not being hers but those of a friend and subject, although the house was well prepared and her nobles were round her'.

'I answered that wherever monarchs were there was their regal state, as I perceived in this case. We then went up into a very large gallery, where she took me aside for nearly an hour, all her talk being about your Majesty'...

'We then went to supper, which was served with great ceremony, as is usual here, and every attention and honour were shown to me. She ordered her musicians to play *The Battle of Pavia*, which she assured me was the music she enjoyed most. After supper she stayed talking to me for some time, and as it was already late I thought it was time to leave her. I was about to take my leave when she told me not to go yet, as she wished me to see a comedy that was to be acted.. She said she would go into her chamber for a short time, and in the meanwhile Lord Robert was to entertain me. Robert made me great offers of service'...

'The Queen came out to the hall, which was lit with many torches, where the comedy was represented. I should not have understood much of it if the Queen had not interpreted, as she told me she would do. They generally deal with marriage in the comedies'...

'The comedy ended, and then there was a masque of certain gentlemen who entered dressed in black and white, which the Queen told me were her colours, and after dancing awhile one of them approached and handed the Queen a sonnet in English, praising her. She told me what it said, and I expressed my pleasure at it. This ended the feast, and the Queen entered a gallery where there was a very long table with every sort and kind of preserves and candied fruits that can be imagined, according to the English custom'.

'It must have been two in the morning, and the Queen had to return to Westminster by water although it was very windy'. [Span.i.367-8].

The Battle of Pavia: a victory by Emperor Charles V's forces, 1525.

July 6: christening. Queen was godmother to 'Mr Secretary's child'.^T

Parents: Sir William Cecil; 2nd wife Mildred (Cooke).

Godmothers: the Queen; Countess of Lennox. Child: Elizabeth Cecil.

July 6, Queen's gift: 'Sir William Cecil knight principal Secretary's child daughter, one gilt cup with a cover'. Also 'one carcanet of gold... given by the Queen's Highness the same time to one of the daughters of the said Sir William Cecil'.^{NYG} Cecil's elder daughter Anne was born in 1556.

Also July 6: supper, Cecil House, Strand; Sir William Cecil. Cecil noted: 'July 1, My daughter Elizabeth born at Cecil House...'

July 6, My daughter Elizabeth christened by the Queen's Majesty and my Lady Lennox. The same night the Queen supped at my house'.^B

Elizabeth Cecil married (Feb 1582) William Wentworth (died Nov 1582); she died in 1583.

c. July 7, Fri **GREENWICH PALACE**, Kent.

St Olave, Southwark, Surrey: 'For ringing the bells when the Queen's Grace went to Greenwich, 12d, and at her return, 12d'.

July 12, Greenwich, Sir William Cecil (Chancellor of Cambridge University), to the Vice-Chancellor (Dr Edward Hawford):

'Although you may hear by rumours of the Queen's Majesty's intention to repair thither in her progress and to remain in that University three days, that is the 8/9/10 of August; yet I considering the place I hold to be your Chancellor, though unworthily, I have thought meet to impart the same unto you, praying you to confer with such of the Masters of Colleges there as you shall think meet, and consider what lodging shall be meetest for her Majesty, and next what manner of pleasures in learning may be presented to her Majesty, who hath knowledge to understand very well in all common sciences'.

'Thirdly, you may do well to confer with the Mayor of the town how the town... may be preserved from contagion of plague'.

'As for myself I mean to lodge with my old nurse in St John's College, and so I pray you inform the Master'...[Cecil was at St John's 1535-1541]

'If you shall think meet to communicate anything with me concerning this matter, I pray you send some man of knowledge to me with whom I may confer. My desire is that two things may specially appear in that University. Order and learning. And for order I mean both for religion and civil behaviour'. [Nichols, *Progresses* (2014), iii.380-381]. Queen was at Cambridge Aug 5-10.

c. July 14: Dr John Dee at Greenwich with the Queen.

Dr Dee (1527-1609), of Mortlake, astrologer, mathematician, philosopher.

Dee: 'I must highly esteem her Majesty's most gracious defending of my credit, in my absence beyond the seas, as concerning my book, titled *Monas Hieroglyphica* (dedicated to the Emperor Maximilian, anno 1564) against such university graduates of high degree, and other gentlemen, who therefore dispraised it, because they understood it not. Whereupon her most excellent Majesty (after my coming home from beyond the seas, when also I brought the Lady Marquis of Northampton from Antwerp by sea to Greenwich), did vouchsafe to read that book...with me at Greenwich'.

Dee also recalled: 'After my return from the Emperor's court her Majesty very graciously vouchsafed to account herself my scholar in my book written to the Emperor Maximilian...Her Majesty had a little perusing of the same with me, and then in most heroical and princely wise did comfort me and encourage me in my studies philosophical and mathematical, etc'...

'My great, faithful, and careful attendance about the Lady Marquis of Northampton (anno 1564) both beyond the seas, on the seas, and here in England, was performed with her Majesty's good will and well liking of'.

[Dee, *Rehearsal*, 10,19,22]. On July 14 De Silva described visiting the Lady Marquis, and that she was 'highly in favour with the Queen'. [KL].

John Dee (1527-1609) wrote Monas Hieroglyphica at Antwerp, 13-25 Jan 1564, and dedicated it, February 14, to Maximilian, King of the Romans, Bohemia, and Hungary (who became Emperor Maximilian II on July 25).

The brief Latin book comprises 24 'Theorems' explaining the 'Monas', a symbol of creation and the unity of the sciences.

In his 'Compendious Rehearsal', written in 1592, Dee dates the Queen's perusing of his book as June 14 (but on that date she was still at Richmond).

July 16, Earl of Bedford to Sir William Cecil: 'I heard nothing else from you but of the christening of your young daughter...So did it please me much to understand that her Majesty would come in such familiar sort abroad, and to visit your house [on July 6]'. [SPF.vii.179].

July 21, Fri **WHITEHALL PALACE.**

St Margaret Westminster: 'To the ringers when the Queen's Majesty came from Greenwich to Westminster, 6d'.

Works, 1564-65, made improvements to the Privy Garden at Whitehall, purchases including privet, gooseberry, bay, and musk rose; there was an array of painted posts surmounted by carved beasts such as unicorns, with the royal arms.

Court news. July 22, London, De Silva to the Duchess of Parma:

'The Queen came yesterday from Greenwich to Westminster. It is said that she will leave here in five or six days to visit a few places'. [KL.iv.63].

July 22, De Silva to Philip II: 'The Queen has come to Westminster from Greenwich, and they say she will soon visit some of the places in the neighbourhood, but she will not go far away. It is a custom they have here at this time of the year. She tells me she is only going for the hunting and to visit the houses of some of her subjects'.

On July 18 'there arrived here an Italian gentleman with four horses from the court of France'. The French Ambassador 'sent to say that the gentleman was on his way to Scotland to visit the Queen and inform her that peace had been concluded between the King and this Queen, and to give an account of the present condition of things in France...The King had ordered him on his way to visit this Queen, and he would depart on the 20th'.

The unnamed envoy returned to London on August 10. [Span.i.368-369,374].

*July 25, in Vienna: death. Emperor Ferdinand (1503-1564), K.G.
His eldest son Maximilian (1527-1576) became Emperor Maximilian II.*

July 26, Wed dinner, Paulet House, London; Marquis of Winchester. Paulet House, Broad Street; built in the grounds of a former Augustine Friary; owned by William Paulet, 1st Marquis of Winchester (c.1483-1572), widower; Lord Treasurer 1550-1572.

St Botolph Aldgate churchwardens: 'Paid for ringing when the Queen dined at my Lord Treasurer's, 6d'; St Michael Cornhill: 'Paid to the Sexton for ringing the bells the 26th of July anno 1564 when the Queen came to my Lord Treasurer's and for bread and drink, 3s'.

De Silva to the Duchess of Parma, July 31: I had audience with the Queen on July 24, and as I was leaving she came 'to tell me that she would be dining with the Lord Treasurer on the 26th, and would be delighted if I went to have dinner with her, because afterwards she would go on to spend the night ten miles away from there'.

'In the morning I went to the palace and spent a little time with Lord Robert Dudley...until the Queen was due to leave, when we went to her chamber in order to leave with her. Then she gave Lord Robert a ring with a diamond, telling me that she had promised to give it to him some days ago. Then she came down and mounted a good but rather restless Spanish horse. I was told that it was the most Spanish that she had, and that she usually enjoyed herself on it'...

'She went across the fields to the Lord Treasurer's house in order not to go through the city, because she told me that one day some time back it had been such an effort for her that she had not dared to go anywhere except through the fields...She spoke to me in Spanish most of the time, showing me how happy she was with the horse and with the language. She continued in her authoritative manner until she reached the house, where everything had been specially prepared and arranged for her'.

'The Queen went in to rest for a short time, whilst the Lord Treasurer showed me round the whole house, where tables had been put in order and laid for all those who were accompanying the Queen'.

'When the Queen emerged to eat, I ate alone with her and she entertained and favoured me as much as she could, not only by offering me wine (as one usually does), but also by giving me the same as she was drinking, which meant having a very hot drink, as is the custom here. After we had eaten she showed me a ring with a moderately sized yet splendid diamond in it...and other small diamonds on the round surface of the ring, which the King of France had sent her. On the inside it bore this inscription *Invictissimi pignus amoris* [pledge of most invincible love]'. She asked me what I thought of the inscription, and told me that she had put the ring on because the French Ambassador had complained two days ago that he had not seen it since the King had sent it to her'.

'She went away to rest. I went through to the room Sir William Cecil was in, because he had a bad foot'. After a long discussion with Cecil 'I accompanied the Queen as far as the gate of the city. I am going to Atfild, where she asked me to go and finish dealing with matters of business'. [KL.iv.68-71].

By the Treaty of Troyes the Queen was promised a valuable jewel, the ring from France.

Sir William Cecil's injury, and his house, Theobalds: Cecil had noted, July 16: 'My foot hurt at Greenwich by paring of my nail'. He also noted, July 27 [sic]: 'The Queen at my Lord Treasurer's house and so to Enfield'.^B

Cecil occasionally altered entries long after an event, and he altered this, evidently after he was himself Lord Treasurer (1572), to 'The Queen at my Lord Treasurer's house at Theobalds and so to Enfield' (as printed by Murdin).

This has caused it to be supposed that the Queen first visited Cecil's house at Cheshunt, Herts, in 1564, just after he bought it, but he did not finish building Theobalds until 1571, when the Queen promptly visited him there, and was presented with 'a portrait of the house', and welcoming verses.

July 26, Wed **ENFIELD**, Middlesex.

Enfield manor-house; Crown property.^W St Margaret Westminster:

'To the ringers when the Queen's Majesty went from Westminster to Enfield, 6d'.

Start of SUMMER PROGRESS in Middlesex, Hertfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, Northamptonshire, Leicestershire, Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, Hertfordshire (again).

c. July 28: at Enfield. Captain John Hawkins took leave.

Captain Hawkins (1532-1595) had made his first slave-trading voyage to the West Indies in 1562-1563. He was preparing for his second voyage, which had support from the Queen. He chartered a royal ship *The Jesus of Lubeck*.

[For his departure see Oct 18, and return to England 20 Sept 1565; his letter to the Queen on that day refers to her commands to him at Enfield].

Court news. July 31 [London], De Silva to Philip II: Today 'I am departing for Hatfield, where the Queen is. She is going round to several hunting places during five or six weeks'. [Span.i.370]. [De Silva refers to 'Atfild', but Hatfield is not listed by the Works as where the Queen 'lodged in her progress'. A long list of repairs was carried out at Hertford Castle and Enfield manor].

Aug 1, Enfield: Sir William Cecil's draft instructions to treat with De Silva. [SPF.vii.184].

There is less information than usual on the locations and dates of places visited on this progress (except for Cambridge): the Treasurer of the Chamber's Account fails to list any of the places made ready, the Cofferer's Account has not survived, and the Works Account appears to list only work done where overnight stays were made. Therefore a number of dates are only approximate, and it is possible that several houses visited for dinner remain unknown.

c. Aug 1, Tues **HERTFORD CASTLE**, Herts.^w Crown property.

c. Aug 2: Spanish Ambassador with the Queen in Hertfordshire.
De Silva to the Duchess of Parma, Aug 7, London: 'I wrote to you on July 31... that I would be setting out on the same day to where the Queen was, ten miles from here, in a country house called Hatfield. I arrived at one o'clock in the morning where they had a room for me, half a league from that house. On another morning Lord Robert [Dudley] sent to ask me if I would eat with him, where all those in the Queen's Council ate'. De Silva had a long meeting with Cecil, and an audience with the Queen, on the subject of trade differences. [KL.iv.73].

*Aug 3, Thur Mr **Hyde's** house.^w [Sandon, Herts].
Oliver's manor-house, Sandon; owned by William Hyde, died 1580.
Wife Elizabeth, and daughter Luce Hyde: see 'Court': Women.
Manor and manor-house were both later called Hyde Hall. 'Its present name was given by Queen Elizabeth, who was entertained there by William Hyde... She wrote something with a diamond in the parlour window, which lately was to be seen'.
[Nathanael Salmon, *History of Hertfordshire* (1728) 351].
Hyde's nephew, also William Hyde, owned Throcking manor, Herts.

Aug 4, Fri **HASLINGFIELD**, Cambs; Mr Worthington.^w
Haslingfield manor-house; occupied by William Worthington, one of the Queen's Gentlemen Pensioners; wife: Margaret (Porter), widow of (1) Thomas Atkins.
(2) Dr Thomas Wendy, a royal physician 1546-1560; she died 1570.

By August 4: Preparations for the Queen's visit to Cambridge.
After receiving Sir William Cecil's letter of July 12, that the Queen was coming to Cambridge, the two Proctors and a Bedell went to London to obtain their Chancellor's instructions.

'During this time provision of beer, ale and wine was sent to the King's College, and divers officers of the court repaired to the town, to take up the Queen's lodging, and to know when any died of the plague'.

University Orders included: 'For the receiving the Queen's Majesty the scholars must stand every one in his habit and hood, according to his degree, from the Queens' College to the west door of the King's College Chapel...

The way to be gravelled, strewed with sedge, bushes, boughs, etc'.

'The oration is to be made and said within the said west door... The Orator must go to his matter... showing how joyful the University is of her Grace's coming, for that it hath not been seen in the remembrance of man that a Princess hath come to see this place, and therefore we think not ourselves a little happy to see her Majesty here, being adorned with all kind of good literature, which is rare and marvellous in a woman, and well able to judge of all our doings'...

'If it be evening, then to have Evensong for the Queen in the Chapel...

The disputations to be provided for in the body of the King's College Chapel, if the echo hinder not the hearing, otherwise to be in St Mary's Church...

Certain boxes of conceits are to be provided at the grocers, and gloves to present to the Queen's Majesty...

Disputations to be prepared of Philosophy, Law and Divinity...

There must be full term, both in the Schools and in the Colleges'.

Also: 'To provide 'Hercules Furens', 'Troas' [both by Seneca], or some princely tragedy'. [Orders: University Archives. CUL MS Mm.2.23, p.126-8].

Aug 4: Sir William Cecil (Chancellor), 'having a sore leg, came with his lady in a coach... and took up his lodging at the Master's chambers of St John's College, where he was received with an oration... The University presented him with two pair of gloves, a marchpane [marzipan], and two sugar-loaves'.

August 5-10: Queen's visit to Cambridge.

The fullest description, used here, is by Matthew Stokes, an Esquire Bedell, in the University Archives; printed in Cooper, *Annals of Cambridge*, which also prints the town's Treasurers' Accounts. Modern editions: Nichols, *Progresses* (2014), i.375-437; *Records of Early English Drama: Cambridge*, i.227-243.

Aug 5, Sat morn Lord Robert Dudley, High Steward of the University, met Sir William Cecil and the Heads of Colleges at King's College.

'At King's he first did peruse the Queen's lodging, and after the church, and the way that the Queen should come to the same, and so taking both their horses rode unto his lodging at Trinity College, the Bedells going before them, where the Master at the gate received his Honour with an oration. and so brought him through the whole company, being in number 204 persons, unto the hall and from thence to his lodging in the Master's chamber, the doors and walls whereof were hanged with verses of his praises and welcoming. And there the University gave unto his Honour two pair of gloves, a marchpane, and two sugar-loaves'.

'Immediately they both departed to St John's College, and there likewise the Master and the company received his Honour with an oration'.

'And then they came to Mr Secretary's chamber where...they did take full order for the receiving and entertaining of the Queen's Majesty; and so departed, requiring the Vice-Chancellor to dinner'...

'Then the Vice-Chancellor with the Heads repaired unto the Duke of Norfolk's lodging, which was at one Mr Ray's, alderman, because the Duke is Steward to the town, and gave unto his Grace two pair of gloves, a marchpane and a sugar-loaf. And from thence to the Earl of Sussex and presented him with a pair of gloves, and so the rest of the nobility'.

Aug 5, Sat King's College, **CAMBRIDGE.**

Dr Philip Baker was Provost of King's College, 1558-1570 (deprived).

Queen's Office of Works: at 'The King's College in Cambridge: making of windows, a stage, ways into the college, and other works there'.

Aug 5: Queen rode via Grantchester and Newnham to Cambridge.

'At two o'clock all the whole University at the ringing of the University bell, assembled at the King's College. And there by the Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor, Proctors, and Bedells, were set in order and straitly charged every man to keep their place...At the corner at the Queens' College and Martin Gill's house was set a great falling-gate...From that place unto the King's College church west door, stood upon both sides, one by one, all the University...every one in habit and hood...The whole lane between the King's College and the Queens' College was strewd with rushes, and flags hanged in divers places...and many verses fixed upon the wall'...

'All the scholars had in commandment at the Queen's Majesty's passing by them to cry out *Vivat Regina*, [*Long live the Queen*], lowly kneeling, and after that quietly and orderly to depart home to their colleges, and in no wise to come to the court, to the disputations, or to the plays'...

'The bells both of the colleges and also of the town were rung most part of the afternoon, and such churches as were negligent herein were afterwards sealed up and fined, some at 8s4d, and some more, some less. Order was also taken that upon the Queen's coming to the church door all the bells should cease that her Majesty might hear the oration'.

'All things being in this wise ordered, the Queen's Majesty came from Mr Worthington's house at Haslingfield, where she lay all night, by Grantchester. And by the way the Duke's Grace of Norfolk, the Earl of Sussex, the Bishop of Ely, and divers other honourable personages, met with her Majesty, and so conveyed her toward the town'.

'The Mayor of the town, called Robert Lane, with the Aldermen and all the Burgesses with the Recorder, met with her Majesty a little above Newnham on horseback; and there alighted, and did their duties, and made by the Recorder [Robert Shute] an oration in English'.

'Then the Mayor delivered the mace, with a fair standing cup which cost £19 and £20 of old angels in it, which her Majesty received gently, and redelivered the mace to the Mayor, and took the cup, etc. to one of her footmen, and so came to Newnham Mills, the Mayor riding with the mace before her Majesty. And there being requested to change her horse she alighted, and went into the miller's yard and house for a little space, and so took her horse, and came forward'.

'Sir William Cecil all this time sat upon his horse at the gate beyond the Queens' College...and turned all the train into the town, saving the Lords and chief officers appointed to wait upon her Grace. Then came the Trumpeters and by solemn blast declared her Majesty to approach. Then followed the lords in their order and degree, her Almoner, the Bishop of Rochester, bareheaded, with the Bishop of Ely. Then Garter King at Arms in his royal coat with divers Serjeants at Arms. Then the Lord Hunsdon with the sword in a royal scabbard of goldsmith work. And after him the Queen's Majesty with a great company of Ladies and Maids of Honour. Who, at the entering at Queens' College was informed by Mr Secretary of the scholars, of what sort they were'...

'When her Majesty was about the middle of the scholars or sophisters, two appointed for the same came forth and kneeled before her Grace and kissing their papers exhibited the same unto her Majesty, wherein were contained two orations gratulatory, the one in verse, the other in prose, which her Highness received and gave them to one of the footmen. The like was observed and done of the Bachelors of Art and of two Masters of Art. And so she was brought among the Doctors, where all the lords and ladies did forsake their horses, and her Majesty only remained on horseback in a gown of black velvet pinked, a caul upon her head set with pearls and precious stones, and a hat that was spangled with gold and a bush of feathers'..

'When the Queen's Majesty came to the west door of the church Sir William Cecil kneeled down and welcomed her Grace...and then the Bedells, kneeling, kissed their staves, and so delivered them to Mr Secretary, who likewise did kiss the same and so delivered them to the Queen's hands, who could not well hold them all. And her Grace gently and merrily redelivered them'...

'Then her Highness was advertised that the University by their Orator would speak unto her Majesty'...

'Then Mr William Masters of the King's College, Orator, making his three curtesies, kneeled down...and made his oration, of length almost half an hour, containing in effect these things: First he praised and commended many and singular virtues set and planted in her Majesty, which her Highness not acknowledging oft shook her head, bit her lip and her fingers, and sometimes broke forth in these passions and words *Non est veritas* and *utinam* [*it is not true* and *if only*]. Praising virginity, she said to the Orator "God's blessing of thine heart, there continue".

'After that he showed what joy the University received of her presence. Of the antiquity of the University...Of the foundation of most part of the colleges... When he had done she much commended him, and much marvelled that his memory did so well serve him...saying that she would answer him again in Latin, but for fear she should speak false Latin, and then they would laugh at her... She called him unto her presence and offered him her hand to kiss, requiring his name'.

'Then she alighted from her horse, and asking what degree every Doctor was, offered her hand to be kissed, and then four of the principal Doctors bearing a canopy, she under the same entered into the church and kneeled down at the place appointed between the two doors, north and south, the Lady Strange bearing the train, and all the other ladies following...'.

'Then the Provost...in a rich cope all of needlework, standing...in the middle of his company kneeling of both sides, made his obeisance and curtesies three times, coming towards her Majesty, and at the last, kneeling hard at her stool, ...pointed unto the psalm *Deus misereatur* [*Lord have mercy*], enquiring whether it should please her Majesty to answer and say with him. And understanding that she would privately pray he likewise privately said the said psalm and after that a Collect for the Queen'.

'Which done, the whole choir began to sing in English a song of gladness, and so went orderly into their stalls...the Queen following and going into her travers under the canopy, marvellously rejoicing at the beauty of the chapel, greatly praised it above all other within her realm'.

'This song ended, the Provost began *Te Deum* in English in his cope, which was solemnly sung in prick-song, and the organs playing. After that he began Evensong, which also was solemnly sung, every man standing in his cope'.

'Which being ended, the Queen's Majesty came forth of her travers and went towards her lodging by a privy [private] way...And as she went she thanked God that had sent her to this University, where she altogether against her expectation was so received as she thought she could not be better'.

'During all this time of prayer the lords and other honourable personages, with the Doctors, sat in the high stalls. And the doors and walls of the vestry and of the porch of the Provost's place which now was the court were hanged full with verses of all kinds, which the courtiers immediately after the Queen's entry plucked down'.

'In the entry of the court stood the two Proctors and by my Lord Robert and Mr Secretary presented unto her Majesty in the name of the University 4 pair of Cambridge double gloves...and 6 boxes of fine comfits and other conceits devised and provided at London...which she thankfully took and so went to her chamber'.

Aug 6, Sun At Cambridge: services; play at King's, *Aulularia*, by Plautus.

'Morning prayer was done between seven and eight, unto the which came divers of the lords...When matins was ended every man repaired unto the court gate to wait upon the Queen, all the Doctors, saving the physicians, in their gowns of scarlet with their hoods'...

'At the Queen's coming all the gentlemen under the degree of knights went first. Then by the Gentleman Usher called Mr [Edmund] Forster were appointed the Doctors, after them the Knights, then the Lords after them, with the Gentleman Usher and the Serjeants at Arms. Immediately before the Sword went the three Bedells bearing their staves...and so the Queen on foot came to the north door of the church, which was kept with Yeomen of her Guard'...

'At the said church door four of the eldest Doctors carried a canopy over her Majesty unto her travers. Incontinently [at once] began the Litany, and after that Mr Andrew Perne, D.D., ready in his Doctor's cope, was by the Bedells brought to the pulpit which stood over against the travers, which her Highness caused to be drawn open, and...did sit down and was seen of all the people all the time of the sermon'. Text: *St Paul's Epistle to the Romans*, 13:1: 'Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers'.

'About the midst of his sermon her Majesty sent the Lord Hunsdon to will him to put on his cap, which he did unto the end, at what time, ere he could get out of the pulpit, by the Lord Chamberlain she sent him word that it was the first sermon that ever she heard in Latin, and she thought she should never hear a better. And then the choir did sing, in prick-song, a song'.

'Which done she departed to her palace by the secret way, the four Doctors bearing the canopy as before. Which the footmen as their fee claimed, and it was redeemed for 66s8d'...

'At evening prayer the company of the King's College, being informed that the Queen's Majesty would not come to the same, began and did sing half, and then, being advertised that her Grace was coming, stayed. And when she was come unto her travers by the secret way, they of new did begin the Evensong. Which ended, she departed back by the same way'.

'After supper which was about 9 o'clock she returned by the same way unto the play *Aulularia Plauti*'.

'For the hearing and playing whereof was made by her Highness' Surveyor and at her own cost in the body of the church a great stage containing the breadth of the church from the one side unto the other...Upon the south wall was hanged a cloth of state...for her Majesty. In the rood-loft another stage for ladies and gentlewomen to stand on'...

'When all things were ready for the players the Lord Chamberlain with Mr Secretary came in, bringing a multitude of the Guard with them, having every man in his hand a torch-staff for the lights of the play...and would not suffer any to stand upon the stage saving a very few upon the north side, and the Guard stood upon the ground by the stage sides holding their lights'...

'At last her Highness came with certain lords, ladies and gentlewomen, all the Pensioners going of both sides with torch-staves...and so took her seat, and heard the play fully, which was played by certain selected persons chosen out of all colleges of the town at the discretion of Mr Roger Kelke, D.D., who was by the Vice-Chancellor and the Heads of Colleges specially appointed to set forth and to teach such plays as should be exhibited before her Grace, unto whom were joined four others thought meet for that charge, chosen out of the four principal colleges'.

'When the play was ended her Majesty departed to her lodging about 12 o'clock, in such order as she came'.

Aug 7, Mon At Cambridge: disputations; play at King's College, *Dido*.

'At 8 o'clock the University bell did sound unto the ordinary lectures. For the term, by public consent, was resumed upon Friday the 4th of August, to continue all the time of the Queen's abode here'...

'The lords with other gentlemen came to the Schools and heard the lectures, as well of Philosophy, Dialectic and Rhetoric, as of Divinity and Law'.

'The Divinity was read in the Logic Schools at 9 o'clock, for the great Divinity School was fraught with the Wardrobe of Beds, and the higher with the Office of the Spicery, and in the Little Chapel...was placed the Groom-Porter'.

'At 9 o'clock was disputation in Art...and unto that came the lords and so many gentlemen that no man could stir in the Schools...Mr Secretary ordered the same, as Moderator'...

'Against one o'clock was in St Mary's Church provided for disputations a great and ample stage...In the east end was made a spacious and high room for the Queen's Majesty, which was by her own servants richly hanged with arras and cloth of state and all other necessaries, with a cushion to lean upon. All the Disputations were driven to that end of the stage...The Divines sat upon the south side, and with them, next to the Queen's feet, Mr Secretary as Chancellor...Upon the other side sat the Lawyers and Physicians, next the Queen's stage'..

'The Proctors' stall was set not far from the Responsal, under the Doctors of Divinity. And under them sat the Proctors of the University of Oxford, who by common consent and special commandment of their whole University were sent hither with their Esquire and Principal Bedell, to see and hear as near as they could, for their better instructions, if it should fortune the Queen's Highness to visit that University, all our doings, order, and proceedings. These men went daily in their gowns and hoods, and were very well used of all men... They were daily feasted of one or other'...

'When all things were ready, and after the ringing of the University bell, the Queen's Majesty came to the said place with regal pomp, at whose entering all the graduates kneeled and cried modestly *Vivat Regina*. And she thanked them. And after, by Mr Secretary, understood the order, difference, and placing of every person within that theatre. Then she enquired what the Proctors' seat meant. And when answer was made that it was for the Proctors to moderate and rule the disputations she asked for them. Then the Bedells brought them in'...

'When the Proctors had taken their place, she enquired of the other seat appointed for the Respondent, and...willed all to stand up, for till that time all kneeled, and the disputation to begin, and to have the Questions delivered unto her. The Respondent, named Mr Thomas Byng of Peterhouse, delivered his oration with the Questions to the Bedell, he to Mr Secretary, and so he did reach them to the Queen's highness. Then the Proctors accordingly set the Respondent to his oration, and all were permitted to sit, for otherwise of order none in her presence may sit'.

'When the Respondent had ended his oration, four Masters of Arts...replied. With whom her Majesty was so much pleased that she by divers gestures declared the same, and sundry times stayed the Proctors from taking them up, and when they did cut them off she seemed to be offended, saying if she had the moderation they should not have been so abridged'...

'When the disputation was ended Mr Dr Haddon...determined the questions with a long and eloquent oration'.

Questions in Philosophy, in Latin:

1. Monarchy is the best form of government.
2. Frequent changes in the law are dangerous.

'As soon as this disputation was ended began the Act of Physic'.

Questions in Physic, in Latin:

1. Simple meals are preferable to rich ones.
2. One should eat more at dinner than at supper.

Dr Caius 'moved the questions. And then the Respondent made his position. The Doctors in their order disputed, being three. But because their voices were small and not audible her Majesty first said unto them *Loquimini altius* [*speak louder*], and when that would not help she left her seat and came to the stage over their heads, but because their voices were low, and that she could not well hear them, her Grace made not much of that disputation'.

'The questions were of one of her own physicians, Doctor of this University named Dr Huicke, determined, with whom her Majesty merrily jested when he desired licence of her Grace. After he had ended his oration, being about 7 o'clock, her Highness very merrily departed to her palace'.

'And about 9 o'clock came, as the night before, to a play called *Dido*, which was exhibited and played by and at the charges of the company of the King's College'. [*Dido*: a verse tragedy by Edward Halliwell, based on Virgil's *Aeneid*].

Court news. Aug 7, London, De Silva to Philip II:

'The Queen...will not return until the end of September, but she will not go far, and is already at the most distant point of her journey, a town called Cambridge, where there is a university. They are celebrating there some literary ceremonies and representations which have greatly pleased her... She will not stay there long and will hunt as she comes back'. [*Span.i.373*].

Aug 8, Tues Duke of Saxony's envoy in Cambridge.

Henricus Husanus arrived in London on July 31. On August 8 Cecil informed the Duke that his envoy came at a very inconvenient time, the Queen being on her progress, so that he could not obtain for him such an audience as he would have wished. Also August 8, from Cambridge, Husanus, being desirous to return, asked Cecil for a licence to buy two pacing horses for the Duke's wife and sister, and to be allowed to export some cloth. [SPF.vii.183,186].

De Silva to Philip II, Sept 4: 'An Ambassador from Duke William of Saxony to this Queen had arrived here and left again dissatisfied. I learn that his coming was to discuss religious matters and offer his services to the Queen in accordance with a certain treaty he has with her'. [Span.i.377].

Aug 8, Tues At Cambridge: play, *Ezechias*.

'Ordinary lectures, disputations, and frequenting of the same was done as the day before. In the afternoon, when all things were prepared as before for the Disputations in Divinity and Law, her Majesty...deferred the same till the next day'...

'At night, about the accustomed hour and in the same manner, her Highness came to the play, called *Ezechias*, in English, which was played by the King's College, and the charges thereof by them borne and then her Majesty went to her rest'. [*Ezechias*: by Nicholas Udall, based on the Old Testament book 2 *King's*].

'This day also order was taken that her Majesty should remain here one day longer than at the first it was appointed, for her gesses [itinerary] were to depart upon the Wednesday, and as the saying was if provision of beer and ale could have been made her Grace would have remained till Friday, her Highness was so well pleased with all things'.

Aug 9: A book of verses (composed in three weeks) was presented to the Queen, and carried by Sir William Cecil. It included 315 sets of verses by 255 authors (from colleges apart from King's, which presented its own book).

Purchased by Cambridge University Library in 1992. Excerpts from each set are in Verses presented to Queen Elizabeth I. (Cambridge, 1994).

Aug 9, Wed At Cambridge: visits to colleges; disputations; Queen's oration.

'After the ordinary lectures and disputations were done, about 9 o'clock the Queen's Majesty took her progress about the colleges, riding in state royal; all the lords and gentlemen riding before her Grace, and all the ladies following on horseback...From her palace she went first to Clare Hall, where the Master waited with all his company, and received her Majesty with an oration'.

'Then entered her Grace into the King's College, where the Provost stood with the whole household, and caused an oration to be made unto her Highness, and then gave unto her a fair book covered with red velvet containing all such verses as his company had made of her Grace's coming. There was also compiled in the said book the Founder of the said college, benefactors, and the names of all such persons as were of any worthy memory, which had been brought up in that college. Which book she received with a mild countenance, and delivered to one of her footmen'...

'Before her Highness came to the town...order was taken for making of two books to be exhibited unto her Grace. In the one should be written in Roman hand, all the verses both of Greek and Latin, Hebrew, Chaldee and English, which were made of her coming, and otherwise set up in divers places of the town'...

'In the other should be compiled and digested the Founders and benefactors of every college, the names of every company at this present time and their degrees, and the names of all those that had been brought up in the same, which had come to some great estimation in the world or been in any high function, as Bishops, Ambassadors'...

'These books were made and fair bound...and delivered unto Mr Secretary, who presented the same unto her Highness. And riding about to the colleges Mr Chancellor carried the books in his own hands, and at every college perused the same'.

'From the King's College her Majesty rode into Trinity Hall, and from thence to Gonville and Caius College, and in both places was received with an oration. From thence she departed unto Trinity College, and riding as in a lane in the midst of the company came almost to the east gate, where the Master stood and caused an oration in Greek to be made unto her Highness. Then she went to St John's College, and riding into the hall had there an oration'.

'From thence she rode to Christ's College, leaving Jesus College because it stood far out of the way, and in her journey the next morning she minded to see Magdalene College. At Christ's College was made an oration before her Majesty in Greek verses, for the which she rendered thanks in Greek, and the Master presented unto her a pair of gloves in remembrance of her grand-dame the Lady Margaret Countess of Richmond and Derby, Foundress of that college and St John's'.

'From thence her Grace, by the Market Hill and Butchery, came to Benet College [Corpus Christi], and because the time was passed she would hear no oration, but the Master gave unto her a pair of gloves and certain boxes of comfits'.

'From thence she went unto Pembroke Hall and Peterhouse, and in both places heard an oration. And at Peterhouse she much commended the son of Sir Walter Mildmay, which being a child made a very neat and trim oration and pronounced it very aptly and distinctly'. [Anthony Mildmay (c.1549-1617)].

'From thence her Majesty came home by the Queens' College, and St Catherine's Hall, only perusing the houses, because it was almost one o'clock'.

'And so returning to her lodging, as her Grace rode through the streets she talked very much with divers scholars in Latin, and at her lighting from her horse with Latin dismissed them'.

Also Aug 9: 'At 3 o'clock the University bell rang to the disputation in Divinity, unto which her Majesty came, as before'.

Questions in Divinity, in Latin:

1. The authority of Scripture is greater than that of the Church.
2. Civil magistrates have authority over ecclesiastical affairs.

'Five of the oldest Doctors were appointed to opugn the first question, and the rest the second...Afterwards put in mind by my Lord Robert that Mr Dr Baker was yet left behind in that cause to reply, she willed him to dispute also, alleging in open audience that he was her host, and that she feared to lack her lodging if she should chance to come again hereafter, if he should be disappointed. And so he disputed. After him disputed two Doctors...Because the time was passed (for it was about 7 o'clock) the other Doctors were stayed and then the...Bishop of Ely...with a solemn oration determined the conclusions'.

'At the end thereof the lords, and especially the Duke of Norfolk and the Lord Robert, kneeling humbly desired her Majesty to speak something unto the University in Latin. Her Highness at the first refused, saying that if she might speak her mind in English she would not greatly stick at the matter, but understanding by Mr Secretary that nothing might be said openly to the University in English, she required him the rather to speak, because he was Chancellor and the Chancellor is the Queen's mouth. Whereunto he answered that he was Chancellor of the University, and not hers. Then the Bishop of Ely kneeling said that three words of her mouth were enough. So, being moved on every side, she spoke at length'.

Anon: She 'made a marvellous, sententious and comfortable oration in Latin, signifying in the same her good will and great favour towards learning and the learned'.

In the Queen's speech she declared her intention actively to encourage learning, promised to follow her ancestors as a benefactor to the University, but quoted the proverb 'Rome was not built in a day'. She wishes to leave some famous monument behind her.

Two Queens founded Queens' College, and a King founded King's College. The Queen's great-grandmother, Lady Margaret Beaufort, founded Christ's College and St John's College. Her father, King Henry VIII, founded Trinity College.

In 1571 she became the Founder of Jesus College, Oxford, and in 1592 the Founder of Trinity College, Dublin.

'At this all being present marvellously astonied and inwardly rejoicing broke forth in open voice *Vivat Regina!* But the Queen's Majesty said...*Taceat Regina* [*may the Queen be silent*]. And wished that all they which heard her oration had drunk of the flood of Lethe'.

'And so her Majesty cheerfully departed to her lodging, for the night coming on clean took away the disputation of the Lawyers'.

'Great preparations and charges, as before in the other plays, were employed and spent about the tragedy of Sophocles entitled *Ajax Flagellifer* [*Ajax the Scourge-bearer*], in Latin, to be this night played before her. But her Highness as it were tired with going about the colleges, and hearing of disputations, and over-watched with the former plays, for it was very late nightly before she came to them, and also departed from them, and furthermore minding early in the morning to depart from Cambridge, and ride to her dinner unto a house of the Bishops of Ely at Stanton, and from thence unto her bed unto Hinchingsbrooke, of Sir Henry Cromwell's in Huntingdonshire about 12 miles from Cambridge, could not, as otherwise no doubt she would, with the like patience and cheerfulness as she was present at the other, hear the said tragedy, to the great sorrow not only of the players but of all the whole University'.

Aug 10, Thurs Queen's departure from Cambridge.

'Early in the morning was called a Congregation against 8 o'clock, in the which divers Lords of the Garter and other noblemen were made Masters of Art which gently accepted the offer of the University and were admitted and promised their fidelity to the University in the Chamber of Presence'...

'The Queen's Highness about 9 hasted to horseback, and at the porch of her lodging met her the Provost and certain of his company, where Mr Preston whom before in all his doings she marvellously well liked made a very goodly oration, taking their leave and bidding her Majesty farewell, with whom she then was so well pleased that she made him and openly called him her scholar, and in token thereof offered him her hand to kiss and so took her horse and departed'...

'Passing from the King's College by the Schools, Dr Perne and divers other of the University kneeled and wished her Grace in Latin a prosperous and safe progress, to whom she mildly answered again, with a loud voice *Valete omnes* [*Farewell all*]'.

'The Mayor on horseback and bearing his mace, with all the Aldermen, tarried for her Majesty against the west end of St Mary's Church, and so waited upon her unto the far end of Howes Causeway'.

'And coming by Magdalene College the Master and the company of the same ready to receive her Grace with an oration, her Highness excused her staying to hear the same by reason of the heat of the day and the press of the people, and therefore required the paper of the oration, which being exhibited she departed, and was by all men's prayers committed to the grace and tuition of Almighty God, who ever bless her. Amen'.

'The Duke of Norfolk accompanied her Majesty out of the town, and then returning entered Magdalene College and gave much money in the same'.

Norfolk's father-in-law Lord Audley founded Magdalene College, 1542.

Thomas Preston (1537-1598), a Fellow of King's, who made the farewell oration, was also in the Philosophy disputation; as she left the Queen gave him eight angels; later in 1564 he was granted an annuity of £20 from the Privy Purse. He became Master of Trinity Hall in 1585.

Matthew Stokes listed 'the sundry places where the Court and the several Offices thereunto belonging were kept at Cambridge'.

At Mr Ray's, Alderman: Duke of Norfolk.

Catherine Hall: Earl of Sussex.

Clare Hall: Lord Hunsdon.

Gonville and Caius College: Maids of Honour; Physicians.

King's College: 'Lady Strange, divers other Ladies, within the Fellows' Chamber'.

Queens' College: the Cofferer of the Household; the Masters and other Officers of Household; Dr Haddon.

St John's College: Earl of Oxford; Earl of Rutland; Sir William Cecil.

Trinity College: Earl of Warwick; Lord Robert Dudley (brothers).

Trinity Hall: the Lord Chamberlain (Lord Howard); Lord Clinton.

'The Choristers' School was made the Buttery; the Pantry and Ewery were two chambers in the King's College; the open Kitchens and Scullery were raised against St Austin's wall; the Cellar in the Provost's Buttery; the Council Chamber in the South Vestry; the Guard Chamber was the Lower Hall of the Provost's Place; the Chamber of Presence the lodging over that; the Gallery and other chambers served for the Queen's Lodging'.

Treasurers' Accounts of the town of Cambridge.

'A present given to the Queen's Majesty...a cup of silver gilded with a cover gilded, £16.2s; given in the same cup 40 angels, £20'. Lord Robert Dudley and seven others each received 'a marchpane and a sugar loaf'. There were 'rewards' to Heralds, to the Queen's Trumpeters and to other officials.

Extraordinary Charges included 'To Nicholas Johnson for riding for the Waits against the Queen's coming, 2s2d'.

Also 'the charges and expenses' of the Duke of Norfolk (High Steward of Cambridge) at Alderman Ray's house by the market-place, including payments for flesh, wine, bread, horse-bread, meal, lights, fish, grocery ware, double beer, 'riding to Walden to buy capons and chickens for the Duke'. [Saffron Walden].

Also £4 to the Mayor 'towards the charges of his housekeeping during the Queen's abode here'.

Great St Mary's churchwardens paid: 'To the Queen's Almoner's servant for not ringing at the Queen's coming, 2s2d'. [A fine levied by the Almoner].

'To Antony for 20 loads of sand to lay in and about the churchyard when the Queen was here, 13s4d; to the glazier for taking down, mending, and setting up the glass at the same time, 8s; William Prime for dressing the church, 12d'.

Aug 10, Thur dinner, Fenstanton, Hunts; Bishop of Ely.

The Queen rode from Cambridge 'unto a house of the Bishop of Ely at Stanton'.

Fenstanton house leased by Richard Cox (1500-1581), Bishop of Ely, whose first wife, Jane, died in 1568. He was formerly Tutor to the young Prince Edward, later King Edward VI.

[Aug 10] via Godmanchester and Huntingdon.

Gifts to the Queen: her Jewel-house later contained a 'gilt cup with a cover Godmanchester', and a 'gilt cup with a cover Huntingdon'. [Jewels, 328-9].

Aug 10, Thur **HINCHINGBROOKE**, Hunts; Mr Cromwell.

Hinchingbrooke House, Huntingdon; owned by Henry Cromwell (1537-1604), kinsman of Lord Cromwell; 1st wife: Joan (Warren), daughter of Sir Ralph Warren, mercer, twice Lord Mayor of London; she died in 1584. 'Finchingbrooke'.^w

Henry Cromwell was knighted. The Queen was godmother to his child (November 1564/February 1565). Sir Henry's second son Robert was the father of Oliver Cromwell, born 1599, Lord Protector of England 1653-1658.

[Aug 10] Masque by Cambridge University students, Hinchingbrooke.

De Silva to Duchess of Parma, Aug 19: 'When the Queen was at Cambridge they represented comedies and held scientific disputations, and an argument on religion, in which the man who defended Catholicism was attacked by those who presided, in order to avoid having to give him the prize. The Queen made a speech praising the acts and exercises, and they wished to give her another representation which she refused, in order to be no longer delayed'.

'Those who were so anxious for her to hear it followed her to her first stopping-place, and so importuned her that at last she consented. The actors came in dressed as some of the imprisoned bishops. First came the Bishop of London carrying a lamb in his hands as if he were eating it as he walked along, and then others with different devices, one being in the figure of a dog with the Host in his mouth. They write that the Queen was so angry that she at once entered her chamber using strong language, and the men who held the torches, it being night, left them in the dark, and so ended the thoughtless and scandalous representation'. [Span.i.375].

A Cambridge MS which includes a description of the Queen's Cambridge visit also includes the text of a masque, in rhyming couplets. It is not dated but appears to have been the masque at Hinchingbrooke, which was performed by torchlight (four marginal notes refer to 'torch'). [CUL MS Ff.v.14, f.141v].

'A masque before Queen Elizabeth'.

<i>Summoner</i>	<i>For maintaining of mametry and Anti-Christ's stock</i>
<i>Dog</i>	<i>Watch and ward we lambs out of Christ's flock.</i>
<i>Cardinal</i>	<i>Catch and dispatch them of conscience no care</i>
<i>Wolf</i>	<i>The more over match them the better we fare.</i>
<i>Hog</i>	<i>We root and we turn up all that comes in our way</i>
	<i>The faster we stroy the better we may.</i>
<i>Bishop</i>	<i>The more the merrier rake up green and ripe</i>
<i>Asses</i>	<i>The sound is so sweet we must dance to that pipe.</i>
<i>Baboons</i>	<i>Lest living licentious and fruitless be shent</i>
	<i>We give our evil gotten much worse to be spent.</i>
<i>Monk</i>	<i>So reign we in idleness, feed, sweat and gape</i>
<i>Raven</i>	<i>And croak after carrion to maintain that state.</i>
<i>Cats</i>	<i>That shameless be blameless and sin be not seen</i>
	<i>In covert we creep to such night birds as is been.</i>
<i>Friars</i>	<i>In council we catch that knowledge cannot keep</i>
<i>Owls</i>	<i>And live by the conference of silly simple sheep</i>
	<i>That crow not, that fend not, that feed not their flock</i>
<i>Capons</i>	<i>But themselves like as capons are fruits of this stock.</i>

Aug 11: death: Sir Richard Blount, Lieutenant of the Tower of London. His son Michael became Lieutenant in 1590.

Their monuments, with their wives and children, are in the Chapel of St Peter ad Vincula, at the Tower.

Court news. Aug 12, London, De Silva to Philip II:

'The Queen has been at Cambridge...she has now departed to finish her journey, which has been shortened, and she will arrive some days before the time arranged. They say that the cause of this is that the places she was to stay at are unhealthy, and she is much in fear of falling ill, which I do not wonder at if they tell her the prophecies that are current about her short life. Everybody is talking of them'. [Span.i.374].

c.Aug 12,Sat **KIMBOLTON CASTLE**, Hunts.^W

King Henry VIII's divorced first wife Queen Catherine of Aragon lived for her last two years at Kimbolton Castle, and died there in 1536.

Owner in 1564: Thomas Wingfield (1539-1592); 1st wife: Honora (Denny), daughter of Sir Anthony Denny, Chief Gentleman of the Privy Chamber of Henry VIII and one of King Edward VI's Privy Councillors, with whom the Queen spent part of her childhood at Cheshunt and Hatfield, Herts; he died in 1549.

c.Aug 16,Wed **BOUGHTON**, Weekley, Northants.^W

Boughton manor-house; owned by Edward Montagu, died 1601; wife: Elizabeth (Harington), daughter of James Harington, of Exton, Rutland; she died 1618.

Their monument is in St Mary's Church, Weekley.

Aug 18,Fri **LAUNDE**, Leics; Lord Cromwell.^W

Launde Abbey; owned by Henry 2nd Lord Cromwell (died 1592); wife: Mary (Paulet), daughter of Lord John Paulet, later 2nd Marquis of Winchester; she died 1592.

Lord Cromwell was the grandson of Thomas Cromwell, Henry VIII's Secretary, active in the Dissolution of the Monasteries (executed in 1540).

Aug 18: 'The Queen's Majesty at Launde in Leicestershire'.^B

Aug 20: new appointment: Sir Francis Jobson became Lieutenant of the Tower.

Aug 20, Launde, Chancery warrant.

Aug 21: *Sir William Cecil went to Belvoir Castle, Leicestershire, 'to see my Lord Latimer's daughter for my son'.^B*

Thomas Cecil (1542-1623) married Dorothy Nevill, the second of Lord Latimer's four daughters, in Yorkshire on 27 November 1564; they had 13 children.

Thomas Cecil became (1598) 2nd Lord Burghley, and (1605) 1st Earl of Exeter.

Aug 22, Valence, Sir Thomas Smith to Sir William Cecil:

It has been reported to me that Lord Arundel has given over his staff [of Lord Steward of the Household], and is in displeasure of the Queen. [SPF.vii.191].

c.Aug 23,Wed **BRAYBROOKE CASTLE**, Northants.^W

Braybrooke Castle; owned by Sir Thomas Griffin (1496-1566), a widower.

Brother of Edward Griffin of Dingley, Northants, whom the Queen visited in August 1566.

August: Northampton preparations for the Queen's visit.

Orders made in an Assembly, August 4, included: 'That there should be levied among the Commons and inhabitants of the town of Northampton to be presented unto the Queen's Majesty one hundred marks sterling; that every Mayor for the time being when any King or Queen shall fortune to come to Northampton shall hereafter have towards his charges the sum of £20 to be paid out of the treasure of the Chamber of Northampton'. The town was re-painted, the houses decorated with coloured hangings, the main streets strewn with sand.

[C.A.Markham and J.C.Cox, ed. Records of the Borough of Northampton, 2 vols. (Northampton, 1898), i.468-9].

c.Aug 26,Sat **NORTHAMPTON**; Mr Crisp.

'Mr Crisp's house in the town of Northampton'.^w

Civic reception and gift of an embroidered purse with 100 marks (£50.3s).
Cambridge University Audit Book: 'For Mr Baxter's charges and others that rode with him to the Council at Northampton against the townsmen', 27s5d.

c.Aug 29,Tues **EASTON NESTON**, Northants; Sir John Fermor.^w

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

Eston, Aug 31, Privy Council letter. [CUL MS Mm.2.24].

Aug 30/31 hunting, Grafton, Northants.

Grafton manor and park were Crown property.

There were Works payments at 'the honour of Grafton'.

Aug 30/31 dinner, Paulerspury, Northants; Sir Nicholas Throckmorton.

Paulerspury manor-house; owned by Throckmorton (c.1515-1571), formerly resident Ambassador to France; wife: Anne (Carew); she married (1572) Adrian Stokes.

In Paulerspury Church is a monument to Sir Nicholas's son Sir Arthur.

This visit is mentioned by the Spanish Ambassador (see Sept 4).

c.Sept 1,Fri **THORNTON**, Bucks; Mr Tyrell.^w

Thornton manor-house, Bucks; owned by George Tyrell, one of the Queen's Gentlemen Ushers who made houses ready for her in advance during progresses; he died in 1571; 2nd wife: Margery (Cooke).

c.Sept 2,Sat Sir Andrew **CORBET**'s house.^w [Cublington or Linslade, Bucks].

Cublington manor-house and Linslade manor-house, both near the Queen's route, were both owned by Sir Andrew Corbet (1522-1578), whose main residence was at Moreton Corbet, Shropshire; wife: Jane (Needham), died 1577.

Court news. Sept 4, London, De Silva to Philip II:

'The Queen returns on the 12th and there will then be greater facility for negotiating, as at present they think of nothing but hunting and the members of the Council are at their homes'...

'Lord Robert had told me that they had appointed to the Council a certain Throgmorton...a friend of Robert, whom he supports against Cecil. A friend of Cecil...signifies that Cecil has prevented it...He has not yet been admitted though the Queen told the [French] Ambassador when she was at his house the other day the same as Robert had told me'. [Span.i.376-7].

Sir Nicholas Throckmorton did not become a Privy Councillor.

Sept 4,Mon **TODDINGTON**, Beds; Mr Cheney.^w

Toddington manor-house; owned by Henry Cheney; died 1587;

wife: Jane (Wentworth), daughter of Thomas 1st Lord Wentworth; she died 1614.

Sept 4: Cecil wrote from Bedfordshire to a Scotsman. [Scot.ii.70].

Henry Cheney was knighted. He became in 1572 Lord Cheney of Toddington.

By Sept 7,Thur **SOPWELL**, St Albans, Herts; Sir Richard Lee.^w

Sopwell Hall, in St Peter's parish (adjacent to and later part of St Albans); owned by Sir Richard Lee (c.1501-1575), formerly Surveyor of the King's Works, and Surveyor of Calais; wife: Margaret (Grenville), daughter of Sir Richard Grenville, formerly Marshal of Calais.

Sept 7, 'At Sopwell near unto our town of St Albans', Chancery warrant.

Some of the royal stables were at St Albans, and the Works made payments for the Queen's 'barns, stables and smith's forge at St Albans'.

Court news. Sept 9, London, De Silva to the Duchess of Parma:

'The Queen will be coming on the 12th or 13th. Three days ago she sent me a stag, with a note saying that she sent it me because it had been killed by her own hands'. [KL.iv.101].

Sept 11, Antwerp, Richard Clough (Sir Thomas Gresham's agent, just arrived from England) to Sir Thomas Chaloner: 'The progress is now ended, and tomorrow the Queen's Majesty will be at my master's house by Brentford, where she tarries four meals'. 'Lord Robert, the Earl of Warwick, and Sir Nicholas Throckmorton are in great favour'. [SPF.vii.202].

Portraits of Sir Thomas Gresham and Richard Clough, by Dutch artists, c.1565, are reproduced in Elizabeth I & her People, ed. Tarnya Cooper, 132-133,136-137.

Sept 12, Tues dinner, Harrow, Middlesex. *William Wightman. Harrow parsonage was leased by William Wightman, Exchequer Receiver for Wales 1554-1580 (he employed a Deputy); wife: Audrey (Dering), died 1596. The Queen stayed at Harrow in 1571 with Wightman.

Sept 12, Queen wrote from Harrow on the Hill to Sir Thomas Smith, the letter being taken to France by the Earl of Bothwell. [SPF.vii.240].

Court news. Sept 12, Syon, Sir William Cecil to Sir Thomas Smith, in France (part in cipher): 'Upon the death of the Emperor [July 25], the Queen intendeth to send some person thither to condole and congratulate'. Reports 'begin to be whispered in the Queen's Privy Chamber...To tell you truth, there is more meant than condolence or congratulation, it may be an intention for the marriage with the Archduke...I pray you keep this very close'. [Wright, i.175-6].

Sept 12, Tues **OSTERLEY**, Middlesex; Sir Thomas Gresham.^w Osterley House, Isleworth; owned by Sir Thomas Gresham, mercer, the Queen's principal financial agent (1519-1579); wife: Anne (Ferneley), widow of William Read; she died in 1596.

Sept 13, Wed **ST JAMES'S PALACE.**

St Margaret Westminster churchwardens paid: 'To the ringers when the Queen's Majesty came from her progress to St James, 6d'.

St Martin in the Fields paid: 'For ringing when the Queen went a progress and at her coming again to St James, 2s'.

Privy Purse payment to Katherine Astley, Chief Gentlewoman of the Privy Chamber: 'Mrs Astley for her table in the Queen's absence in the progress time the 6th year, £100'.

Sept 16, St James, Lord Robert Dudley and Sir William Cecil to Lord Justice Arnold, in Ireland: The Queen has hastened to return from her progress for the consideration of the Irish affairs, etc. [SP63/11/88].

Sept 17, Sun Spanish Ambassador at St James's for audience.

Sept 18, London, De Silva to Philip II: 'The Queen arrived here in the night of the 13th, and I had audience of her on the 17th...She is sending a messenger of compliment and condolence to the new Emperor. The honours will be paid here, and St Paul's is being prepared for the ceremony [the Emperor's obsequies]'...

'The person whom this Queen is sending to visit the Emperor is instructed to re-open the negotiations about her marriage with the Archduke Charles, and Lord Robert himself proposed it in the Council'. [Span.i.379-380].

No envoy went to condole and congratulate.

Sept 20, Wed dinner, Westminster; Lady Marquis of Northampton.
Elizabeth (Brooke) (1526-1565), wife of William Parr, Marquis of Northampton.
She was in poor health and had been abroad in Spring 1564 seeking a cure.

Sept 23, De Silva to the Duchess of Parma:

'The Marchioness of Northampton is a great favourite of the Queen, and I am gaining the goodwill of her intimates, so as to gain more influence over her mistress. She is a person of great understanding, and is so much esteemed by the Queen that some little friction exists between her and Lord Robert [Dudley]'

On the 15th [20th] 'I sent to ask after the Marchioness's indisposition, and to ask her if I could visit her that afternoon. She sent to say that she should be delighted, and I went by water to Westminster, where she lives, and there found the Queen, who had gone over from St James to dine with her almost alone, and was there when I had sent word, as I afterwards found out. They played me this trick between them and kept the secret until I was in the Queen's presence and then laughed greatly at it'.

'I was there until almost night, the Marchioness on her couch and the Queen near her. What passed were mostly tales told by the Queen and ordinary conversation, into which she was constantly slipping some slight allusions to marriage. I told her she was wrong to keep the world in suspense and ought to decide. She laughed...On her return at nightfall to St James through the park she went on foot, although she had a carriage waiting, and took me part of the way with her. On the way she said that a Fool who was about there had advised her never to marry a German, as they were bad men'.

[Span.i.381; date, 20th: KL and CDI].

Sept 23, Queen to Sir William Cecil, in Latin:

I am in such a labyrinth that I do not know how to answer the Queen of Scotland after so long delay. Therefore find something good that I may put in Randolph's instructions and indicate your opinion to me.

Endorsed by Cecil: '23 Sept 1564, at St James. The Q. writing to me being sick. Scotland'. [Scot ii.76].

Thomas Randolph's Instructions: Oct 4,7.

Sept 23, London, De Silva to the Duchess of Parma: Count Oliver d'Arco, an Italian, has come here. [KL.iv.110].

Sept 26: *Trial, at the Guildhall, London. Four people were tried and found guilty of 'the stealing and receiving of the Queen's lye-pot, comb, and looking glass, with a bodkin of gold to braid her hair, and such other small ware out of her chamber in her progress'. Sept 28: 'Two of them which had been servants in Cheapside...were both hanged before the Court Gate, upon the gallows that stood on Hay Hill, which was for that time removed for that purpose to St James, before the wall, being at that time the Queen's court'.*

[Stow, *Memoranda*, 129]. Lye: used as a substitute for soap.

c.Sept 26-Oct 4: Scottish special Ambassador at Westminster.

James Melville (1535-1617), sent by the Queen of Scots.

Melville had instructions that as the Queen of Scots had received no letter from Queen Elizabeth for two months, he was to discover if her letters had been mis-interpreted, and if so what had caused offence. He was to answer the offer made by Thomas Randolph in March of Lord Robert Dudley's hand in marriage. He was also to enquire what was to be treated in the next Parliament, and had secret instructions to deal with the Countess of Lennox to procure permission for her son Lord Darnley to go to Scotland (which the Queen initially refused).

Melville's description is from his Memoirs of his Own Life, Bannatyne Club, 17 (1827), 115-127, spelling Anglicised.

c. Sept 27: James Melville at St James's for first audience.

Melville: 'Being arrived at London I took lodging near the court, which was at Westminster...My host advertised of my coming, and that same night her Majesty sent Mr [Thomas] Leighton...to welcome me in her name and to show me that the next morning she should be in her garden by eight hours, to give me audience; for she was advertised from the Earl of Bedford, Governor of Berwick, that I was by the way'.

'That same night Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, one of my old and dearest friends by long acquaintance...being for the time at court, came and supped with me... By him I had...friendly advice how to proceed with the Queen and every courtier in particular'...

'The next morning Mr Leighton and Mr Randolph, late Agent for the Queen of England in Scotland, came to my lodging to convey me to her Majesty, who was as they said already in the garden; and with them a servant of my Lord Robert's, with a horse and footmantle of velvet...for me to ride upon; which servant with the said horse awaited upon me all the time that I remained there'.

'I found her Majesty pacing in an alley; where after that I had kissed her hand, and presented my letter of credence, I told her Majesty in French the effect of my commission...The cause why I spoke French was that I was but lately come home, and could not as yet speak my own language so readily'...

[The Queen first complained of a letter in 'despightful language' from the Queen of Scots; after some discussion Melville satisfied her on that point].

'The old friendship being renewed, she enquired if the Queen had sent any answer anent [concerning] the proposition of a marriage [with Dudley] made to her by Mr Randolph'.

'I answered as I was instructed, that the Queen thought little or nothing thereof; but looked for the meeting of some Commissioners upon the Borders with my Lord of Murray and the Secretary Liddington [Lethington], to confer and treat upon all such matters of greatest importance as might concern the quietness of both the countries, and contentment of both the Queens' minds'. She 'is in hope that your Majesty will send my Lord of Bedford and my Lord Robert Dudley'.

'She said that it appeared I made but small account of my Lord Robert, seeing that I named the Earl of Bedford before him; but ere it were long she should make him a greater Earl, and that I should see it done before my returning home; for she esteemed him as her brother and best friend, whom she should have married herself, if ever she had been minded to take a husband'.

'But being determined to end her life in virginity, she wished that the Queen her sister should marry him, as meetest of all other; and with whom she might find in her heart to declare the Queen second person [in line to the throne], rather than with any other. For being matched with him, it would best remove out of her mind all fear and suspicion to be offended by usurpation before her death; being assured that he was so loving and trusty, that he would never give his consent, nor suffer such thing to be enterprised during her time'.

Sept 29, Fri **Peerage creation: Earl of Leicester**; at St James's Palace.

Lord Robert Dudley (1532-1588), created Baron Denbigh and Earl of Leicester.

Description by Holinshed:

On Michaelmas Day at St James Lord Robert 'attended on the Queen's Highness to the Chapel, and from the Chapel to service, and when he was returned to the Chamber of Presence the said lord with others departed to the Lord Chamberlain's chamber and shifted them: the said Lord Robert in his surcoat with the hood, his mantle borne before him by the Lord Hunsdon, and led by the Lord Clinton, Lord Admiral, by the right hand, and the Lord Strange on the left hand, in their Parliament robes, Garter bearing the Patent, and before him the Officers of Arms. And so proceeded into the Chamber of Presence, where the Queen's Highness sat under the cloth of estate with the noblemen on each side of her'.

'The Ambassador of France was also present, with another stranger, an Italian'.

'And when the said lord with the others came in the Queen's sight, they made their obeisance three times, the said lord kneeled down. After the which Garter presented the Letters Patent to the Lord Chamberlain, and he presented the same to the Queen's Highness, who gave it to Sir William Cecil Secretary, who read the same with a loud voice. And at the words of *Creavimus* [we have invested you] the Lord of Hunsdon presented the mantle to the Queen's Majesty, who put on the same, whereby he was created Baron of Denbigh for him and his heirs'.

'Then the Patent was read out to the end, after the which he delivered it to the Queen again, and her Highness gave it to the said lord, who gave her Majesty most humble thanks, and he rose up and departed to the chamber they came from, the trumpets sounding before him'.

'Then he shifted him of those robes, and put on the robes of state of an earl, and being led by the Earl of Sussex on the right hand, and the Earl of Huntingdon on his left hand, the Earl of Warwick bearing his sword the pommel upwards and the girdle about the same, all in their robes of state, the Lord Clinton Lord Admiral in his Parliament robes bearing his cap with the coronal, Garter before him bearing his Patent, and the other Officers of Arms before him, they proceeded as afore into the Chamber of Presence, where after they had made their obeisance the said Earl kneeled down, and Garter delivered his Patent to the Lord Chamberlain, who gave the same to the Queen's Majesty, and her Highness gave the same to Sir William Cecil Secretary to read, who read the same'.

'And at the words *cincturam gladii* [girding of the sword] the Earl of Warwick presented the sword to the Queen's Highness, who girt the same about the neck of the new Earl, putting the point under his left arm, and after her Majesty put on his cap with his coronal. Then his Patent was read out to the end, and then the said Secretary delivered it again to the Queen, and her Highness gave it to the said new Earl of Leicester, who gave her humble thanks for it'.

'And then he arose and went into the Council Chamber to dinner, the trumpets sounding before, and at dinner he sat in his kirtle, and there accompanied him the foresaid Ambassador of France, and the said Italian, with divers other earls and lords'.

'And after the second course Garter with the other Officers of Arms proclaimed the Queen's Majesty's style, and after the style of the said Earl, for the which they had £15, to wit, for his barony £5 and for his earldom £10, and Garter had his gown of black velvet'. [Holinshed, *Chronicles*].

James Melville: 'To cause the Queen my mistress to think the more of him, I was required to stay till I had seen him made Earl of Leicester, and Baron of Denbigh, with great solemnity at Westminster; herself helping to put on his ceremonial, he sitting upon his knees before her, keeping a great gravity and discreet behaviour; but she could not refrain from putting her hand in his neck to tickle him smilingly, the French Ambassador and I standing beside her'.

'Then she asked of me how I liked of him. I said, as he was a worthy subject, he was happy that had...a princess that could discern and reward good service. "Yet", she said, "you like better of yonder long lad", pointing towards my Lord Darnley, who as nearest prince of the blood bore the sword of honour that day before her. My answer again was, that no woman of spirit would make choice of such a man, that was liker a woman than a man, for he was very lusty, beardless, and lady-faced'.

'I had no will that she should think that I liked him, or had any eye or dealing that way; albeit I had a secret charge to deal with his mother my Lady Lennox to purchase leave for him to pass in Scotland, where his father was already, that he might see the country, and convey the Earl his father back again to England'.

Sept 29, Avignon, Sir Thomas Smith (Ambassador) to Lord Robert Dudley:

'This day at dinner De Mauvissière tells me that the King has chosen you knight and companion of the Order of St Michael'. [Pepys, 31].

Sept 30, Avignon, Smith to the Queen: The King has now, at the Feast of St Michael, accorded that you should have the nomination of one Knight of their Order. They esteem no man so meet as Lord Robert. [SPF.vii.215].

c.Sept 30-Oct 3: James Melville's audiences continued at court.

Melville: The Queen 'was determined to treat with the Queen my sovereign, first anent her marriage with the Earl of Leicester, and for that effect promised to send Commissioners to the Borders'.

'In the meantime I was favourably and familiarly used; for during nine days that I remained at that court, her Majesty pleased to confer with me every day, and sometimes thrice upon a day, to wit afore noon, after noon and after supper. Sometimes she would say that since she could not meet with the Queen her good sister herself, to confer familiarly with her, that she should open a good part of her inward mind unto me, that I might show it again unto the Queen'...

'She said that she was never minded to marry, except she were compelled by the Queen her sister's hard behaviour towards her'...

'I said "Madam, you need not to tell me that; I know your stately stomach: you think if you were married you would be but Queen of England, and now you are King and Queen both; you may not suffer a commander".'

'She appeared to be so affectionate to the Queen her good sister that she had a great desire to see her; and because their desired meeting could not be so hastily brought to pass, she delighted oft to look upon her picture, and took me into her bedchamber, and opened a little lectern wherein were divers little pictures wrapped within paper, and written upon the paper their names with her own hand'.

'Upon the first that she took up was written "My Lord's picture". I held the candle and pressed to see my Lord's picture. Albeit she was loth to let me see it, at length I by importunity obtained the sight thereof, and asked the same to carry home with me unto the Queen; which she refused, alleging she had but that one of his. I said again that she had the principal: for he was at the farthest part of the chamber, speaking with the Secretary Cecil'.

'Then she took out the Queen's picture and kissed it, and I kissed her hand, for the great love I saw she bore to the Queen. She showed me also a fair ruby, great like a racket ball. Then I desired that she would either send it as a token unto the Queen, or else my Lord of Leicester's picture. She said, if the Queen would follow her counsel, that she would get them both with time, and all that she had; but should send her a diamond for a token with me'.

'Now it was late after supper; she appointed me to be with her the next morning by eight hours, at which time she used to walk in her garden; and enquired sundry things of me of this country, or other countries wherein I had lately travelled; and caused me to eat with her dame of honour, my Lady Stafford, an honourable and godly lady, who had been at Geneva, banished during the reign of Queen Mary, that I might be always near her Majesty, that she might confer with me'...

'The Queen my Sovereign had instructed me sometimes to leave matters of gravity, and cast in some purposes of merriness...Therefore in declaring the customs of Dutchland, Poland and Italy, the...clothing of the dames and women was not forgot, and what country weed was best suited for gentlewomen to wear. The Queen of England said she had of divers sorts; which every day so long as I was there she changed; one day the English weed, one the French, and one the Italian, and so of others; asking of me which of them suited her best. I said the Italian weed; which pleased her well, for she delighted to show her golden coloured hair, wearing a caul and bonnet as they do in Italy. Her hair was redder than yellow, curled apparently of nature'.

'Then she entered to discern what kind of colour of hair was reputed best; and enquired whether the Queen's or hers was best, and which of them two was fairest. I said the fairness of them both was not their worst faults. But she was earnest with me to declare which of them I thought fairest. I said she was the fairest Queen in England, and ours the fairest Queen in Scotland. Yet she was earnest. I said, they were both the fairest ladies of their courts, and that the Queen of England was whiter'...

'She enquired which of them was of highest stature. I said our Queen. Then she said the Queen was over high, and that herself was neither over high nor over low. Then she asked what kind of exercises she used. I said that... the Queen was but new come back from the Highland hunting; and when she had leisure from the affairs of her country she read upon good books, the histories of divers countries, and sometimes would play upon lute and virginals. She asked if she played well. I said, reasonably for a Queen'.

'That same day after dinner my Lord of Hunsdon drew me up to a quiet gallery that I might hear some music...where I might hear the Queen play upon the virginals. But after I had hearkened a while, I took by the tapestry that hung before the door of the chamber, and seeing her back was toward the door I entered within the chamber and stood still at the door cheek, and heard her play excellently well; but she left off so soon as she turned her about and saw me, and came forwards seeming to strike me with her left hand, and to think shame; alleging that she used not to play before men, but when she was solitary...to eschew melancholy, and asked how I came there. I said, as I was walking with my Lord of Hunsdon, as we passed by the chamber door I heard such melody which ravished and drew me within the chamber I wist not how'...

'Then she sat down low upon a cushion, and I upon my knee beside her, but she gave me a cushion with her own hand to lay under my knee, which I refused, but she compelled me; and called for my Lady Stafford out of the next chamber... Then she asked whether the Queen or she played best. In that I gave her the praise. She said my French was good, and asked if I could speak Italian, which she spoke reasonably well...Then she spoke to me in Dutch, but it was not good; and would know what kind of books I liked best, whether of theology, history, or love matters. I said I liked well of all the sorts'.

'I was earnest to be dispatched, but she said that I tired sooner of her company nor she did of mine. I said, albeit I had no occasion to tire, that it was time to return; but I was stayed two days longer till I might see her dance, as I was informed; which being done, she enquired of me whether she or the Queen danced best. I said the Queen danced not so high and disposedly as she did'.

'Then again she wished that she might see the Queen, at some convenient place of meeting. I offered to convey her secretly in Scotland by post, clothed like a Page disguised, that she might see the Queen...and how that her chamber should be kept as though she were sick, in the meantime, and none to be privy thereto but my Lady Stafford and one of the Grooms of her Chamber. She said Alas! if she might do it; and seemed to like well of such kind of language, and used all the means she could to persuade the Queen of the great love that she bore unto her, and was minded to put away all jealousies and suspicions, and in times coming a straiter friendship to stand between them than ever had been before; and promised that my dispatch should be delivered unto me very shortly, by Mr Cecil at London. For now she was passed to Hampton Court, where she gave me my answer by mouth herself, and her Secretary by writing'.

'The next day my Lord of Leicester desired me to sail in his barge down the water of Thames to London, which was ten miles from Hampton Court. He had in his company his good brother Sir Harry Sidney'...

'Landing at London, our dinner was prepared by the Earl of Pembroke... That after dinner I took my leave at the French Ambassador'. (See Oct 4).

Court news. Oct 2, De Silva, of Dudley's new title: Earl of Leicester 'they say is a title usually given to the second sons of the Kings of England. There were the usual rejoicings and dancing in the palace'. [Span.i.382].

Oct 2-3: *St Paul's Cathedral: Obsequies for Emperor Ferdinand.*

Chief Mourner: Marquis of Winchester. Sermon by Edmund Grindal, Bishop of London. Text: Matthew 24:44: 'Therefore be ye also ready, for the Lord will come at the hour which ye think not on'.

Printed, 1564, with list of principal mourners. [Grindal, *Remains*, 2-33; his only extant sermon]. Also printed in a Latin translation.

Marsilio della Croce to John Shers, Dec 2, Venice: The Count Olivero d'Arco has returned from England, where he saw performed the obsequies of the Emperor Ferdinand, at a cost which exceeded 12,000 crowns for decorations, alms to the poor, and banquets, as is the custom there [Pepys, 36: Italian].

Oct 4, Sir William Cecil to Sir Thomas Smith, from my house next Savoy:

'The time being already so far spent, I think best to stay the embassy of condoling, and to send hereafter to congratulate the Coronation [of Emperor Maximilian]...The Queen's Majesty hath been at great charges with the exequies for the Emperor...The Bishop of London made so good and discreet a sermon, as it shall be printed in English and Latin'...

'My Lord Robert is made Earl of Leicester, and his preferment in Scotland is earnestly intended'. [Wright, i.177].

c.Oct 4: James Melville's departure.

Melville: 'The day appointed I got my dispatch from Secretary Cecil, together with a letter of credit and a more ample declaration of the Queen's mind, touching the same answers that she had made unto me herself...When I took my leave the Secretary Cecil conveyed me through the close to the outer gate of his palace, so I may call it, after he had put a fair chain about my neck himself'..

'My Lady Lennox sent also tokens to the Queen, a ring with a fair diamond; an emerald to my Lord her husband, who was yet in Scotland; a diamond to my Lord of Murray; an horologe...set with diamonds and rubies, to the Secretary Liddington; a ring with a ruby to my brother Sir Robert; for she was still in good hope that her son my Lord Darnley should come better speed than the Earl of Leicester, anent [concerning] the marriage with the Queen. She was a very wise and discreet matron, and had many favourers in England for the time'.

The Queen of Scots had questioned Thomas Randolph about Queen Elizabeth's appearance, health, pastimes, etc. (15 July 1562).

Melville states that the Queen had moved to Hampton Court, but no supporting evidence has been found for this. He made several visits to the English court, and wrote his *Memoirs* in his old age.

The Queen of Scots married Lord Darnley in 1565.

Oct 4, Memorial for Thomas Randolph, with the Queen's reasons to give the Queen of Scots for the long stay of her answer as to Mary's marriage, including:

News came of offers made to Mary for her marriage, and that the particular offers, meant to be secretly dealt in, were known in France, and that she would direct herself by the advice of her other friends.

The Queen has prorogued Parliament, meaning to have no assembly wherein the interest of the Queen of Scots might be called in question. She is determined to continue her former motion [offering Lord Robert], and appoints Randolph to attend the Earl of Bedford to commune with any person whom Mary shall name.

[Scot.ii.79-80]. Instructions to the Earl of Bedford: October 7.

Oct 6, Fri Spanish Ambassador at St James's for audience.
De Silva to Philip II, Oct 9: 'Robert [Leicester] sent to ask me to dine with him as I could pass from his apartments to those of the Queen at an early hour.. I afterwards went to the Queen...The Queen wrote to the Queen of Scotland by the Gentleman of the Chamber who came here [Melville], saying that...the question of the succession to the kingdom...would be dealt with when Parliament sat'.

'Verbally she told the gentleman that she was not so old yet that they need continually keep her death before her eyes by talking about the succession'...

'This Queen, referring no doubt to the beginning of her reign, told me that she had had to conceal her real feelings to prevail with her subjects in matters of religion, but that God knew her heart...I told her...that her preachers spoke ill of her because she had a cross on the altar of her chapel...She signified that she should order crosses to be put into the churches'...

'She said also "They charge me with a good many things in my own country and elsewhere, and, amongst others, that I show more favour to Robert than is fitting; speaking of me as they might speak of an immodest woman. I am not surprised that the occasion for it should have been given by a young woman and young man of good qualities, to whose merits and goodness I have shown favour, although not so much as he deserves, but God knows how great a slander it is, and a time will come when the world will know it. My life is in the open, and I have so many witnesses that I cannot understand how so bad a judgement can have been formed of me". She said 'that the French had approached her with a view to her marrying their King...She however had laughed at it, and treated it as a thing not to be spoken of considering their ages'. [Span.i.386-388].

Oct 6: Vintners' Company 'Spent at The Star [in Cheapside] at Mr Cox coming to town from the Queen's progress...for his welcome home, certain of the Company being there, 6s11d'. The Master of the Vintners 1570-1572 was William Cox.

Oct 7, Sat Queen's Instructions for the Earl of Bedford and Thomas Randolph, to treat with the Queen of Scots' Commissioners, concerning her marriage:

Nothing is more meet for the profit of the two realms than to have the Queen of Scots married to some of the noble blood of this realm. She can see none more apt than one whom for his noble gifts she esteems meet to be bestowed in the company of Kings and Princes. That person is Lord Robert Dudley, lately made Earl of Leicester. She earnestly desires that her sister might content herself therewith.

For persuasion whereof they may use these reasons: that nothing can more conserve the amity betwixt these two nations than that she may marry with one of this nation. Seeing they two cannot be joined by marriage, the second degree to make them and their realms happy is that Mary marry him whom Elizabeth favours and loves as her brother.

Therewith are joined such advantages for her sister as she knows not how by any other person she should have the like. She shall find no one greater elsewhere for the nobility of his house, and connection in blood with the greater part of her nobility.

If the Scots shall press Bedford and Randolph to know what Elizabeth will do concerning establishing Mary's title (who claims to be her next cousin and heir), they may say they see no way in her power more likely to further it.

If they shall require of what sufficiency she will make Lord Robert for his private estate, they shall say she has already begun to advance him both to honour and livelihood, and therein means not to deal sparingly with him.

And if she, Mary, shall be conversant with her, Elizabeth, in this realm, and living with her, she will gladly bear the charges of the family, both of the Earl of Leicester and her.

In this manner may they treat with the Commissioners, and omit no means to understand whether this offer is like to take place. [SPF.vii.219-220].

Oct 9, Queen to Sir Thomas Smith, as to the proposal for the Earl of Leicester to be a Knight of St Michael: We wish proceedings stayed at present, as we would not have him 'burdened by way of calumination and envy'. [SPF.vii.222].

12 October 1564-June 1566: Thomas Randolph was Agent in Scotland.

Oct 12, Antwerp, John Martial, 'Bachelor of Laws and Student in Divinity', dedicated to the Queen: 'A Treatise of the Cross gathered out of the Scriptures, Councils, and ancient Fathers of the primitive Church'.

Dedicated 'To the most gracious and clement' Queen, by 'your loving and faithful subject John Martial'. 'Knowing your Majesty to be one of the noblest personages that liveth this day in Europe, in all princely prowess and gifts of nature equal with the chief, and inferior to none, and so well affectioned to the cross...that your Majesty have always kept it reverently in your chapel, notwithstanding many means have been made to the contrary, by the privy suggestions and open sermons of such as without order of law, or authority given by express commandment from your Majesty (as it is thought) have in all churches, chapels, oratories, highways, and other places of your most noble realm thrown down the sign of the cross, and image of our saviour Christ, and in most despiteful manner abused it, and in common assemblies have called it an Idol, and keepers of the same idolators, I have adventurously presumed to recommend and dedicate this little Treatise of the Cross to your Majesty'.

[For a sermon at court attacking Martial's book see 7 March 1565].

18 Oct 1564-20 Sept 1565: John Hawkins' second slave-trading voyage.

Captain Hawkins had made his first voyage in 1562-1563.

He sailed from Plymouth with four ships: *The Jesus of Lubeck*; *The Solomon*; *The Swallow*; *The Tiger*. They visited the coast of Guinea, Florida, and several islands in the West Indies. If challenged by Spanish officials Hawkins declared that he was 'in an Armada of the Queen's Majesty's of England'.

After his trading was complete, Hawkins set off from Florida on 28 July 1565, arriving at Padstow in Cornwall on 20 Sept 1565. [Hakluyt, vii.6-52].

Oct 21, Tarascon, Sir Thomas Smith to the Queen: The Rhinegrave is to bring the Order of St Michael, and Mauvissière is to come with him from the Queen Mother with certain attires of divers nations, set upon puppets, to show you.

[SPF.vii.226]. These plans were changed: see November 20.

Nov 3, Edinburgh, Thomas Randolph to Sir William Cecil:

In my conferences with Moray and Lethington, of Lord Darnley not a word was spoken; though here it is through all mens' mouths that it is a thing concluded in this Queen's heart [to marry him].

I have talked so many times with this Queen that men wonder with what matter we occupy time. I make some believe that wooers and lovers never lack language. She is much inclined to think well of my Sovereign and please her in all things reasonable, following in her marriage more of her advice than any other...

She will not offend my mistress...but honour her as her eldest sister, and follow her counsel as her mother. She willingly enough hears now of marriage.

Nov 7, Edinburgh, Thomas Randolph to the Earl of Leicester: I wish you were at Berwick on the 18th...to say something for yourself...How happy is your life that between these two Queens are tossed to and fro! Your Lordship's luck is evil if you light not in some of their laps that love so well to play.

[Scot.ii.89-90, 93]. Randolph and the Earl of Bedford had arranged to meet at Berwick Mary's Commissioners: Earl of Moray and William Maitland of Lethington.

Nov 9, Sir Thomas Smith to the Queen: The King has said that your Majesty can name a second person to be a Knight of St Michael. The Queen Mother asked when you would marry, and whether you would marry Lord Robert. To the first I said I knew not; to the second, I thought rather nay than yea. [SPF.vii.241].

c.Nov 17: Andrew Beaton at Whitehall, on his way from France to Scotland. De Silva to Philip II, Nov 21: 'Some four days since a Frenchman belonging to the household of the Queen of Scotland passed through here, and lodged with the French Ambassador...He visited this Queen and departed...He said they were talking in Scotland of the marriage of the Queen of Scots with Don John of Austria'. [Span.i.394]. Andrew Beaton (a Scot) was back at court on Dec 15.

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

From early in the reign churches rang their bells on November 17 to celebrate the anniversary of the Queen's Accession. The growth of the custom of bell-ringing, which spread to every parish, can be traced from payments by parish churchwardens and city chamberlains. It came to be accompanied by other celebrations, and by special sermons, prayers, and alms-giving, and at court by a tournament, the Accession Day Tilt.

The anniversary came to be referred to not as Accession Day but usually as 'Coronation day' or 'the Queen's day', also as 'Queen's night', 'the Queen's holiday', 'Crownation day', 'the Queen's Anniversary day'.

In Lincolnshire, and adjacent counties in the vast Diocese of Lincoln, the day was often described as 'St Hugh's Day' (even at the end of the reign), in memory of Hugh of Lincoln, Bishop of Lincoln 1186-1200, canonized in 1220, whose feast day was November 17.

The earliest payments so far found are in two London parishes in 1564.

St Botolph Aldersgate: 'For ringing the 17th day of November, and when the Queen's Majesty went to the Lord Treasurer's [July 26], 2s'.

St Peter Westcheap: 'To the sexton for ringing in memory of the Queen's happy regiment [rule], 4d'.

c.Nov 19, Sun Portuguese envoy at Whitehall for audience.

De Silva to Philip II, Nov 21, London: 'On the 13th instant there arrived at my house a servant of the King of Portugal called Aires Cardoso. He came by post'.

His business is to prevent English ships 'from sailing for Guinea and the English from trafficking there. I do not think he will get much satisfaction on either point as the ships have already sailed, and...the Queen says she sees no reason why her subjects should not go where the French go'.

'She received him well...I stood aside and told the Queen I would leave her alone, so that the King's servant might not miss his chance, his master being a marriageable youth [born in January 1554]'...

'When the Portuguese had finished his business, the Queen...asked me if I had news of the voyage of your Majesty...to Flanders next summer. I told her no. They say so, quoth she, and I should be glad if the King my brother would put up at this inn on the road whilst I keep it, so that we might regale him as is my duty'. [Span.i.394-5].

Nov 19: death: Lord John Grey died at his house, Pyrgo, Havering, Essex. He was uncle to 'Queen' Lady Jane Grey, Lady Catherine Grey, and Lady Mary Grey. Lady Catherine Grey had been moved from Pyrgo to Sir William Petre's house at Ingatestone, Essex, before her uncle died.

Funeral: Pyrgo Chapel. Lord John's son Henry Grey (c.1547-1614), succeeded to his estates. He was created (1603) Lord Grey of Groby.

The widowed Mary (Browne), Lady Grey, married in the 1570s Henry Capell, of Little Hadham, Herts; she died in 1614.

Nov 20, Arles, Sir Thomas Smith to Sir William Cecil: *The coming of the Rhinegrave and De Mauvissière is prorogued, because Queen Elizabeth is not resolved who shall have the Order of St Michael.* [SPF.vii.246].

Mauvissière alone arrived in May 1565 with camels, mules, and a litter.

Court news. Nov 21, De Silva to Philip II, of the Earl of Arundel, who resigned as Lord Steward of the Household during the summer: 'Since he went out of office...he was at liberty to leave his house here...About four days ago they made him go to the Earl of Pembroke's house...and there he was examined by Cecil and others of the Council. They have ordered him not to leave his house, and no one is to visit him or enter the house except his own people'. His house 'has been much frequented by the principal nobles and gentlemen'. [Span.i.392-3].

Nov 26, St James, Sir William Cecil to Sir Thomas Smith (part in cipher):

'My Lord of Moray and Lethington are upon the frontier treating friendly with our Wardens for Border matters, but that is I think a cloak to deal upon another matter, that is to commune of a marriage between the Queen of Scots and Leicester, which I think will not succeed'...

'The Queen's Majesty continueth her displeasure towards John Hales, for his foolish attempt in writing the book so precisely against the Queen of Scotland's title, who remaineth in the Tower...My Lord Keeper [Bacon] also is kept from the court, and from intermeddling with any other thing but with the Chancery'...

'Lord John Grey died five days past at Pyrgo, of whom his friends report that he died also of thought, but his gout was sufficient to have ended his life'.

'My Lord of Arundel remaineth as prisoner in his house [Arundel House]. His offence was that being discontented with sundry things, as he said, of interruptions in his office, he surrendered his staff [as Lord Steward] with sundry speeches of offence to the Queen's Majesty, whereof I think surely he was afterward sorry...Since his committing he hath newly offended by using his house too openly for resort of strangers to him. He now useth his imprisonment circumspectly, and maketh all means to crave favour'...

'The Earl [of Hertford] remaineth with Mr Mason [Sir John Mason], and my Lady Catherine with Mr Petre [Sir William Petre]'.

[PS]. 'A gentleman of Portugal hath been here to solicit a prohibition for our ships not to sail to the Mina;...answered with good words, as others have been'.

[Wright, i.179-180].

November, Cecil noted: 'The Lord Keeper in the Queen's displeasure, upon suspicion that he dealt in the matter of succession'.^B

Sir Nicholas Bacon, who had helped John Hales gather legal opinions, remained in displeasure until March 1565, when the Queen visited him.

November: *christening*. Queen was godmother to 'Lord Dacre of the North's child'.^T Parents: Thomas 4th Lord Dacre of the North; 2nd wife: Elizabeth (Leyburn). Child: 3rd daughter, Elizabeth Dacre, born c.12 November 1564; she married (1577) Lord William Howard, son of Thomas Howard 4th Duke of Norfolk, who had married the widowed Lady Dacre in 1567.

November/December 1564-mid February 1565, *christening*: Queen was godmother to 'Mrs Bainton's child'.^T Son, who died in infancy.

Parents: Edward Baynton (c.1520-1593); 1st wife: Agnes (Rhys); died 1574, having had 13 children, of whom only three survived her.

November/December 1564-mid February 1565, *christening*: Queen was godmother to 'Sir Henry Cromwell's child'.^T Of Hinchbrooke, Hunts, where the Queen stayed in August 1564. Parents: Sir Henry Cromwell; wife: Joan (Warren). Child: possibly 1st son Oliver (1562/1566-1655).

Court news. Dec 4, De Silva to Philip II: 'This Queen is well. She had intended to go for a few days hunting, but the weather has been so bad with high winds and heavy rains that she has been unable to go'. [*Span.i.397*].

Edmund Forster made ready in November at Oatlands Palace and at Windsor.^T

Dec 6,Wed Sir Thomas Wroth at St James's on return from Ireland.^B

Wroth (1518-1573) had been in Ireland as assistant to the Lord Justice. The Queen wrote: 'We mislike so much of your remissness to satisfy us in this commission that except you can better answer to your doings we shall think it reason to cause you to make account thereof'. Wroth was recalled. [*SP63/11/90*].

Dec 7,Thur **WHITEHALL PALACE.**

St Martin in the Fields: 'For ringing at the Queen's removing from St James to Whitehall the 7th of December, 8d'.

Dec 9,Sat Cecil noted 'The Queen's Majesty sore sick of the flux'.^B

Dec 15,Fri Andrew Beaton at Whitehall, returning to France from Scotland.

De Silva to Philip II, Dec 18: 'On the 14th there arrived here a brother of the Queen of Scotland's Ambassador in France, who had recently passed through on his way from France to Scotland...He came to see me as soon as he arrived, and visited me for a short time the next morning...I asked after his Queen... All was well, only that his Queen did not marry. I wished him to stay and dine with me...but he excused himself by saying that he was going to the palace to take leave of the Queen...At one o'clock at night the gentleman arrived, having finished his business with the Queen'. [*Span.i.399*].

Andrew Beaton's brother James Beaton, the last Catholic Archbishop of Glasgow, was for 40 years Scottish Ambassador to France, for Mary and King James.

Court news. Dec 15, Sir William Cecil to Sir Thomas Smith:

'The Queen's Majesty fell perilously sick on Saturday last [December 9]... We feared a flux. She is somewhat weakened, but in health, and will attend to her affairs after Saturday, which is tomorrow. Assure you she is clearly whole, but for the time she made us sore afraid'. [*Wright, i.181*].

Dec 16, Westminster, Sir William Cecil to the Earl of Moray, and Lethington:

I think it true that sundry practices are imagined abroad for the marriage of your mistress, as the like have long been and continue to be for the marriage of mine. And there is good reason to move many to think and devise both their marriages, being for their persons of such singular estimation and for their monarchies of such reputation as in Christendom none has been these many ages comparable to either of them. [He goes on to list the advantages of a marriage for Mary with the Earl of Leicester, whom his Queen thinks best for her].

As to naming Mary her successor, I have had a consultation with the Queen. 'You both know how ticklish a matter it is for princes to determine of their successors'. Let not this negotiation 'be converted to a matter of bargain or purchase', with an intention to obtain a kingdom and crown. [*SPF.vii.263-4*].

Court news. Dec 18, De Silva to Philip II: 'This Queen was attacked with a fever ten days since which was so severe as to cause her household some uneasiness. The fury of it has now abated and she is better but weak'.

'On the 17th I had audience to conclude the business touching trade between Flanders and this country, which affair was finally settled to the satisfaction of all parties'...

'It was asserted that the Order of St Michael would not be given to the Earl of Leicester, and that...Leicester had petitioned the Queen not to command him to receive it. The Queen now tells me that...she had written to the Queen Mother saying that to avoid jealousy being felt against Leicester by the other lords, she begged her to give the Order to some other who might receive it at the same time. This was conceded and this Queen was to choose the other recipient'.

As to the Queen of Scots: 'They say...a proposal has been made to her by this Queen that she should choose between the following three Englishmen: the Earl of Leicester, the Duke of Norfolk, and the son of Lady Margaret Lennox, and that if she married any of them she would be declared heiress to the Crown. She was willing to marry an Englishman if the succession was declared, but not the Earl of Leicester'. She has asked for Lady Lennox's son Lord Darnley to have licence to come to Scotland. [Span.i.398-399].

Dec 19, Geneva, Théodore de Bèze (1519-1605), known in England as Dr Beza, dedicated his Latin translation of the New Testament (4th edition) to the Queen, declaring that she, next after God, gives England peace and pure religion.

The book was sent to the Queen in 1565: see 1 June 1565.

Dec 22, Cornelius de Lanoy to Sir William Cecil, from L'Epée d'Or hostelry in Bruges: I desire to put at the service of the Queen the fruit of 30 years of work; but fear I will be confused with alchemists, who deserve punishment. I have found the way to make pure gold, diamonds, emeralds, and all precious stones. I draw out of metals, stones, herbs, oil, sulphur and salt what serves to make the 'pantaura', which possesses every virtue in the world to cure illnesses. With 10 gold marks when in England I can make a thousand in four months. [KL.iv.150]. Lanoy was permitted to come to England in 1565; there he was regarded as an alchemist.

Court news. Dec 23, De Silva to Philip II: 'The Queen is convalescent from her indisposition. I was with her yesterday'...

'Five or six days since there arrived here the Count of Luxemburg, a German ...I have not been able to obtain any particulars of his objects in making the journey. The Earl of Leicester has given him a good reception. It is he who always undertakes this duty'. [Span.i.400].

Dec 24, Edinburgh, Earl of Moray and William Maitland of Lethington to Sir William Cecil, in reply to his letter of December 16:

For our mistress's marriage there are sundry practices in hand, which we mislike, and which we will disappoint so far as we can.

In conference at Berwick we had said that Lord Robert, simply considered as Lord Robert, was no fit match for our Queen, being by inheritance Queen of a realm, and once matched with the greatest King in the world. All we stood on was the honour and reputation of our mistress, for which we demanded that she might have free choice, rather than for any misliking we have of the Earl of Leicester. Although you have said much to Lord Robert's praise, yet it is no more than he deserves.

If her Majesty will nowise establish the succession of her Crown, then we will never have the credit to induce our mistress to marry an Englishman, lacking the chief argument that may work any persuasion, neither will we speak one word more of it. Might not we say that you also hunt for a kingdom, and go about under that pretence to make an Englishman King of Scotland?

To break off would be less offence now than when we have further proceeded. We see no cause why the amity should be dissolved, although Queen Mary marries where her heart shall be best inclined, in whatsoever country it be. The best way would be for you to come here to treat of it with her. [SPF.vii.268-271].

Christmas 1564-New Year 1565:

Two plays, by Earl of Warwick's Men.^T

Also masque and 'show', and tragedy by Richard Edwards, acted by the Children of the Chapel Royal. *Damon and Pythias*.

For 'Edwards tragedy' the Revels made payments to tailors, painters, carvers, silkwomen, mercers 'and linen drapers for canvas to cover divers towns and houses and other devices and clouds for a masque and a show and a play by the Children of the Chapel'. [Revels, 116].

The 'tragedy' by Richard Edwards, Master of the Children of the Chapel, was entered by the Stationers, 1567-68, as a 'tragical comedy'. It was printed in 1571 entitled: *The excellent comedy of two the most faithfullest Friends, Damon and Pythias. Newly imprinted, as the same was showed before the Queen's Majesty, by the Children of her Grace's Chapel*. It concludes with prayers for the Queen.

Court news. Dec 29, Westminster, Sir William Cecil to Sir Thomas Smith, in France, concerning the Order of St Michael: 'The matter for accepting of the election of my Lord of Leicester to be of that Order hath been here sundry times diversely intended, sometime to accept it alone, sometime with a companion, and for him some alteration, sometime my Lord Marquis, sometime my Lord of Sussex, sometime my Lord of Norfolk hath been required. In the end the Queen's Majesty meaneth to defer all. And beside this variation, wherein were spent almost twelve days, the cold here hath so assailed us that the Queen's Majesty hath been much troubled...Her Majesty is only cumbered with pain in her nose and eyes, otherwise she is, thanked be God! in good and perfect health'.

'On New Year's Day shall the intercourse open [trade with Spain]'...

'We have had perpetual frosts here since the 16th of this month. Men do now ordinarily pass over the Thames, which I think they did not since the 8th year of the reign of King Henry the VIII [1516-1517]'. [Wright, i.157-8].

Dec 30-3 Jan 1565: River Thames was frozen from London Bridge to Westminster. 'Divers of the court being then at Westminster shot daily at pricks [archery targets] set upon the Thames'. [Stow, Annals].

Dec 31: death. Edward 1st Lord North (c.1496-1564) died at the Charterhouse, Middlesex, which he ordered to be sold to pay his debts. Will: 20 March 1564.

With reference to his manors he made a bequest to the Queen: 'Considering my duty to my Sovereign Lady the Queen's Majesty, as I am thereunto bound by the laws and statutes of this Realm, I do leave and relinquish one whole and full third part of all my said manors lands and tenements and hereditaments held of our Sovereign Lady the Queen's Majesty...in the counties of Middlesex, Cambridge, Suffolk and Huntingdon or elsewhere within the Realm of England to descend and come to my son and heir apparent Sir Roger North...to the intent the said Queen's Majesty may thereof be satisfied of such wardship...and other profits as to her Majesty appertaineth by the laws of this Realm to have'.

Funeral: Kirtling Church, Cambridgeshire, where his monument remains. Sir Roger North (1531-1600) became 2nd Lord North. The Duke of Norfolk purchased the Charterhouse, and named it Howard House. The widowed Margaret Lady North died in 1575. She had a monument in St Lawrence Jewry, London.

Dec 31: Earl of Leicester was elected Chancellor of Oxford University, succeeding Sir John Mason, who had resigned.

c.1564: A silver medal was struck to commemorate the Treaty of Troyes, signed in April. One side has the Queen's head, the reverse depicts Faith seated beside a fountain, the Queen being the 'Divine fountain of the realm'.

Medal by Steven van Herwyck; allegorical programme by Charles Utenhove.

Reproduced in *Gloriana*, by Roy Strong, 62-63.