

At **GREENWICH PALACE**, Kent.

Jan 1, Sun New Year gifts.

Gift Roll not extant, but Lord Lumley gave the Queen 'A book wherein are divers Psalms in Latin written, the boards great, enclosed all over on the outside with gold enamelled cut-work, with divers colours, and one little clasp'.

Works: 'Setting up a table 40 foot long in the Privy Gallery to lay the New Year's Gifts for her Majesty to see them...Setting up the banquet-table'.

Also Jan 1: play, by the Queen's Men.^T

John Pigeon, Jewel-house Officer, went to the goldsmiths for a present for 'Monsieur Bellièvre, Ambassador from the French King'.^T The French had planned to leave on December 30, but 'when we were all ready and booted' the Queen sent two of her gentlemen to ask them to wait another two or three days.

Jan 1: Another conspiracy to murder the Queen discovered.

William Harrison's description: 'Another conspiracy is detected upon New Year's Day wherein the death of our Queen is once again intended by Stafford and others at the receipt of her New Year's gifts, but as God hath taken upon him the defence of his own cause so hath he in extraordinary manner from time to time preserved her Majesty from the treason and traitorous practices of her adversaries and wonderfully betrayed their devices'. [Chronology, f.264].

The conspiracy is described in notes by Lord Burghley, February 17, as 'a practice betwixt the French Ambassador and a lewd young discontented person named William Stafford, and one Moody, a prisoner in Newgate, a mischievous resolute person, how her Majesty's life should be taken away'. [HT.iii.224].

Also implicated were the resident French Ambassador, Châteauneuf; his servant Leonard d'Estrapes, and Michael Moody. William Stafford was brother of Sir Edward Stafford, Ambassador to France, and son of Dorothy Lady Stafford, a Lady of the Privy Chamber and the Bedchamber. Sir Edward Stafford was now secretly in the pay of Spain; he regularly passed information to Mendoza, the Spanish Ambassador to France, who referred to him as 'the new friend'.

Jan 2, Greenwich: Warrant signed by Lord Burghley and Secretary Davison to the Lieutenant of Dover Castle to apprehend certain persons, especially D'Estrapes, who are to pass over with Bellièvre, now returning to France. [SP12/197/4].

Jan 4: Bellièvre left for Rochester, Canterbury, and Dover, where one of the Queen's ships was in readiness for him.

Court news. Jan 4, Henry Brooke to the Earl of Rutland: 'What will become of the great cause is as yet in suspense. Monsieur Bellièvre has received his answer. He has not prevailed at all...He is returned, taking his journey towards France. The Master of Gray has come from Scotland. He is to have audience within two days. I hear of a new practice [plot] that has been discovered'.

'The States from Holland are expected daily, upon whose coming we shall know whether Lord Leicester will return [to Holland]'.^{RT}

Jan 6, Fri Scottish special Ambassadors at Greenwich for first audience. Patrick, Master of Gray, and Sir Robert Melville; with George Young.

Melville to Sir John Maitland (King James's Secretary), Jan 9, London:

'Upon the 6th of this month we had audience in the Chamber of Presence, being a solemn day, where was dancing and playing, so that we entered not deeply with her Majesty, howbeit it pleased her to regret her own estate, and that there could be no assurance of her life, our Sovereign's mother living'. [Rait].

Also Jan 6: play, by the Queen's Men.^T

Jan 6: Sir Christopher Hatton and Secretary Davison questioned Michael Moody as to the plot against the Queen; he denied everything. [SP12/197/6].

Jan 7: Leonard d'Estrapes, brought back from Rochester, was questioned. Jan 7, Ely Place, Hatton and Davison to Lord Burghley: 'This morning Du Trapps was brought very closely to this place' and 'to the matters objected against him by Stafford...offered to set down as much as he could say'...

'Since, we have again called Moody before us...who standing resolute in his denial at his first coming, doth now begin to relent'...

'We find already that Stafford's discoveries are no fables'. [Murdin, 578].

Jan 8, Sun: Scottish Ambassadors conferred with the Earl of Leicester. Gray noted: Leicester 'that day said plainly, the detaining of the Queen of Scotland prisoner, was for that she pretended a succession to this Crown'.

Also Jan 8: Bellièvre sailed from Dover to Calais.

Jan 9, Mon: Scottish Ambassadors met Châteauneuf, who summarised Bellièvre's proceedings. There was a report that Mary had already been executed.

Also Jan 9: Moody confessed he had conferred with D'Estrapes and Châteauneuf about taking away the Queen's life, 'either by gunpowder or by poisoning her stirrup or her shoe, or some other Italian device'. [SP12/197/10].

Jan 10, Tues Scottish Ambassadors at Greenwich for second audience. Patrick, Master of Gray, and Sir Robert Melville.

Gray to King James, Jan 12, London: 'The 9th day we sent to court to crave audience, which we got the 10th day. At the first she said, a thing long looked for should be welcome when it comes. I would now see your master's offers... All was refused...She called on the three were in the house, the Earl of Leicester, my Lords Admiral and Chamberlain, and very dispitefully repeated all our offers in presence of them all'. [The Scots then proposed that Mary should resign to James her claim to succeed to the English throne]. Leicester explained to the Queen 'that our meaning was that the King should be put in his mother's place. Is it so, the Queen answers, then I put myself in a worse case than of before. By God's passion, that were to cut my own throat, and for a duchy or an earldom to yourself or such as you, you would cause some of your desperate knaves kill me. No, by God, he shall never be in that place'...

'She would stay no longer, but said she would not have a worse in his mother's place; and said, Tell your King, what good I have done for him in holding the Crown on his head since he was born; and that I mind to keep the league that stands now between us, and if he break, it shall be a double fault. And with this minded to have bidden us farewell...I spoke, craving of her that her life might be spared for fifteen days; she refused. Sir Robert craved for an eight days. She said "Not for an hour", and so geid [went] her away'.

George Young to Maitland, Jan 10: 'We are here in greatest perplexity and strait that ever men was in, hardly received of her Majesty, more hardly of the Council'. We are in despair, believing that 'we deal for a dead lady'.

At the first audience the Queen 'affirmed upon her honour that she could not assure whether she was alive or not, in respect she had directed out the warrant long ago and wished not to be made privy to the day of execution'.

[Young continued his letter after Gray and Melville returned from their second audience]: 'They have opened up all their offers to her Majesty without any such effect as was expected...In the end, when...they show her they had no more to say except that it might please her to grant them speech of the Queen [Mary] herself to know what further they might promise in her name, she not only refused it altogether but therewith turned her to the Council that was standing at the far window in the chamber and said unto them *Parturiunt montes nascetur ridiculus mus*'. [Horace: Mountains will go into labour and bring forth a ridiculous mouse]. [Rait].

Court news. Jan 10, Sir Robert Melville to Sir John Maitland:

'We had refusal of all our offers, and hard answers, finding nothing but extremity meant toward our Sovereign's mother...We intend to crave audience to take our leave'. [Rait].

Jan 10, Greenwich, William Herle to Lord Burghley, of his opinion as to a fleet preparing at Dunkirk, and the possibility of an attempt to land at Greenwich and seize her Majesty's person. [SP12/197/12].

Jan 11: William Stafford confessed that at the instigation of the French Ambassador, Châteauneuf, plans were made to kill the Queen. It was to be done by poison or by laying a train of gunpowder. Stafford and Michael Moody were told that by taking the life of such a heretic they would be renowned throughout the world and would have pensions of 1000 crowns from the Pope. [SP12/197/15].

Jan 12: At the Queen's command the French Ambassador was summoned to Lord Burghley's house to be told of the conspiracy against the Queen's life discovered the day before his servant left London, and to inform him of the confessions implicating himself.

William Stafford had confessed that, being discontented and wishing to pass secretly into France, he was at the Ambassador's house on December 26, and was taken aside by the Ambassador, who asked "Is there nobody that for some crowns will do an exploit?" "What should that be?", said Stafford. The Ambassador answered in plain terms "to kill the Queen". "Truly", said Stafford "I know a very resolute fellow to do such a feat, but...he is in prison in Newgate".

Over several days D'Estrapes then had conferences with Stafford and met Moody in Newgate. At speeches 'that touched the Ambassador he did vehemently deny them', even when confronted with Stafford. It was put to him that he knew of the conspiracy but concealed it from the Queen, to which he declared that he was bound only to make report to his own King. [Murdin, 580-583].

Jan 15: William Stafford and Michael Moody went to the Tower. Stafford was released c.October 1588; Moody was transferred to the Marshalsea in July 1590, then went abroad and sent secret intelligence to English Councillors.

Jan 15, Sun Scottish Ambassadors at Greenwich for third audience. Master of Gray, Sir Robert Melville, George Young.

Young to Sir John Maitland, Jan 20: 'Our last audience...gave us some better expectation of our errand nor we had of before, for that they being desired to resume their offers, the same appeared to be better liked of by her Majesty nor they were at the first'.

'Whereupon...some of the Council that were present began to storm, as misliking altogether that her Majesty should have given ear to anything tending to any alteration of the resolution taken by the Parliament and them'.

Gray and Melville to King James, Jan 21: 'We found her Majesty at the resuming of our offers something mitigated and inclined to consider more deeply of them before we got our leave...Certain of the Council, namely my Lord of Leicester, Sir Christopher Hatton, my Lord Hunsdon and my Lord Howard being present in the chamber gave little show of any great contentment to hear her...in perplexity what she should do...We left her in that state, and since have daily pressed conference with the whole Council, which to this hour we have not obtained. This day we have sent down to crave our leave'.

'The greatest hindrance which our negotiation has found hitherto is a persuasion they have here that either your Majesty deals superficially in this matter or that with time you may be moved to digest it...They have made choice of Sir Alexander Stewart to try your Highness's meaning in it'. [Rait].

[Jan 16], Madrid, Venetian Ambassador, to the Senate, with news of Don Pedro de Sarmiento, the captured Spaniard who was at Windsor in autumn 1586: Don Pedro has arrived from the Queen 'to treat of an accord...She says however that she intends to hold the sword in hand'. [Ven.viii.240].

January 16-June: William Waad was special Ambassador to France.
 'Mr Waad, Clerk of the Council, left waiting and was sent in embassy from the Queen's Majesty to the French King'.^{APC}
 Queen's Instructions to Waad: To describe to King Henri III the discovery of a conspiracy for the taking away of her life, and that in the course of the examinations the French Ambassador was charged with knowledge of the conspiracy. At first he denied the matters alleged against him, but was at length driven to maintain that though he knew of them he was not bound to reveal them to anyone except the King, his master. The Queen is not taking further measures against him until she has made the cause known to the King. [SPF.xxi(1).189-190].
 Waad demanded the recall of Châteauneuf; the King refused this.

Court news. Jan 21, Master of Gray to King James:
 'A wise gentleman, Sir Alexander Stewart, has taken on hand to the Queen and the Earl of Leicester that he shall mitigate your Majesty... affirming him to possess your Majesty's ear best of any other'...
 'In divers plays and comedies in public they have brought your mother in a rope to the Queen of England in derision, whereof we mean to complain'. [Rait].
 Stewart's reception in Scotland: Jan 31.

Court news. Jan 26, London, Henry Smith to Thomas Wilkes:
 'Lady Stafford and Drury are commanded from the court, and it is thought they will hardly be re-admitted'. [SP15/30/9].
 Lady Drury, William Stafford's sister, was a Lady of the Privy Chamber, as was Lady Stafford, his mother. Both were restored to favour.

Jan 28, Sat Dutch Deputies at Greenwich for first audience.
 Two Deputies from the States of the Low Countries had come with the Earl of Leicester in November 1586, the rest had now arrived to press the Queen to increase her forces there and for her decision on whether Leicester would return. Deputies, or Commissioners: for Friesland, Vitus van Kamminga; for Holland, Dr Joos de Menin, William van Nievelt, and Nicasius de Silla; for Zeeland, Jacques Valck. The audience was conducted in French.
 The Queen was ill-disposed towards the Deputies from the outset, and listened with anger and impatience as Menin made a brief speech, hoping she would still agree to accept Sovereignty over the United Provinces, and would double the English forces to 10,000 foot and 2000 horse, and would make a loan of £60,000.
 The Queen in a passion replied: "Here is a quarter of a year that I have been expecting you, and certainly, for the great benefit I have conferred on you, you have exhibited a great ingratitude, and I consider myself very ill treated by you. Tis very strange that you should begin by soliciting still greater succour without rendering me any satisfaction for your past actions, which have been so extraordinary that I swear by the living God I think it impossible to find peoples or states more ungrateful or ill-advised than yourselves".
 "I have sent you this year fifteen, sixteen, aye seventeen or eighteen thousand men. You have left them without payment, you have let some of them die of hunger, driven others to such desperation that they have deserted to the enemy...I tell you frankly that I will never endure such indignities. Rather will I act according to my will, and you may do exactly as you think best"...

The Queen continued: "I can play an excellent game without your assistance... Nevertheless I do not choose to do that...It is true that I should not wish the Spaniard so near me if he should be my enemy. But why should I not live in peace, if we were to be friends to each other? At the commencement of my reign we lived honourably together, the King of Spain and I, and he even asked me to marry him, and after that we lived a long time very peacefully, without any attempt having been made against my life"...

"I sent you the Earl of Leicester, as lieutenant of my forces...You have given him the title of Governor, in order, under this name, to cast all your evils on his head. That title he accepted against my will...But he did it in order to maintain your tottering state. And what authority, I pray you, have you given him? A shadowy authority, a purely imaginary one...You had no right to treat him thus. If I had accepted the title which you wished to give me, by the living God, I would not have suffered you so to treat me".

Your people "spread the story that the Queen of England is thinking of treating for peace without their knowledge. No, I would rather be dead than that anyone should have occasion to say that I had not kept my promise. But princes must listen to both sides, and that can be done without breach of faith"...

"You have issued a Proclamation in your country that no one is to talk of peace. Very well, very good. But permit princes likewise to do as they shall think best for the security of their state, provided it does you no injury... If I ever do anything for you again, I choose to be treated more honourably. I shall therefore appoint some personages of my Council to communicate with you...And so I will leave you today, without troubling you further".

[Motley, *United Netherlands*, ii.185-189].

[Jan 28], Paris, Mendoza (Spanish Ambassador to France), to Philip II:

William Stafford 'pretended to be a Catholic, and frequented the house of the French Ambassador...He signified to the Ambassador his intention of killing the Queen on religious grounds, and in order that the Queen of Scotland might ascend the throne. He proposed to place barrels of gunpowder inside his mother's apartment, which is underneath the Queen's bedroom, and she could thus be blown up. The Ambassador discussed the matter with him, and pointed out the objections to its execution, particularly that he could not do it without killing his mother, as she and the Queen both slept in the same room. To this Stafford replied that ...he would kill her [the Queen] by stabbing'. Stafford told this to D'Estrapes and Moody, and then informed the Queen herself, and all three were arrested; the French Ambassador admitted that Stafford had told him of his plan.

'As soon as Parliament learnt of the matter the members went to the Queen, and said that whilst the Queen of Scotland lived she would never be free of such conspiracies, and consequently she ought to order her execution'.[Span.iv.14-15]

[Jan 28], London, Châteauneuf to Claude de Courcelles (French Agent in Scotland): 'For the last three weeks I have been as it were a prisoner, for they have raised up against me two men who say that I have dealt with them to kill the Queen, and he who says it is the young Stafford, with Moody, who also belongs to Stafford the Ambassador. Thereupon they took one of my men, named D'Estrapes, who had they say communicated with Moody, to the Tower'...

'I can have no audience of the Queen, who has sent Waad to the King to complain of me'. [Scot.ix.249].

Jan 30: Dutch Deputies met the Privy Council in Lord Burghley's chamber at Greenwich Palace, the conference being in Latin. Menin expressed their deep regret that the Queen was so highly offended with them. He then took her answer of January 28th point by point and contradicted all its statements.

He begged the Councillors to defend the Dutch cause to the Queen.

[Motley, *United*, ii.193-4]. The Deputies were again at court on Feb 1st.

Jan 30, Mon Scottish Ambassadors at Greenwich to take leave.
Master of Gray, Sir Robert Melville, and William Keith.

Anon newsletter [Feb 2]: 'On their taking leave they told the Queen, as their master's decision, that as the Queen of Scotland was his mother, he would endeavour to exact satisfaction from any person who assailed her honour or her safety, and with that object would appeal for help to all Christian monarchs. The Queen was ill pleased with this message' and told Melvin [Melville] 'that if she had a Councillor who gave her such advice as he gave the King of Scotland, she would have his head off; to which he replied that if he were her Councillor he would rather lose his head than fail to give her such advice. This arose out of the Queen's having been told that Melvin had advised the King of Scotland to break with her, and had assured him that he would have the support of all princes in so just a cause as this'. [Span.iv.16-17].

John Pigeon, Jewel-house Officer, went 'to the goldsmiths for certain presents given to...the Master of Gray, Sir Robert Melville, and Mr William Keith, Ambassadors from the King of Scots'.^T

[Jan 31], Claude de Courcelles, French Agent in Scotland, to Henri III:

Sir Alexander Stewart had been sent to England with the Scottish Ambassadors, with a more 'secret charge' than they had. He had told the Queen that once Mary was dead 'if the King at first showed himself not contented therewith, they might easily satisfy him, in sending him dogs and deer...Wherewith the King was in marvellous choler, and swore and protested before God that if Stewart came he would hang him before he put off his boots; and if the Queen meddled with his mother's life, she should know he would follow somewhat else than dogs and deer'. A month later James 'useth the man as well as before'. [Rait, 173-5].

February, start: Alarms in country and court.

Described by Sir Francis Walsingham to Sir Edward Stafford, in France, March 9:

'About five weeks since we had many alarms and a general uproar throughout the realm. False bruits were spread abroad that the Queen of Scots was broken out of prison; that the City of London was fired; that many thousand Spaniards were landed in Wales; that certain noblemen were fled'...

'The stir and confusion was great; such as I think happened not in England these hundred years past; for precepts and hue and cries ran from place to place, even from out of the north into these parts, and over all the west as far as Cornwall. Every man was in arms and doubtful in what state things stood; the ways and passages were kept, and no man could travel without being stayed; yet was there a general dutiful affection found in the subjects towards her Majesty, and a constant resolution to fight in her defence'.

'Amidst these great accidents her Majesty was also in continual danger of her life and so subject to daily practices and conspiracies as she could scarcely stir out of her chamber with assurance of safety, which did necessarily move my Lords of the Privy Council to urge her Majesty with all dutifulness to take a final resolution for the late execution of the Queen of Scots'. [SPF.xxi(1),241].

Godfrey Goodman: 'There were daily and continually strange and new reports raised; the servants of Privy Councillors would ride out, some to St Albans, some to Ware, some to Hounslow, and the rest of the parts adjoining to London, and there give it out that the Queen of Scots had broken prison, that she was raising an army, that the French and the Scots were come to assist her; at other times, that Queen Elizabeth was pistoled, that divers of the Privy Council were murdered; at other times, that some towns were taken by the French, that some towns were burnt, and all by the Queen of Scots' means'...

'The common people were amazed and at their wits' end, and did desire to be rid of these alarms'. [Goodman, i.130-131].

William Davison's description of the signing of Mary's death-warrant, and of the events of the following days. Davison (c.1541-1608) was the Queen's Secretary from September 1586 (jointly with Walsingham). Whilst he was in the Tower, after Mary's execution, he wrote several accounts of the events, including 'A Discourse' sent to Walsingham from the Tower, Feb 20; 'An Apology' and 'A True Relation'. These differ in some points, and a composite version is given here. [All are printed in N.H.Nicolas, Life of William Davison (1823), together with 'Objections against Mr Davison', 'Articles ministered' to Davison, March 12; 'Interrogatories', March 14,16; two accounts of his Trial, March 28].

Feb 1, Wed **Queen signed the death-warrant of Mary Queen of Scots.**

Davison: 'Her Majesty, being one morning private with the Lord Admiral... being moved with the rumours then raised and spread abroad throughout the realm, that the said Scottish Queen was escaped, the realm invaded by strangers, London sacked and burnt, her Majesty dead, with other like seditious bruits, tending in all appearance to tumult and rebellion, and falling into consideration of the hourly danger wherein she lived by delaying the Scottish Queen's execution, as the principal ground and cause thereof, she finally resolved (as his Lordship immediately after told me), to defer the same no longer, and therefore willed him to send privately for me to bring the warrant unto her to sign, which he accordingly did'...

'Upon my coming in, her Majesty...demanded whether I had not met with the Lord Admiral, and whether he had said anything to me touching the warrant for the Scottish Queen...I delivered it into her hands, who, calling immediately for pen and ink, signed it, and laid it down by her upon the mats; and after some little speech, showing the reasons why she had so long deferred it... and how loth she was to take this course if she had seen any other way to secure her own person and state...she finally willed me to take up the warrant and to carry it immediately to the Great Seal, commanding me expressly to dispatch and send it down unto the Commissioners with all the expedition I might, appointing the hall of Fotheringhay for the place of execution...and in conclusion absolutely forbade me to trouble her any further, or let her hear any more thereof till it was done, seeing that for her part she had now performed all that either in law or reason could be required of her'...

'She entered into some speech with me of Mr Secretary Walsingham, delivering me a message to be imparted unto him, and willing me withal to show him her warrant in my way to the Seal (he being then sick at his house in London), yielding merrily this reason, that she thought the sight thereof would kill him outright...She gave me some caution to use it secretly at the Seal'...

'After I had gathered up my papers and was ready to depart, she fell into some complaint of Sir Amias Paulet and others, that might have eased her of this burden, wishing me yet to deal with Mr Secretary, and that he would jointly write to Sir Amias and Sir Dru, to sound their dispositions, aiming still at this, that it might be so done as the blame might be removed from herself'...

'From her Majesty I went directly down to the Lord Treasurer's chamber [Lord Burghley], where I found my Lord of Leicester and him together, to whom I showed her Majesty's warrant...For that I alleged some necessity of my stay at court that afternoon, about the cause of the Low Countries, whose Deputies were appointed to be there immediately after dinner, they both entreated me, but especially the Lord Treasurer, to leave the care of that business unto him, and to attend this, which was of far more importance; whereunto I yielded'...

'The same afternoon I waited on my Lord Chancellor [Sir Thomas Bromley] for the sealing of the said warrant, according to her Majesty's direction... from whence I returned back unto Mr Secretary Walsingham, whom I had visited by the way and acquainted with her pleasure touching letters that were to be written to the said Sir Amias Paulet and Sir Dru Drury, which at my return I found ready to be sent away'. [Nicolas, *Davison*, 237,258-261,273-4].

Feb 2, Thur William Davison with the Queen, Greenwich.

'Next morning...Mr William Killigrew came unto me from her Majesty with this message, that if I had not been with my Lord Chancellor I should forbear to go unto him till I had spoken again with herself'...

'At my coming to her, she demanded of me whether the warrant were passed the Seal? I told her yes. She asked what needeth that haste? I answered that I had therein made no more haste than herself commanded...But me thinketh, saith she, that it might have been otherwise handled for the form, naming unto me some that were of that opinion whose judgements she commended. I answered that I took the honourable and just way to be the safest and best way, if they meant to have it done at all; whereto her Majesty replying nothing, for that time left me and went to dinner'. During this audience the Queen 'abruptly broke into a great commendation of Archibald Douglas [Scottish Ambassador], wishing that she had but two such counsellors'.

'From thence I went down to Mr Vice-Chamberlain [Hatton], to whom I showed the said warrant, and communicated all that had passed betwixt her Highness and me concerning the same, adding what I feared of her inclination to throw this burden from herself, if she might find any just pretext...and therefore told him plainly that whatsoever direction she had given me for sending it down unto the Commissioners...I was absolutely resolved not to meddle in it alone'.

'Whereupon...we agreed to go over unto the Lord Treasurer...who finding... what my resolution was, approved the same; and thereupon resolved to break the matter, the next day, with the rest of the Council, and to take their opinions'.

[Nicolas, *Davison*, 237-8,263-4].

Feb 2, at *Fotheringhay*: Sir Amias Paulet and Sir Dru Drury, Mary's Keepers, received Walsingham and Davison's letter of February 1, which stated that:

'We find, by speech lately uttered by her Majesty, that she doth note in you both a lack of that care and zeal of her service that she looketh for at your hands, in that you have not, in all this time, of yourselves...found out some way to shorten the life of that Queen, considering the great peril she is subject unto hourly so long as the said Queen shall live'. The letter referred to 'the Oath of Association which you both have so solemnly taken and vowed'.

Sir Amias Paulet replied immediately to Walsingham: 'I am so unhappy to have lived to see this unhappy day, in the which I am required...to do an act which God and the law forbiddeth. My good livings and life are at her Majesty's disposition...but God forbid that I should make so foul a shipwreck of my conscience, or leave so great a blot to my posterity, or shed blood without law and warrant'. Davison had requested Paulet to burn the letter to him, and wrote that he planned to burn Paulet's reply.

[Nicolas, *Davison*, 86,100-101].

Feb 3, Fri Privy Council meeting, Greenwich.

Davison: Lord Burghley, the Lord Treasurer, 'assembled the Council in his own chamber, to whom he declared the cause of their meeting, showed and read the warrant, rehearsed how matters had passed betwixt her Majesty and me, and namely what directions she had given me for sending it down unto the Commissioners [Earl of Kent and Earl of Shrewsbury], with also my refusal to meddle therein alone, and my reasons for the same'...

'His advice therefore was that...they should join together in sending it down unto the Commissioners...without troubling her Majesty any further in that behalf...whereunto they all agreeing, his Lordship...sent for Mr Beale, whom they thought the fittest messenger for that purpose'.

Lord Burghley wrote letters for the Commissioners; after dinner the Council returned to sign the letters, which were delivered to Robert Beale, Clerk of the Council, who left court.

[Nicolas, *Davison*, 97,242,265-6].

Feb 3: Mayor of Exeter, Devon, sent Lord Burghley a Precept for Hue and Cry received there: 'These are to charge you in her Majesty's name upon pain of death to make diligent search, and hue and cry, every way for the Queen of Scots who is fled, and to lay all highways and stay all barks and shipping in your harbours' and 'keep a standing watch day and night'.

Feb 4: The Mayor sent the Privy Council two other Precepts received: 'To make your armour and artillery in readiness...for London is set on fire'. 'To set your men in armour with all speed upon pain of death, for London is on fire. Let this go to Exeter upon horseback. Haste, haste, haste'.

From the Constable of Honiton, Devon. [Ellis (2), iii.107-110].

Earl Soham, Suffolk, churchwardens paid: 'To the watchers and warders at the time of the execution of the Queen of Scots, 12d'.

Feb 4: Robert Beale, accompanied by the City of London executioner, arrived at the Earl of Kent's house in Bedfordshire with letters and Mary's death-warrant.

Feb 4, Sat William Davison with the Queen, Greenwich.

Davison: 'Her Majesty, being in the Privy Chamber, called me unto her, and smiling, told me how she had been troubled with me that night, upon a dream she had that the Scots Queen was executed, pretending to be so troubled with the news that if she had had a sword she could have run me through'...

'I asked her Majesty in great earnestness...whether, having proceeded thus far, she had not a meaning to go forward with the execution? Confirming this with a solemn oath, and some vehemency, she answered yes; but she thought it might receive a better form, because, saith she, this casteth the whole burden upon myself'...

'The same afternoon...she asked me if I had heard from Sir Amias Paulet; I told her no: but within an hour or two after, going to London, I met with letters from him in answer to those that were written to him by Mr Secretary and myself'. [Nicolas, Davison, 276-7].

Feb 5, Sun William Davison with the Queen, Greenwich.

Davison: 'Next morning...I told her I had letters from Mr Paulet, which her Majesty, desirous to see, took and read, but finding thereby that he was grieved with the motion made unto him, offered his life and all he had to be disposed of by her Majesty, but absolutely refusing to be an instrument in any such action as was not warranted in honour or justice. Her Majesty...complaining of the dainty (as she called it) perjury of him and others, who contrary to their Oath of Association did cast the burden upon herself, she rose up, and after a turn or two went into the gallery, whither I followed her; and there renewing her former speech, blaming the niceness of those precise fellows, who in words would do great things for her safety, but in deed perform nothing'. [Davison, 277-8].

Feb 5, at Fotheringhay Castle: Robert Beale arrived to deliver the death-warrant to Sir Amias Paulet and Sir Dru Drury.

Feb 6, Mon, Greenwich. Proclamation (688): Suppressing Seditious Rumours.

'The Queen's Majesty being given to understand that sundry lewd and seditious bruits have been lately spread and carried abroad in many shires of the realm'.

'The hues and cries and the extraordinary watches growing thereof' are to cease. The authors to be punished 'as seditious perturbers of the common quiet'.

Feb 6: Stationers entered: 'A ballad of the thankful hearts of the poor Commons to our gracious Queen'. 'A ballad of the people's rejoicing for the late orders appointed by her Majesty for their relief'.

Feb 6: new appointment: Thomas 5th Lord Burgh: Governor of Brill.

Feb 6-c.Feb 14: *Earl of Leicester stayed at his Wanstead, Essex, house. During February Nicholas Pigeon, Jewel-house Officer, went 'from the court at Greenwich to London to the goldsmiths there to make provision for two chains of gold given to two Ambassadors out of Flanders, the one called Monsieur Grondville and the other Monsieur Caron'. Also 'for his charges one day in carrying chains to Wanstead to the Earl of Leicester'.^T*

Feb 7, Tues William Davison's final meeting with the Queen, Greenwich. Davison: 'Having occasion to wait upon her Highness with certain letters that were to be signed...she entered of herself into some earnest discourse of the danger she lived in, and how it was more than time this matter were dispatched, swearing a great oath, that it was a shame for us all that it was not already done, considering that she had, for her part, done all that law or reason could require of her; and thereupon made some mention to have letters written to Sir Amias Paulet for the hastening thereof, because the longer it was deferred the more her danger increased. Whereto, knowing what orders had been taken by the Lords in sending the commission to the Earls, which I presumed she could not be ignorant of amongst so many as were partakers therein, I answered that that needed not...the warrant being so general and sufficient as it was'.

[Nicolas, Davison, 246-7].

Feb 7, at Fotheringhay Castle: George Talbot, 6th Earl of Shrewsbury (Mary's former Keeper), arrived with Henry Grey, 6th Earl of Kent.

The death-warrant was read to the Queen of Scots.

Feb 8, Wed: **Execution of Mary Stuart**, formerly **Queen of Scots**, Dowager Queen of France (1542-1587).

Feb 8, Fotheringhay Castle, Marmaduke Darrell to his kinsman William Darrell, of Littlecote, Wilts: 'I doubt not but with you, as well as in the country hereabouts, there hath been of late sundry strange rumours bruited concerning the Scottish Queen prisoner here; which all, as they have been hitherto untrue, so now it is most true that she hath endured that fatal stroke this day that will excuse her from being accessory to any like matters that may happen henceforth'.

'Between 10 and 11 o'clock...she was beheaded in the hall of this castle; there being present at it as Commissioners only the Earl of Shrewsbury and the Earl of Kent...The Sheriff of this shire...with divers other gentlemen of good account were also here at the execution'.

'Touching the manner of it, all due order was most carefully observed in it; she herself endured it (as we must all truly say that were eye-witnesses) with great courage, and show of magnanimity, albeit in some other respects she ended not so well as is to be wished. The order for her funeral is not yet determined upon, but will be very shortly; as also for her people, who (we think) shall be safely conducted to their native countries'. [Hubert Hall, *Society in the Elizabethan Age*, 3rd edition (1902), 266, and plate depicting the execution].

A detailed description: Nichols, *Progresses* (2014), iii.355-363.

Henry Talbot, the Earl of Shrewsbury's son, set off to take the news to London and the court. Mary's corpse remained at Fotheringhay until removed to Peterborough Cathedral before her funeral (August 1).

Feb 8, Wed King of Navarre's envoy at Greenwich for audience.

The Sieur de la Roche Gisard, of Brittany, who explained that the King was reduced to such necessity that without help from the Queen he would be compelled to make peace. She deferred her answer. [Strickland, *Mary*, ii.280].

Feb 9, Thur Henry Talbot at Greenwich with news of the execution.
French Ambassador, Châteauneuf, to Henri III [Feb 17], London:

'He arrived at Greenwich at 9 in the morning...I do not know if he spoke to the Queen, who went out riding that day, and on her return talked for a long time to the King of Portugal [Don Antonio, former King]...By midday we had all heard the news...At 3 in the afternoon every bell in the town began to ring and there were bonfires in every street, with feasting and banqueting, as a sign of great rejoicing...The people living near here came to my house asking for wood for the bonfire which they made in my street'. [Teulet, iv.172-3].

Davison: In the morning early 'my Lord Treasurer [Burghley] sent for me and acquainted me with the news...which...he thought it not fit to break suddenly to her Majesty, and therefore concealed it from her all that day; which being nevertheless brought unto her that evening by other means, she would not at first seem to take knowledge of it'. Goodman: 'All the bells of London did ring, and Queen Elizabeth taking notice thereof and asking the reason, thereby she came first to know it'. [Nicolas, Davison, 247-8; Goodman, i.131].

Feb 9: Celebrations. 'Bells rung and bonfires made in London for the death of Mary Stuart of Scotland'.TH

Allhallows Staining: 'To the ringers the 9th of February for joy of the execution of the Queen of Scots, 12d'.

St Botolph Aldgate: 'For bread and beer for the ringers which did ring on the day that the Queen of Scots was beheaded, 12d'. Parish clerk noted: 'Memorandum that we did ring at our parish church the 9th day of February in anno 1586, and was for joy that the Queen of Scots that enemy to our most noble Queen's Majesty and our country was beheaded, for the which the Lord God be praised, and I would to God that all her confederates were known and cut off by the like means'.

St Botolph Bishopsgate: 'Bread and drink for the ringers when they rang for the death of the Queen of Scots, 20d'. St Margaret, Westminster: 'Ringing at the beheading of the Queen of Scots, 12d'. St Martin in the Fields: 'Ringing after the execution of the Queen of Scots, 10d'. St Mary Woolchurch Haw: 'Paid to the ringers on the day after the Queen of Scots was put to death, 8d'. St Peter Westcheap: 'For ringing the bells on the Queen of Scots' day, 2s'. St Olave, Southwark: 'Ringers when the Queen of Scots was put to death, 2s'.

Bells were rung around the country as the news spread, including:

Hastings, Sussex, All Saints: 'Paid to the ringers at their ringing at the execution of the Queen of Scots, 2s'. Minehead Church, Somerset:

'Ringers for joy when news reached us of beheading of Queen of Scots, 12d'.

Stanford-in-the-Vale Church, Berks: 'Ringers 10 February for the execution of the Queen of Scots on scaffold, 1s4d'.

Feb 10, Wed Queen's reaction to news of the execution.

Davison: In the morning, the Queen, 'falling into some heat and passion about it, sent for Mr Vice-Chamberlain [Hatton], to whom she disavowed the said execution as a thing she never commanded or intended, casting the burden generally upon them all, but chiefly upon my shoulders, because...I had, in suffering it to go out of my hands, abused the trust she reposed in me'.

'Whereupon my Lords being that morning assembled at my Lord Treasurer's chamber, I was sent for unto them, and acquainted with her Majesty's said offence and charge both against them and me'.

'Being advised by them all to absent myself for a day or two...I returned home, where the next news I heard was that her Majesty had resolved to commit me to the Tower, which...I could by no means believe, till my Lord of Buckhurst came with order from her Majesty...which by reason of my sickness was deferred for two or three days'. [Nicolas, Davison, 248-9].

Feb 11, Sat Queen with Privy Council, Greenwich.

In the days following the execution, the Queen 'gave herself over to grief, putting herself into mourning weeds, and shedding abundance of tears; her Council she sharply rebuked, and commanded them out of her sight'. [Camden].

Court news. [Feb 12] Sunday, in haste, John Wolley to the Earl of Leicester: 'It pleased her Majesty yesterday to call the Lords and others of her Council before her into her Withdrawing Chamber, where she rebuked us all exceedingly for our concealing from her our proceeding in the Queen of Scots' case, but her indignation particularly lighteth most upon my Lord Treasurer [Burghley] and Mr Davison, who called us together, and delivered the commission'.

'For she protesteth she gave express commandment to the contrary, and therefore hath took order for the committing of Mr Secretary Davison to the Tower, if she continue this morning in the mind she was yesternight, albeit we all kneeled upon our knees to pray to the contrary. I think your Lordship happy to be absent from these broils'. [Wright, ii.332].

Feb 12, Lord Burghley drafted a letter to the Queen 'in the name of all the Councillors that sent Mr Beale to the Earl of Shrewsbury', who 'do most lowly, humbly and sorrowfully' pray her to 'suspend your heavy censure against us' until they can explain their late proceedings 'for the orderly removing the danger of your life'; they beseech her to 'cease to grieve yourself with thinking of that which never can be revoked', and 'with sobbing hearts' they desire 'to have your grief of mind to cease, and to give yourself to your natural food and sleep'. [HT.iii.220-221].

c.Feb 12, Sun sermon, Greenwich: Richard Fletcher, Dean of Peterborough, the principal Protestant clergyman present at Mary's execution.

Entitled: 'A sermon preached before the Queen immediately after the execution of the Queen of Scots, by the Dean of Peterborough'.

Text: Matthew 2:19-20: 'The Angel of the Lord appeared to Joseph in Egypt in a dream, saying Arise and take up the child and his mother and return into the land of Israel, for they are dead that sought the child's life'.

[A substantial portion of this sermon is in *Elizabeth I and her Age* ed. Donald Stump and Susan M. Felch (New York, 2009), 361-370].

Feb 12, Sun French envoy at Greenwich.

King Henri III sent Roger, a *valet de chambre*, to the Queen after the arrest of D'Estropes; he had waited two weeks to meet her or the Council. She sent for him, but at court he was told that she was indisposed, and that the Council would read his credentials and his letters. [Strickland, *Mary*, ii.287].

Feb 13, at Edinburgh: Roger Aston arrived from *Fotheringhay*, with news of the execution. There were conflicting reports of King James's reaction.

Lord Scrope to Walsingham, Feb 21, Carlisle: 'He did not only take that news very grievous and offensively, but also gave out in secret speeches that he could not digest the same, nor leave it unrevenged...Yet am I advertised that some of the noblemen (though they seem malcontents) would not have that tragedy to play again'. [Pury Ogilvie] to Archibald Douglas, March 22, Edinburgh:

'I will assure you that the King moved never his countenance at the rehearsal of his mother's execution, nor leaves not his pastime and hunting more than of before'. [Wright, ii.334; HT.xiii.334].

The Master of Gray, a former favourite of the King, who had been one of his envoys to England, was imprisoned, and in May was found guilty of offences including consenting to Mary's execution. He had secretly advised Queen Elizabeth to have her quietly put to death '*quia mortui non mordent*', 'as the dead do not bite'. He was sentenced to death, but the King commuted the sentence to banishment. He returned to Scotland in 1589.

Feb 14, Tues Robert Carey at Greenwich, prior to special embassy to Scotland. Carey (1560-1639), a cousin of the Queen, son of Lord Hunsdon, recalled:

'I lived in court...in all triumphs I was one; either at tilt, tourney, or barriers; in masks or balls...At which time (few or none in court being willing to undertake that journey) her Majesty sent me to the King of Scots, to make known her innocence of her sister's death'. [Carey, *Memoirs*, 7].

Feb 14, Queen to King James (taken by Carey): 'My dear brother, I would you knew, though not felt, the extreme dolour that overwhelmeth my mind for that miserable accident which far contrary to my meaning hath been befallen. I have now sent this kinsman of mine, who ere now it hath pleased you to favour, to instruct you truly of that which is too irksome for my pen to tell you... The circumstances it may please you to hear of this bearer. And for your part, think you have not in the world a more loving kinswoman nor more dear friend'...

'Your most assured loving sister and cousin'. [Rait, 194-5].

The King sent Carey word that he could not warrant his life would be safe if he entered Scotland; he spent several weeks at Berwick. (Sequel: March 6).

Feb 14, Tues: William Davison was committed to the Tower. Sir Francis Walsingham to Sir Edward Stafford, in France, March 9:

'For that you may perhaps be desirous to know the cause of Mr Davison's commitment, and of her Majesty's displeasure against her Council...you shall understand that...her Majesty having signed the warrant or commission for the execution...delivered the same unto Mr Davison, with commandment, as her Majesty saith, that he should keep it to himself; which words Mr Davison understood otherwise...supposing her Majesty had said that she would no further be troubled with the matter...and thereupon caused the said commission to pass under the Great Seal, and presented it unto my Lords of the Council, by whom it was sent down unto my Lord of Shrewsbury...Her Majesty, understanding what hath followed, in great passion against Mr Davison hath committed him to the Tower'...

'Her Majesty is offended against her Council and specially against my Lord Treasurer (upon whom she layeth the greatest blame) because they sent down the commission without making her acquainted withal'. [SPF.xxi(1).241-2].

Feb 15, Wed French envoy, Roger, at Greenwich for audience. Châteauneuf to Henri III [Feb 17]: The Queen sent for Monsieur Roger, saying to him "that she was deeply affected by the death of the Queen of Scotland; that it was never her intention to have her put to death...that Davison had taken her by surprise, but he was now in a place where he would have to answer for it"; charging him to say this to your Majesty, with every demonstration of grief and almost with tears in her eyes'. Roger departed. [Strickland, *Mary*, ii.288-9].

Feb 15: Parliament resumed after 10 week break, then adjourned to Feb 22.

Feb 16, Thur: St Paul's Cathedral: Funeral of Sir Philip Sidney, who died in October 1586 in Holland, aged 31, after being wounded at the Battle of Zutphen. For size and splendour his funeral resembled a State funeral.

Thomas Lant, who was with Sidney in Holland, and who later became a Herald, sketched all those in the procession, and wrote of Sir Philip:

'For his wit, learning and knowledge in divers languages he was much admired, for his courtesy and affability towards all men no less beloved. His fame...was spread about the world'...

'He was carried from the Minories (which is without Aldgate) along the chief streets of the City unto the Cathedral Church of St Paul's, the which streets all along were so thronged with people that the mourners had scarcely room to pass, the houses likewise were as full as they might be, of which great multitude there were few or none that shed not some tears as the corpse passed by them. Of the mourners...the whole number were about 700 persons'.

'The great west door of St Paul's (where the mourners entered) was kept by some of her Majesty's Guard. When the sermon was ended...and his body interred, the soldiers in the churchyard did by a double volley give unto his famous life and death a martial Vale [farewell]'

The mourners included seven of 'the States of Holland which were then in England', the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and 120 of the Grocers' Company.

Sir Francis Walsingham (Sidney's father-in-law) 'spared not any cost to have this funeral well performed'.

Funeral Roll, with 30 engravings depicting the mourners in procession, was engraved by a Dutch emigré, Theodor de Bry, from Thomas Lant's sketches.

[Reproduced in Nichols, *Progresses* (2014), iii.283-340].

St Botolph Aldgate: 'Paid for a load of gravel to Anthony Sowerby to lay in the streets at the burial of Sir Philip Sidney, 12d'.

Feb 19-27: Don Antonio at Greenwich.

News from Antonio de Escobar, Feb 27: Don Antonio was 'earnestly pressing the Queen for a decision' on aid to be restored to his former Kingdom of Portugal. 'She was caressing and making much of him at court because she feared he wanted to leave the country. The Deputies from Holland were discontented at being unable to get any decision from the Queen'. [Span.iv.36].

Feb 23,Thur: in the Commons: Job Throckmorton made a speech surveying foreign affairs. 'The Lord hath vowed himself to be English'. The Pope is Antichrist. Catherine de Medici 'brought us into this world such a litter as few women have done'. The King of Spain 'his religion idolatrous, his life licentious, his marriage incestuous'. 'Whither then shall we cast our eye? Northward towards the young imp of Scotland?...Ye knew his mother...did ye not?...I beseech the Lord he take not after his mother'. 'The very finger of God directs us to the Low Countries', and the offer of its Sovereignty.

Feb 26,Shrove Sun play, by the Children of Paul's.^T

[Shrovetide 'Show' by Thomas Churchyard: see 19 Feb 1588].

Feb 27: Stationers entered a ballad entitled 'An excellent ditty made as a general rejoicing for the cutting off the Scottish Queen'.

Feb 27,Mon: in the Commons: A motion by Anthony Cope that 'A Bill and Book touching some reformation in religion may be read...Agreed to be read tomorrow'. The bill contained a petition 'that all laws now in force touching ecclesiastical government should be void, and...the Book of Common Prayer now offered, and none other, might be received into the Church to be used.

The book contained the form of prayer and administration of sacraments, 'with divers rites and ceremonies to be used in the Church'.

Job Throckmorton made another passionate speech, ending by praying that God would 'waken her Majesty's heart' so that as she was 'the planter of the gospel, so she may have the honour to be the reformer of the church' and 'that her days may be aged, her reign prosperous, her bliss endless; that the last day of her life may (if so please Him) be the last day of this earth'.

Feb 28: The Speaker, John Puckering, informed the Commons 'that he had sent the Bill and Book both to her Majesty by her express command'. [Parl.ii.390].

Feb 28,Shrove Tues bear-baiting, Greenwich;
play, by the Queen's Men.^T

Feb 28, Pierre de Mornay, Sieur de Buhy, to Sir Francis Walsingham, after returning from Holland with letters, one highly critical of the Earl of Leicester: He prays him to consult with Leicester as to what it will be expedient for him to say to the Queen. Leicester is greatly offended by the cursed letter which those fools of States have written. [SPF.xxi(2).380].

The States-General early in February sent news that two Dutch towns, Deventer and Zutphen, commanded by English captains appointed by Leicester, had gone over to the enemy. With this came a letter from Barneveldt to Leicester condemning in the strongest terms his conduct in office. A copy was sent to the Queen. This put her in a rage; she stormed at the Dutch envoys and swore that the Earl should never set foot in the Provinces again. [Motley, United, ii.195-9]. Leicester returned to the Low Countries in June.

March 1, in the Commons: Peter Wentworth made a speech and posed questions on the liberties of Parliament. 'These questions Mr Puckering pocketed up and showeth Sir Thomas Heneage, who so handled the matter that Mr Wentworth was sent to the Tower'. Whilst the Commons was still in session Speaker Puckering was summoned to the Queen; the House 'departed'.

Mar 1, Ash Wed sermon, Greenwich: Dr Alexander Nowell, Dean of St Paul's. Also: Speaker John Puckering at Greenwich with the Queen.

March 2: Puckering told the Commons 'that her Majesty had sent for him and noted great negligence in him that he suffered so great disorder in the House'. On religion 'again she commanded no more should be said'. [Parl.ii.322,391].

Anthony Cope and Peter Wentworth were in the Tower until March 23, and Job Throckmorton also for some weeks, after complaints by the Scottish Agent.

March 6, Berwick, Robert Carville to Walsingham, of a message to Robert Carey (special Ambassador to King James): 'that the King would receive no ambassador as yet, partly by reason of his heaviness and sorrowing for his mother, and also for that he is not resolved that the Queen's Majesty is so sorry for his mother's death as he was informed she was'...

'There is daily libels set up in open street' with 'two set up at my lodgings very odious and detestable against the Queen's Majesty', as follows:

'To Jezebel that English whore,
Receive this Scottish chain,
As presages of her great malheur
For murdering of our Queen'.

'The chain was a little cord of hemp, tied halter-wise'.

Robert Carey met two Scottish Councillors near Berwick on March 14, and presented the Queen's letter (Feb 14), giving her account of the pressures which led her to sign the death-warrant, which she had delivered to Davison 'to keep it secret until she commanded the contrary', and of how, unknown to her, her Council sent orders for the execution to be carried out.

Robert Carey's own written statement to King James concluded: 'This was the sum and effect of my message, which if I could declare unto your Majesty so well, and set it down so lively as I heard her speak it, with so heavy a heart, and so discontented a countenance, I think verily you would rather pity her unpleasant life (which ever since she hath endured) than blame her for the fact [deed], which she never consented unto'.

King James sent Robert Carey back to the Queen with a curt letter.

[Ellis (2), iii.118-120; Rait, 192-197].

March 15-July: Thomas Sackville, 1st Lord Buckhurst, and Dr Bartholomew Clerke, lawyer, were special Ambassadors to the Low Countries, being sent to inform the Queen of the state of affairs there, to enquire into the causes of discontent, and to redress disorders since the Earl of Leicester left.

The Dutch Deputies had requested that the Earl should return.

Buckhurst and Clerke arrived at Flushing on March 24, the Deputies having made haste to arrive before them. The Sieur de Buhy also returned.

Mar 15, Wed Queen's Commission for Sir Francis Drake.

For service to be done by four royal ships and two pinnaces.

'Her Majesty being informed of a mighty preparation by sea begun in Spain for the invasion of England, by good advice of her grave and prudent Council thought it expedient to prevent the same. Whereupon she caused a fleet of some 30 sails to be rigged and furnished with all things necessary. Over that fleet she appointed General Sir Francis Drake...to whom she caused four ships of her Navy Royal to be delivered'. *The Elizabeth Bonaventure; The Dreadnought; The Lion; The Rainbow*. 'Unto which four ships two of her pinnaces were appointed as handmaids'. With 'certain tall ships of the City of London'.

[Corbett, 105; Hakluyt, iv.281]. The fleet's departure: April 2.

March 18, Sat morning, in the Commons: Speaker Puckering delivered the Commons a message from the Queen, concerning their offer of a 'benevolence' in addition to the Subsidy. 'She thanked God, understanding of their great love unto her in regard of her charges sustained in the Low Countries and...was contented this afternoon that some convenient number of them should have audience'.

March 18, afternoon: Commons deputation at Greenwich with the Queen.

The Commons had appointed 12 Members, and Privy Councillors, to wait on the Queen. No details of their audience are known, except that the Queen declined to accept any 'benevolence' from Parliament. [Neale, Parl.ii.183].

March 19: new appointment: Anthony Ashley, sworn a Clerk of the Council.^{APC}

March 22: Stationers entered a book published as: A Pathway to Military Practice. 'Containing Offices, Laws, Disciplines and orders to be observed in an Army, with sundry Stratagems very beneficial for young Gentlemen, or any other that is desirous to have knowledge in Martial exercises. Whereunto is annexed a Calendar of the Embattling of men'. By Barnaby Rich. Dedicated to the Queen.

Epistle Dedicatory: 'Your Soldier (most excellent Princess), having received so many gracious words for other of his writings, the which it hath pleased your Majesty so favourably to vouchsafe, is not thereby only encouraged now once again to betake him to his pen, but also he is emboldened to present to your gracious view this little labour'...

'In the time of peace such things must be foreseen appertaining to the war, that the want of warlike provisions be not prejudicial to this sweet and quiet peace...As your Majesty, having most providentially furnished every part of your Realm with all manner of warlike provision, in such sort as none of your predecessors hath ever heretofore come near, so could I wish that in England we were as well furnished with practised Soldiers and expert warriors'...

'All Christian Princes do honour and renown you, so we your loving subjects (feeling the benefit of your peaceable government) have no less cause to give God all honour and glory, and daily to pray for the long continuance of so gracious a princess. And as it hath pleased God so wonderfully to defend your Majesty from such several practices intended against your royal person by Papists, let their treasons...be made examples...whom your Majesty may hereafter trust'.

'These be the men (O most gracious Princess) that be sworn your mortal enemies, these be the men, O noble England, that seek thy wreck and overthrow. Let them have no government within your Majesty's dominions, let them bear no sway in any part of your territories. Pluck him from the Bench though he sit robed in purple, dismiss him the Bar, though he be called Serjeant at the Law, put him out of commission, though he bear the name of Justice of Peace'.

Also a Dedication 'To the most noble Captains and renowned Soldiers of England, health to their persons, and happiness to all their honourable attempts'.

Also a Dedication 'To the friendly Readers in general'. Barnaby Rich states: 'It is now 24 years ago since I first undertook Arms and served at Newhaven, under that most honourable Earl of Warwick (a father to Soldiers at this day)'.

Advice on choosing a General, then on 'Officers of the Field', from General to Privates, and on Stratagems. Text (excluding Epistles): 40p. (London, 1587).

Captain Barnaby Rich (1542-1617) was a prolific author, whose tale of Apolonius and Silla became a source for Shakespeare's Twelfth Night.

During 1587 the Queen granted Rich a pension of 2s6d a day for life.

March 22: Stationers entered: The Blazon of Papists. By William Segar. Dedicated to the Queen: 'Sacred and most excellent Majesty: May it please the same, to vouchsafe the reading of this Pamphlet, being a toy proper to the time, pleasant for your Highness's view, and most profitable to be understood... In this sect of Papistry...are...some most properly blazoned, viz. A Papist couchant, A Papist passant, A Papist passant gardant, A Papist variant, A Papist volant, A Papist seminant, A Papist saliant, A Papist rampant, and a Papist pendant'. 'Beseeching the Almighty King of Heaven to bless preserve and keep thee most worthy Queen on earth. Your Majesty's most humble Servant and Pursuivant at Arms, William Segar, alias Portcullis'.

In this 'Poem enigmatical upon the letter P' each type of Papist has 7 lines of satirical verse. (London, 1587). William Segar (c.1554-1633), Portcullis Pursuivant, later Somerset Herald, dedicated several works to the Queen.

March 23: Dissolution of Parliament, by eight commissioners representing the Queen, including the Earl of Leicester, but not Lord Burghley.

Next Parliament: February 1589.

March 28: Trial. William Davison was tried in Star Chamber for misprision and contempt, before Commissioners headed by Lord Chief Justice Wray, and including the Archbishops of Canterbury and York. Davison had already been questioned on March 12,14,16, concerning the Queen's signing of Mary's death-warrant, and his own subsequent actions. He was found guilty, fined 10,000 marks and sentenced to be imprisoned at the Queen's pleasure.

Davison was released from the Tower on 23 October 1588. His fine was remitted, and as he was suspended from the Secretaryship, not dismissed, he continued to draw his £100 salary as Secretary until his death in 1608.

Mar 29,Wed Earl of Shrewsbury at Greenwich with the Queen.

The Queen made a final attempt to reconcile the Earl and the Countess, 'Bess of Hardwick'. Those present were the Earl, Sir Francis Walsingham, and Lady Talbot (née Mary Cavendish), the Countess's daughter by her 2nd husband.

Gilbert Lord Talbot (the Earl's son by his 1st wife) to an uncle, April 6, Greenwich: 'I will tell you how things are concluded between my father and his wife. The day on which he was to take leave of the Queen, when she had moved him on my Lady's behalf and found him unaffected to what she desired, she had my wife called into the Withdrawing Chamber, where no one but the Queen, my Lord, and Secretary Walsingham were. The Queen then commanded her to say what her mother desired of my Lord, which she did, whereat my Lord grew impatient and spoke of his great offence against her'...

'They abode together about an hour, during which time my wife was often sent out and called in again, and at last it was concluded that my Lord should take order for my Lady's honourable conveyance to Wingfield [Derbyshire], where they shall keep house together and my Lord shall allow her £300 yearly...His Lordship to resort thither as often as his health and leisure permit'...

'My Lady will take leave of the Queen next week'.^{RT}

Walsingham signed an 'Order pronounced by her Majesty'. [SP12/207/23].

The Earl and Countess of Shrewsbury thereafter generally lived apart; when the Earl died in 1590 he was living with his mistress, Eleanor Britton.

March 30: death. Sir Ralph Sadler (1507-1587), Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Privy Councillor. Of Standon, Hertfordshire.

Funeral: St Mary's Church, Standon, where his monument remains.

March: Danish Ambassador in England.

The King of Denmark sent an envoy to the Queen and the Duke of Parma (as the Prince of Parma was now titled), with letters proposing that Peace Commissioners should meet at Emden in August.

During March Stephen Fulwell, Jewel-house officer, went to the Tower 'for providing a chain of gold given to the King of Denmark's Ambassador at London'.^T Peace Commissioners did not begin negotiations until May 1588 for a peace between Spain and England.

c.March-May: Duke Otto in England from Germany, and Casimir's envoy. George Zolcher to Walsingham, Jan 22 [Holland]: Duke Otto of Luneburg is waiting for a ship to go to England. The young Prince Palatine's 'humble request to her Majesty is to send him her picture to wear about his neck'.

Duke Otto was in England at the same time as an envoy sent by Duke John Casimir, Count Palatine of the Rhine. From Heidelberg Casimir sent Michel de la Huguerye, one of his Councillors, for money (for the King of Navarre), asking the Queen to dispatch him promptly so that he did not remain more than two weeks with her. [SPF.xxi(1).197, 225]. (See April 10, Walsingham).

April 2: Sir Francis Drake's fleet left Plymouth for Spain.

April 2, Drake to Walsingham: 'The wind commands me away. Our ship is under sail. God grant we may so live in His fear as the enemy may have cause to say that God doth fight for her Majesty as well abroad as at home, and give her long and happy life, and ever victory against God's enemies and her Majesty's... Haste! From aboard her Majesty's good ship the Elizabeth Bonaventure'.

Walsingham to Sir Edward Stafford, April 21: Drake 'is gone forth to the seas with four of her Majesty's ships and two pinnaces, and between twenty and thirty merchant ships. His commission is to impeach the joining together of the King of Spain's fleet out of their several ports, to keep victuals from them, to follow them in case they should be come forward towards England or Ireland, and to cut off as many of them as he could, and impeach their landing, as also to set upon such as should either come out of the West or East Indies into Spain, or go out of Spain thither'. [Drake had reached Cadiz on April 19]. [Corbett, 104,106].

Court news. April 3, Sir Francis Walsingham to the Earl of Leicester:

'The Lord Treasurer [Burghley] remaineth still in disgrace, and behind my back her Majesty giveth out very hard speeches of myself, which I the easier credit for that I find in dealing with her I am nothing gracious; and if her Majesty could be otherwise served I know I should not be used'...

'The present discord between her Majesty and her Council hindereth the necessary consultations that were to be desired for the preventing of the manifest perils that hang over this realm'. [Wright, ii.335-6].

Apr 5, Wed Course of the field, at Greenwich. [Tilt without lists].

April 6, London, Philip Gawdy to his father:
'My Lord of Cumberland, Sir Henry Lee, and Sir Thomas Gorges did run at the court as yesterday the course of the field'.^{GY}

Philip Gawdy (1562-1617), of Norfolk, was a law student at the Inner Temple 1578-c.1582. He remained in London, and by 1587 was often at court, and sent news of London and the court to his family.

*He married c.1597 Bridget Strangman, and had eight children. In the Queen's funeral procession, April 1603, he was listed as an Esquire for the Body. Bridget Gawdy was listed as one of 'the Queen's women'. He wrote to his mother Anne (died June 1587); his father Bassingbourne (died 1590); brother Bassingbourne (knighted 1597, died 1606); and his 'sisters', his brother's successive wives Anne (Framlingham, died 1594) and Dorothy (Bacon). [I.H.Jeayes, ed. *Letters of Philip Gawdy* (1906); collated with the original letters in the British Library]. Shown as ^{GY}.*

April 6: To Robert Beale, payment of £20 for being sent by the Council into Herts, Beds, Northants, Hunts and Cambridgeshire 'to confer with sundry noblemen and Justices of Peace and other her Majesty's Officers about the staying of divers lewd and seditious bruits whereupon many hues and cries had ensued to the great disturbance of her Majesty's good and faithful subjects, for his pains and charges in horses, guides and otherwise'.^T

April 7: The Queen sent Sir Thomas Gorges, a Groom of the Privy Chamber, to the Duchess of Somerset, at Hanworth, Middlesex.

The Queen had heard that the aged Duchess had made a will naming her elder son the Earl of Hertford as sole executor, to the exclusion of her younger son Lord Henry Seymour; as the Earl was rich, Lord Henry poor, the Queen hoped to persuade the Duchess to alter her will.

The Duchess assured Gorges that 'my last will is now her Majesty's will', and 'kissing a ring delivered it unto him...praying most godly and heartily (even with tears) for the preservation of her Majesty's life many years'.

(See April 16, the Duchess's death).

April 9, Privy Council to Sir Francis Drake: There have been overtures from King Philip for settling the differences between the two kingdoms; and therefore her Majesty desires you to confine your operations to the capture of ships on the open sea, and to forbear entering any of the ports or havens of Spain, or to do any act of hostility on land. [SP12/200/17].

This order either failed to reach Drake or was ignored.

April 10, Sir Francis Walsingham to the Earl of Leicester, of Duke Casimir's envoy Michel de la Huguerye (sent for more money for the King of Navarre):

'His errand to her Majesty is so unpleasant as no man here dare present him. I never saw her worse affected to the poor King of Navarre than at this present, and yet doth she seek in no sort to yield contentment to the French King. If to offend all the world be a good course of government then can we not do amiss'.

[Read, *Walsingham*, iii.206].

La Huguerye rode to the Earl of Leicester, who with his brother the Earl of Warwick was at Bath taking the waters.

John Wilford with three men was sent from Greenwich 'to Bath and Bristol to accompany and conduct one Monsieur de Huguerye a French gentleman sent from Duke Casimir to the Earl of Leicester being then there', £11.^T

April 10 [court], Elizabeth Lady Cobham (a Lady of the Privy Chamber) to Lord Burghley: 'I hoped that your Lordship would have been at the court ere this time...Her Majesty continues discontented and settleth herself to wear mourning garments. I do beseech your Lordship to hasten your coming hither. If you will write I will deliver it. I do desire to be commanded by you. Others here in Presence do speak for themselves and do excuse that which is done in putting their hands to the letter, as how they knew not what they did, nor what was therein contained. I do mean the two lords which are here'. [SP12/200/20]. [letter: the death-warrant sent to the Commissioners at Fotheringhay. Two lords were present at a Council meeting on April 10: Earl of Derby and Lord Hunsdon].

April 11, Walsingham's minute to Sir Edward Stafford, concerning a recent letter to the Queen from Stafford: 'That part of your letter to her Majesty herself wherein you write that the King of Scots excuses her of the blame of the late execution of his mother, and layeth the same upon her Council, did wonderfully content her Majesty, who desireth nothing more than to have it generally conceived that she had least part in the action'. [SPF.xxi(1).276].

April 11: Will proved of Mrs Elizabeth Snow, of Chicksands, Beds, widow of Richard Snow of Chicksands and Fleet Street, London, who died in 1554.

Mrs Snow was an Extraordinary Gentlewoman of the Privy Chamber, and exchanged New Year's gifts with the Queen from 1562 onwards.

Bequest in will (1584) to the Earl of Kent: 'One of the best gilt cups I received of her Majesty for a New Year's gift'.

April 12: death. Sir Thomas Bromley (1530-1587), Lord Chancellor, Privy Councillor. Funeral: May 2, Westminster Abbey, where his monument includes figures of Fame and Immortality. (St Paul's Chapel).

Apr 12, Wed Great Seal delivered to the Queen, Greenwich. Lord Chancellor Bromley died at 3 a.m. When the Queen was informed she ordered John Fortescue to go to fetch the Seal. Fortescue arrived between 7 and 8 a.m. and found a large number of distinguished persons grieving for Bromley.

The Great Seal in its leather and velvet bags, under three private seals, was found locked up in a chest and was delivered to him; he carried it to Greenwich and waited in an outer chamber until the Queen came from the inner chamber where she had slept, and received it from him, retaining it until April 29.

[Campbell, ii.254]. Bromley's widow Elizabeth was Fortescue's sister.

Apr 13, Maundy Thursday ceremonies and alms-giving, Greenwich church.

By John Piers, Bishop of Salisbury, the Queen's Almoner; to 53 poor women, each 20s in a red purse and 53d in a white purse.^{T,W}

April 13, Greenwich, Sir Francis Walsingham to Thomas Wilkes, in Holland, who had written of the confusion and danger there, and that the Earl of Leicester's presence was needful: 'We could not draw her Majesty to any resolution. The late severe dealing used by her Majesty towards Mr Secretary Davison and others of her Council maketh us very circumspect and careful not to proceed in anything but wherein we receive direction from herself'. [SPF.xxi(3).18].

April 14: death. Edward Manners, 3rd Earl of Rutland and 14th Baron Ros, (1549-1587), K.G., died in London. He was described as 'that magnificent Earl who kept a house like a Prince's court'.

Funeral: May 15, Bottesford Church, Leics, where his monument remains. His only child, Lady Elizabeth Manners (1576-1591), a royal ward, became Baroness Ros. The Earl's brother John Manners became 4th Earl of Rutland. The widowed Isabel (Holcroft), Countess of Rutland, died in 1606.

April 16: death. Anne Duchess of Somerset (c.1510-1587) died at Hanworth, Middlesex. Funeral: Westminster Abbey; her monument is in St Nicholas Chapel. Her will, made in July 1586, had not been altered; her elder son the Earl of Hertford was left the residue of her estate and was sole executor. By order of the Queen an inventory was made on April 21 of her jewels, plate, and money. [Will and inventory: Nichols, *Progresses* (2014), iii.386-390].

[April 16], Easter Day, Bristol, Earl of Leicester to Walsingham: 'By your letters I perceive her Majesty would now I should go over [to Holland]'...
 PS. 'I am glad to hear that her Majesty will hear of Mr Vice-Chamberlain for Keeper of the Seal. Surely he will be the fittest for it'. [SPF.xxi(3).21].
 Vice-Chamberlain Hatton was appointed Lord Chancellor on April 29.

April 16 [Theobalds], Lord Burghley to Leicester: 'Why her Majesty useth me thus strangely I know not. To some she saith that she meant not I should have gone from the court; to some she saith she may not admit me, nor give me contentment. I shall dispose myself to enjoy God's favour, and shall do nothing to deserve her disfavour. And if I be suffered to be a stranger to her affairs, I shall have a quieter life'. [Motley, *United Netherlands*, ii.200].

April 16: A prophecy. April 16: Mary Cocker, of Hertfordshire, was examined touching a vision or ghost in white silk that appeared to her, saying "'Go to thy Queen and tell her that she receive nothing...of any stranger, for there is a jewel in making for her which...if she receive will be her destruction. And if thou dost not tell her this much (quoth it) thou shall die the cruellest death that ever died any". And so presently it vanished away'. [SP12/200/28].

Apr 18, Easter Tues sermon, Greenwich: Peter Wentworth, Parson of Great Bromley, Essex, and Chaplain to Lord Darcy. Text: Psalm 2:10-11: 'Be wise now therefore, O ye Kings: be learned ye that are Judges of the earth. Serve the Lord in fear, and rejoice unto Him with reverence'. [Printed, 1587].

April 19: Sir Francis Drake's fleet arrived at Cadiz, Spain.
 Drake to John Wolley (Queen's Latin Secretary), April 27, from *The Elizabeth Bonaventure*: 'The 19th of this month we arrived at Cadiz, where, finding divers huge ships laden and to be laden with the King's provision for England, of whom we burnt 32, and sank a great argosy, and carried away four with us. We remained in the Road two days, in which time twelve of the King's galleys sundry times encountered us; in which fights we sank two of them, repulsing the residue with very little loss on our parts'. PS. 'There was never heard of so great a preparation as the King of Spain hath and doth continually prepare for an invasion...Cease not to pray continually, and provide strongly to defend to prevent the worst'. April 27, Drake to Walsingham: 'I dare not almost write unto your Honour of the great forces we hear the King of Spain hath out in the Straits. Prepare in England strongly, and most by sea. Stop him now, and stop him ever...It is the Lord that giveth victory'. [Corbett, 109-111].

April 20, London, anon newsletter: 'Drake left Plymouth...with 34 ships of the fleet, four of them being Queen's ships, the best she has'...

'Andreas de Loo arrived here last week from Brussels with the reply of his Highness [Duke of Parma] respecting peace. The Queen instantly sent couriers to Plymouth to stop Drake from sailing until further orders, but they were too late and he was gone. But still peace is spoken of, and the Queen desires it much: God send it to us'. [Span.iv.74].

Andreas de Loo, a Flemish merchant, went to and from the Duke of Parma several times about opening peace negotiations with Spain.

Apr 22, Sat Eve of Garter ceremonies, Greenwich.

At a Chapter of Garter Knights in the Privy Chamber the Queen appointed a Lieutenant, as customary. Later 'Mr Garter was sworn in'.

The Lieutenant and Heralds went to evening service with the Knights. William Dethick had been appointed Garter King of Arms in April 1586.

Apr 23, Sun St George's Day Garter ceremonies, Greenwich.

Queen's Lieutenant: Henry Carey, 1st Lord Hunsdon. Seven other Garter Knights. Queen in processions and at service, without Garter robes. Earl of Essex bore the sword. The Queen 'dined not abroad', but in the Privy Chamber.

The Lords went to evening service.

Apr 24, Mon Final 1587 Garter ceremonies, Greenwich.

No new Knights were elected. [Alnwick Castle, DNP: MS 468].

Court news. April 25, Thomas Phillips to Archibald Douglas: Sir Francis Walsingham 'willed me to let you understand that it will be a day or two ere he shall be able to speak with you, in respect of a general dispatch of suitors now, before her Majesty's short progress, which will be tomorrow'. [HT.iii.249].

See 'Proposed progresses: 1587' for the itinerary of a month-long progress in Surrey, Middlesex and Hertfordshire, to begin on April 26 at 'Southwell's' and Croydon, moving to Nonsuch on May 2. Only these three locations were visited.

[Apr 27, Thur] dinner; Sir Robert Southwell.

Reigate Priory, Surrey; owned by Charles 2nd Lord Howard of Effingham; occupied by Sir Robert Southwell (1563-1598);

wife: Elizabeth (Howard) (1564-1646), Lord Howard's daughter.

Apr 27, Thur **CROYDON**, Surrey; Archbishop of Canterbury.^T

John Whitgift, at Croydon Palace. 'The Queen removed to Croydon', April 27.TH

Apr 29, Sat new appointment: Sir Christopher Hatton was made Lord Chancellor. In a gallery of the Archbishop's house the Queen, in the midst of a circle of her courtiers, gave the Great Seal in its velvet bag to Vice-Chamberlain Hatton and ordered him to seal a writ with it. The Seal was restored to the bag, whereupon the Queen declared that Hatton was to keep it, as Lord Chancellor.

[Campbell, ii.279]. Hatton left for his house in Holborn. Sequel: May 1.

Also April 29: French Ambassador at Croydon for audience.

His first audience since the discovery in January of the conspiracy against the Queen supposedly involving the Ambassador and his Secretary, D'Estrapes.

Châteauneuf to Henri III [May 3], London: 'The Queen summoned me to go to her at Croydon...where she had gone to take the air for four or five days. This I did on Saturday...which was the day she had given me. On alighting at the inn where I intended to dine the gentlemen of her Council sent me an invitation to dine with them at the palace, where there were seven or eight of the principal of them, who paid me greater honour than they had ever done before'.

'Immediately after dinner I went, accompanied by them all, to the Queen, who received me still more graciously and...replied to me in the most courteous and polite manner possible, without my saying a word about D'Estrapes, a subject which I had resolved not to speak of at the first audience, but merely to treat of public affairs, as in fact she received me in presence of her whole court and my own suite, who were admitted into her Privy Chamber'.

The Queen discussed French complaints of depredations committed upon their ships by the English and Dutch. She then asked the Ambassador to go down to the Council Chamber to consult the Council.

'As she was very desirous of speaking to me about the death of the Queen of Scots, and I on the other hand was anxious to get away without touching upon that subject or upon the affairs of D'Estrapes, she could not forbear calling Sir Francis Walsingham, and telling him to conduct me to the Council Chamber, and, taking my arm, she said, laughing "Here is our man who wanted to have me killed". 'Seeing me smile, she added "that it was a thing she had never believed, nor had she ever complained to Monsieur Roger, except of my having said I was not bound to reveal anything to her, even though her life was in danger; that I had only spoken as an ambassador...that it had been a trick of two knaves, one of whom, Moody, was wicked enough to commit any bad action for money...but that now she loved and esteemed me more than ever; that allowances ought to be made for the times, and the anger of sovereigns".

She said "that D'Estrapes was at liberty to go whenever he pleased"...

'I thought to take leave of the Queen without making any answer respecting D'Estrapes, or entering upon the subject of the Queen of Scots; but as I was standing she took my hand, and led me into a corner of the apartment, and said that since she had seen me she had experienced one of the greatest misfortunes and vexations that had ever befallen her, which was the death of her cousin-german, of which she vowed to God, with many oaths, that she was innocent; that she had indeed signed the warrant, but it was only to satisfy her subjects, and that it was for the same reason that she had given a refusal to the ambassadors of France and Scotland; yet it was never her intention to put her to death, unless she had seen a foreign army invade England or a great insurrection of her subjects in her favour; then perhaps she might have put her to death'...

'The members of her Council...had played her a trick which she could never forgive; and she swore, by God, that but for their long services, and also because what they had done had been out of consideration for the welfare and safety of her person and of the state, they should have lost their heads. She begged me to believe that she was not so wicked as to throw the blame upon a humble secretary if it were not true; that this death will wring her heart as long as she lives'.

In this audience 'she detained me for three good hours, as I let her say all she pleased'. As to foreign affairs she said 'that she was not minded to give up what she held in the Low Countries, swearing an oath that she would not let either the King of Spain or the Guises make game of a poor old creature, who had the body of a woman but the heart of a man; that on this account she wished for the friendship of your Majesty'.

She gave me to understand 'that she considered your Majesty and herself as the heads of the two religions which are now in Christendom'.

'She put me into the hands of Leicester and Walsingham to conduct me to the Council Chamber...I was received at court with the greatest ceremony in the world, and when I left the Earl of Leicester went and waited for me in the Presence Chamber, where he remarked to me in a loud voice that the whole court rejoiced that I had been so well received by the Queen...After him all the other noblemen and gentlemen came, bowing and complimenting me as if I were a newcomer, a circumstance no doubt contrived on purpose and at the express command of their mistress'. [Teulet, iv.194-202].

Court news. [April 30-May 5, London, from Antonio de Escobar]:

'Châteauneuf saw the Queen, and she greatly caressed him, with many excuses about the past. The Earl of Leicester was full of offers of friendship'...

'Don Antonio [former King of Portugal] shows signs of wishing to leave... He is dismissing all his followers...Don Antonio is very dissatisfied in England and will be glad to go to France'. [Span.iv.84].

April 30: *French poet Saluste du Bartas at court.*

Guillaume de Saluste, Sieur du Bartas (1544-1590), poet, soldier, and diplomat, sent by the King of Navarre. He stayed in London with Archibald Douglas, the Scottish Ambassador, prior to leaving for Scotland.

Du Pin to Sir Francis Walsingham [March 30], La Rochelle:

'You will learn from Monsieur du Bartas, the bearer, the state of our affairs. His name and fame are known to all. You will know him by sight, and will find in his actions piety, uprightness and fidelity. The King has given him congé only that he may kiss the hands of the Queen your sovereign and dedicate himself to her service...He is trusty and faithful'. [SPF.xxi(1).260].

Apr 30, Sun Saluste du Bartas at Croydon for audience.

Châteauneuf to Henri III [May 3]: 'The King of Navarre has sent the Sieur du Bartas to the Queen, with whom he had audience...but apparently she gave him a very unfavourable reception, that I might hear of it, and that this, coupled with her extremely gracious behaviour to me the day before, might make me believe all she told me to be true'...

'The principal reason for Du Bartas coming is that he has been sent to Scotland to the King, who has several times before asked the King of Navarre for him; King James being so fond of the works of Du Bartas that he has turned the greatest part of them into Scottish verse, and has frequently said that if he had but Du Bartas about him he should consider himself the happiest sovereign in the world'. [Strickland, *Mary*, ii.312].

April 30, London, La Huguerye (Casimir's envoy) to Walsingham, asking, since matters were hopeless, to have his congé, his reply from the Queen, passport, and Duke Otto of Luneburg's congé. He wished to take passage as soon as possible, to lose no more time; he was waiting to take leave. On May 5 he and Duke Otto were still waiting. By May 8 he was 'extremely vexed to have lost so much time in doing nothing'. [SPF.xxi(1).284,291-2]. (See May 10).

April 30, Robert Cecil to Lord Burghley, his father: 'This afternoon I went to my Lord Chancellor's, who said of you "that England never should have such a Councillor"...He hath left his hat and feather, and now wears a flat velvet cap, not different from your Lordship's'. [Murdin, 588].

May 1-2: Sir Christopher Hatton, new Lord Chancellor, at Croydon again.

May 1 [Cecil House], Henry Maynard to Burghley: 'I attended my Lord Chancellor this morning...He findeth himself much troubled and grieved with a message his servant Mr Verney brought to him yesterday from the court from divers of his good friends there, which was that her Majesty should much repent her of the committing of the Great Seal unto him, as that an occasion was thereby given to the world to talk diversely thereof; which should be often and publicly spoken by her Majesty; and therefore he is this afternoon gone to the court...with a resolution that, if he found her Majesty to continue that conceit, to deliver up the Seal again, rather than to keep it with her discontentment, to his disgrace. His return will not be until 4 or 5 in the afternoon tomorrow'. [Murdin, 589].

Sir Christopher Hatton kept the Great Seal and remained Lord Chancellor.

He had been an Inns of Court student in his youth, but had not practised law, and hence his appointment was initially much criticised. 'Yet bore he the place with the greatest state of all that ever we knew, and what was lacking in him in knowledge of the law he laboured to supply by equity'. [Camden, *Annals*].

Hatton also remained Captain of the Guard, being named as such when he signed annual warrants for liveries for the Guard until he died in 1591. [TNA LC5/36].

No Deputy Captain is named; Sir Walter Raleigh became the next Captain.

May 1, London, Buzenval (King of Navarre's resident Agent) to Walsingham:
 'Monsieur du Bartas cannot pass her Majesty's divine temple without offering
 her some fruit of the flowers which have made his name everywhere. This is why
 on this first day of May he has composed this sonnet for her, which he desires
 to be honoured by your presenting it to her'. [SPF.xxi(1).287].

c.May 1: Croydon horse-race.

Francis Coot, Gentleman Usher, made ready 'a standing for her Majesty at
 the horse-race at Croydon', May.^T

May: two visits to Beddington, Surrey; Sir Francis Carew.
 Beddington manor-house; owned by Carew (c.1530-1611), unmarried.

Francis Coot made ready 'a dining house' at Sir Francis Carew's,
 and also 'a banqueting-house' there, both in May.^T

May 2, Dublin, Sir John Perrot, Lord Deputy, to Burghley: 'Seeing her Highness
 hath appointed me to come over at Michaelmas [Sept 29], I would gladly leave the
 country quiet in all respects to him that shall come after me'. [SP 63/129/64].

Constant complaints had come from Ireland about Perrot's behaviour to members
 of the Council and others. A typical example: Adam Loftus, Lord Chancellor of
 Ireland and Archbishop of Dublin, to Burghley, 4 Dec 1586, of 'daily disgraces'
 offered to officials and Councillors: 'In case any gentleman in private make
 petition unto my Lord Deputy to have his cause considered of before the Council
 board, his Lordship's common answer is this, with great fury, "What tellest
 thou me of the Council? What care I for the Council? They are all of them but
 a sort of beggars and squibs, puppies, dogs, dunghill churls, - yea even the
 proudest of them come hither with their hose patched on the heels". And also
 terming the Queen's Chief Justices at the law "ten shilling knaves", using such
 other reproachful and despitiful terms against us that we find ourselves both
 greatly discontented, discouraged, and disabled from doing'.

'There was a purpose in all this English Council to have joined together
 in a letter to her Highness with humble petition for redress of these things,
 but knowing the matter would offend her Majesty, and being loth to trouble
 her Highness, having her mind so encumbered with greater cares, I am requested
 privately to signify thus much to your good Lordship in the name of us all,
 humbly beseeching your good Lordship to weigh and consider our present estates,
 and to procure a remedy for the same'. [SP63/127/4].

Sir John Perrot remained in Ireland until a new Lord Deputy, Sir William
 Fitzwilliam, arrived in June 1588. In 1591 Perrot was sent to the Tower,
 and in 1592 was tried for high treason, the charges relating particularly
 to offensive words about the Queen and others. Trial: 27 April 1592.

May 3, Croydon, Queen to Lord Buckhurst (special Ambassador to the
 Low Countries), criticising his proceedings with the States-General,
 listing all her grievances against them, and issuing many instructions.

'Given under our Signet' at Croydon, 3 May. PS: 'There is small
 disproportion betwixt a fool that useth not wit because he hath it not,
 and him that useth it not when it should avail him'. [SPF.xxi(3).48-50].

May 3, Wed **NONSUCH**, Cheam, Surrey; Lord Lumley.
 Built by King Henry VIII; owned by John Lord Lumley (c.1533-1609).
 2nd wife: Elizabeth, daughter of John 2nd Lord Darcy of Chiche; she died 1617.

May 5: new appointment: Daniel Rogers, sworn a Clerk of the Council.^{APC}

Court news, of Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex (1565-1601), stepson of the Earl of Leicester, who was Master of the Horse from 1558.

May 6, Warwick Inn, Anthony Bagot (Essex's servant) to his father Richard Bagot: My Lord 'told me with his own mouth he looked to be Master of the Horse within these ten days. It hath been moved to the Queen, and she can be very well content, but she saith she hath no higher a place for my Lord of Leicester, and he telleth my Lord he craveth nothing but only licence he may resign his place to my Lord; he hath also told my Lord what the office is and what it is worth, £1500 yearly, besides the keeping of his own horses and his table. This much upon May Day my Lord told me alone'. [He was appointed on June 18].

'Now for her Majesty's favour and singular countenance and exceeding good words...when she is abroad nobody near her but my Lord of Essex, and at night my Lord is at cards or one game or another with her, that he cometh not to his own lodgings till birds sing in the morning'.

'Sir Walter Raleigh, he is the hated man of the world in court, city, and country. Where the court is now at Nonsuch my Lord hath his lodging; at the next remove I know not how it will be'. [HMC 4th Report, 338; and MS].

John Clapham, one of Lord Burghley's clerks, wrote in 1603:

The Queen 'had in her time four principal favourites: namely, the Earl of Leicester, Sir Christopher Hatton, Sir Walter Raleigh, and the Earl of Essex. All these successively enjoyed her grace in the highest measure, being men of very comely personage, and adorned with all outward gifts of nature, but much differing one from another in the disposition of their minds'...

Essex 'was generally as much beloved as Sir Walter Raleigh, his predecessor, was hated...This popular affection he won for the most part by his courtesy and affability, having by that means the fortune to enjoy at one time both the favour of the Prince and the good will of the people, which two very seldom meet together'. [Clapham, 90,94-5].

Robert Naunton: Essex 'had his introduction by my Lord of Leicester, who had married his mother...Sure it is that he no sooner appeared in court but he took with the Queen and courtiers'...

'There was in this young lord, together with a most goodly person, a kind of urbanity or innate courtesy, which both won the Queen and too much took upon the people to gaze on the new adopted son of her favour'. [Fragmenta Regalia].

May 8, Mon Saluste du Bartas at Nonsuch to take leave.
The Queen appointed May 8 for the poet to come to take leave of her.

May 8, Council's passport: To Mayors, Justices of the Peace, Wardens of the Marches, etc: 'Whereas a French gentleman called Sieur de Bartas, lately come over into England to see her Majesty and the Realm, did also, with her Majesty's good favour and licence, repair from hence into the Realm of Scotland... he should quietly pass by them' and be furnished with post-horses.^{APC}

Du Bartas was in Scotland from May-September, being made very welcome by King James, a great admirer of his poetry. Aug 30, Hamilton, Richard Douglas to Archibald Douglas, his uncle, in England: He 'is this day to take his leave of his Majesty to return to Rochelle'. He 'yesterday made him Knight; giving him a chain weighing 1000 crowns, and 2000 crowns of the sun also; and to every one of his company a sum of money, with a tablet of gold, having in it his Majesty's portrait; besides a number of hackneys, and other presents'. [Lodge, ii.315].

Du Bartas had secretly negotiated for a marriage between James and the King of Navarre's sister Catherine, but at the same time James had ambassadors in Denmark negotiating for a marriage with one of the King of Denmark's daughters.

Portraits of both possible brides were presented to James, and he chose the Danish Princess Anne, whom he married in 1589.

May 8–November 8: **Voyage to Virginia** by Raleigh's ships.

'Sir Walter Raleigh, intending to persevere in the planting of his country of Virginia, prepared a new colony of 150 men to be sent thither, under the charge of John White, whom he appointed Governor...of the city of Raleigh in Virginia'. The fleet of three ships sailed from Plymouth on May 8.

In July they searched fruitlessly in Roanoke, and on Croatoan Island, for 15 men left in 1586 when the rest of the first colony returned to England.

They had brought Manteo, the King's son taken to England in 1584.

On August 13: 'Our savage Manteo, by the commandment of Sir Walter Raleigh, was christened in Roanoak, and called Lord thereof...in reward of his faithful service'. Aug 18: 'Eleanor, daughter to the Governor, and wife to Ananias Dare ...was delivered of a daughter in Roanoak, and the same was christened there the Sunday following, and because this child was the first Christian born in Virginia, she was named Virginia'. A list of those 'which safely arrived in Virginia, and remained to inhabit there' names 91 men, 17 women, 9 'boys and children'. Also Manteo and Towaye, 'Savages. That were in England and returned home into Virginia with them'. The colonists had begged Governor White to return to England for supplies for them, and he sailed from Roanoke on Aug 27, arriving in Southampton on November 8. [Hakluyt, vi.196-211].

Court news. May 10, Lord Burghley to Duke Casimir, in French, to be taken by his envoy Michel de la Huguerye, who came for money for the King of Navarre.

Burghley testifies his 'sorrow that such is the difficulty of the present time as to prevent what he has so effectually solicited in your name. At this hour her Majesty is so assailed on all sides by the Papists of Christendom, by the practices and conspiracies of Spain and of the Low Countries, by most powerful forces both by land and sea, against this kingdom; from Scotland by continual suspicion by reason of conspiracies...and at her own doors by Papist traitors, that in truth she is compelled more than ever before to seek from her loyal subjects the means wherewith to provide money for defence, both by land and sea, in her own realm, in Ireland, and elsewhere; so that never since the beginning of her reign has she so heavily charged her people with loans and subsidies as she has done this year'. [SPF.xxi(1), 293-4]. (See May 19).

May 10, Wed The Queen requested Lord Chancellor Hatton to cause Letters Patent to be made under the Great Seal, granting to Hugh O'Neill the title of Earl of Tyrone for life. O'Neill, formerly Baron Dungannon, and already known as Earl of Tyrone, was in England from Ireland.

May 13: Hugh Earl of Tyrone recognised the terms of an Indenture between the Queen and himself. He returned promptly to Ireland. [SP63/129/75,79].

May 14: The French Ambassador's servant, D'Estrapes, received his passport and left for Paris. Therefore in June the King of France permitted the Queen's special Ambassador William Waad to return to England. [SPF.xxi(1).309-310].

May 19: La Huguerye was still 'wasting his time' waiting to embark. Duke Casimir to the Queen, July 30: 'I never thought to receive the answer which your Majesty has made me by the Sieur de la Huguerye'. [SPF.xxi(1).301,330].

May 26, London, Philip Gawdy to 'my very good mother': 'Captain Crosse is come from Sir Francis Drake and hath brought certain news that he hath sunk and burned 33 ships of the King of Spain and hath four more laden with much wealth'.^{GY}

By burning so many ships Drake delayed the Armada's preparations to invade England. This exploit became known as 'singeing the King of Spain's beard'.

Drake's fleet went on to harass and destroy Spanish ships along the coast of Portugal, before making for the Azores.

c. May 29, Mon dinner, Streatham, Surrey; Dr Forth.
Francis Coot made ready 'Dr Ford's house at Streatham'.^T
Tooting Bec manor-house, Streatham; owned by Dr Robert Forth,
Doctor of Civil Law, died 1595; 1st wife: Martha (Box) (1524-1589).

c. May 29, Mon **GREENWICH PALACE**, Kent.
Date: May 27, court at Nonsuch. [SPF]; May 29, Greenwich.^{APC}
Work at Greenwich, 1587, included: 'making a way at Ratcliffe for the Queen's Majesty's landing there; mending the wharf in sundry places where the water had eaten it away; making of rails for the shutting in of the Tilt; new repairing and tiling the house at the upper end of the Tilt-yard for the Children of the Chapel; a perch for the Queen's parrot'.

[May 30], Paris, Mendoza to Philip II: Andreas de Loo's arrival in London had caused a rumour that the Queen was to conclude peace with Spain.

Don Antonio (former King of Portugal) 'went to the Queen to ask for a passport as she was treating for peace. She said it was true, and if it were settled she pledged her word to place him in safety out of the country in any place he chose. She would give him a passport at once and...recommended him to dismiss the Portuguese he had with him, except 12 or 15 persons...Don Antonio dismissed over 80 Portuguese...The majority of them have come to France'. He 'was at Stepney, a mile out of London' and has 'now gone to a house in London which had been given to him by the Earl of Leicester'. [Span.iv.99].

May-October: Dr Giles Fletcher was *Agent* in the Hanse Towns, accompanied by Richard Saltonstall, Governor of the Merchant Adventurers Company of London.

June: Commission by the Queen to John Spilman, Goldsmith of the Jewels of the Household, to provide all sorts of gold, jewels, diamonds, pearls, rubies, and other precious stones, and to take up diamond cutters, ruby cutters, agate cutters, and other workmen, at her Majesty's prices. [SP12/202/43].

Court news. June 1, Westminster, II to Walsingham, with news from Thomas Wharton, kinsman of Lord Wharton: 'Upon Sunday last Wharton and his friend Geary were both at the court, from whence Wharton returned with this report (that of a Scot), the King of Spain hath 400 ships at sea ready furnished for England, with whom also are joined many Italians and Frenchmen, which forces he thinketh will unite themselves with Scotland, and so work wonders. But although this tale... may seem ridiculous to the well acquainted with State causes, yet amongst the populace, whose itching ears are tickled with novelties, such rumours may bring forth bad effects. Further he reporteth that not many days past her Majesty entered into marvellous evil speeches with the Lord Treasurer [Lord Burghley], calling him traitor, false dissembler and wicked wretch, commanding him to avoid her presence, and all about the death of the Scottish Queen'. [SP12/202/1].

II: Maliverny Catlyn, one of Sir Francis Walsingham's secret agents.

A portrait of Walsingham, c.1587, shows him wearing a jewelled cameo of the Queen. Attributed to John de Critz the Elder. National Portrait Gallery, London. Reproduced in *Dynasties*, ed. Karen Hearn, 173-4.

June 4, Whit Sunday Herald and Pursuivant created, Greenwich.
Humphrey Hales was created Chester Herald; James Thomas was created Bluemantle Pursuivant 'by the Earl of Leicester in his chamber'. [Noble, 178,185].
Leicester was deputy Earl Marshal.

c. June 6, Whit Tuesday bear-baiting, 'on the feast of Pentecost', Greenwich.^T

[June 7], in *Spain: Report concerning Arthur Dudley or Southern, alleged son of the Queen and Lord Robert Dudley, later Earl of Leicester; recounted by him to Sir Francis Englefield, an English Catholic in Spain.* [Span.iv.101-105].

Arthur Dudley claimed to be the Queen's son. His story was narrated briefly a year later by B.C., an English spy in Spain [18 May 1588], Madrid:

'About 16 months ago was taken a youth entering Spain out of France...who hath given out his person to be begotten between our Queen and the Earl of Leicester; born at Hampton Court, and forthwith by the elder Ashley [Astley] delivered into the hands of one Southern the servant to Mrs Ashley, with charge upon pain of death that the said Southern should not reveal the matter, but bring it up; who brought the babe to a miller's wife of Molesey to give it suck, and afterwards the said Southern going into his country which was Worcester or Shropshire carried with him the child, and there brought it up in learning and qualities. In the end, discovering unto this youth the whole secret, he took a flight overseas, where many years he hath remained until his coming hither. His name is Arthur, and of 27 years of age, or thereabout'.

'This forsooth is his saying, and taketh upon him like to the man he pretendeth to be; whereupon he wanteth [lacks] no keepers, and is very solemnly warded [guarded] and served, with an expense to this King of six crowns a day. If I had my alphabet [cipher] I would say more touching his lewd speeches'.

A priest wrote from France [19 Sept 1588] to Sir Francis Walsingham: The varlet that called himself her Majesty's son is in Madrid, and is allowed two crowns a day for his table, but cannot go anywhere without his keeper, and has a house for a prison. In 1590 he was described as imprisoned at Alcantara.

No more is heard of him. [Ellis (2), iii.135-6; SP15/30/110].

June 9: Sir Francis Drake's fleet captured the *San Felipe* (St Philip), belonging to King Philip himself, laden with a rich cargo.

June 11, Sun knighting: Lord Mayor: George Barne, haberdasher. [Shaw].

June 12: The *Ark Raleigh* was launched at Deptford, Kent.

Thomas Lane and 135 other mariners...attending at Deptford Strand for the launching of *The Ark Raleigh*', June 12.^N Later known as *The Ark* or *Ark Royal*.

Built for Sir Walter Raleigh, who had already sold her to the Queen for £5000, which was deducted in 1592 from his debts to the Crown. [Laughton, ii.332].

June 12, Lathom [Lancashire], Earl of Derby to Lord Burghley:

'Being sorry to understand that you have been so much pained of late that you have not been able to stir out of your house, and yet I perceive you have been often sent to by her Majesty, the messengers being her greatest Councillors, to consult of her causes'. [SP12/202/18].

June 13, Tues Don Antonio at Greenwich with the Queen.

Former King of Portugal and Pretender to the Portuguese Throne.

News from Richard Mirth [June 20]: Don Antonio told the Queen 'he wished to divulge a secret to her. This was that he had been summoned to go to Portugal, and if she would let him have 2000 men he had arrangements which, with God's favour, would enable him to land at a certain place where men and money were awaiting him...The Queen dismissed him, saying that she would discuss the matter with the Council and send her reply...Many members thought that the opportunity should not be lost', but 'the Earl of Leicester said that two Portuguese, who had been secretly sent to Portugal by Don Antonio...had reported that they could get no one there to listen to them; so that Don Antonio could have received no such summons as he said, and if the Queen undertook the business it would have to be done with adequate forces. The Queen therefore replied to Don Antonio that he was to wait, and she promised to help him in due time'. [Span.iv.116].

June 14: Queen's gifts delivered: 'To a gentleman named Calixtus Schein: one chain of gold; to Monsieur Fremin: one chain of gold'.^{NYG}

Schein had come with letters from the King of Denmark; Colonel George Fremin came with news from the Low Countries.

June 15, Thur new appointment: Sir Francis Walsingham was made Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. He continued to be the Queen's Secretary.

June 18, Sun new appointments: Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, was made Lord Steward of the Household; Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, was made Master of the Horse (replacing Leicester, his step-father). [Stow, *Annals*].

Knights: George Savile, of Lincolnshire; Thomas Throckmorton, of Gloucs, son-in-law of the Earl of Shrewsbury. [Shaw].

William Segar painted the Earl of Leicester with the Lord Steward's staff, c.1587. [Reproduced by Elizabeth Goldring, *Robert Dudley*, 10-11].

June 19, Greenwich, Lord Burghley to the Earl of Shrewsbury:

'Of her Majesty's health, of her intention to come to Theobalds the 27th hereof and to abide there, as she saith, a fortnight or three weeks; of my Lord of Leicester's readiness to pass to the Low Countries, I doubt not but your Lordship's son, Mr H.[Henry] Talbot, can advise your Lordship'. [Bath, v.80].

The Queen arrived at Theobalds c.July 8, staying several weeks.

June 21: Queen's gift: 'To a gentleman of the Low Country named Mr Burgraill, a chain of gold'.^{NYG} Daniel Burgrave, Leicester's secretary in Holland; now living in England.

June 21, court, Earl of Leicester to the Earl of Shrewsbury, of 'her Majesty's commandment to make my hasty repair to the other side of the sea'...

'I have presumed much upon your Lordship at this present, having taken your barge to make me a little galley to scour the shallow rivers, but I will bespeak your Lordship another to be made for you'.

PS. 'Tomorrow morning I take my going hence'. [Bath, v.81].

June 22, Thur Earl of Leicester took leave, Greenwich. The Earl was returning to the Low Countries.

June 24: *Earl of Leicester left Leicester House, Strand, for Margate, Kent, 'and as it pleaseth God it is my birthday'*.

June 25: *Leicester and Lord Admiral Howard embarked 'with my Lord Wentworth, Lord North, and others of good quality', and about 5000 men.*

The Disdain (Adam Seager, Captain) 'wafting and transporting over the Earl of Leicester to Flushing being accompanied with the Lord Admiral'.^N

June 25-January 1589: Henry Killigrew was a Councillor on the Dutch Council of State.

June 26-September 1587: Robert Beale was also a Councillor.

June 26: Leicester arrived at Flushing to resume his command.

Soon after Leicester arrived Lord Buckhurst and Dr Bartholomew Clerke (special Ambassadors), Sir John Norris (one of the chief English commanders), and Thomas Wilkes (Councillor on the Dutch Council of State), all left for England. Leicester was much aggrieved that Lord Buckhurst did not speak to him after his first greeting and that Norris and Wilkes (both of whom the Earl now intensely disliked) left without seeing him. All his complaints against them were reported back to the Queen at Theobalds in July.

June 26: Sir Francis Drake returned to Plymouth from his Cadiz Voyage. Plymouth Corporation records: Drake 'went here hence to the seas...He arrived at Cales, where he did greatly annoy the King of Spain's fleet, and set many of fire, being laden with victuals prepared for England, and in that voyage took a great carrack...laden with spices and other commodities and brought the same into England to the great comfort of her Majesty and her subjects'.

Drake, who brought the carrack *St Philip* to Devon, was at first ordered to remain on the coast ready to put to sea again. He came to London on July 18, and went to the Queen next day at Theobalds, Herts.

June 27: Miles Fry of Devonshire, an alleged son of God and the Queen. June 27, Emanuel Plantagenet to Lord Burghley: 'I am sent an Ambassador from God the Father unto the Queen's Highness to declare unto her that I am the son of them both, and when she was delivered of me I was taken from her by the Angel Gabriel and brought unto one Mistress Fry for to be kept; and the time of this keeping is ended, and God my father hath sent me unto her Highness to declare unto her that I am her son...I pray you to signify unto her Majesty that I her poor son do humbly beseech her to suffer me to declare my father's embassy unto her...I have been this 35 years known by the name of Miles Fry'...

'Written with my dying hand at the sign of the Rose and Crown in St John's Street beyond Smithfield in London'. [Ellis (3), iv.60-63, with excerpts from letters to Lord Burghley or the Queen from others suffering from delusions].

[July 6], Hamburg, Paul Grebner to Sir Francis Walsingham, in Latin: Being a German and a visionary, I desire you to present a volume of my prophecies to the Queen, and to procure for me in return some reward and the printing and publication of the work in England at her expense. Endorsed: 'From one Grebner, the new prophet of Germany'. [SPF.xxi(1).331]. See Nov 10.

*July 8, Sat dinner, Hackney, Middlesex; Alderman Hayward.^W Kingshold manor-house, called King's Place; owned by Sir Rowland Hayward (c.1520-1593), clothworker, Alderman of London 1560-1593, twice Lord Mayor; 2nd wife: Catherine (Smith) (c.1564-1617); daughter of 'Customer' Thomas Smith.

*July 8, Sat **THEOBALDS**, Cheshunt, Herts; Lord Burghley. Theobalds, owned and built by William Cecil, 1st Lord Burghley (c.1520-1598), Lord Treasurer 1572-1598; 2nd wife: Mildred (Cooke) (c.1525-1589).

Simon Bowyer made ready 'the Lord Treasurer's house at Theobalds for her Majesty and a great gallery there'.^T

St Botolph Aldgate, London: 'Paid to the Sexton at midsummer and was for brooms and oil for two quarters past and for drink for the ringers which did ring for the Queen when her Majesty did go to Theobalds, 14d'.

Date: July 7, Greenwich, Chancery warrant; July 9, Theobalds.^{APC} Numerous Privy Council meetings were held at Theobalds.

Burghley's gift to Queen, in 1587: 'one porringer of white porcelain garnished with gold, the cover of gold, with a lion on the top thereof'. [Jewels, 1577].

July 10 [Theobalds], Council to John Manners Earl of Rutland: 'Her Majesty has made special choice of you and your wife to assist at the funeral of the late Scottish Queen, in company with divers other noblemen and gentlemen, on the 1st day of August at Peterborough. The Master of her Majesty's Wardrobe, John Fortescue, will deliver a certain proportion of blacks for yourself, your wife, and certain gentlemen, gentlewomen and yeomen to attend upon you'.^{RT}

c. July 10/15: dinner, Cheshunt, Herts; Lord Talbot.^T
 Cheshunt house of Gilbert Lord Talbot (1552-1616), son of George Talbot, 6th Earl of Shrewsbury; wife: Mary (Cavendish) (1556-1632), daughter of the Countess of Shrewsbury ('Bess of Hardwick') and step-daughter of the Earl.

Lady Talbot's brother Sir Charles Cavendish (1553-1617), wrote a long letter to their mother with news of the Queen at Theobalds; written 'this Tuesday', dated from internal evidence 18 July 1587. MS at Chatsworth House, Derbyshire; quoted by kind permission of the Duke of Devonshire.

Sir Charles Cavendish's brother Sir William Cavendish was created (1618) Earl of Devonshire; a descendant was created (1694) Duke of Devonshire.

c. July 10/17, at Theobalds: Lord Burghley feasted the Queen in his Great Chamber, described by Sir Charles Cavendish to the Countess of Shrewsbury:

'My Lord Treasurer hath built a fair gallery to his Great Chamber, very fair. I take it to be 126 foot long, 21 foot broad, 16 foot high...His Great Chamber I take to be 60 foot long, 22 broad and 21 high, wherein he hath made at the nether end a fair rock with ducks, pheasants, with divers other birds, which serves for a cupboard. The old trees be there still. He hath a cloth of state made of thin horn of divers colours like the beasts and flowers be of nature, hath in the roof a sun going which truly pointeth the hour and goeth the length of the chamber, by night the moon, and through the roof, which be boards painted, sky holes made and lights set there so they appear stars'.

'In this chamber my Lord feasted the Queen, who was nobly entertained and all lords and ladies sat at the board, and at the conclusion of dinner her Majesty heartily prayed that God would lend her his life for 21 years, for she desired not to live longer than she had him, which prayer was so kindly expressed that the good old lord could not return thanks nor other speech for tears'.

Count Mompelgart (later Duke of Wurttemberg) visited Theobalds in August 1592. His Secretary wrote that it 'is reckoned one of the most beautiful houses in England, as in truth it is'.

'The handsome and delightful hall...is so ornamental and artistic that its equal is not easily to be met with; for...there is a very high rock, of all colours, made of real stones, out of which gushes a splendid fountain that falls into a large circular bowl or basin, supported by two savages. This hall has no pillars; it is about 60 feet in length and upwards of 30 wide. The ceiling...contains the twelve signs of the zodiac, so that at night you can see distinctly the stars proper to each; on the same stage the sun performs its course'...

'On each side of the hall are six trees, having the natural bark so artfully joined, with birds' nests and leaves as well as fruit upon them, all managed in such a manner that you could not distinguish between the natural and these artificial trees, and...when the Steward of the house opened the windows, which looked upon the beautiful pleasure-garden, birds flew into the hall, perched themselves upon the trees, and began to sing'...

'There are also many other spacious halls and fine galleries in this splendid palace, with very artistic paintings and correct landscapes of all the most important and remarkable towns in Christendom, as well as tables of inlaid-work and marble of various colours'...

'In another hall is depicted the kingdom of England, with all its cities, towns and villages, mountains and rivers; as also the armorial bearings and domains of every esquire, lord, knight, and noble who possess lands and retainers...All the apartments and rooms are adorned with beautiful tapestries' and some 'have very beautiful and costly ceilings...elegantly coloured'...

'The garden is close adjoining and of immense extent', with 'no expense spared'. In the stables 'were many fine horses'. [W.B.Rye, England as seen by Foreigners (1865), 44-45].

c. July 11/17, at Theobalds: Lady Arbella Stuart with the Queen.
Sir Charles Cavendish to the Countess of Shrewsbury:

'My Lady Arbella hath been once at court. Her Majesty spoke unto her, but not long, and examined her nothing touching her book. She dined in the Presence [Chamber], but my Lord Treasurer [Burghley] bade her to supper; and at dinner, I dining with her and sitting over against him, he asked me whether I came with my niece or no. I said I came with her, then he spoke openly and directed his speech to Sir Walter Raleigh greatly in her commendation, as that she had the French, the Italian, played of instruments, danced, wrought [sewed], and writ very fair, wished she were 15 years old, and with that rounded Mr Raleigh in the ear, who answered it would be a happy thing'.

'At supper he made exceeding much of her, so did he the afternoon in his Great Chamber publicly, and of Mall and Bess and George, and since he hath asked when she shall come again to court'...

'For our court there is none in that height as my Lord of Essex, and surely he is mightily grown and can hardly be wanting half a day. He strengtheneth my Lord of Leicester marvellously. Sir Walter Raleigh is in wonderful declination yet labours to underprop himself by my Lord Treasurer and his friends'...

'It is thought he will never rise again'.

Arbella Stuart (1575-1615), an orphan, a cousin of both the Queen and King James, lived from c.1581-1603 mainly in Derbyshire with her grandmother the Countess of Shrewsbury. Also at Theobalds were three other young grandchildren of the Countess: Mary, Elizabeth, George, children of Lord Talbot. For Raleigh's exchange of verses with the Queen see end 1587.

July 12, Thomas Wilkes to the Queen (on his return from the Low Countries, where he had angered Leicester and also the Queen by leaving without speaking to the Earl): 'Being by the Lords of the Council commanded to set down in writing all such matters concerning the present state of the United Provinces as by the Lord Buckhurst I was required to do by speech...by reason of my present disgrace I do greatly fear I shall neither please your Majesty nor satisfy myself'. A lengthy report, sent to the Queen at Theobalds.

July 15: Wilkes, now in the Fleet prison, received questions delivered to him from the Queen; he returned his answers on July 17. [SPF.xxi(3).162-6,180].

July 15: Edward Morris, 'Mr Controller's servant', came with a report from Flanders. Controller of the Household: Sir James Croft. [SPF.xxi(3).176].

July 18: News of Lord Buckhurst, Sir John Norris and Thomas Wilkes, all barred from the Queen's presence on their return from the Low Countries.

Sir Charles Cavendish [July 18]: 'The Lords [of the Council] have been and yet be at London about the subsidy...At these Lords being at London I understand they have commission to examine my Lord of Buckhurst about his negotiation in the Low Countries, who is commanded not to come to the court for discontenting my Lord of Leicester, which is thought strange, being equal to him in Council and being her Majesty's Ambassador, before he deliver what he had done there. Sir John Norris is also commanded to his father's house, there to abide till further of her Majesty's pleasure be known, and Mr Wilkes committed to the Fleet, and all to please my Lord of Leicester as is said'.

Sir John Norris was the son of Henry 1st Lord Norris, of Rycote, Oxon.

Court news. July 19, London, Thomas Screven to Earl of Rutland, at Newark:

'It is resolved that you and my Lady must be at the funeral of the Scottish Queen at Peterborough on the last of this month as the ceremony is on the first of August. I have sent you 20 yards of black for yourself and as much for my Lady, 20 yards for her three gentlewomen, 9 yards for three gentlemen, and 24 yards for 16 yeomen'...

'Yesterday the Lords of the Council spent the morning in sitting about the subsidy of London, and in the afternoon Sir John Norris was before them at the Lord Chancellor's house, where today Lord Buckhurst is before them'...

'Sir Francis Drake has come from Plymouth and came to London last night'.

'At Theobalds yesterday the Lady Paget was robbed, and out of her chamber (being among the Privy Lodgings) was taken in plate to the value of £50 or £60, after which here is great enquiry made. Her Majesty deferred her journey to Northall, whither she goeth tomorrow, meaning to return to Theobalds on Friday or Saturday'.^{RT}

July 19, Wed Sir Francis Drake arrived at Theobalds on return from Cadiz. [From Antonio de Escobar, July 20]: 'When Don Antonio was on his way from the court, which is at present at the Treasurer's house, he met on Wednesday... Drake, who was going thither with the Lord Treasurer, the Admiral, and the Lord Chamberlain. Drake was very obsequious to Don Antonio, and said that as soon as he had seen the Queen he would go to London and speak with him'. [Span.iv.130].

The Carrack Prize Commission had made an Inventory on July 11 of 'a small casket with divers jewels' which is 'garnished with gold', and of which 'Sir Frances Drake hath taken charge to deliver unto her Majesty with his own hands'.

[Corbett, 200-201]. During 1587 the Queen gave Drake a jewelled locket with a portrait of herself by Nicholas Hilliard. Known as 'The Drake Jewel'.

[Illustrated in *The English Renaissance Miniature* by Roy Strong (1983)].

Also July 19: Edmund Hunt arrived at Theobalds from Holland.

Edmund Hunt, an auditor, took leave of the Earl of Leicester in Holland on Saturday July 15, and sailed to England, bringing account books.

Hunt to Leicester, July 25, court: 'Going on board the Saturday evening I took my leave (the wind being so contrary) I came not on land till Tuesday in the afternoon following at Deal Castle in Kent, from whence passing (with the expedition I could, riding all night following) by post journey with some difficulty and delay in taking up post horse, I came to the court at Theobalds on Wednesday within night, her Majesty walking in the garden, to whom your Excellency's letters were presently delivered by Mr Stanhope. Upon receipt whereof her Majesty returned into her chamber, and by the way presented myself, being so commanded'. After asking about your health, and affairs in Holland...

'Her Majesty called me aside and told me she was to talk with me about other matters, wherein her Highness willed me not to be afraid to utter my knowledge...I answered that in respect of my duty I feared no man'.

[BL Cotton Galba D.I, f.148].

July 20: Edmund Hunt delivered at Theobalds a note of the States' debt, £46,000. [SPF.xxi(3).160]. On July 21 he went to Barn Elms to see Walsingham, next day back to Theobalds to confer on 'matters of account' with Burghley.

July 20, Thur **NORTHAW**, Herts; Earl of Warwick.^{T,W}

Northaw manor-house, also called Northall or North Hall; owned by Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick (c.1530-1590), elder brother of Earl of Leicester; Master of the Ordnance, Privy Councillor; 3rd wife: Anne (Russell)(c.1548-1604), daughter of Francis Russell 2nd Earl of Bedford. Also present: Earl of Essex; his sister (probably Dorothy, whose sudden marriage to Sir Thomas Perrot in 1583 angered her mother and the Queen); Lady Leighton; Sir Walter Raleigh.

Court news. July 21 [London], Earl of Essex to Edward Dyer:

'Yesternight the Queen came to North Hall, where my Lady of Warwick would needs have my sister to be; which though I knew not at the first, yet to prevent the worst I made my aunt Leighton signify so much unto the Queen before her coming from Theobalds, that at her coming to North Hall this matter might not seem strange unto her. She seemed to be well pleased and well contented with it, and promised to use her well'.

'Yesternight, after she was come, and knew my sister was in the house, she commanded my Lady of Warwick that my sister should keep her chamber; whereupon, being greatly troubled in myself, I watched when the Queen had supped, to have some speech with her, which I had at large...Her excuse was, first, she knew not of my sister's coming, and besides...that the world would conceive that all her kindness to my sister was done for love of myself'.

'Such bad excuses gave me a theme large enough...to tell her what the true causes were why she would offer this disgrace both to me and to my sister, which was only to please that knave Raleigh'...

'From thence she came to speak of Raleigh, and it seemed she could not well endure anything to be spoken against him, and...said there was no such cause why I should disdain him. This speech did trouble me so much that as near as I could I did describe unto her what he had been, and what he was'...

'I spoke, what of grief and choler, as much against him as I could, and I think he, standing at the door might very well hear the worst that I spoke of himself. In the end I saw she was resolved to defend him and to cross me'.

'From thence she came to speak bitterly against my mother, which because I could not endure to see me and my house disgraced...I told her, for my sister she should not any longer disquiet her; I would, though it were almost midnight, send her away that night; and for myself I had no joy to be in any place, but loth to be near about her when I knew my affection so much thrown down, and such a wretch as Raleigh highly esteemed of her. To this she made no answer, but turned her away to my Lady of Warwick'.

'So at that late hour I sent my men away with my sister, and after I came hither myself'...

'I will be this night at Margate, and if I can I will ship myself for Flushing. I will see Sluys lost or relieved'. [Devereux, i.187-8].

Raleigh was one of the Queen's Esquires for the Body, who attended on her. She sent Robert Carey to stop Essex from embarking to go to Sluys, which was besieged; Carey overtook him on the Kent coast.

Essex (whose mother was the Countess of Leicester) returned to Theobalds.

July 21, Fri **THEOBALDS**, Herts; Lord Burghley. [Second 1587 visit].
Privy Council wrote from 'court at Theobalds', July 21.^{RT}

July: hunting, Waltham Forest, Essex.

Works made 'a standing in Waltham Forest'.

Simon Bowyer made ready 'a standing in Waltham Forest for her Majesty'.
Keeper of Waltham Forest: John Rigby, 8d per day. Earl of Leicester 'for the exercising and keeping of Hennold Walk and Chapel Lodge Walk', 16d per day.^T

July 24, Mon Edmund Hunt and Lord Burghley with the Queen, Theobalds.

July 25, Hunt to Earl of Leicester: 'Her Majesty (being desirous to understand all reckonings from the beginning) sent for my Lord Treasurer and myself with all the books of account, which were perused and examined before her Majesty so sufficiently as the time (being about an hour) would suffer'.

[BL Cotton Galba D.I, f.148].

July 25: Captain William Borough at Theobalds.

During Drake's recent voyage Borough (1536-1598), Captain of The Golden Lion, a very experienced seaman, had criticised Drake's plans. He had been charged with insubordination and dismissed from his command.

Without orders Borough and his ship returned to Dover on June 5; he sent the Lord Admiral his own account of events. He and his men, regarded as mutineers, were put into prison to await Drake's return. In the meantime Drake had held a court-martial and had sentenced Borough to death for desertion.

July 25, Tues Sir Francis Drake and Captain Borough at Theobalds.

A court was convened before the Council, at which Borough was charged with mutiny and cowardice. Drake read from his diary the charges and the evidence against Borough. In his defence Borough described his own prominent part in the fighting at Cadiz, and complained of Drake's shortcomings. [Corbett, 149-156].

[Sequel: August 7, letter from John Holles].

Court news. July 25, Privy Council to the Earl of Leicester, of the return of Lord Buckhurst, Sir John Norris, and Thomas Wilkes to England:

'When they arrived her Majesty was here at Theobalds, and Norris and Wilkes, coming hither, were forbidden to come into her presence or remain in the court. They were both charged with such things as we thought meet, and we not being satisfied with their answer, Mr Norris was commanded to depart until her Majesty's pleasure was further known, and Wilkes was committed a prisoner, to make a better answer in writing if he could. Within two or three days he sent a long writing, discoursing matters of more length than substance, wherewith her Majesty was not satisfied, and he was made close prisoner in the Fleet, where he yet is'.

'A few days after, Lord Buckhurst...made means to come to the court, but was commanded to keep his house, and we went to London, to charge them all with their several contempts, it not being thought meet for them to come near the court. We spent two days in hearing their answers to what we charged them with, and then commanded them to set these down in writing, which we offered to show to her Majesty, but she is still so offended that she will not hear them'.

July 27, Flushing, Earl of Leicester to *Lord Burghley: 'Lately was sent to some of the States that my Lord of Buckhurst hath had three several secret accesses to her Majesty, with long conferences, and...most graciously used'.

Buckhurst had in fact written to Lord Burghley, July 24, of his grief at being deprived of the Queen's 'sight and presence so long'. [SPF.xxi(3).193,197,199].

Court news. July 30, Flushing, Captain Martin Frobisher to Lord Willoughby:

'My departing from the court was so sudden...Raleigh stands amongst others under the cloth of state; my Lord of Essex is all in all, but upon Thursday last my Lord of Essex was gone in a fume from the court as far as Margate, and was stayed for coming over'. [Ancaster, 48-49].

July 31, Theobalds, Earl of Essex to the Earl of Leicester:

'My Lord of Cumberland came half a day before Sir Thomas Sherley, with the news of the yielding up of Sluys [to the Duke of Parma]'...

'The Queen was a little troubled with it...She hath been since long with her Council'. [Wright, ii.344].

By July 31 Thomas Wilkes was released, but was still out of favour in 1589. Lord Buckhurst and Sir John Norris were still barred from the Queen's presence at the end of December, and did not recover her favour until after the Earl of Leicester died, September 1588.

Aug 1, Tues **Funeral of Mary Queen of Scots**, Peterborough Cathedral.

By torch-light on July 30 the coffin had been brought from Fotheringhay to Peterborough in a black-draped carriage, and on the same night was committed to the vault prepared. A hearse had been set up near the burial-place.

Chief Mourner: Bridget Countess of Bedford. With a procession of lords, ladies, knights, gentlemen and women, including eight Scottish gentlewomen, 18 Scottish gentlemen, seven Heralds, and 120 poor women.

Sermon by William Wickham, Bishop of Lincoln; described by Richard Fletcher, Dean of Peterborough. He took his text from Psalm 39: 'Lord let me know mine end, and the number of my days'. He declared that of the Queen's 'life and death at this time I have not much to say, because I was not acquainted with the one, neither was I present at the other...I will not enter judgement further, but because it hath been signified unto me that she trusted to be saved by the blood of Christ, we must hope well of her salvation. For as Martin Luther was wont to say, Many a one that liveth a Papist dieth a Protestant. In the discourse of his text he only dealt with the general doctrine of the vanity of all flesh'.

After the mourners departed 'the ceremony of burial was done by the Dean, the Officers breaking their staves and casting them into the vault upon the coffin'. The feast was held at the Bishop's house. 'The concourse of people was of many thousands'. [Bodleian Ashmolean MS 836, f.275-7].

Richard Brackenbury, Gentleman Usher, and his men, sent 'from the court to Peterborough to the funerals of the Scottish Queen buried there, for their charges going thither, staying and attending about the funerals, and for their return to the court again', 19 days, £79.3s4d.^T

The Account of John Fortescue, Master of the Great Wardrobe, has payments for black cloth for liveries for 540 mourners, according to their rank, with the Countess of Bedford receiving 16 yards, yeomen one and a half yards.

Total: 1599 yards, cost £955.18s2d. Head-dresses: £115.18s8d.

'Dole money' or alms distributed to 120 poor women: one shilling each.

Duties paid to the Dean of Peterborough: £40.15s10d.

A separate Account of William Dethick, Garter King of Arms, 'for the hearse and other causes of heraldry': £406. Accounts and Papers relating to Mary Queen of Scots, ed. A.J.Crosby and John Bruce (Camden Society, 93, 1867).

Detailed description of the funeral: Nichols, Progresses (2014), iii.365-381.

King James in October 1612 had his mother's body moved to Westminster Abbey, where he had erected monuments for her and Queen Elizabeth.

Aug 1, Paris, Sir Edward Stafford to Sir Francis Walsingham: 'I have sent you a couple of books of Monsieur de la Noue's doing, come even now newly. I pray you that one of them may be fair bound and given to her Majesty, for so I have promised the gentleman. You will take pleasure in the reading it'.

PS. 'They give out here today a great practice [plot] against the Queen by Jesuits taken in England; that her Majesty is dangerously sick; that Sir Francis Drake is dead; that the passages be stayed in England'. [SPF.xxi(1).347-8].

The unnamed books were by François de la Noue, Huguenot leader.

By Aug 2, Wed **ENFIELD**, Middlesex; Mr Middlemore.^T

Enfield house of Henry Middlemore (1535-c.1592), a Groom of the Privy Chamber; several times a special Ambassador to France and Scotland; wife: Elizabeth; married (2) Vincent Skinner, of Enfield; she died 1610.

St Andrew's Church, Enfield, has a monument to Henry and Elizabeth.

Date: Aug 1, Theobalds.^{PS} Aug 2, court at Enfield, Treasurer's warrant.

c.Aug 3: hunting, Enfield Chase and Forest.

Francis Coot, Gentleman Usher, made ready 'a standing in Enfield Chase'.^T

Works made 'a standing in Enfield Forest'.

By Aug 4, Fri **THEOBALDS**; Lord Burghley. [Third 1587 visit].

Aug 4, Theobalds, Treasurer's warrant.

Court news. [Aug 5 and 12], anon newsletters:

'The Earl of Essex, who is a very handsome youth, Master of the Horse to the Queen and much favoured by her, has quarrelled with Raleigh the other favourite, and during the dispute Essex boxed Raleigh's ears. It is understood that the cause of the quarrel was something about the Queen, and she has reconciled them, ordering that on no account is anything more to be said about the matter'.

'One of Raleigh's Captains...sighted more than 60 sail off Cornwall, coming from the direction of Spain. He went ashore instantly, and taking post arrived at court on midnight [on the 6th], reporting to Walsingham that he had sighted the Spanish fleet making for England. Walsingham took the news to the Queen, who immediately summoned all the Councillors and held a Council on the spot, whilst she was in bed. They resolved that the Admiral should go directly to London and embargo all the ships in the river, whilst the Queen's 14 ships should go out into the Channel, the news being kept very secret'...

'Within three days they learnt that the ships...were a flotilla of 60 hulks belonging to Hamburg and elsewhere which were coming from Lisbon'.

[*Span.iv.127*].

Aug 7, Theobalds, John Holles (c.1565-1637), to his father Denzil Holles, in Nottinghamshire, asking for £10, partly 'by reason of the time of the year being more chargeable than winter in respect of the Queen's removes'...

'The Lords yesterday sat in Council the whole afternoon about the conclusion of the matter betwixt Sir Francis Drake and Captain Borough, who slipped away from him at Cadiz, and never would join with him at any piece of service; the court is yet at Theobalds, removeth on Wednesday to Oatlands'. [Captain William Borough was acquitted on all charges. The move to Oatlands was deferred].

[*Letters of John Holles 1587-1637*, vol 1, ed. P.R.Seddon, Thoroton Society, 31 (1975), 1].

Aug 7, Mon Arbella Stuart and French Ambassador's wife at Theobalds. Lady Arbella Stuart (1575-1615), cousin of both the Queen and King James, and thus with a strong claim to the English Throne.

Châteauneuf to Henri III [Aug 15]: My wife had dined at the Queen's table.

'After dinner, the Queen being in a lofty grand hall with Madame L'Aubespine de Châteauneuf, and all the countesses and Maids of Honour near her, and surrounded by a crowd of gentlemen, her Majesty asked my wife if she had noticed a little girl, her relation, who was there, and called Arbella to her. Madame de Châteauneuf said much in her commendation, remarked how well she spoke French, and that she appeared very sweet and gracious'.

"Regard her well" replied the Queen, "for she is not so simple as you may think. One day, she will be even as I am, and will be lady-mistress; but I shall have been before her". [Strickland, iv.559-560].

Court news. Aug 7, Sir Francis Walsingham to the Earl of Leicester:

'The loss of Sluys [on July 26] has wrought in her Majesty some alteration of her favour towards your Lordship and also towards the cause itself, in such sort as she seemed bent and resolved to abandon those countries and to have revoked your Lordship'. She was warned 'that if the States learn of it all would go upside down and make you unfit to deal either for war or peace. She promised that she would forbear to give out any speeches of dislike, denying that she had delivered any but to one or two of her Council, though the court be full of it and therefore hard to be kept from the States'. [Read, *Walsingham*, iii.248-9].

Aug 9, Wed, Theobalds: Privy Council meeting. Letters are to be sent to Drake, Hawkins, and other Captains thanking them for news 'of a fleet of 220 ships discovered on the seas, not far from the Isles of Scilly'.

To Lord Lieutenants of several counties 'for putting men in a readiness'.

To the Earl of Leicester 'to be ready (if occasion served) to join with her Majesty's forces'.^{APC}

[Aug 12, from Antonio de Escobar]: This week '150 sail, large and small, were sighted off the English coast; and everybody seemed much alarmed and confused... The Queen had shown a stouter heart than any of them'.

'Don Antonio complains of want of money'. [*Span.iv.131*].

c. Aug 15, Tues **FOLD**, South Mimms, Middx; Mr Waller.

Old Fold manor-house, near Barnet, Herts, but in South Mimms parish.

Simon Bowyer made ready 'Mr Waller's house at Barnet'.^T

Tenant: Ralph Waller, esquire, widower; he died in 1602.

c. Aug 16, Wed **HARROW**, Middlesex; Mrs Wightman.

Simon Bowyer made ready 'Mrs Wightman's house at Harrow on the Hill'.^T

*Harrow parsonage, leased by Mrs Wightman. She was Audrey (Dering), widow of William Wightman, whom the Queen had visited at Harrow in 1571; she died 1596.

By Aug 17, Thur **SYON**, Middlesex.^T

Syon House; Crown property. Nicholas Pigeon, Jewel-house Officer, 'for the charges of himself, his man, and their horses, riding from the court at Theobalds and Syon to the Tower of London and to her Majesty's goldsmiths at London, carrying broken plate thither to be amended and returning therewith again, in all by the space of four days', August 1587, 32s.^T

Syon: Aug 17, Chancery warrant; Aug 18, Treasurer's warrant.

c. Aug 19, Sat dinner, West Molesey, Surrey; Mr Brend.^T

West Molesey manor-house; owned by Thomas Brend (c.1517-1598).

2nd wife: Mercy, died 1597.

By Aug 19, Sat **OATLANDS PALACE**, Weybridge, Surrey.

Kingston Church: 'Paid to ringers when her Majesty went to Oatlands, 12d'.

Works made 'two new bridges at Shepton [Shepperton] Ferry for the Queen's Majesty to take her barge and to land'. Simon Bowyer made ready Oatlands and 'the new standing for her Majesty for hunting'.^T

John Selwyn, Keeper of Oatlands Park under Lord Admiral Howard, had died on March 27; his brass memorial at St Mary's Church, Walton-on-Thames, depicts him mounted on a stag and killing it with a knife, traditionally before the Queen.

Aug 19, Paris, Sir Edward Stafford to Sir Francis Walsingham, of news from Rome of Pope Sixtus V, who after very derogatory remarks about the Kings of Spain and France continued: 'That there was no prince in the world showed any courage but one woman, for whom he would give all the treasure he had gathered together that she would become a Catholic; he would make more account of her than of all the rest'. [*SPF.xxi(1).365*].

Aug 20, Oatlands, Council: Viscount Bindon is to pay £4 per week maintenance to his wife, from last May 20.^{APC} [Frances (Mewtas), former Maid of Honour].

Aug 24, London, Buzenval, Agent for King of Navarre, to Walsingham, asking for audience on Saturday, Aug 26. 'I should like to know where I could lodge near the court if I cannot get through my business in a day'. [*SPF.xxi(1).366*].

Sept 6, Wed new appointment: Sir Thomas Heneage was made Vice-Chamberlain and a Privy Councillor.^{APC} Heneage continued to be Treasurer of the Chamber.

Sept 7, Thur: Queen's birthday celebrations, e.g.
 St Botolph Aldgate, London: 'Paid to the Sexton and was to make the ringers drink that did ring at the Queen's Majesty's birthday, 6d'.
 St Michael, Oxford: 'Drink for the ringers at the Nativity of the Queen, 6d'.

Court news. Sept 8, Temple Bar, William Herle to the Earl of Leicester:
 'The Earl of Derby will be at the court on Sunday [Sept 10], and thereupon will follow what order shall be given to our Commissioners for their proceeding. Sir Thomas Heneage on Wednesday in the afternoon was sworn and admitted Vice-Chamberlain. The Lord of Hunsdon departs tomorrow to his house in Hertfordshire, and thence northward, being made Lord Warden of the Middle Marches'.
 Henry 4th Earl of Derby was to be a Peace Commissioner. [Wright, ii.345].

Court news. Sept 12, Lord Burghley to Sir Francis Walsingham:
 'I find the Queen's Majesty disposed to have Mr Rogers to be sent to the King of Denmark, and that with the more speed because she heareth that the King of Scots' is 'to send an embassy to Denmark to renew the motion of marriage, and therefore desireth to have her ambassador there afore that of Scotland'...
 'I was in treaty with her Majesty about the matters of the King of Navarre... and with much argument her Majesty yielded to have Horatio Palavicino to be sent for...Afterward I went to Council, and in the meantime her Majesty, having heard that Palavicino was come, she sent for him and spoke with him without my knowledge'. About financial aid for Navarre's forces; Palavicino was the Queen's chief financial agent. [SP12/203/41].

18 Sept 1587-26 Jan 1588: Daniel Rogers was special Ambassador to Denmark. He was to deal with the King mainly about his mediation in a peace treaty with Spain, and for aid for the King of Navarre.

Sept 19, Oatlands: Council to the Keeper of the Marshalsea to set at liberty Thomas Skinner, being chosen to be Sheriff of London. Skinner, a mercer, was imprisoned in July because of a controversy with Edmond Schetz, 'one of the Ordinary Pages of her Majesty's Chamber'.^{APC} Skinner was Lord Mayor in 1596.

September 19: The court left Oatlands.
 Works paid Thomas Harrison, mazerscourer, 40s 'for cleansing the stools about the Privy Lodgings at Oatlands after her Majesty's departure from thence'.

Sept 19, Tues **WEST DRAYTON**, Middlesex; Sir Christopher Hatton.^{T,W}
 West Drayton manor-house. Crown property, leased from summer 1587 by Hatton, new Lord Chancellor; unmarried.

Formerly owned by Thomas 4th Lord Paget, a Catholic who lived abroad from 1583 and was attainted for treason in 1587, when his houses were confiscated.

'In a harvest song to entertain her Majesty at Draiton: one singular verse was:
 'Of Brittanie land
 she is the first, for high deserts,
 that wears a crown of all men's hearts.
 O gay garland: harvest home, harvest home'.
 [Roger Wilbraham, *Journal*, among notes made in 1593].

Sept 21: Arthur Throckmorton noted: 'We lay at Colnbrook at The Ostrich. Spent there 18d. I went to Drayton to my Lord Chancellor's to the court'.TH

Sept 21, Thur **RICHMOND PALACE**, Surrey.
 Richmond, Sept 21, Chancery warrant.

October: John Pigeon, Jewel-house Officer, went 'between Tower Wharf and Richmond Bank' with plate 'and with a small coffer of crystal cups and glasses garnished with gold and set with stone and pearls, as also with a fair basin and lair brought home by Sir Francis Drake, the outside of the same basin and the bottom of the lair being all white, the same to be gilded, by her Majesty's special commandment'.^T

Oct 1: Scandalous words at Tollesbury, Essex. John Ashley, of Goldhanger, husbandman, said 'That those ministers were dumb ministers and dunces that would pray for the Queen's Majesty, and that there were some of the Council that were traitors'. Verdict unknown. [Assizes, Essex, 315].

Oct 4, Privy Council to the Lieutenants of the several shires:
Her Majesty has been informed that great preparations are now presently made in Spain for the furniture of a mighty army with a navy to come presently to the seas. Certificate to be made of the numbers of the trained bands, the names of the captains, arms and armour, etc. [SP12/204/5]. (See Oct 9).

c.Oct 5 onwards: Jerome Horsey at Richmond for two audiences on return from Russia. Horsey was Agent to Russia 1586-1587, where he had audience with Tsar Feodor, obtained trading privileges for the merchants of the Muscovy Company, and received gifts for the Queen and himself from the Tsar and Boris Godunov.

Horsey's description: 'Rich presents from the Emperor, especially from Boris Fedorowich to the Queen, were delivered me; with his large commissions for providing many costly things and doing some secret messages. He sent me a very curious rare robe or garment of cloth of silver, wrought and made in Persia without seam...a fair pavilion or tent embroidered; wrought handkerchiefs, shirts and towels; with beaten gold and silver brought unto me... a timber [bale] of excellent good sables; store of very choice hawks of all sorts, and men to convey and carry them to the seaside'.

On my way I stayed at Rose Island 'where all the English masters, agents and merchants, met me', and where 'I took some time to make merry with the masters and merchants, having some pastimes that followed me, players, dancing bears, and pipes and drums and trumpets; feasted them'.

After sending my servant to court with letters of thanks I received 'new presents...a whole piece of cloth of gold for to wear in a garment...with a fair timber of sables to line it withal...After all this, being well fitted and ready, I and my company were shipped in a tall ship, named *The Centurion*' and 5 weeks later arrived at Tynemouth in Northumberland [Sept 30]; 'posted up with 4 men to York and so to London, in 4 days; came to the court at Richmond'...

'I was brought to the Queen; had audience, delivered the Emperor's letters and his free privileges granted unto her Majesty's subjects as a token and present of his brotherly love unto her Highness, with golden spread eagle seals at them. After an account of my employments given (which it pleased her Majesty very exactly to enquire with good words and gracious countenance), her Highness commended my good usage and entertainment to Mr Secretary Walsingham, and so dismissed me for that time'.

'Some week after, the letters and privileges being translated and read to the Queen, she said "Indeed my lords, this is a princely present from the Emperor of Muscovia, and such as the merchants do not deserve"...

'Made me kneel by her; perused the limning and characters of the privilege, having some affinity with the Greek; asked if such and such letters...had not this signification; said she "I could quickly learn it". 'Prayed my Lord of Essex to learn the famousest and most copious language in the world; after which commendation his Honour did much affect and delight in it, if he might attain thereunto without painstaking and spending more time than he had to spare'. Presentation of the Tsar's gifts: end January 1588. [Horsey, *Travels*, 229-233].

Oct 8, Queen to the States-General: Credentials for John Herbert, a Master of Requests, whom she is sending to communicate certain matters. [SPF.xxi(3).353].

Oct 9: Council letters included: to Lord Lieutenants for their trained men to be ready at an hour's warning to withstand 'all sudden attempts'; Vice-Admirals of maritime counties to stay all vessels 'that are able to cross the seas, to be employed for her Majesty's service'; to put in readiness all the forces of this Realm' including 'all the shires of Wales' and the Isle of Wight.^{APC}

c.Oct 10/15: Soldiers from the Low Countries at Richmond.

Lord Burghley wrote 'A memorial of things to be imparted to the Earl of Leicester by Mr Herbert' [who left for the Low Countries on October 17].

'To be declared to the Earl of Leicester at his Lordship's convenient leisure, by commandment of her Majesty'.

[Mostly taken up with the Queen's queries over the large amount of money she has paid out, and demanding details of what has been done with it].

'Though it be continually alleged that great sums are due, yet why such sums are due, or to whom they are due, and who are paid and who not paid...is never certified'. The Queen is also greatly grieved - as she hears and partly sees - 'that great numbers of private soldiers come over in lamentable case, alleging for their defence, when they are charged as vagabonds and threatened to be punished, that they were of the last number of 5000 that were sent over this summer, and that their captains have paid them neither wages nor lendings, but have also disarmed them, and sent them away without any food, money or passport. These reports, though it may be they are false in parts, yet they move great commiseration where the numbers are so great and all concur in one sort of complaint. And for an instance, yesterday there came thirty to the Court Gate, who said they were of the company of one Smith of Norfolk, and levied in Lincolnshire, and her Majesty, hearing thereof, caused only two to be brought to the Council, who did allege the foresaid kind of misuseage by their captain, adding that he had done the like to all the rest of their company'.

'But for to stay the report of any more to come to the court to offend her Majesty they were dismissed with sharp speeches, as being not to be believed; and the Marshal ordered to threaten them with the stocks to depart; yet for pity of their manifest poverty the Council made a purse with some money, and caused the Sub-Almoner, as of his own pity, to give to every of them a portion to conduct them to their countries'. This has moved the Queen to inform the Earl of Leicester, and to cause enquiry to be made of these captains' behaviour. She took the matter up before the Council on the same day. [SPF.xxi(3).395-7].

17 October 1587-February 1588: Dr John Herbert was special Ambassador to the Low Countries, to request the Dutch to consent to treat for peace with Spain, jointly with England. The Queen sent Ortell, resident Dutch agent, with him.

Oct 24, Tues **HANCES HOUSE**, Westminster; Lord Howard of Effingham.

Charles 2nd Lord Howard of Effingham (1536-1624), the Lord Admiral.

1st wife: Katherine (Carey), a Lady of the Privy Chamber, died 1603.

St Martin in the Fields: 'For ringing the 24th of October at her Majesty's coming to the Lord Admiral's, 10d'. Lambeth Church: 'To the ringers when the Queen came to dine with my Lord Admiral from Richmond, 18d'.

Oct 26, Thur **RICHMOND PALACE**.^C

St Margaret Westminster: 'For ringing for the Queen's Majesty when she went from the Lord Admiral's house to Richmond, 6d'.

Oct 27: Richard Scarlet, one of the royal shipwrights, 'repairing and mending of her Majesty's barge, being ready to sink under water for want of repair'.^T

Court news. Oct 27, London, Philip Gawdy to his father:

'There is certain general speech of the King of Spain's preparation of a great navy, but whither no man knoweth, it is supposed to us'.

'Sir William Fitzwilliam hath his patent sealed to go over Lord Deputy into Ireland with the return of the other' [he replaced Sir John Perrot in Feb 1588].

'There is a general mustering and a preparation for powder throughout all England. The Queen lay at my Lord Admiral's house by Whitehall upon Wednesday last, and she meaneth to be at Whitehall very shortly'.^{GY}

Nov 2, Thur, Richmond. Proclamation (694): Ordering Coast dwellers to return to their country homes from London and other places inland. In maritime counties 'not only the accustomed hospitality in those places but specially the ability and strength for defence of those countries are notably decayed'.

Nov 6, court, Lord Burghley to Sir Francis Walsingham: 'Her Majesty hath called upon me to understand the readiness of those Companies that are appointed in the City of London, and in the country abroad, to make an army to attend her Majesty's person'. [PS]. 'When I am absent her Majesty complaineth thereof, but when I come, I find her Majesty otherwise occupied'. [SP12/205/11].

Court news, of November 7 and 8. [From Antonio de Vega, Nov 13]:

[On Nov 7] 'the Queen was in a tremendous rage with Walsingham, the Treasurer [Burghley], and the Controller [Sir James Croft] upon whom she heaped a thousand insults; saying that it was through them that she was induced to negotiate for peace with the Duke of Parma, who had drawn her on with fair words, so that whilst she was listening to them she might cease her preparations and so be caught unawares. She told the Treasurer that he was old and doting, to which he replied that he knew he was old, and would gladly therefore retire to a church, where he might pray for her. She could not complain, he said, of his having badly advised her'.

[On Nov 8] Lord Chancellor Hatton 'summoned the whole of the nobility and commons who had come to Westminster to plead their causes, and in the name of the Queen enjoined them all to return home and defend their wives and children, as well as their fatherland, for the Queen was now certain that the Pope and the Kings of Spain and France were in league to ruin her, because of her religion, and as for the King of Scotland, although he was neither fish nor flesh himself ...she was fully convinced by letters that she had taken that he was against her. She therefore enjoined those present who had offices in their counties to go thither and muster men on foot and horse'. [Span.iv.166-7].

Court news. [Nov 8,12], anon newsletters: 'The Lord Admiral has been ordered to put to sea...They have decided to engage at sea the Armada from Spain, in order to prevent if possible the Spaniards from setting foot ashore... The people have never been so alarmed before, nor so little prepared to defend themselves as they are now. The Queen has been scolding the Lord Treasurer greatly for the last few days, for having neglected to disburse money for the reparation and management of the fleet. Lord Buckhurst, who is in disgrace with the Queen, has retired to his house, and has now written a letter to the Queen, couched in somewhat rough terms, and trying to defend himself' and warning her that 'all the monarchs in Christendom are leagued against her and were even now ready to invade her realm. The Queen was extremely angry at this. Walsingham is in his house, attending to nothing else but his bloody plots...A servant of Courcelles [French Agent in Scotland]...has come to England, bringing certain papers which he took from Courcelles, from which they have learnt many secrets that were being planned between the Scot and the Spaniard with regard to the conquest of England. These papers were at once sent to the Queen, who has given Courcelles' servant a crown sterling a day as a reward'. [Span.iv.163-4].

Nov 10: Commission for Lord Willoughby to be her Majesty's Lieutenant and Captain General in the Low Countries. Leicester was revoked. [Bertie, 141]. Peregrine Bertie, Lord Willoughby de Eresby, was already abroad.

[Nov 10], Hamburg, Dr Schultz to Sir Francis Walsingham, of Paul Grebner: 'A certain good and educated German of Meissen in Saxony, a zealous student of theology and the Scriptures, has written and designs for her Majesty a book which he is now sending over, wherein he has predicted and prophesied many things in regard to all the realms and nations of the world now and in future times, until the Day of Judgement. This man has lived for nearly two years in this neighbourhood and has often told me wonderful things about the revelations and visions shown to him by Divine agency, although he is but a simple man, formerly a schoolmaster...These revelations he has put together in writing' and 'wishes to send the book to the Queen, chiefly because many things in it concern her and her realm, and which might console and encourage her...as they are of happy omen for her and all other Evangelical princes...He has already offered it to many German princes and to the King of Denmark...I pray that your Lordships will offer the book to her in the good man's name...He has high hopes of a return from her Majesty and that she will not be unmindful of him, since his book has been no small expense to him in writing and drawing the pictures'.

[SPF.xxi(1).412-3]. Grebner himself had written to Walsingham (July 6). His manuscript was dated 1574, but was dedicated from Hamburg, 29 Sept 1585, to the Kings of Navarre and Denmark, and Elizabeth of England.

Some 284 short prophecies relating to the future history of Europe are written on flags, and expounded by Grebner, interspersed with his drawings.

The prophecies were several times published in the 17th century, held to predict such events as the execution of King Charles I.

[Grebner's manuscript: Trinity College Library, Cambridge; 387 folios].

Court news. Nov 11 [London], Philip Gawdy to his 'good brother' (in Norfolk): 'Some speech there is both at the court and at London that certain Commissioners should go over into Flanders about a peace. These that be nominated be my Lord of Derby, my Lord Cobham, Sir James Croft and Dr Dale'...

'I have sent you down here by these carriers the Proclamations in their very prime. Besides my Lord Chancellor upon Wednesday last [November 8] used a speech at the Star Chamber to all such gentlemen as either dwell near upon the sea, or else have some other charge, for what end that Proclamation was set forth. It hath made a great alteration with divers gentlemen that determined to make their abode here this Christmas, and had their houses here ready hired aforehand'.^{GY}

Dr Dale left on Nov 30, the other Peace Commissioners in February 1588.

Nov 12, Sun Scottish Ambassador at Richmond for audience.

Archibald Douglas, resident Ambassador, had regular audiences; in October a summary was made of the Queen's discourses with him concerning the King of Scots. [Scot.ix.496].

Also Nov 12: knightings: Henry Grey, of Essex; Horatio Palavicino, of London.

Court news. Nov 12, London, Sir Francis Walsingham to the Earl of Leicester, of Dr John Junius: 'Monsieur Junius, sent from the Duke Casimir, is now returned with some weak satisfaction, such as I fear will breed no great contentment'. Junius, several times previously in England, came for aid. [Hardwicke, i.360].

The Queen made a gift, Dec 1: 'To a gentleman of Duke Casimir's named Junius, a chain of gold'.^{NYG}

Nov 14: Stationers entered: 'A prayer and thanksgiving unto God for the prosperous estate and long continuance of the Queen's Majesty, to be sung on the 17th of November 1587'.

Court news. Nov 16 [London], Philip Gawdy to his father:

'Being at the court upon Sunday last I saw the making of two new knights, Sir Henry Grey and Sir Horatio Palavicino. Her Majesty upon Monday was wonderful merry to the great contentment of all good and true hearts'.

'She was looked for as this night here at London but her coming is now deferred until the morning; there is both great preparation for running and also great expectation of the same [of the Accession Day Tilt]'.

The Scottish Ambassador was 'at the court upon Sunday last'.^{GY}

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

'The Blessedness of Britain, or A Celebration of the Queen's Holyday', by Maurice Kyffin, including:

'Adore November's sacred seventeenth day,
Wherein our second sun began her shine.
Ring out, loud sounding bells; let organs play;
To music's mirth let all estates incline;
Sound drums and trumpets, rending air and ground,
Stringed instruments strike with melodious sound'.

(London, 1587). An enlarged second edition for Accession Day 1588 is prefaced by the royal coat of arms; it describes how God has saved England.

Lydd, Kent: sermon preached 'on the Queen's Day' by Isaac Colfe (c.1558-1597), Vicar of Brookland (near Lydd). (Published, 1588).

Colfe declared that Accession Day is marked by 'the cheerfulness of our countenances, the decency of our garments, the songs of our lips, the clapping of our hands, our melody on instruments of music, the making of bonfires, the ringing of bells, the sounding of trumpets, the display of banners, the shooting of guns' in rejoicing on this 'special day ordained of the Lord...for the happiness of England'.

As to the benefits brought to England by the Queen's Accession:

'Queen Mary left it vexed with the insolency of the Spanish nation which she brought in, Queen Elizabeth hath eased it; Mary left it in war, Elizabeth hath governed it in peace; Mary left it weak, Elizabeth hath strengthened it; nay further, wherein the perfection of our present happiness consisteth, Mary banished true religion, Elizabeth hath restored it; Mary persecuted it, Elizabeth hath defended it; Mary cast it down, Elizabeth hath advanced it'.

St Botolph Aldgate: 'For 16 pound of great candles for the Queen's Majesty's Coronation night, 6s4d; for bread and drink for the ringers which did ring on the Coronation night for the Queen, 2s'. St Dunstan in the West: 'For the ringers on the day of the beginning of the Queen's reign, 5s'.

St Martin Orgar: 'Laid out on the Coronation Eve and the night following for candles, bread and drink for the ringers, 16d'.

St Michael Cornhill: 'Paid for white wax candles being 30 for the crown in the church at night upon the Queen's Majesty's day of Coronation, 4s6d; paid for four torches and four links on the Queen's night, 5s4d'.

Bristol Chamberlains: 'Paid on the Queen's holiday for one double draught [load] of wood at 8d per seam, 2s6d; for faggots, 2d; for hauling of it to Mr Mayor's door to make a bonfire there, 3d, and to a labourer for making and attending the same there, 4d. Paid by Mr Mayor's commandment to one of Mr Woodson's scholars [of St Bartholomew's School] who made an oration before him at his door, 2s, and to the 4 trumpeters for sounding before Mr Mayor, 6s'.

Cambridge: at St John's College, 1587-1588, there were 43 complaints made against Dr William Whitaker, Master of St John's 1586-1595, including:

'The Master hath inhibited all manner of plays, even that comedy which was usually and yearly played to celebrate the Queen's day'.

Canterbury Chamberlains: 'Paid at The Lion the 17th day of November for the four Serjeants, the five Waits and the Crier their dinner, 5s'.

Leicester Chamberlains ordered (Nov 4): 'The Queen's Majesty's day to the sermon' to be a scarlet day; penalty for not wearing scarlet gowns, 10s.

Maidstone Chamberlains: 'Money laid out at the Coronation Day' including: 'To our Captain's man for bringing the bullock, 5s; given Mr Culpeper's man for bringing the doe, 2s6d; for making the scaffold and carrying the pageant, 7s4d; paid the painter for painting the pageant, pack-thread and canvas, 9s4d; for wax candles for the children, 6s; 5 dozen links, 15s; 20lb of powder, 13s4d; paid to Mr Symonson by the appointment of Mr Mayor for his pains taken on the Coronation day, 10s'. Thomas Symonson, a master at Maidstone Grammar School, 1585-1628.

Oxford Chamberlains paid: 'To Mr Prime on the Queen's day, 10s [for a sermon]; to the Curate and the Clerk, 14d; to the prisoners of Bocardo the same day, 2s; to the prisoners of the Castle the same day, 2s6d; for gunpowder the same day, 26s8d, for match the same day 12d; to the drum-player the same day 12d; for wine to the church the same day 12d, for beer the same day ½d'.

Oxford, St Michael: 'To the ringers on St Hugh's Day, 3s4d'.

Pittington Church, Durham: 'Given to Thomas Bird's wife for bread and drink which the ringers took on the Coronation day, 6d'.

Prescot Church, Lancs: 'Spent upon divers persons for ringing upon the Crownation day, 2s6d; spent by us [two churchwardens] upon the Crownation day, 3d'.

Rowington Church, Warwicks: 'To the Clerk on St Hugh's night for ale and candle, 6d; for bread and ale for the Communion on the Queen's holiday, 16d'.

Stamford, Lincs, St John Baptist: 'Bestowed of the ringers of St Hugh's Day in drink and bread, 8d'.

Writtle Church, Essex: 'For meat and drink for the ringers on the Crownation day, 5s2d'.

Thomas Cavendish, on his voyage round the world (1586-1588) had reached the west coast of North America in *The Desire*, with his other two ships. 'On the 17th day of November, which is the day of the happy Coronation of her Majesty, our General commanded all his ordnance to be shot off, with the small shot both in his own ship where himself went, and also in *The Content*, which was our Vice-Admiral. This being done, the same night we had many fireworks and more ordnance discharged, to the great admiration of all the Spaniards which were there, for the most part of them had never seen the like before'. [Hakluyt, viii.237].

Accession Day Tilt preparations. Works: 'repairing of the Tilt with boards, setting up the Judge House'. Also at Whitehall: 'mending the jambs of doors which were attempted to be broken near the waterside'.

Tilt-list: College of Arms MS M.4, f.35.

Nov 17, Fri **HANCES HOUSE**, Westminster.^c Lord Admiral Howard. [As on Oct 24].

Nov 18, Sat **Accession Day Tilt**, Whitehall, 1587. 10 pairs.

| | | |
|--------------------|---|-----------------------|
| Earl of Essex | v | Sir Henry Lee |
| Earl of Cumberland | v | Earl of Essex [again] |
| Sir Henry Grey | v | Sir William Knollys |
| Sir William Hatton | v | Sir Philip Butler |
| Robert Knollys | v | Ralph Bowes |
| Edward Denny | v | Richard Skipwith |
| Thomas Gerard | v | Henry Noel |
| John Chidley | v | William Gresham |
| Everard Digby | v | Pexall Brocas |
| John Needham | v | William Harvey. |

Nov 20: knighting, at the Lord Admiral's: John Pakington, of Worcestershire.

Robert Naunton, of Sir John Pakington (1549-1625) and the Queen: He 'was a gentleman of no mean family, and of form and feature no ways disabled; for he was a brave gentleman, and a very fine courtier; and for the time he tarried there (which was not lasting) very high in her grace'. [Fragmenta Regalia].

Nov 20, Mon dinner, Walsingham House, London; Sir Francis Walsingham. Walsingham House, Seething Lane; owned by Walsingham (c.1532-1590), the Queen's Principal Secretary, recently absent from court through sickness. 2nd wife: Ursula (St Barbe), widow of Sir Richard Worseley; she died 1602. St Botolph Aldgate: 'Paid to the Sexton for bread and drink bestowed upon the ringers which did ring for the Queen when her Majesty was at Sir Francis Walsingham's, 8d'.

Nov 21, Tues **ELY HOUSE**, Holborn, Middlesex.^c Sir Christopher Hatton. Hatton (1540-1591) became Lord Chancellor in April 1587; he was unmarried.

Ely House, Holborn, was the town house of the Bishops of Ely (the Bishopric was vacant 1581-1600). Hatton leased part of the house and grounds from 1576. He called the house Hatton House, but it was usually still known as Ely House or Ely Place. The Queen's Works had carried out repairs on Ely House, including Hatton's Armoury, for 3 months in 1586; also 'making and mending sundry field-gates for her Majesty's passage near Holborn'.

Works, 1587: 'Setting up two posts at the field-gates near Gray's Inn lane; making of two new field-gates for the Queen's passage beyond St Giles'.

Hatton's gifts to the Queen [1587]: 'One cup with a cover of crystal fashioned like a dragon, slightly garnished with gold and set with some small rubies... the dragon's head having a coronet over it; one cup of assay of silver gilt made oval fashion, with a handle garnished with daisies of gold in each of them a spark of a ruby...one flower within the cup wanting'. [Jewels, 1571-2].

Nov 23, Thur knighting, Ely House: Lewis Dyve, of Bedfordshire.

Court news. Nov 24, London, Philip Gawdy (an Esquire for the Body) to his father (in Norfolk): 'I have now sent you down...two small books for a token, the one of them was given me that day that they ran at tilt. Divers of them being given to most of the lords, and gentlemen about the court, and one especially to the Queen. I was commanded with some two or three more to wait underneath the Queen to be employed in messages, where it pleased her Majesty to use me more graciously than I deserved. My uncle told me of it that night coming to him, for two or three of his men stood hard by in a standing. He was wonderfully well pleased therewith...It was Friday at night [November 17] before the Queen came to my Lord Admiral's. Upon Saturday was the running at the tilt very well performed, though not so full of devices and so rich as I have seen. My Lord of Essex and my Lord of Cumberland were the chief that ran. Mr Gresham was well commended for the credit of Norfolk'.

'Upon Saturday at night her Majesty lay at my Lord Admiral's, and all Sunday at his charge. Upon Monday she went to Mr Secretary's to dinner when in the gallery before her going she knighted Mr John Pakington. That night she came to my Lord Admiral's again, and dined there upon Tuesday'.

'Upon Tuesday at night she came to my Lord Chancellor's, where she hath been ever since. Her entertainment hath been very great there both for herself and all her train, which a number of us have very well tasted of. It is thought her Majesty will tarry there yet this sevensnight and hereafter at Whitehall'...

'Mr Jermy is travelled into a damask gown, and followeth the court day and night...As yesterday the Queen going into the gallery made an old knight, Sir Lewis Dyve'.^{GY} Francis Jermy was one of 3 nominated for Sheriff of Suffolk.

[Nov 26], Paris, Mendoza to Idiaquez: 'There is a soothsayer in England who affirms that Don Antonio will pass the month of February in Portugal'...
'The man has foretold many things truly to the Queen'. [Span.iv.174].

Nov 27, Mon Council of War met to consider where the Spanish might be expected to land and how the English forces should be arranged to meet them. Among those present were Arthur Lord Grey of Wilton, Sir Francis Drake, Sir John Norris, and Sir Walter Raleigh. [Read, Walsingham, iii.297].

Nov 27, Horsley [Surrey], Countess of Lincoln to Sir William More:
'I do hear no certain time for the Queen's return from Holborn to Richmond, but hitherto it is appointed that she will keep her Christmas at Richmond'. [Loseley MS 11, 169].

Nov 30: marriage, St Margaret Westminster. Peter Legh, of Cheshire, married Elizabeth Castilion, daughter of John Baptist Castilion.
Queen's gifts: one basin and one lair of silver gilt, to John Baptist, Groom of the Privy Chamber, his daughter's marriage.^{PS} Gifts delivered Dec 4.^{NYG}

30 November 1587-August 1588: Dr Valentine Dale (c.1520-1589) was special Ambassador to the Low Countries, and from February 1588 a Peace Commissioner.
Dale was described by the Duke of Parma: 'He is one of the Queen's prime favourites and resides in the palace...He is an old man'. [Span.iv.235].

Dec 1, London, Philip Gawdy to his father: 'There is great preparation for going to the sea, and many lords and gentlemen mean to take their part thereof. The Queen will remove as it is thought this day, but yet no certain ground thereof'.^{GY} Richmond Palace was made ready.^T

Dec 3, Sun Sheriffs 'pricked' [chosen] by the Queen at Ely House.

Court news. Dec 5, Billingbear, Lady Elizabeth Neville to Nathaniel Bacon: 'One news I must needs write more and that is Mr Gresham hath of late played at cards with the Queen'. William Gresham (1555-1624). [Bacon, iii.20].
Also Dec 5: Proposed move to Richmond Palace, again. (See Dec 8).

Dec 6, Wed **SOMERSET HOUSE**, Strand.^C

Crown property. Keeper: Henry Carey, 1st Lord Hunsdon, the Queen's cousin, who was absent as Governor of Berwick; wife: Anne (Morgan), died 1607.

During 1587 the Queen was godmother to their son Sir George Carey's daughter, giving silver weighing 101 ounces. [TNA C/47 3/39].

Court news. Dec 7, London, Thomas Screven to the Earl of Rutland:

'Her Majesty is in good health (God be thanked) and hath left Richmond, and yesterday came to Somerset House...The Lord Vaux is committed to the Archbishop of Canterbury; Sir John Arundell to the Dean of Paul's; Sir Thomas Cornwallis to the Bishop of London; Sir Thomas Tresham to the Bishop of Lincoln; and so the other recusants of habit severally committed to the charge of several persons'.

Also, advice for the new Earl on gifts for Mary Radcliffe, Lady Stafford, and others: 'You are much beholden to Mistress Radcliffe; she daily doth good offices for you. She is worthy to be presented with something. The cup for Lady Stafford is ready, but I have detained it, as it may well serve for her New Year's gift. I must put you in mind of other New Year gifts'.

'There is of duty to be delivered to the Queen £20 in gold for you and my lady; next it was my late Lord's wont to give a cup worth £20 to the Lord Treasurer, somewhat to the value of £40 or more to the Earl of Leicester, a cup worth £18 to Mr Secretary Walsingham, and somewhat to the lady before named'.^{RT}

Court news. Dec 8 [London], Philip Gawdy to his father, of 'the choice of the Sheriffs. They were pricked at my Lord Chancellor's upon Sunday about five o'clock, until which time Mr Jermy and to the very hour was a courtier, and immediately upon it he vanished away...for he failed of a certain knighthood that he expected and they said was promised' [he became Sheriff for Suffolk]...

'The Queen was determined to have gone to Richmond upon Tuesday last in the afternoon. All things were prepared, and at dinner time she altered her mind to go to Somerset House whither she went the next morning, and where she meaneth to remain some reasonable time, at least all this Christmas. The household cometh to Somerset House as this very night. There is still great preparation touching the going to sea'.

Dec 8, from my lodging in Strand, Philip Gawdy to my 'good sister' Anne, sending 'stuff' for a gown: 'I can assure you that both the Queen, and all the gentlewomen at the court, wear the very fashion of your tuff taffeta gown with an open wired sleeve and such a cut, and it is now the newest fashion'.^{GY}

Court news. Dec 9 [London], anon newsletter: From Berwick Lord Hunsdon 'asserts that the Duke of Parma has an understanding with Scotland. This news has caused an immense sensation and uneasiness here, and great activity is being exercised in preparations for defence by land and sea...They are working day and night making ready the Queen's ships and others, and have decided to divide them into three fleets. Drake is to leave as soon as possible' for Plymouth to take a fleet to the coast of Portugal. Admiral Wynter is to go to Scotland and Ireland, and the rest of the ships will be under the Lord Admiral to cruise in the Channel...There is a commission out here in London to raise 10,000 men to guard the person of the Queen, and they say another 10,000 will be made ready to protect the city...A Council of War sits frequently, consisting of six members of the Council and others of little experience in warfare, but they expect the Earl of Leicester within three days...They have summoned the nobles suspected of Catholic leanings, and it is feared they will be imprisoned'. [Span.iv.174-5].

c.Dec 9: French envoy at Somerset House with the Queen.
[Dec 10] The Queen thanked William Robert de la Marck, Duke of Bouillon, for letters brought by M.de Chalonges; she found such ability in him that she leaves him to report what has passed between them. [SPF.xxi(1).441].

During 1587 there was a gift of 'A chain of gold borrowed of the Lady Cobham and given by her Majesty to a gentleman of the Duke of Bullen's valued in gold and fashion threescore pounds, £60'.^{NYG}

Dec 10,Sun Earl of Leicester at Somerset House on return from Low Countries.

'Leicester being returned, and smelling that there was an accusation framed against him by Buckhurst and others for ill managing matters in Holland, and that he was to be convented before the Council, cast himself down privately at the Queen's feet with tears, and craved her protection: beseeching her, That whom she had sent forth with honour at his departure, she would not now receive with disgrace at his return; and whom she had raised up from the ground, she would not now bring to his grave. And with such flattering speech he soothed the Queen's offended mind in such sort that her noble displeasure abated, and she received him into former grace and favour'.

'So as when he was the next day to come to his answer, he took his place amongst the Council, and kneeled not at the upper end of the table as the manner is...and so appealing to the Queen he avoided the whole accusation, not without the secret indignation of his adversaries'. [Camden, *Annals*].

An engraving of Leicester as Governor of the United Provinces, and coins and medals, including a medal commemorating his departure (showing a sheepdog forced to abandon his flock) are reproduced by E.Goldring, Robert Dudley, 154-157.

*Dec 11: Stationers entered:
'The oration of Neptune to Jupiter in the praise of Queen Elizabeth'.*

Court news. Dec 14 [London], Philip Gawdy to his father:
'My Lord of Leicester...came upon Friday last to Margate, and the Sunday following came to the court that night before his landing anywhere else. There came with him to the court my Lord Audley and Sir Thomas Sherley besides one grand prisoner which they make account of...His ransom is not meanly prized. My Lord Willoughby is left chief governor in the Low Countries'...
'It is thought the Queen's Majesty will remove towards Richmond upon Thursday next [Dec 21] though there remaineth no certainty thereof'.^{GY}

Court news. Dec 15, London, John Chamberlain to Stephen Powle, in Venice:
'Here is great preparation to sea, for all or most of the Queen's ships are setting forth in all haste, and the Lord Admiral goeth in person'...
'Sir Francis Drake with certain of the Queen's ships and others to the number of 40 sail is appointed another way...Our provisions by land go as fast forward as our sea matters, for we have mustering everywhere and lieutenants and colonels appointed to every shire to be ready upon any sudden invasion'...
'Sir Walter Raleigh is gone westward, he is sole Lieutenant for Cornwall and joined in commission with the Earl of Bath for Devonshire...Others are likewise named for other places. The chief recusants in England are sent for up, and committed to Bishops and others in custody'.
'Now if you ask upon what ground we have taken this hot alarm I can answer you no certainty, but upon speech of preparation in Spain, and upon [the Duke of] Parma's doings at Dunkirk, and some suspicion of Scotland'...
'On the Queen's day in November the Earl of Essex made a gallant triumph and performed it well'...
'The Earl of Northumberland and John Wotton were committed on Sunday last from the Council table, the one to the Fleet and the other to the Marshalsea, for striking a gentleman in the Countess of Northumberland's house'...
'John Pakington is newly knighted, and it is thought he shall be Captain of the Guard...Daniel Rogers [a Clerk of the Council] by report is as fit for that place as I to be Pope'. [J.W.Stroye, 'An Early Letter from John Chamberlain', *English Historical Review*, 62 (1947), 522-532].

Sir Christopher Hatton remained Captain of the Guard. The gentleman struck in the widowed Catherine Countess of Northumberland's house, Francis Fitton, married the Countess later in December, despite her son the Earl's objections.

John Wotton, brother of Henry Wotton, married her daughter Lady Lucy Percy, despite the Countess's objections to him as 'a man of no living, of evil name and more than double my daughter's years'.

John Chamberlain wrote for decades to his friend Dudley Carleton: his first surviving letter to him: 11 June 1597.

Dec 17: Earl of Leicester resigned his offices of Lieutenant-General of her Majesty's forces, and Governor-General of the United Provinces. [SPF].

Court news. [Dec 19] 'London this present Tuesday in the morning' (MS), Philip Gawdy to his father: 'The Lords and Captains took their leave upon Sunday at night at prayers time, and some as this day and some tomorrow, and some with as much speed as they may will take their voyage towards the sea. There were divers had many men in a livery very well appointed upon Sunday at the court to be seen of the Queen's Majesty at her going to the Savoy to church'.^{GY}

Dec 21,Thur Charles Lord Howard of Effingham's commission to be Lieutenant-General and Commander-in-Chief of the fleet and army at sea fitted forth against the Spaniards and their allies. He went aboard *The Bear*. [Laughton, i.19-23].

Dec 22, London, Thomas Screven to the Earl of Rutland:
'Yesterday the Lord Admiral set forward with 6000 men. It is not known abroad to what coast he shall voyage. Sir Francis Drake is dispatched also with 4000 men'.^{RT}

Dec 23, Lord Mayor's Precept to the Warden of the Company of Drapers.
'Understanding that her Majesty is this day determined to pass by Mile End Green towards Greenwich, it is thought good and expedient that I myself and the rest of my brethren the Aldermen should be ready there to attend her Majesty's coming. These therefore shall be to request yourself and 20 of the chiefest and comeliest of your Company on horseback in velvet coats and chains of gold, or else their other best apparel and chains of gold, to meet us at Aldgate about two o'clock in the afternoon of this present day. Fail ye not hereof I pray you at your peril. From my house in Walbrook this 23rd of December 1587'.
[Drapers' Minutes]. Other Livery Companies presumably also received copies of this Precept. Lord Mayor: George Bond, haberdasher.

Dec 23,Sat **GREENWICH PALACE.**^C
Works payments, Greenwich, 1587, included: 'making ready the Hall and Great Chamber for plays and dancing in the time of Christmas and setting up degrees against Twelfth Night; making ready sundry noblemen's lodgings and sundry Offices against her Majesty's coming to lie there'.

Dec 24,Sun, Greenwich, Lord Willoughby's second commission to be 'Lieutenant and Governor of her Majesty's forces in the Low Countries'. [SPF.xxi(3).462].

Court news. Dec 24, London, Thomas Screven to the Earl of Rutland:
'Her Majesty as yesterday removed from Somerset House to Greenwich. The Lord Admiral is gone towards the sea with 10 or 12 of the great ships. The general opinion is that the great ships are not likely to go beyond the Land's End [on the Kent coast]. Perhaps some of the smaller vessels will scour abroad'...
'All things here are well and the Earl of Leicester in the highest favour. No grace can yet be had for Lord Buckhurst or Sir John Norris or the other actors in the affairs of the Low Countries, not even to be admitted to the Queen's presence; which is no small glory to the Earl. Even Sir Walter Raleigh did not escape suspicion of ill done to the Earl, from which cause grew his sudden departure to the West Country the day before the Earl came to court'.^{RT}

Dec 25: Queen's Passport and safe-conduct for the King of Spain's Deputies to go to Ostend or elsewhere for the proposed Peace Treaty. [SPF.xxi(3).464].

[Dec 25, from Antonio de Escobar]: 'Don Antonio [former King of Portugal] is still here, but knows not what to be at...He has been with the Queen at Greenwich for two days, but she has not caressed him much'. [Span.iv.188].

Christmas 1587-Shrovetide 1588: There were presented before the Queen at Greenwich 'seven plays beside feats of activity and other shows by the Children of Paul's, her Majesty's own servants and the Gentlemen of Gray's Inn'.
Revels bought gloves for tumblers. [Revels, 378,390].

Dec 26,Tues play, by the Queen's Men.

Dec 28,Thur bear-baiting, at Greenwich.

feats of activity, by John Symons and his company.^T

Court news. [Dec 30, from Antonio de Vega]: 'The Earl of Leicester...was well received by his mistress, but badly by the public. On his arrival it was decided that the fleets should put to sea, and that the frontiers should be manned... The Earl tried to prevent the peace negotiations...This delayed the departure of the Commissioners...Many Councils have been held on the subject, and the Queen has decided that the Commissioners are to go, notwithstanding the arguments of Leicester, Walsingham and [Sir Amias] Paulet against it'.

These Councillors 'said that since it was necessary that peace should be made, the Queen at all events should make it on honourable terms..On no account should she give up Flushing or Brill to the King of Spain'...

'This was agreed to on that day...but at 11 o'clock at night, after the Queen had heard a comedy, she flew into a passion with the Earl of Leicester...and told him that it behoved her at any cost to be friendly with the King of Spain, "Because", she said "I see that he has great preparations made on all sides. My ships have left to put to sea, and if any evil fortune should befall them all would be lost, for I shall have lost the walls of my realm". The Earl argued that she need not lose confidence, as the enemy's Armada was not so powerful as was asserted, but even if it were it would still be much inferior to hers'...

'The Commissioners will certainly go'. [Span.iv.190-191].

c.1587: Peter Carder at Whitehall with the Queen.

Peter Carder, a seaman from Cornwall, embarked with Francis Drake in 1577 at the outset of his voyage round the world. He was one of eight men in a pinnace which became separated from Drake and the other ships in January 1579 off the coast of Brazil. After years of hardship Carder alone survived to return to England in November 1586 (when the Queen was at Richmond, pre-occupied with the fate of the Queen of Scots).

At an unknown date Carder was introduced by Lord Admiral Howard to the Queen at Whitehall, as Carder told Samuel Purchas: 'My strange adventures and long living among cruel savages being known to the right honourable the Lord Charles Howard, Lord High Admiral of England, he certified to the Queen's Majesty thereof with speech and brought me to her presence at Whitehall, where it pleased her to talk with me a long hour's space of my travails and wonderful escape, and among other things of the manner of Master Doughty's execution, and afterwards bestowed 22 angels on me, willing my Lord to have consideration of me, with many gracious words I was dismissed'. [Purchas (1906), xvi.136].

Thomas Doughty was executed by Drake allegedly for mutiny, July 1578.

c.1587: The Queen and Sir Walter Raleigh exchanged verses.

Raleigh wrote verses beginning:

'Fortune hath taken thee away, my Love,
My life's joy and my soul's heaven above;
Fortune hath taken thee away my princess,
My world's delight and my true fancy's mistress'.

The Queen wrote an answer, beginning:

'Ah silly pug, wert thou so sore afraid?
Mourn not my Wat, nor be thou so dismayed;
It passeth fickle Fortune's power and skill
To force my heart to think thee any ill'.

There are variant versions. A ballad 'Fortune hath taken thee away my love, being the true ditty thereof' was entered in the Stationers' Register in June 1590, and a two-part ballad in 1604. [May: *Elizabethan Courtier Poets*, 318-320].

By the 1640s there was a ballad: 'The lover's complaint for the loss of his love', and 'The lady's comfortable and pleasant answer'.

1587: Thomas Churchyard dedicated to the Queen The Worthiness of Wales.

'A true note of the ancient castles, famous monuments, goodly rivers, fair bridges, fine towns, and courteous people, that I have seen in the noble country of Wales and now set forth by Thomas Churchyard'.

Dedicated to 'Most redoubted and royal Queen, that Kings do fear, subjects do honour, strangers seek succour of, and people of special spirit acknowledge... Gracious Lady, under your Princely favour I have undertaken to set forth a work in the honour of Wales, where your Highness's ancestors took name, and where your Majesty is as much loved and feared as in any place of your Highness's dominion'. Such is the people's 'courtesy, loyalty, and natural kindness... your Highness is no sooner named among them but such a general rejoicing doth arise as maketh glad any good man's heart to behold or hear it...Let the meanest of the Court come down to that country, he shall be saluted...as though he were some Lord's son of that soil'.

As to this book, 'greatly it shall rejoice the whole country of Wales, when they shall hear it hath found favour in your gracious sight, and hath passed through those blessed hands that hold the rein and bridle of many a stately Kingdom and Territory...Thus dutifully praying for your Majesty's long preservation (by whose bounty and goodness I a long while have lived) I wish your Highness all the hap, honour, victory, and heart's ease, that can be desired or imagined'. (London, 1587).

Thomas Churchyard (c.1523-1604), a native of Shrewsbury, Shropshire, describes parts of both Wales and Shropshire, in verse and prose.

1587: Angel Day published Daphnis and Chloe.

'Excellently describing the weight of affection, the simplicity of love, the purport of honest meaning, the resolution of men, and disposition of Fate, finished in a Pastoral, and interlaced with the praises of a most peerless Princess, wonderful in Majesty, and rare in perfection, celebrated within the same Pastoral, and therefore termed by the name of The Shepherds' Holiday'.

Shepherds celebrate a 'yearly feast' in honour of a Princess, who had 'with great happiness to her people, fame to herself, honour to her country, admiration to the world, and love to her subjects' with 'most wonderful success ruled and reigned by the space of many years over them. Their Queen was... a Virgin', who 'might assure herself of all the Princes that lived in her time, to be most entirely beloved'. This day is 'for evermore sacred among them', when they with 'triumphs, prayers, vows, feasts, and banquetings, do jointly altogether rejoice'. 'Eliza was the most excellent and brave Princess, in whose favour, memory, regard, and kingly worthiness, they jointly thus assembled, to celebrate with perpetual vows her famous and long continued happiness'.

[Translated from French by Day, London stationer and author]. (London, 1587).

Prophecy of the approaching year, 1588. By Regiomontanus, 1475.

Known throughout Europe; translated into English as:

'When from the Virgin Birth a thousand years
With full five hundred be complete and told,
The Eighty Eighth a famous year appears,
Which brings distress more fatal than of old.
If not in this year all the wicked world
Do fall, and land with sea to nothing come;
Yet Empires must be topsy turvy hurled,
And extreme grief shall be the common sum'.

[L.Hotson, Shakespeare's Sonnets Dated (1949), with contemporary comments].

1587: 'Description of England' by William Harrison (1535-1593), an Essex clergyman, in Holinshed's Chronicles (1577, revised edition 1587):

From the chapter: 'Of Palaces belonging to the Prince', after a list.

'What shall I need to take upon me to repeat all and tell what houses the Queen's Majesty hath? since all is hers, and when it pleaseth her in the summer season to recreate herself abroad and view the estate of the country and hear the complaints of her poor commons injured by her unjust officers or their substitutes, every nobleman's house is her palace, where she continueth during pleasure and till she return again to some of her own, in which she remaineth so long as it pleaseth her'.

'The court of England, which necessarily is held always where the prince lieth, is in these days one of the most renowned and magnificent courts that are to be found in Europe'...

'I might here make a large discourse of such...grave councillors and noble personages as give their daily attendance upon the Queen's Majesty there. I could in like sort set forth a singular commendation of the virtuous beauty or beautiful virtues of such ladies and gentlewomen as wait upon her person'...

'It is a rare thing with us now to hear of a courtier which hath but his own language. And...how many gentlewomen and ladies there are that, beside sound knowledge of the Greek and Latin tongues, are thereto no less skilful in the Spanish, Italian, and French, or in some one of them'...

'Our ancient ladies of the court do shun and avoid idleness, some of them exercising their fingers with the needle...divers in spinning of silk, some in continual reading either of the Holy Scriptures or histories of our own or foreign nations about us, and divers in writing volumes of their own or translating of other men's into our English and Latin tongue, whilst the youngest sort in the meantime apply their lutes, citterns...and all kinds of music, which they use only for recreation sake when they have leisure and are free from attendance upon the Queen's Majesty or such as they belong unto... Many of the eldest sort also are skilful in surgery and distillation of waters ...As each of them are cunning in something whereby they keep themselves occupied in the court, so there is in manner none of them but when they be at home can help to supply the ordinary want of the kitchen with a number of delicate dishes of their own devising'...

'In some great princes' courts beyond the seas...it is a world to see what lewd behaviour is used among divers of those that resort unto the same, and what whoredom, swearing, ribaldry, atheism, dicing, carding, carousing, drunkenness, gluttony, quarrelling, and such-like inconveniences do daily take hold... all which enormities are either utterly expelled out of the court of England or else so qualified by the diligent endeavour of the chief officers of her Grace's household that seldom are any of these things apparently seen there without due reprehension and such severe correction as belongeth to those trespasses'.

'Finally, to avoid idleness and prevent sundry transgressions...such order is taken that every office [of the household] hath either a Bible or the books of the *Acts and Monuments of the Church of England* [by John Foxe] or both, beside some histories and chronicles lying therein for the exercise of such as come into the same, whereby the stranger that entereth into the court of England upon the sudden shall rather imagine himself to come into some public school of the universities, where many give ear to one that readeth, than into a prince's palace'...

'I might speak here of the great trains and troops of serving men also, which attend upon the nobility of England in their several liveries and with differences of cognizances [badges] on their sleeves whereby it is known to whom they appertain. I could also set down what a goodly sight it is to see them muster in the court...much like to the show of the peacock's tail in the full beauty or of some meadow garnished with infinite kinds and diversity of pleasant flowers'